Centre for Support of Indigenous Peoples of the North (CSIPN)

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE NORTH, SIBERIA AND THE FAR EAST OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Prof. Vadim Turaev, Rodion Sulyandziga,
Pavel Sulyandziga, Vladimir Bocharnikov

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Encyclopedia of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation

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Dear Reader! Dear Friend!

Let me invite you to the World of ancient wisdom. Amusing and unusual World. The World with eventful and rich history! Plunge into this world of open and frank people, the world of unique civilizations!

A wonderful book has fallen into your hands — the Encyclopedia of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation. This book is dedicated to the hard history of ordinary people whose life has always been inseparably connected with the destiny of the country. Whose life is different from lives of many others. This book is about those for whom every day means respectful treatment of nature, clash with the elements and passing through severe tests. I wish this book would become the Book of Friendship for every human!

Russia is a Great Power, multiethnic, diverse and hospitable country! I am sure that with this book you will discover new unfamiliar territories of our Motherland and yet unknown pages of the history of this country.

Being the representative of one of the forty indigenous peoples of the Northern territories — the Nenets — I know firsthand the history, the culture and the mode of life of my fellow countrymen. And being the head of the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East I have learnt, have perceived the power and spirit of other peoples, have felt and come to love even more this boundless, rigorous and fair world.

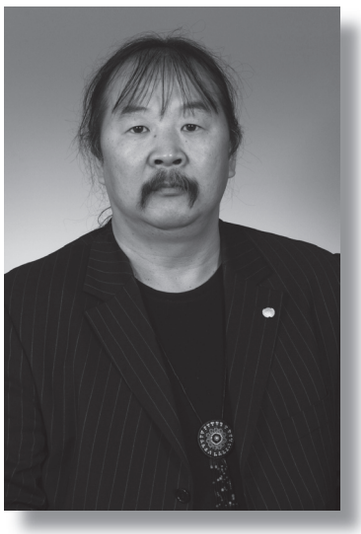
Man has divided the Earth into the territories and states yet the human's heart knows no barriers and borders. Therefore I wish you to discover this "New Planet" and ask you to understand the immortal life philosophy of my fellow countrymen who have been living in harmony with nature and environment for centuries.

Welcome to Yamal, to the North, to Siberia and the Far East — it is our home. It is our Russia!

Yours faithfully,

President of the Russian Association
of Indigenous Peoples of the North,
Siberia and the Far East

S. N. Kharyuchi



Dear friends!

I am very glad that you hold this book in your hands. This is the Encyclopedia of peoples whose life, culture, traditions and customs are inseparably connected with surrounding nature. Their world today hardly differs from the world of their ancestors — and that is the beauty of this world, this civilization. On the other hand, in our globalizing, quickly changing world, the world of indigenous peoples becomes more and more vulnerable, it suffers pressure from, so to say, more "market-oriented" civilizations that keep on consuming space for their own development.

I wish people involved into decision-making process both at international, national and local levels would have an opportunity to learn about the peoples whose lives can be affected by their decisions. I also would like to remind you that out of 40 peoples described in this book 7 peoples have population size less than 1 thousand, and 12 peoples — less than 2 thousands.

Let this book become a key for all the readers to understanding that our human civilization is the diversity not only of civilizations and states, but also the diversity of peoples who live on this planet, the diversity of civilizations inside each human.

Sincerely yours,

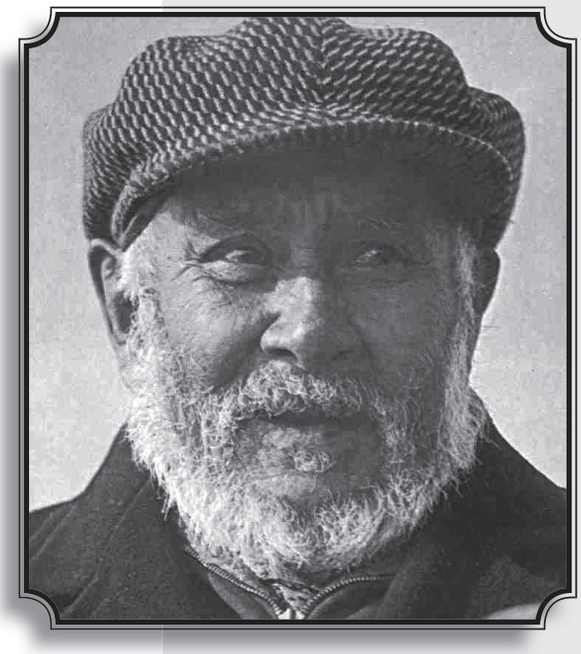
Pavel Sulyandziga,

Member of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation,
President of the "Batani" International Development Fund for Indigenous Peoples
of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation

ALEUT



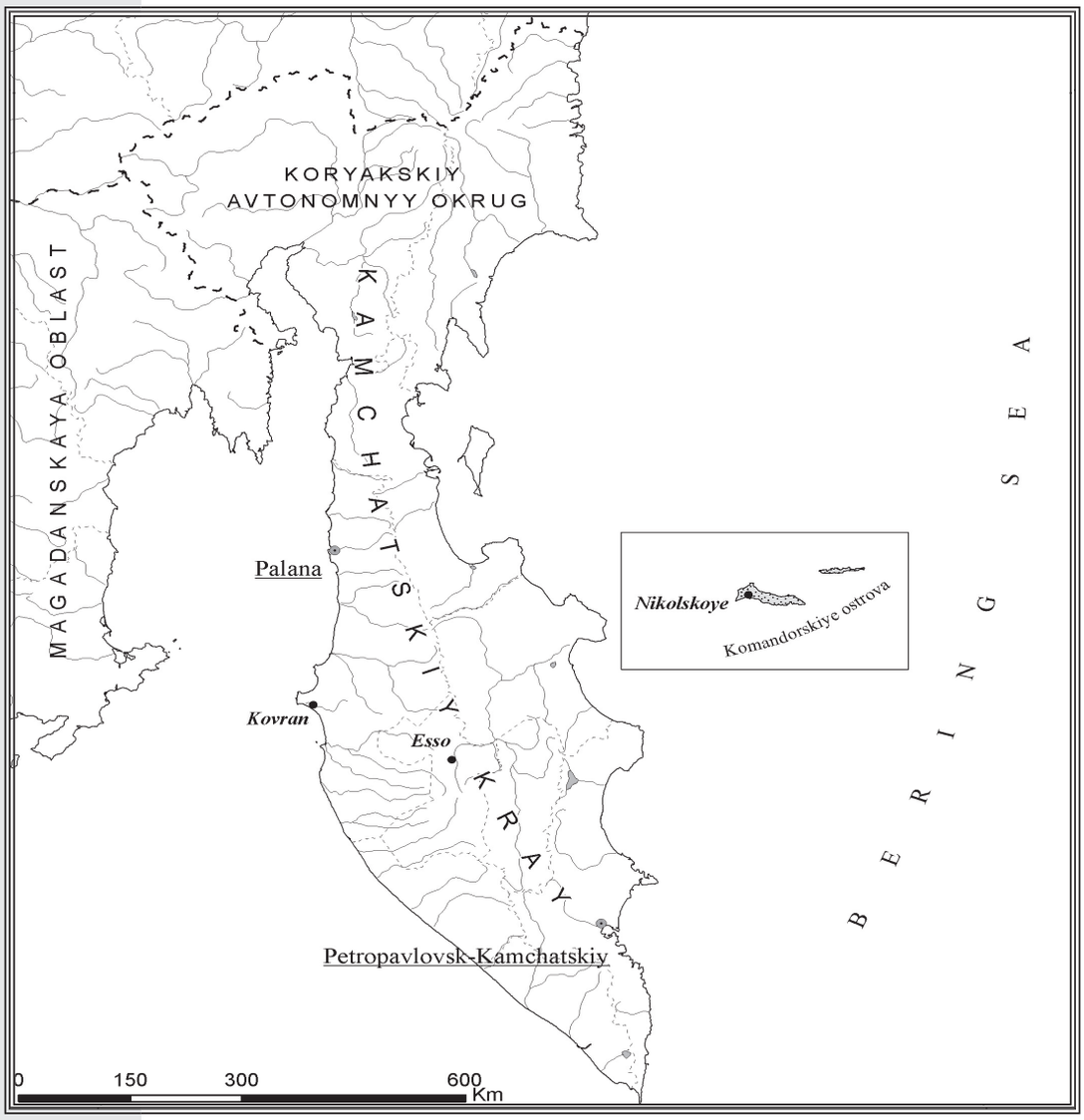
The Aleut people live both in the northeast corner of Russia as well as in the United States (on the Aleutian Islands, the Pribyloff Islands, and the southwestern tip of the Alaskan Peninsula). They are also native to the Commander Islands, which are governed as part of Kamchatka Oblast. The overall number of Aleut in the world is around 6,000 individuals, including some 5,000 who live in the United States. The Aleut call themselves not only *Aleut*, but also *Unangan* or *Anangin*. The Aleut who lived on Mednyy Island called themselves *Sasignan*. The Siberian Yupik, the Aleut's closest neighbors, call them *Alakshak*. The word *Aleut* is of Russian derivation. It was coined after the first exploration of the Aleutian Islands and was first found in written documents in 1747. The etymology of this ethnonym is subject to debate. G. A. Menovshchikov derives it from the Aleut word *allitkhukh* (group or *obshchina*). I. S. Vdovin suggests that this ethnonym is from the Chukchi-Koryak language, from their word *alyav-vyte* (someone whose head is rimmed with headwear). One of the distinguishing historical features of the Aleut has, in fact, been their unusual wooden headdress.



By heritage the Aleut belong to the Arctic (Eskimo) race, which is part of the larger Mongoloid group. Their language is called Aleut and is related to the Yupik-Aleut group of Paleo-Asiatic languages. There are three separate dialects for Aleut: Unalashkin (eastern), Atkin (central), and Attuan (western). In present-day Russia two dialects are spoken. Here they are known as the Bering (western) and Mednovskiy dialects, the latter being a mixed, or creole language, where the Aleut lexicon uses a hybrid Russian-Aleut grammatical system.

Population

Approximately 644 Aleut live in Russia. The 1989 census taken in the USSR showed a population of 702. The twentieth century saw a stable increase in the Aleut population in Russia. Between 1926 and 1989 their numbers almost doubled. There are Aleut living close together in the village of Nikol'skoye in the Aleutskiy District on the Kamchatka peninsula. 900 people live in this village, of which 312 are Aleut. Another significant portion of Aleut live in southern regions of the Far East and Kamchatka, often in families and groups mixed with other peoples.



Current territory of residence of the Aleut in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

Ethnogenesis

The Aleut occupy a transitional position between the Old and New Worlds and represent part of a larger group of North Pacific nationalities, often referred to as Bering Sea nations. Aleut ethnogenesis is closely tied to the issue of how America was settled and the dispersal of a single Yupik-Aleut language. According to most research, the Aleut ethnic group took form on the Aleutian Islands. However, the question of how they came to the Aleutian Islands in the first place remains a mystery. Many of the traditional, material, and spiritual elements of the Aleut culture give us reason to believe that their distant ancestors were settlers from the warmer southern regions of our planet, perhaps even from Oceania. There is some material anthropological evidence of this. The Aleut occupy a unique position among Arctic peoples and with southern touches that may point to a Pacific branch of the Mongoloid race. Since the distant past they have lived apart from the Yupik people and in profound isola-

tion from their Asian and American neighbors. They evolved their own unique culture over a long and distinct history of development.

History



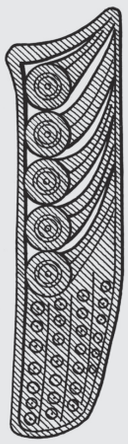
Ancestors of modern Russian Aleut first appeared on the Commander Islands during the opening decade of the nineteenth century. The Russian-American Company resettled several Aleut families here from the islands of Atka and Attu, in order that these families develop a marine mammal hunting industry. From the very beginning there was a mixed population here, with Aleuts, Russians, and many of mixed heritage slowly settling the islands. By the end of the nineteenth century the interaction between these three main groups was enough to form a unique Commander Aleut culture.

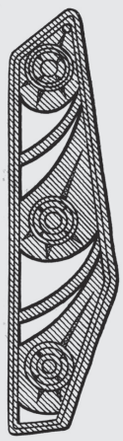
Before the Russian Revolution (1917), the ethnographic history of the Commander Aleut can be divided into two time periods. The first starts with the settling of the Commanders and runs right up to 1867. During this time the Aleut's lives on the Commanders were regulated by the Russian-American Company, both in terms of their administration and the economy of the islands. The Aleut were both employees and servants to the Company. The predominant cultural features during this time were still traditional in nature. At the same time, some essential changes were becoming quite noticeable, both in the ethnic and cultural aspects of the people. A process technically known as "creolization" gained strength on the Commanders, a process in which offspring from mixed marriages, between native peoples and recent arrivals (i. e., the Russian colonists) created a creole population. Thus, by the start of the twentieth century, about one half of local Commander population was of mixed heritage. The Russian-American Company even took special measures to improve the status and the growth of this creole stratum of society. On Bering Island (one of two main islands of the Commanders) there was a school where most adult male residents were taught to read and write. Amongst these ranks there were a number of teachers, priests, and other specialists in various professions. Homes were improved and equipped with the latest technology; local people were given the chance to farm small plots and raise cattle. With these creole inhabitants many elements of Russian culture were to seep into the Aleut world and become entrenched.



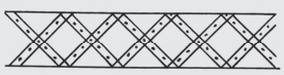
After the Russian-American Company was disbanded, and the Aleutian Islands and Alaska were sold by Russia to the USA in 1867, a

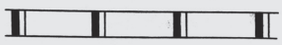
second phase of ethnographic history began for the Com-mander Aleut people. At the outset of this period, the official administration of the Commander Islands was left to the Kamchatkan *ispravnik* (office of the police chief). In 1871 the islands were rented out to Hutchinson, Cool, and Co., an American company, for a period of twenty years. Afterwards, from 1891 to 1917, the Commander Islands were rented out to various trading companies. During these times there were further interactions between the traditional culture of the Aleut and the new creole culture. The influence of Russian and other cultures grew even greater in the region. As a result, by the start of the twentieth century, the Commander Island Aleut had formed their own, unique culture, drawing directly from the heritage of both parent cultures (the traditional Aleut and the creole one), a culture that had now taken on its own, novel characteristics.











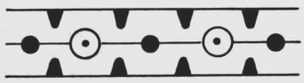
Social organization

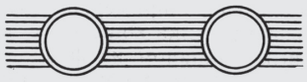
At the time when the first Russians appeared in the mid-eighteenth century on the Aleutian Islands, the Aleut had managed to preserve their ancient communal way of living. There is some evidence that some form of domestic slavery existed. The Aleut called these slaves *kalgs*. Opponents captured in battle were often turned into slaves and passed from family to family, held "…in embittering isolation doing most of the hard work." Orphans were also referred to as *kalgs* and ended up in service for one or another family. As soon as the Russian-American Company appeared, slavery amongst the Aleut was forbidden. The slaves then became hired workers for the company.

Elders managed all aspects of life in Aleut obshchinas. The Russian traders called these elders *tuku* or *toyons*. The power of the toyon was hereditary, but only in those cases where the son next in line was suited for the job. There was no material advantage to being a toyon. His livelihood depended on being successful at everyday work, which he did alongside all the other Aleut. The Russian-American Company successfully used this system of obshchina management for the Aleut to organize work production. What is more, these toyons were not allowed to work for the Company, or to receive any compensation, award, or incentive. They determined who among the Aleut would work for the company teams and also gave out any excess fur pelts. After 1832, the Russian-American Company issued a decree stating that several chief toyons would be elected from amongst the ranks of all toyons and that these elected representatives would have to be confirmed by company management.

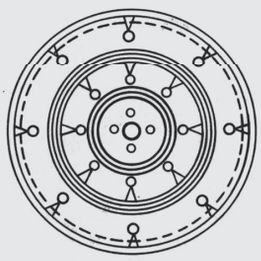
During the first decades of life on the Commander Islands, the Aleut retained some of their traditional standards and social framework, as well as traditions relating to family and marriage. According to the rules of Aleut society, any proceeds from fur trapping had to be distributed to

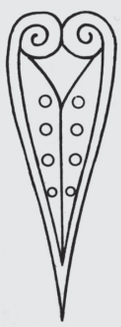
each member through a system of sharing. Not only was the size of the family taken into account, but also the number of widows, older people, and orphans. Open marriages were common; there was some freedom for pre-marital relations, extra-marital relations (with the consent of the husband), and polygamy. Social status was determined along matrilineal lines: the mother retained a high family status. The tradition of exchanging children still existed, whereby the mother's brother raised children. The traditional division of labor between men and women was also strictly observed. Any man on the Commanders would consider it shameful to carry water home or to take care of the domestic fire. His business was to work at hunting and trading. Everything else, in the way of making a livelihood for the family, was the responsibility of women. Some distinct elements of these traditional social customs were to persist among the Commander Aleut into Soviet times.













Material culture

When the Russians arrived in the mid-eighteenth century on the Aleutian Islands and the among the Itel'men people on Kamchatka, they found Stone Age cultures. Almost all tools produced by the Aleut were made of wood, stone, or bone. They did not know how to produce pottery, weave fabric, or work metal, even though they were familiar with iron. They gathered nails from the planks of shipwrecks that washed upon shore and used cold forging to make knives, as well as spear- and arrowheads. Items for the home (such as bags, baskets, rugs, mats, etc.) were made, as a rule, from reeds and grasses. They used stomach bladders from Steller's sea lions to store fat, fishmeal, and other products. They sewed clothes using *alyusik* needles made from splintered leg bones of seagulls. *Idgitan* thread was made of sinew from animals such as marine mammals, deer, and fox. When the Russians arrived on the Aleutian Islands and began trading operations there, their influence was immense on the future development of the Aleut. Although by the time they moved to the Commander Islands, stone and bone wares and the work tools that went with it were still widespread, they were not the determining factor for material production.

Subsistence activities

Traditionally the Aleut hunted marine mammals, fished, and gathered wild plants. They hunted sea otters using harpoons (and arrows), launched from their skin-covered *baidarkas (kayaks)*. They threw the harpoons with the help of a throwing plate. Bows for arrows were used only rarely — on the Lis'iy Islands (on both Umnak and Unalaska). These islands are close to Alaska, where this type of tool was widespread. Over time, new hunting techniques appeared on the Commanders, including











the use of set nets and firearms. Both whale and otter hunting amongst the Aleut was led by the trading companies and were intended mostly for trade. The conventional way of hunting whales was to drive them together then separate a part of the pod away from the breeding grounds to a special slaughtering area, where they beat the animals with *drygalki* sticks. Hunters were paid for this work. Hunting for Steller's sea lions and fur seals was mainly to meet subsistence needs. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of whales at the breeding grounds around the Commander Islands had fallen drastically and so whale hunting in Aleut life lost significance. Arctic fox hunting and fishing began to play a leading role in the economy.

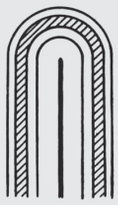
Their main fishing targets were salmon species, which they caught during spawning season using seines or block nets in streams. They made *yukola* for future consumption. Salt was also often used to preserve fish. Salmon fishing was especially significant on Bering Island. On Mednyy Island, where there were few spawning streams, they mainly fished for cod and halibut and other ocean fish that they could prepare and store for the winter. They fished from their baidarkas using fishing rods and other tackle with hooks.

The Aleut hunted for Arctic fox from October to January. They would go out into the tundra with their families; each family possessed its own hunting territories. Hunters mainly used deadfall traps, a technique borrowed from Russian hunters. Women gathered wild plants, collecting and preserving day lily bulbs, roots and tubers, and other berries. They also spent a lot of time collecting seafood (such as shellfish, seaweed, and sea urchin roe). They hunted seabirds at their rookeries, using large nets *(chiruna)*, as well as other nets. They also collected eggs. They hunted ducks, geese, and swans at rivers and lakes.

Starting in 1932 when specialized hunting collectives ("animal factories") were created on the Commander Islands by the Soviet administration, all adult Aleut men and a significant number of women were considered employees. There was still some fishing, hunting, and gathering for subsistence consumption. The 1950s saw a massive influx of new arrivals onto the islands, and there was rapid growth in economic and social infrastructure. It did not take long for the new arrivals to squeeze native residents out of the higher-income or high-prestige jobs. Today the majority of the Aleut are working in public services as auxiliary workers. Approximately ten people work year-round in traditional jobs, and up to another twenty now seasonally occupy themselves with traditional jobs. Today there are few registered native enterprises in Aleutskiy District, where the main type of work is traditional hunting, and where the main founders of these enterprises are representatives of the Aleut people. However, they do not always receive full fishing quotas or hunting wild reindeer or marine mammal, and thus there is little chance for development.

Transportation

The Aleut mainly used a skin-covered *baidarka (kayak)* for summer transportation. This boat could be for one person, but more often two or three people could fit in, each with his own opening to sit in. The other type of skin-covered boat, the *baidara*, was used by the Commander Aleut only on Mednyy Island. Using this boat, they could travel between islands or to other parts of the island where they were located. At the end of the nineteenth century, skin-covered boats of all kinds were replaced by whaleboats and other launches. And not long after the Aleut moved to the Commander Islands, another type of transport appeared — dog sleds borrowed from the Kamchadal people (the Itel'men) — but with a few alterations. They traveled on these sleds both in winter and summer. Harnessing dog teams was women's work amongst the Aleut, the men only fed them. Dogsledding as a means of transportation was used only on Bering Island. On Mednyy Island, because the topography was different, most cargo was hand-carried by people. During the winter the Aleut on Mednyy Island began to use skis more typical of Kamchatka, with runners covered in sealskin. To make it easier to travel over hilly areas or icy slopes they used ski poles tipped with iron spikes.





Settlements and housing

The Aleut led a settled lifestyle. Their small settlements consisted of two or three houses. The main kind of historical winter home for the Aleut was a dugout, or *ulla*. This is a structure built under ground, from twenty to one hundred meters long, and about six to ten meters wide. The dugout's frame was made of whalebone and whale fin; only later were they made of wood. Eight vertical columns, planted along the central axis of the home, supported dugout roofs. The top was covered by grassy turf and dirt. Openings to release smoke through the roof also served as entrances to the home; larger dugouts could have up to six such entrances. Early on, Aleut dugouts had no kitchen hearths. They were heated and lit by tallow. Several related families lived in each house, with each family having its own section of the house to live in. Vertical support columns separated these sections. Generally the number of residents in each such home could reach up to several hundred people, at least according to eyewitnesses. In the summer, the Aleut lived in hunter's cabins, with each family living separately.







The Aleut living on the Aleutian Islands had similar homes. Those who settled on the Commanders brought with them a type of house that had already undergone some modification. Their houses were only partially underground and were smaller in size. The openings in the roof now served exclusively as a hole to let smoke escape. The entrance was situated in one of the sidewalls, and had a corridor leading from the

door. The walls had small window openings over which a cover made of sea-lion gut was stretched. The framework for these shallow dugouts was made of whale fin and covered with dry grass and turf. The roof was heavily pitched, and the floor was earthen and sometimes had planks in the middle. The inside walls were covered with woven mats, the houses warmed by wood in a hearth, and the lighting came from tallow lamps. Over time a stove replaced the hearth. The furniture inside consisted of plank-beds, tables, and benches. In the summer the Aleut moved into above-ground homes, called *barabary*, similar to the houses used by the Itel'men. In the nineteenth century the Aleut began to build log homes with vertical posts in the corner of the houses. They used mortise technology to insert beams and planks into the posts.

At the start of the twentieth century there were two villages on the Commander Islands. There was the town of Nikol'skoye on Bering Island and another called Preobrazhenskoye on Mednyy Island. There were also some smaller settlements, most of them seasonal in nature; several of these had year round residents. In the 1960s, when the island industry became more concentrated, the town of Preobrazhenskoye ceased to exist as a self-sustaining settlement. All the residents on the Commanders were concentrated into the town of Nikol'skoye.

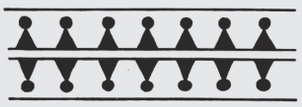
Clothing

The clothing worn by the first Aleut settlers for the most part preserved traditional features. For outer clothing there was a long, thick parka, made of fur seal, sea otter, or from birds (mainly from puffin). Women's and men's parkas did not differ from each other in the cut of the garment. Men's parkas were sewn from bird skin, with the feathers showing on the outside; and the women's were made of the skin of marine mammals.

The parka was worn over bare skin. During rainy weather and while hunting, they wore a *kamleyka* overcoat with sleeves, muffled collar, and hood made of the intestines and neck of a Steller's sea lion. Later on they began to use shorter coats made of the same material. During the cold wintertime the Aleut covered themselves with blankets made of reeds and grass. Pants were called *lavtashny* and were made of sealskin, as was the footwear; moisture-resistant deerskin shoes appeared amongst the Aleut only under Russian influence. There is another type of well-known footwear, detachable sealskin boots, which lacked heels and were used for hunting. They could be attached to pants that were themselves made of Steller's sea lion necks; they could also be covered by deerskin boots. They wore a type of wooden hat on their heads for open-sea hunting. The hat was conical or open at the top and had long peaks. Such hats were decorated with carved bone, feathers, or sea lion whiskers. In normal conditions, including during the winter, the Aleut

would go about without any head cover. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when imported Russian clothing became widespread, traditional Aleut clothing was used only for hunting. By the end of the nineteenth century, traditional clothing had begun to go out of style, even during the hunting season. Instead of wearing the feather parkas, the Aleut donned several layers of warm shirts; and instead of the deerskin boots, they wore rubber boots. For a long time Aleut women retained the tradition of tattooing their faces and the outer sides of their arms. The character and design of these tattoos was close to that of the Yupik, although there were some differences. There were also differences in the tattoos worn by various groups of Aleut. It was possible to look at these as signs of tribal differences. In addition to designs (such as double circles on the cheeks, vertical lines, double semicircles, etc.), the Aleut tattoos could also depict animal images and hunting scenes. Until the eighteenth century tattoos could convey certain information about the more important exploits of their ancestors.



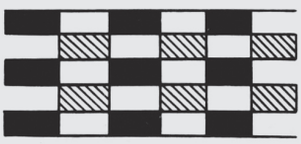




Food

The Aleut's main diet was fish and the meat of marine mammals. Most often these were eaten either as raw or dried meat. Because the Aleut did not have dishware, they rarely cooked either the fish or the meat. Eyewitnesses in the eighteenth century reported that meat was prepared (or rather baked) in a completely unusual way. They used rocks with deep indentations as a kind of dish to cook the food. They put fish or meat into the rock, covered it with another rock, and then used clay to seal the opening between the rocks. This package was then placed over a fire. They ate not only meat from animals they had killed themselves, but also the meat from whales that had died and washed ashore. Shellfish, seaweed, flowering fruits, berries and other food items were a significant addition to their diet.

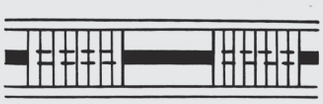




Religion and spiritual culture

The Aleutian shamanism was traditionally characterized by a belief in spirits and in animal and ancestor cults. They practiced mummification of deceased relatives. Alongside this traditional form of belief there was also the widespread practice of Russian Orthodoxy. Christianity was introduced amongst the Aleut toward the end of the 1750s. Baptismal rites were performed, as a rule, not by those in the holy orders, but by simple hunters, who brought with them a Christian religion that was neither canonical nor strictly orthodox in its teachings, but arrived in its everyday, popular form. This type of religion was easy to adapt to and could be supplemented by aspects of their traditional, or spiritual culture. By the nineteenth century it was often impossible to distinguish exactly where





the true Aleut spiritual tradition ended and where Orthodox traditions began. The rather odd interplay between Christian rites and the local religious concepts would serve, in the end, to form a particular Aleut belief system, and a particular Aleut church, which exists to this very day, also to be found amongst the American Aleut.

Native knowledge of medicine held a special place in the spiritual culture of the Aleut. They possessed a profound understanding of anatomy (in the Aleut language there are names for almost every bone and muscle in the human body, as well as for the majority of the internal and external organs). They mastered the art of acupuncture,



using lancets made of rock, and they knew the significance of various types of diets. They knew the curative properties of many herbs and roots and believed in acclimatization training (children would swim in the sea year-round). They also widely practiced the art of massage for internal organs. They sewed up wounds using sinew tissue as a type of thread.

Arts and crafts

Native Aleut art came in many forms. They decorated their clothing, headwear, and footwear. They did a lot of weaving, as well as carving and engraving of bone and wood, and made ritual and everyday sculptures. Aleut women mainly used decorative appliqué as their basic decoration technique for Aleut clothing. They used sinew thread to stitch various patterns and designs. Ornamentation took on rectangular or other geometric shapes, where strips of sea lion neck skin were dyed different colors and then sewed on in a checkerboard pattern. The other composite elements of ornamentation were mostly

dots and lines, alternating between light and dark-colored squares, corners, rhombuses, zigzags, etc.

Aleut weaving always caught the fancy of numerous visiting travelers and researchers. Tall grasses, especially wild rye, were the only material suitable for use in weaving on the Aleutian Islands. There were no special tools for weaving. Plant stalks were spliced using thumbnails, which were allowed to grow and were shaped and sharpened for this purpose. They wove baskets, bags, mats, blankets, and many other domestic items out of the grasses. They used appliqué to cover the dark yellow background of their weavings with embellishments made from white deer fur and colored threads that they interwove with the rye stalks. The Commander Aleut preserved this traditional type of weaving art right up to the end of the 1930s, and it still exists to some extent today.

The men made creations from wood and bone. The majority of Aleut carvings and sculptures were associated with the hunting cult. The sea otter was the Aleut artist's favorite shape. These otters were most often depicted lying on their backs, with their paws nuzzled up against their noses. In addition to the otter, they depicted whales, other marine mammals, and birds. Bone carvings were often used to decorate headwear. Only men were engaged in decorating headwear in this way. In addition to carved decorations, an essential element of this kind of trim work was the use of plant and mineral-based paints, mixed with ochre. Colors included black, dark red, and bluish-green. Basic motifs for painted ornamentation were curvy-lined flourish-patterns, intricate rosettes, and both paired as well as S-shaped spirals. Aleut painting distinguished itself by its ability to withstand the environment. Aleut colors on domestic items kept in local museums for several centuries have lost practically none of their original freshness or colorfulness.

Contemporary culture

The Commander Island Aleut, who originally began as creole ethnic group, and then in Soviet times became a separate indigenous minority of the North, are today becoming a group of Russian-speaking old-timers. The Commanders were so isolated from the rest of the country, with such limited access for new people coming to the island that as a result, the slowness of the acculturating process has created favorable conditions for stable functioning of a well-formed culture. From this point of view the ethno-cultural situation on the Commanders is quite unique. The Aleut themselves are of exceptional interest to us, as the only clear-cut example of a creole group in modern Russia. Still, all the Commander Aleut speak Russian. According to

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estimates given by linguistic experts, there are only two dozen people of advanced age who still use the native language. The written Aleut language, created in the 1930s and then set to use Russian orthography at the end of the 1980s, is now practically out of use. The Aleut language is not taught in schools.

The present-day generation of Aleut is struggling to preserve and restore their own cultural heritage. An Aleut Museum of Local History is up and running, and the national Unangan Ensemble has been playing a vital role in preserving native traditions. There have also been attempts to revive applied art traditions of ivory and rock carving. And the Aleut tradition of hosting pleasant evening gatherings and other national forms of leisure have been reemerging as well.

Future

The Commander Island Aleuts' future as a unique ethnic group depends, most of all, on recognition of their land rights. The Commander Islands are now all part of a National Nature Reserve (Zapovednik). This wilderness status undoubtedly helps with the preservation of rare flora and fauna on the islands, but it has severely accentuated problems associated with resource use. The Aleut have lived for centuries with the feeling that they have been masters of their own land. In the present day there is no such feeling. The state has created an insurmountable system of licensing and regulation and does not recognize indigenous people's rights to own and use the natural resources here. It is necessary to create a situation that allows the Aleut to conduct their traditional way of life without harming the unique natural setting. They should be allowed to use modern technologies for widespread production of their own wares, while expanding Aleut participation in active nature conservation.

The Commander Islands were designated a special Aleut Indigenous Region within Kamchatka Oblast in 1928. By the 1930s this special status had been revoked, only to be reestablished after the war. Today this Region status does not provide for special development programs for the Aleut as a separate ethno-cultural community. Their participation in local government is purely symbolic. By virtue of this low level of representation within the government, they are not able to influence decision-making. The local agency that governs the Aleut is called the Association of Aleut Nations of Kamchatka Oblast. This unites all Aleut and their family members living in Nikol'skoye. The main thrust of the work of this Association is defending the rights of local native people in land use issues.



ALYUTOR



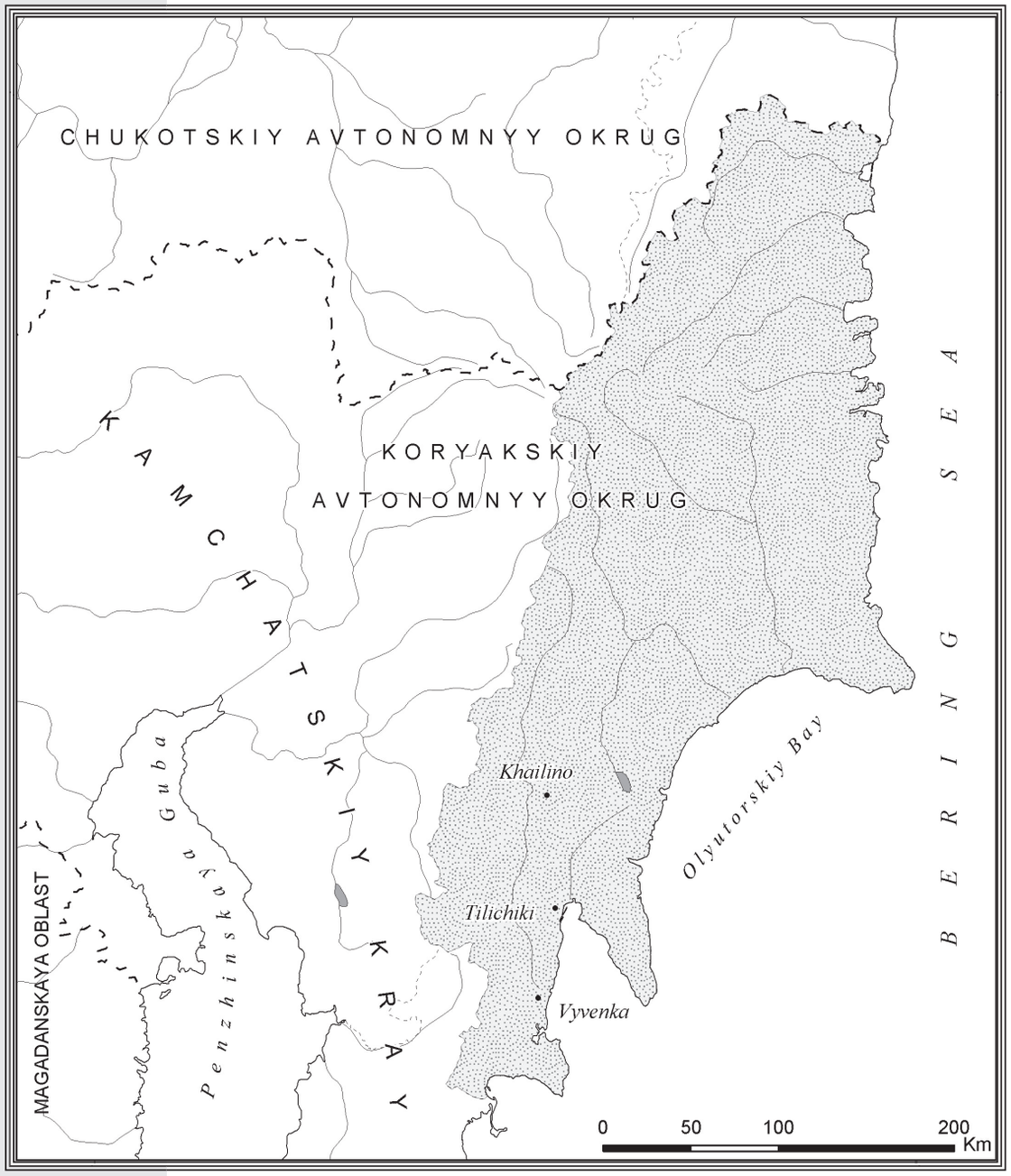
The Alyutor people people are a geographic subgroup of the Koryak people who live in the northern reaches of the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. Their ethnonym — Alyutor — comes from the name of a local community formerly known as Olyutorskoye and now known as Alyut (from the Koryak *Alytal'yu*). All other Koryak have referred to them as Alyutor. Nevertheless, the Alyutor use the same name that all settled Koryak use to identify themselves: *Nymylanye* or *Nymylu* (residents, settlers). Otherwise, they also name themselves using the name of a settlement, such as Vyvnylvo, where the people call themselves *Vyventsy*, etc. They are not inclined to separate themselves from the Koryak nation as a separate ethnic group, but are described as such by researchers.

Language

They speak Alyutor, part of the larger Chukchi-Koryak family of Kamchatka-Chukchi languages. For many years the Alyutor language was considered a Koryak dialect. Its closest relatives are the closely related Koryak dialects and languages. All of these languages are closely related to the Chukchi language. More recently, several researchers now consider the Alyutor dialect to be an independent Koryak language, and the Alyutor as a separate ethnic group. There is a significant Yupik influence in the language and culture here, a difference usually cited in identifying the Alyutor as a group separate from the Koryak. Vernaculars that historically existed in Alyutor have recently been lost. The Alyutor language has no writing system. The Koryak writing system created in the 1930s based on the Chavchuven dialect turned out to be unintelligible for the Alyutor and never caught on. In the present day the Alyutor language is sometimes used in schools, but only for elective study. In everyday life, the language survives, but only the older generation is truly fluent.

Official records

There are no exact figures for the total Alyutor population. Researchers have come up with varying figures for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to the 1897 census, there were 938 Alyutor in all, but this is obviously an inflated number, insofar as the census counted the population in terms of their administrative location, a number that included various local Koryak groups. The Soviet censuses never separated out the Alyutor at all. The 1926–27 Polar Census showed that the Alyutor were the second largest territorial group within the overall Koryak



Current territory of residence of the Alyutor in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

community. Their population at the time was estimated at 1,800–2,000 people, a figure which also raises some doubts. No less doubtful were the estimates given in 1999 of 2,500 members. This number corresponds with the overall Koryak population in the Olyutorskiy and Karaginskiy Districts within the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. In addition to the Alyutor many other Koryak live in this area, including the Chavchuven, Karagintsy, Apukintsy, and others. The 2002 census was intended to identify the Alyutor as a separate ethnic group, however, the results now show that the ethnonym of Alyutor is cited only three times in the entire census list. An additional three people claimed that their ethnic background was Alutal'u. All this is evidence, yet again, that the Alyutor, despite the opinions of researchers, are not at all inclined to separate themselves from the Koryak nation as a separate ethnic group.

History and settlements

The first mention of Alyutor-Koryak dates back to the end of the seventeenth century. In his famous "Tales," the writer Atlasov states in an aside that the Alyutor do have "…their own language, but it is in all ways similar to the Koryak language." Their lands at that time stretched along the eastern shores of the Kamchatka Isthmus to an area north of the village of Karaga. It was here where the main settlements spread out, the *ostrozhki*, or fort towns. In the eighteenth century the most significant of these fort-towns were called Bol'shoi, Il'pyr, Govonki, Vyvn (modern Vyvenka), Tillechi (Tilichiki), Kultushnoye, and others. Subsequent sources listed other Alyutor settlements, including Tymlat, Kichiga, Vetvei, Anapka, etc. On the western shores the Alyutor lived in the town of Rekinniki. There were also Alyutor settlements across the Verkhoturov Island. Reindeer herding Alyutor also lived on the eastern shores of the Kamchatka Isthmus (in the Parapol'skiy region).

Historical evidence of Alyutor settlements show that during the last 250 years there have been virtually no substantial changes in the territory where they reside. The number of their settlements has declined; many were abandoned during the 1960s and 70s as part of a campaign to consolidate all indigenous settlements. Today the majority of Alyutor are concentrated in one of three villages: Vyvenka, Tymlat (which includes people who moved from Rekinniki) and Khailino. The latter village can hardly even be considered an Alyutor village. By language and family ties, the residents here really belong to the Apukintsy.

Traditional economy and subsistence activities

The traditional Alyutor economy is complex in nature, including land-based hunting, fishing, and hunting for marine mammals. At the beginning of the nineteenth century another economic activity began to take hold: reindeer herding. The Alyutor first acquired reindeer herds from Koryak-Chavchuven herders, and in exchange they traded some of the marine catch that they normally sold. From that point they began to find and capture the reindeer themselves. The number of Alyutor herdsmen was also augmented thanks to new family ties with Koryak reindeer herders, mostly those who had migrated from the northwestern region of the Gizhiginskiy District. These new settlers very quickly lost their Chavchuven-Koryak dialect and assimilated with the local natives, a fact that increased the overall number of Alyutor in the region.

The Alyutor had small herds of reindeer. Each herd was the collective property of four to six households, all of which had shared family or property. The share of each co-owner in this cooperative corresponded to the shares of all the others. Almost every settled Alyutor had at least one

or several reindeer in the herds of his nomadic relatives. Overall, Alyutor reindeer herding was a supplementary enterprise. Hunting was the main form of livelihood and included marine mammals as well as fish.

Targeted land animals included wild reindeer, mountain goats, bears, and to a lesser extent, moose. They also hunted for rabbit, grouse, and various waterfowl as the opportunity arose. They used bows and arrows to hunt deer, along with snares in coastal thickets. They killed bears using spears and, later, firearms which were already widespread among the Alyutor and Koryak by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Another known hunting technique was the use of thick planks, into which iron spikes were embedded. They placed these planks along paths frequented by bears. Hunting for fur (mostly fox) was not as common. Reindeer herders almost never hunted for fur. Instead they preferred to pay the *yasak* fur tribute to the tsar with the fur of young reindeer.

The significance of land-based hunting for the Alyutor steadily declined as animals were wiped out. By the beginning of the twentieth century it had virtually disappeared. The main livelihood after that consisted of fishing and some hunting for marine mammals. The Alyutor fished from mid-June to mid-September.

During peak fish runs (for chum, pink, and other salmon species), they moved to the river mouth and fished using seines, working together to form large, family-based, joint-property cooperatives. A large part of the catch would be dried. Another part would be used to feed dogs kept for dogsledding. After the harvest, they kept the fish in water for two days. The meat from this kind of fish was considered the best for *yukola*. Afterwards, they hung out the fish to dry, and stored it in storehouses built on pilings. On average, for each person in the group, they would prepare around 350–375 separate dried fish. That was enough fish to last the entire winter. In addition to making *yukola*, there were other ways for preserving fish for the future: fermenting it in open pits, freezing it, or (beginning in the twentieth century) salting it. The people who lived in coastal villages fished even during the winter, catching eulachon, saffron cod, and whitefish. In addition to setting out nets, the Alyutor made widespread use of other types of fishing equipment popular in the northeast of Russia, including large hooks and other fishing tackle. They would also dam up streams to catch fish.

The Alyutor hunted for marine mammals during the spring and fall seasons. A team of seven or eight people used dogsleds to go out onto the ice, sometimes up to 5–10 kilometers offshore. The meat and fat from the marine mammals they caught (mostly bearded and other seals) were used for food, often preserved for future consumption. The fat also provided fuel for lighting. They made straps and belts from bearded sealskins, as well as the soles of their shoes. They traded the products they produced from marine mammals, receiving reindeer skins and meat in return.

Historical records show that in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the Alyutor also hunted whales. This was, in part, practiced using nets at Point Atvalyk. After they had netted a whale, they killed it using spears aimed at the stomach. The meat and fat from the whales was distributed to each family according to its needs. The baleen was given out in shares. The first share (coming from one side of the jaw-bone) went to the one whose net caught the whale. The second share (from the other side of the jaw) was divided amongst all the other hunters present. The Alyutor used the baleen to sew their skin-covered *baidara* boats and also used the fiber to make nets and other containers.

Every village had its own marine mammal hunting grounds. The residents of Vyvenka harvested seals near the village as well as on Verkhoturov Island. The inhabitants of Vetvei did their work along the Tapelik River, where there was a year-round seal rookery. There were also hunting grounds at Point Govyn, in the region of Il'pyr, and in other places as well. They used various weapons to hunt marine mammals, including metal harpoons with protruding bone hooks at the ends. They also used spears, special seal nets, and firearms. In the nineteenth century the Alyutor made the walrus another important prey. Many Alyutor visited Karaginskiy Island with this in mind, knowing that there were several walrus rookeries there. However, by the twentieth century, American whaling parties had killed off almost all walrus in this part of the Bering Sea, bringing walrus hunting to a halt. The number of seals also sharply declined at this time. Henceforth the main food source for the Alyutor was from fishing.

Transportation

The main form of Alyutor transportation at sea was a large boat called the *baidara*. A single such boat could hold up to forty people. It was made of skins and had rowlocks. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, these types of large baidara were almost never made any more. This was mostly because of the failure of their marine mammal hunts. To move along the rivers they used dugout canoes. In an effort to make these little boats more stable, they would join two hulls together. On dry land they moved about using sleds pulled by dogs or reindeer. Dog sleds were widely used not only by villagers, but also by Alyutor reindeer herders. For a smoother, faster ride, especially during the spring thawing snow, the sled runners had whalebone attached to the bottom. The runners for the sleds pulled by reindeer were made of whale baleen. During the twentieth century dogs became even more important for providing transportation. The Alyutor used snowshoes for moving along the snow and ice on foot.

Domestic structures and housing

Alyutor villages were usually situated high above a riverbank, allowing a clear view of the surrounding area. Usually each contained two or three homes, but by the nineteenth century these settlements would become more populated. The growing role of fishing changed the character of these Alyutor settlements. With the appearance of Russian Cossacks, the Alyutor began to construct defensive bulwarks or forts around their villages. The best known of these is at the mouth of the Av'ya River — Bol'shoy Fort, which was enclosed with earthen ramparts. The town of Il'pyr on the Kultushnaya River, with one main wall made of vertical logs stuck into the ground and entry gates and embrasures. These forts were often used during various conflicts with the Cossacks. In normal conditions living quarters were situated alongside the fort and could be connected with the fortified area by means of underground walkways. During times of danger the people gathered inside the fort.

Until the nineteenth century the only type of housing in Alyutor communities was a type of semi-dugout home consisting of a foundation with vertical walls in the shape of an octagon. The vaulted roof that had a flat-topped conical shape and an external trap door, reminiscent of a large funnel. There were two entrances, one for summer and one for winter. The summer entrance consisted of a long corridor, half submerged into the ground. In the winter they went in and out of the home by going up a log ladder and into a square opening located in the center of the vaulted roof. This opening also served to let smoke escape and to let in light. Up to twenty-five people (three to five families) lived in each of these dugout homes. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the size of these homes began to shrink and began to serve as residence for only one family. They were heated by an open fire surrounded by large flat rocks that warmed up during the day and then gave off heat throughout the night. For lighting they used rock lamp-saucers containing marine mammal fat. They slept with their heads towards the fire and a round log at the head of their beds. Their bedding consisted of bear or reindeer skins.

During the summer they built temporary housing, usually small huts in the shape of a tent. The wooden frame of the hut's roofing was covered with overlapping layers of turf. By the nineteenth century's end, their tents more typically were made out of solid fabric. On long trips they sometimes tipped over their *baidara* and used them as temporary housing. The houses of the Alyutor reindeer herders did not differ at all, neither in style nor material used, from the houses made by the Koryak-Chavchuven.

The Alyutor also used other domestic structures, including the open shed, or so-called *ukol'nik*. This was a cone-shaped structure with

a covering held up by poles. They would use these structures to store food products and other domestic items prepared during the summer. Every home usually had three to five of these open sheds.

Food

Traditional Alyutor foods included a type of mash prepared in a small wooden trough. Dried meat was mixed with roots, pulverized with a pestle, and then fat and berries were added, yielding a thick, viscous mass. Also, the contents of a reindeer's stomach were mixed with its blood and boiled to make a soup. They ate fresh kidneys, bone marrow, and cartilage from the deer without cooking them. Settled Alyutor widely used marine mammal meat and fat in their food, as well as fresh fish, which they boiled or fried over a fire. In the winter a dish called *stroganina* was made, consisting of finely sliced frozen fish. In the eighteenth century food was prepared in clay cauldrons with cone-shaped bottoms. These were placed on a rock support and the sides smeared with clay. A fire was lit under the cauldron. They also used portable cauldrons similar to the ones used by the Ainsk-Itel'men people, with internal handles. They used woven bags and small basket-shaped containers made of nettle fiber to transport and store dry goods. Finally, to store liquid substances they used seal bladders or the kidneys from whales.

Clothing

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries clothing for the settled Alyutor consisted of a fur parka *(kukhlyanka)* which was made from reindeer hide. They also wore fur winter pants made of sealskin, fur hats with earflaps, and fur boots. The cut of their clothing and footwear did not differ from typical Koryak clothing. Women's clothing was overalls *(kerker)* made of reindeer suede. They also wore a *gagagli*, a lighter fur parka. Their winter footwear was sewn out of reindeer fur and skin. In the fall and spring, their clothing consisted of boots made of sealskin or from reindeer suede. The marine mammal hunters wore clothing that was a bit different. Their pants and fur boots were sewn out of waterproof sealskin. Over their short fur parkas they usually wore an overcoat made from walrus intestines. For decoration, especially on women's clothing, they wore narrow straps, colored in brown, as well as belts and beads. On their heads they wore headgear made from straps with beads and inlays of various colors. Women wore rings and bracelets on their arms, and in their ears, earrings made of fiber thread with beads and inlays of various colors.

Social organization

Unlike many other native peoples in Siberia and the Russian Far East, the Alyutor, like the Koryak, did not have a clan system. Historical sources documenting clans (among the Vetveiskiy, Kultushinskiy, and others) were really artificial inventions created by the tsarist administration for the purpose of simplified governance and tax-collection. The Alyutor's main social unit in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries was the patriarchal community, or *obshchina*. These communities united the closest relatives. The members of one patriarchal obshchina (including up to ten separate families) lived in one large earthen home and owned one large baidara boat for hunting marine animals. They also held territories for hunting on dry land or at sea. Fishing grounds usually were at the disposal of all inhabitants of a village. Each obshchina had its own ancestor cult.

The next core layer for social organization was the settlement, which included several obshch-nas where there were shared family or property ties. The inhabitants of one settlement hunted jointly for whales and walrus. When necessary, they defended each other. During a period of inter-ethnic conflict, several settlements joined to conduct joint war actions. In the first half of the eighteenth century, during a period of sharp clashes with the Cossacks, the Alyutor fought them alongside other Koryak subgroups in the same region.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Alyutor patriarchal system of obshchinas was breaking down. Socio-economic conditions here had changed: private ownership had developed, and there were many technological changes in hunting equipment, etc. All these changes were conducive to the isolation of each family, both in terms of production and socially. From this time forward, the only social unit for organization amongst the Alyutor was the immediate family.

Religion and spiritual culture

Shamanism and various cult beliefs were the basic belief system for the Alyutor. The most important of these was the ancestor cult. This was outwardly expressed in places of sacrifice located alongside each village. These were two types of cults — *yllaapil* (grandmother) and *appapil* (grandfather). Each of these could be approached for help and support during the most difficult occasions in life. No less widespread was the spirit cult surrounding natural landscapes, such as cliffs, mountain passes, rivers, etc. Good fortune depended on events that had already occurred at each spot, and each person passing by one of these spots left a gift, such as a pinch of tobacco, a pretty rock, some foodstuffs, etc. Special sacrifices were made during the fall holidays, including giving thanks to the master of the ocean hunting grounds. Family protectors,

such as the *gysgyn* (tool for lighting fires) or the *kalaku* (forked branch representing a man's legs) were widespread. These figures embodied the family's ancestors. During a serious illness or other misfortune the Alyutor approached shamans for help. Shamans used the support of their own helpers to overcome the evil machinations of "beings" intent on doing harm. Alyutor shamans could also be women. Animals and birds served as helpers.

The Alyutor began converting to Christianity in the middle of the eighteenth century. As with all other Koryak, they were considered Orthodox and followed the Christian rites and customs. That said, their Orthodoxy was purely superficial. When the Soviets came to power, the Alyutor quickly returned to their traditional religion: they once again began to burn their deceased, and instead of icons, their family protectors now reappeared in their homes. Nor were the church's efforts at educating the Alyutor especially successful. In one parochial church school in the town of Tilichiki only a few Koryak learned to read and write.

Folklore and crafts

An important constituent part of the Alyutor's spiritual culture can be seen in their decorative and applied arts, as well as folklore and traditional holidays. The art of carving and engraving walrus tusks, inherited from their Yupik neighbors, was particularly well developed. They made various items from walrus tusk or the horns of mountain sheep, including decorative miniature sculptures and ornaments for pipes, spoons, ladles, and toys. Today, Alyutor women preserve the art of working with fur, leather, and bird skins. Some masters of fur mosaics, craft-applications, and embroidery with beads — including N. I. Avgur, M. N. Chechulina, Ya. A. Tnel'khut, E. S. Tytimgav, and others — still create men's and women's fur parkas (the *kukhlyanka* and *gagagli*), suede overalls (or *kerkeri*), footwear and mittens, rugs and bags. They use the fur from reindeer, sea otters, dogs, wolverine, seals, or the sueded skins of young and older deer. They add embroidery with colorful beads using threads made from reindeer sinew.

Traditional Alyutor holidays are closely connected with their day-to-day work activities. The fall holiday celebrating marine animals was an expression of gratitude to master spirit of the sea, as a protector of human beings and as provider of food during long winter months. This holiday lasted for an entire day and was both ritualistic and entertaining in nature. During the ritual part of the ceremony they made ritual sacrifices to the master of the sea, throwing pieces of fat and twigs (the number of twigs depending on how many seals were caught) into the campfire. The entertainment consisted of performances using masks. Individual patriarchal families arranged their own, impromptu thanksgiving ceremonies whenever they caught a bear, wild reindeer, or mountain

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sheep. In the spring they held a celebration timed to coincide with bears emerging from their winter dens. In addition to these holidays, there was collective entertainment, such as games with balls, long jumps over an animal skin and high jumps over a belt, games of archery, dog-sled races, etc. The game known as *yuut* was particularly popular: they made stylized images on the ground of animals, people, and other things using endless pieces of thread.

Alyutor folklore is of great scientific and cognitive value, in that it has a series of features distinguishing it from both Koryak and Chukchi folklore. Unfortunately there has been no attempt to publish the folklore collected so far by various researchers.

Contemporary culture and socio-political situation

The present-day ethnic culture and socio-political life of the Alyutor does not differ in any way from the forms prevalent during the Soviet era and early post-Soviet days. There are many representatives of the creative intelligentsia among the Alyutor, and special efforts are made to preserve their traditional cultures and art forms.



CHELKAN



The Chelkan people are an Altayan subgroup. In the past they have been known as Lebedin or Lebedin Tatar. They call themselves *chalkandu* (*shalkandu*) and *kuu-kizhi* (swan). They live in the Republic of Altay, mainly in Turochakskiy District in the villages of Kurmach-Baygol, Suranash, Malyy Chibechen', and Itkuch along the Lebed' River and its tributary, the Baygol River. The main mass of Chelkan living in the Lebed' River basin is concentrated in three settlements: Kurmach-Baygol (156 individuals), Suranash (42 ind.), and Mayskiy (101 ind.). Their population is centered in Kurmach-Baygol, where 52% of all Chelkan in the Lebed' River basin live.

Language

The language spoken by the Chelkan is a dialect of Altayan, which is part of the Khakas subgroup of the Uighur-Oguz group of Turkic languages. Chelkan is related to the language spoken by the Tubalar and Kumandin. Strong Ugric-Samoyedic influences can be seen. Lexical differences can also be detected. Over the last few decades, under the influence of literary Altayan, the Chelkan dialect's differences from Altayan are quickly disappearing. All Chelkan are bilingual with a good command of Russian, a language that has become primary for many. It is mainly the older people that speak Chelkan within the family or in small groups engaged in traditional activities.



Official records

After 1926, Soviet censuses did not list the Chelkan separately from the Altay people. According to Republic of Altay data from 1997, 1,689 Chelkan lived in the Turochakskiy District of the Republic. This is the number that is stated in the List of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the Russian Federation, to which the Chelkan were added in March 2000. However, only 855 people identified themselves as Chelkan during the 2002 census.



Current territory of residence of the Chelkan in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

Ethnogenesis

Local Samoyedic and Ket tribes contributed to the formation of the Chelkan ethnos. These tribes were turkicized during a phase of massive Turkic immigration to Altay. They have been documented in Russian written sources in the area where modern-day Chelkan now live since the first quarter of the seventeenth century. At that time, their land was called Shchelkany or the Shchelkanskaya Volost (a Russian administrative district). In 1642 some Chelkan departed for Telesskaya Land (the area around Teletskoye Lake populated by the Altayan people) and for the Sayan Mountains. In the seventeenth century, the Chelkan who lived along the Biya River were grouped into the Kondomskiy Volost.

Social organization

The Chelkan consist of two clan groups (*seoks*): Shalkanyg and Shagshylyk. Gradually, these two groups have consolidated into a single monolithic group possessing a single self-awareness and ethnonym — Sholganu or Chalkandu. Chelkan seoks were exogamous, not permitting marriages within the seok. Both Chelkan seoks also had exogamous taboos about marriages with the Kuzen seok of the Tubalar people. The Shagshylyk seok furthermore forbade intermarriage with the Chulyshman Teles, a fact that may point to close relations between the Teles and the Shakshylyg. There is significant ethnographic data that supports this as well. Unlike other northern Altayan, the Shakshylyg have many cultural and lifestyle characteristics that are not typical of taiga peoples: special footwear common only for southern Altayan livestock farmers; and temporary wedding shelters for the bride and groom called *seol'ti* (the same term used by the Teles); the deity Kan-Saray, a protector of Chelkan Shakshylyg hunters, was also worshipped by the Teles, Telengit, and others.

Subsistence activities

The Chelkan's main traditional activities were hunting, fishing, gathering, livestock husbandry, manual (hoe) agriculture, and domestic arts (blacksmithing, weaving, and others). Hunting was their primary activity. Various aspects of material and spiritual culture were related to hunting: work buildings and structures, transportation equipment and techniques, ritual sacrifices, etc. They hunted bear (*ayu*), maral deer (*sagyn*), moose (*bulan*), wild goat (*kuran* and the female *telge*), wood grouse (*pegem*), reindeer (*ak kiyik*), wolf (*muri*), chipmunk (*koruk*), rabbit (*koyan*), and mole (*tuygen*). During the fall they also hunted sable (*kish*), adding squirrel (*tiyn*), marten and Siberian striped weasel (*tokundas*) in the winter. The Chelkan also hunted wild birds: wood grouse (*chay*), hazel grouse (*chonosh*), and goose (*kas*). Hunters frequently worked in the field until March.

The Chelkan had two known types of hunting: collective and individual, both of which could be either active or passive. Animals were generally killed using ramrod firearms (*kyrlu*) operated with a y-shaped support. In the 1920s and 30s, they also used Berdan rifles in the Lebed' River basin. Passive hunting equipment included trap pits (*tesh'*), crossbow traps, metal jaw traps, deadfall traps, and snares (*kyl urtan ayu*).

Fishing was another traditional activity. In the past, fish clearly played an important role in Chelkan nutrition. Later its importance decreased. They fished for kharius (*charan*), European perch (*alabuga*),

chebak (small carp), gudgeon (*podoro*), ruffe (*it palyk*), taimen (*peder*), northern pike (*shorton*), and eelpout (*korty*). They used fishing poles (*karvyk saby*), nets (*shuyun*), and sometimes fished by night under the light of birch torches. They used blocking seines (*man, ton*) and creels as well.

Their agricultural work was done mainly by hand. It was a classical example of the slash-and-burn system. *Kyra* fields were small open or cleared plots of land located on the southern slops of mountains or hillsides. They were not fertilized and were abandoned every two years. Their main farming implement was the *ool* hoe. They planted barley (*arva*), wheat (*pugdey*), millet (*taran*), and rye (*arysh*). The Chelkan grew flax and hemp (*kendyr'*) for use in materials and fabric. They threshed grain using an *urtun* flail. Chelkan terms for grains have parallels in many Turkic languages and dialects.

Livestock husbandry was a secondary Chelkan activity. Long cold winters with thick snow cover and limited pasture availability are just some of the challenges for the development of livestock husbandry. The horse is best adapted to conditions in northern Altay. In the not too distant past, horses were the only domestic livestock that the Chelkan kept. Animals were left to graze and roam freely from March-April until November. During the fall and winter animals were kept in a paddock, moving them indoors to a barn on particularly foul days.

Beekeeping (nineteenth century) and gardening (first third of the twentieth century) arrived relatively late to the Lebed' River watershed.

Today, Chelkan lands and their traditional way of life have been decimated and practically eliminated by timber production. As a result, their traditional means of supporting themselves — non-timber use of the Siberian pine taiga, hunting, beekeeping, fishing, and gathering of medicinal plants — have declined.

Food

Traditional foods included wild game and domesticated animal meat, fish, pine nuts, and the edible bulbs, roots, and stems of wild plants: fawn lily, day lily, plant clusters, Siberian wild onion, and a few others, as well as their harvested crops. They preferred thick, moist, and complex dishes such as *ugre*, *motko*, *tutpash*. When preparing these, they used flour and processed grain products (flour, grains, and oat flour). They used dried fish to make *tutpach* noodles. Everyday food consisted of an assortment of hot cereals, including milk cereal and *talkan*, a flour made from toasted barley.

Housing

The Chelkan have a number of types of shelter: conical yurts, dugouts with log or board walls sometimes covered in sod with a two-sided pitched birchbark roof and a clay-based hearth stove, and in some places semi-dugouts with a log cabin style upper half. Non-residential structures could be built on the ground or on pilings. Earth-bound structures included log storehouses (*anmar*) and summer kitchens (*yaylyu*) with a flat-topped pyramidal roof. They built small sheds on pilings known as *tassak*. Temporary homes could be lean-tos with two-sided pitched roofs or conical, flat-topped pyramidal, or rectangular structures with a single-sided pitched roof. A common characteristic of temporary (two-sided pitched roof) shelters was the presence of a smoke ventilation gap in place of the roof ridge.

Clothing

Their shirts were made from homespun fabric and came in two styles: with or without side suspenders. Their pants also had two designs: with or without a gusset. Their outer clothing was western Siberian in style. They also had two belt styles, made either from fabric or wool. Chelkan boot-style footwear resembled that of those worn by western Siberians (*ar odok*, *kon odok*, *charyk*) and Central Asians (*eki tonaktu odu*). Hats, shirts, pants, and robes were made from homespun fabric. Chelkan homespun clothing has a southern origin. Likely, its origins can be traced to Central Asia. Chelkan fabric belts seem to be of Mongol origin. Chelkan work clothing is made from felt due to cultural contacts with livestock herding groups in southern Altay and Central Asia. Prior to the appearance of specialized clothing, the Chelkan went hunting in everyday homespun clothing. Outside of northern Altay, their clothing most closely resembles that of the Ob Ugric (homespun hats, western Siberian style upper clothing, wool belts and woven belts, etc.). Western Siberian footwear was an ancient element of Chelkan clothing and the Ob Ugric. This footwear can likely be connected to the ancient hunting and fishing population of the Upper Near Ob region.

Transportation

In the winter, the Chelkan used Altay-Sayan style skis, sleds, and harrows made from fir and covered in furs. They also moved cargo (mainly food and killed game) using a birch basket carried on the shoulders. Common means of water transport included dugout canoes and boats (framed and covered in birchbark), log canoes (western Siberian

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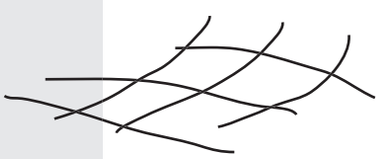
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and Lebed' River style boats with pointed ends), and rafts. Horses were an important means of human and cargo transport in this roadless area. Horse riding equipment was acquired from livestock-herding nomads. Chelkan terms for reins, saddles, stirrups, etc. were all Turkic in origin. While adapting horse harness and techniques to the needs of a taiga society, it became a hunting-related aspect of their cultural activities.

Religion and spiritual culture

The Chelkan's traditional religion was shamanism. A Chelkan shaman's responsibilities were the same as those in southern Altay. Shamans received fabric, money, or furs in exchange for conducting rituals. Some of the meat brought in sacrifice was also provided to the shaman. Chelkan shamans did not use the complex ritual costume that southern Altayan shamans had. They conducted rituals wearing a white homespun robe belted with a white or red belt and tied a white scarf around their head. The robe was decorated with embroidery, and tassels sometimes hung from the belt. They used two types of drums. The first drum had a two-headed handle with eyes, brows, nose, mouth and a chin covered in bits of copper. These types of drums were called *D"ezem-payana* — the "Copper Protector." The second drum type's handle was cut in the shape of an anthropomorphic spirit with legs, similar to drums used by the Altay-Kizhi shamans. Chelkan shamans called this drum *payana mars*. The walls of the drum were strengthened with horn, and the handle was inside the frame. The outside of the drum was covered in human-like images of mountain spirits performing the role of messenger during ritual séances. Usually shamans kept their drums in the place of honor in the front corner of their home. During burial ceremonies, the drum was hung by the grave to the right of the deceased's head. The Chelkan believed that the drum gave off spontaneous sounds over the course of three days after the death of its owner.

The Chelkan began to be converted to Christianity in the 1850s, but this process gained speed in the latter half of the nineteenth century following the opening of the Altay Spiritual Mission. None of those efforts were able to change their traditional world outlook.



CHUKCHI



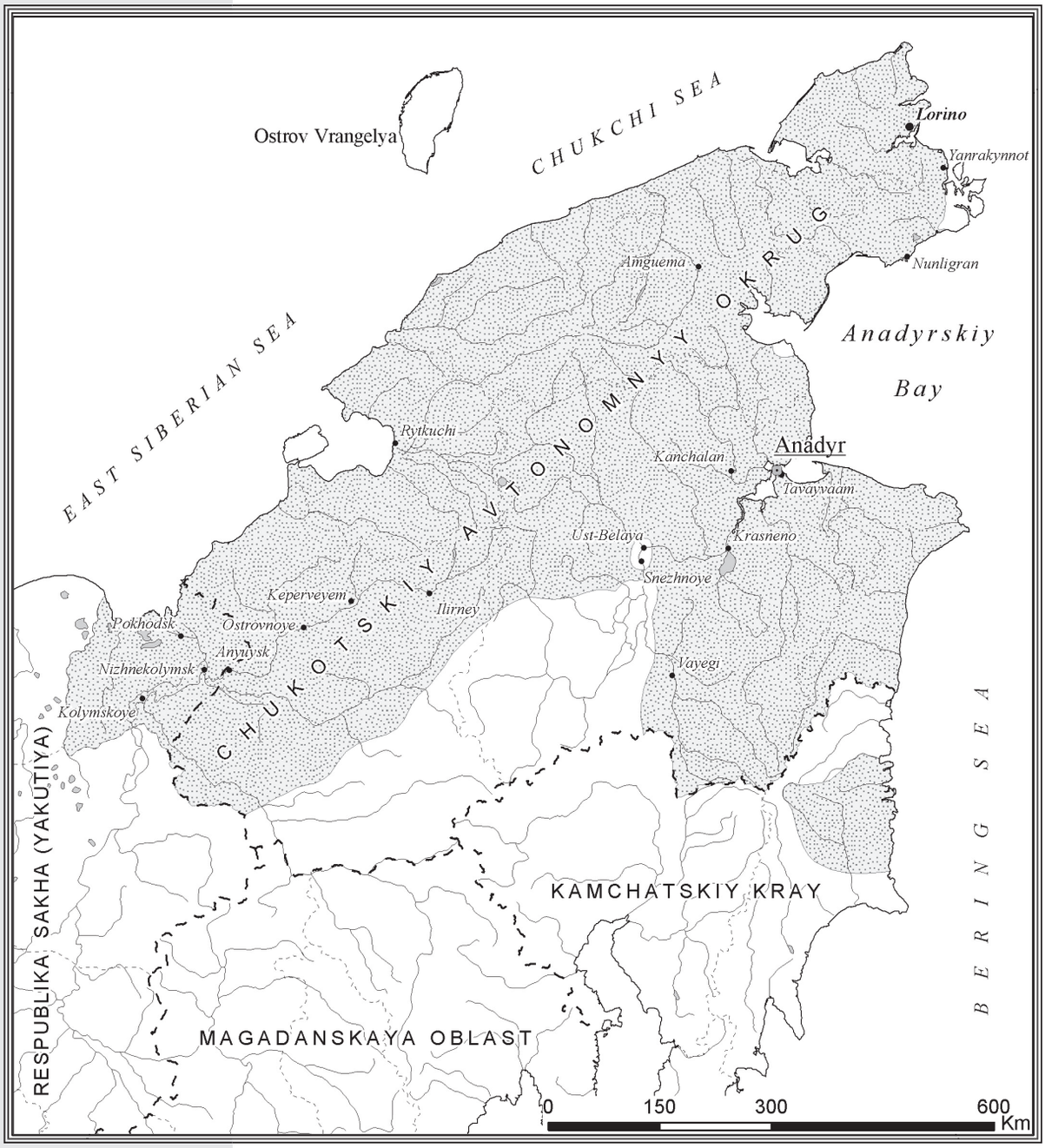
The Chukchi people live in the outermost northeastern corner of the Russian Federation. They call themselves *lyg''oravetl''an* (real people). An official name common to all Chukchi has never taken hold, although a significant number of Chukchi continue to use their traditional names. The Chukchi can be separated into nomadic tundra reindeer herders and settled coastal hunters who depend on marine mammals. Reindeer Chukchi, like the Koryak, call themselves *chauchu*, *chavchu* (person of the reindeer), while the coastal peoples prefer *ankalyn*, *ankal'yt* (coastal). Western Chukchi often use the name *chugchit*, which probably derives from *chauchu*. In everyday life, the Chukchi call address each other based on their place of residence: *uvelel'yt* (of Uelen), *chaal'yt* (those who migrate along the River Chaun), etc. Even smaller groups have place names: *tankarak'yt* (living along the edge (of a village)), *gynonral'yt* (living in the center), etc. Today, even when most Chukchi live in new, consolidated villages, it is still traditional to name a group based on the clan's native location.


Photo. Abryutin M.

Language

The Chukchi have ethnic elements of the Arctic racial group of the larger Mongoloid race. They speak Chukchi, a language of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family. Chukchi can be divided in vernaculars, which some researchers consider to be dialects. These vernaculars are distinguished mainly by a series of morphological differences. Historically, Chukchi's main feature was the difference in pronunciation between men and women. Where men said "r", women substituted "ts". Today, this female pronunciation has virtually disappeared. Russian is widely spoken. The Chukchi writing system is based on the Russian alphabet.

The contemporary linguistic situation among the Chukchi is relatively positive. According to the 1989 census, more than 70% of Chukchi claimed Chukchi as their native language. The majority of Chukchi in all age groups speak their native language well. Chukchi has been taught in



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many Chukotkan villages since the 1930s with almost no interruption. Since 1992 all high schools teach Chukchi, through graduation in the eleventh grade. Textbooks, literature, and socio-political publications are regularly published, and there are broadcasts on regional radio and television. The *Sovetskaya Chukotka* newspaper has been in publication since 1953, although today it is known as the *Murgin nuteneut* and is an insert to the Okrug paper *Far North*. Anadyr Pedagogical Institute, Herzen Humanitarian Pedagogical University in St. Petersburg, and Magadan Pedagogical University all train Chukchi language instructors. Significant portions of Chukchi youth speak their native language.

Population and settlements

The 1989 Soviet census counted 15,183 Chukchi in the entire Soviet Union, including 15,107 in Russia. Of those in Russia, 11,914 (73.7%) lived in Chukotka Autonomous Oblast. At the start of the seventeenth century, Chukchi lived mainly in the areas that are now Chukotskiy, Providenskiy, and Iul'tinskiy Districts. The intense development of reindeer husbandry in the eighteenth century and a related demand for new grazing lands led the Chukchi to spread west and south. By the early twentieth century they had occupied the entire region that is now Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, and some Chukchi had appeared on Kamchatka with yet another small group across the Kolyma River in Yakutiya. They still live in these places today: in Olyutorskiy District of the Koryak Autonomous Okrug in Kamchatka (1,530 individuals in Achay-Vayam and other villages) and 1,300 in Nizhnekolymskiy District of Yakutiya.

The distribution of Chukchi across Chukotka Okrug districts over the last several decades illustrates their lack of mobility. Population changes are mainly linked to natural growth and changes in district boundaries. The Chukchi live in all population centers and are mixed with Russians, Siberian Yupik, Even, Chuvan, and other peoples. There are no exclusively Chukchi settlements, although the Chukchi form a majority in most villages.

Ethnic self-awareness

Chukchi ethnic development during Soviet times (1917–1991) can be clearly followed in two directions: the consolidation of regional and cultural activity groups into a single larger Chukchi ethnicity and inter-ethnic integration (convergence of the Chukchi, Russians, and other peoples). The creation of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, the resurrection of socio-cultural reindeer husbandry, the construction of kolkhozes and other collective farms, and socio-cultural reformation all objectively facilitated a reduction in the isolation of coastal and nomadic Chukchi and reduced the insularity of individual villages and camps. Coincidental neighborly relations were replaced by broad informational and cultural contacts that stretched across the entire Okrug. These processes gained momentum in the late 1950s when kolkhozes and reindeer-herding collectives were formed and strengthened. New production centers united coastal and reindeer-herding Chukchi, resulting in a more unified lifestyle, similarities, and mixed marriages. Today, the mixing of these two ethnographic groups is almost complete in Shmidtovskiy, Beringovskiy, Chaunskiy, and Anadyrskiy Districts. The lifestyle of former coastal Chukchi does not differ in any way from that of reindeer-herders. Analogous processes are underway in eastern Chukotka, where marine mammal hunting continues to play a vital role in household economics.

Here, the coastal Chukchi steadfastly maintain their traditional skills, many aspects of traditional culture, and day-to-day lifestyle. Marriages between them and the reindeer-herders are relatively infrequent.

Over recent decades, the population of Chukotka has increased greatly due to immigration; the proportion of Chukchi at the end of the 1980s was no more than 8%. Not only industrial centers, but also kolkhoz villages have become multi-ethnic. In such conditions, the Chukchi are developing multi-lateral contacts with Russians and other peoples, and the number of multi-ethnic marriages is rising. Mixed marriages are 23–60% of the population in the villages. The creation of such ethnically-mixed families leads to increased cultural development of Chukchi youth, a modern socio-professional structure, and significant changes in lifestyle. Children of mixed marriages usually claim Chukchi ethnicity. Overall, Chukchi ethnic self-awareness is quite stable and reflects an objective contemporary reality.

History and ethnogenesis

For many years it was believed that the Chukchi originally formed along the Sea of Okhotsk coastline. From there they moved northward, their ancestors assimilating some of the Yukaghir and Siberian Yupik to form the start of the modern-day Chukchi ethnos. Materials gathered over recent years have allowed a reinterpretation of Chukchi ethnogenesis. Modern researchers believe that the ancient cultures of the Chukotkan and Okhotsk coastlines come from a variety of sources and that the Chukchi are ancient residents of the Chukotkan continental region. Their forebears have lived here for at least 6,000 years. Recently even more ancient camps have been discovered. The Neolithic cultures of Chukotka are closely linked to Mesolithic and even older cultures in Yakutiya and Kolyma.

Research on a skull found in an Ust'-Bel'skiy tomb accurately shows the ethno-genetic roots of Chukotkan Neolithic culture. Measurements taken show a combination of anthropological indicators that are characteristic of reindeer-herding Chukchi, Koryak, and Yukaghir. The Ust'-Bel'skiy discovery provides a weighty basis for viewing these Neolithic residents of the Chukotkan tundra as common ancestors of all these peoples and maybe others as well. As regards reindeer-herding Chukchi and Koryak, ethnographers assert that, based on their linguistic proximity and similarities in material and spiritual culture, these are isolated local groups of a single ethno-linguistic community. This isolation probably began in the middle of the second millennium BC, when some inner continental tribes reached the northern Sea of Okhotsk region and began a coastal lifestyle, forming the foundation of the Koryak ethnos. Another part of these tribes (the Chukchi's ancestors) continued living in the inland Chukotka region. The lengthy and isolated formation of the

Chukchi ethnos while living in inner Chukotka is supported by many aspects of their cultural complex. Chukchi month names in the calendar, for example, are related to the life of wild reindeer living in arctic conditions. Chukchi astronomical beliefs — names of constellations and individual stars are related to reindeer hunting — are in complete accordance with Neolithic tribes. The Chukchi have preserved their linguistic density and unity, another indicator of their isolated development.

Important events in the formation of the Chukchi ethnos occurred in the northeast at the beginning of the first millennium BC. At that time, the Chukchi began a gradual transition from land-based hunting and fishing to marine mammal hunting. This change in traditional activities was likely a result of overpopulation on the Chukotkan tundra and changes in climate and fauna on the peninsula. Populous Chukchi tribes reached the seacoast and met the Siberian Yupik. A significant number of Yupik were assimilated and joined the Chukchi ethnos. The Chukchi also acquired many elements of the original coastal Yupik culture: fat-burning lamps, sleep partitions, drum construction and shape, hunting rituals and holidays, dances, pantomimes, etc.). Their lengthy contact with the Siberian Yupik is broadly reflected in the Chukchi language and their overall worldview.

The Yukaghir also played a known role in Chukchi ethnogenesis. Yukaghir contact with the Chukchi became relatively stable at the turn of the fourteenth century, when the Yukaghir (under pressure by the Even and the Yakut) reached far to the east and entered the Anadyr River watershed. Although Yukaghir territorial proximity to the Chukchi had some influence on them, it should not be over-estimated. Similarities in anthropological characteristics between the Yukaghir and the Chukchi are more likely based not on their relatively recent and brief contact, but on the more ancient and lengthy genetic relations of these two people who, as we saw above, share common ancestors.

The Chukchi are first mentioned by Russian sources in the 1740s. These sources seem to divide the Chukchi into two groups based on their activities: reindeer-herders and those "on foot." Reindeer herders migrated across the tundra and along the coastline of the Arctic Sea between the Alazeya and Kolyma Rivers, where they came into contact with Russians, as well as the Cape of Shelagskiy and east to the Bering Strait. The Chukchi villages containing settled marine hunters alternate with Siberian Yupik villages from the coastal Cape Dezhnev to Kresta Bay. To the south, the Chukchi lived in the Anadyr River lowlands and at the mouth of the Kanchalan River. At the seventeenth century's end, their total population was approximately 8,000–9,000 individuals.

Repeated attempts to force the Chukchi to pay the *yasak* fur tribute failed. The Chukotkan tun-dra was a poor source of furs; there were no sable here, and collecting yasak from a nomadic population had its own challenges. The practice of hostage-taking did not take hold in Chukotka,

a tactic that had proved successful with many other Siberian peoples. The Cossacks constantly complained that the Chukchi "abandoned hostages" and that "hostages don't restrain them." Several military campaigns organized in the seventeenth century against the Kolyma Chukchi served only to worsen the situation. Following many military conflicts and an epidemic of scurvy, the Chukchi population around Kolyma rapidly declined. By the mid-seventeenth century the lower Kolyma Chukchi almost ceased to exist. It is likely that the remaining reindeer herders set out to the east.

Russian contacts with the Chukchi in Anadyr and other regions of the peninsula remained complex through the end of the seventeenth century. A garrison was opened in 1649. Fort Anadyr was rather small and did not make any serious attempts to penetrate deep into the tundra. The situation changed notably when the Kamchatka Peninsula was annexed. Fort Anadyr's population, having become an important staging post on the way to these new lands, grew rapidly. Provisions grew scarce, and the Cossacks were forced to hunt wild reindeer in the same areas as did the Chukchi. New conflicts arose as a result. In the early eighteenth century, relations between the Chukchi, Yukaghir, and Koryak became strained. They attacked each other to obtain reindeer and other property. Forced to defend its subjects from predatory raids, the Russian government took decisive action against the Chukchi. A period of military conflicts began that lasted for almost thirty years. The fight was accompanied by periodic successes but the net result was nil. Military expeditions led by A. Shestakov, D. Pavlutskiy, and their successors were not able to turn the Chukchi into reliable *yasak* taxpayers, nor did they prevent raids by the Yukaghir or the Koryak. The local authorities calculated that, between 1725 and 1733, the Chukchi killed no fewer than 240,000 Koryak-owned reindeer.

In the late 1860s the Russian Csar's administration decided once and for all to stop trying to make the Chukchi to citizens by force. In 1870 they closed Fort Anadyr, thus opening up the Anadyr basin to the Chukchi. The Koryak were forced to retreat to Gizhiga and the Yukaghir to Kolyma. As a result, by the end of the eighteenth century, Chukchi reindeer-herders had significantly expanded their territory. They approached tributaries to the Kolyma, Omolon, and Anyuy Rivers to the west, while reaching the lands of nomadic Penzhinskiy and Olyutorskiy Koryak to the southeast.

At the start of the nineteenth century, the Chukchi developed peaceful relations with the Russians. The Chukchi themselves were motivated in this respect, and that which had not been achieved through military force was done with trade. Markets appeared in Chukotka, and not just reindeer Chukchi but also coastal Chukchi were drawn in to them. These improved relations significantly helped to facilitate a change in *yasak* policy. The *yasak* tribute was no longer a mandatory requirement of the

local indigenous. The special position of the Chukchi in the Russian Empire was further affirmed by the 1822 "Statute for the management of Siberian *inorodtsy*", in accordance with which the Chukchi were not considered Russian subjects, but rather were dependents and not citizens. As such, they were not required to pay taxes; *yasak* was voluntary, and in exchange they received gifts. This unusual status for Russian *inorodtsy* was preserved until 1917 for the Chukchi.

Rapid growth of the Chukchi reindeer herding population resulted in the broadening of Chukchi territory. This expansion into new regions took place peacefully, with the Chukchi expanding especially intensively to the west. By the 1930s Chukchi camps had appeared along the Bol'shaya Baranikha River and the Kolyma lowlands in the 1950s. In the mid-1960s the Chukchi became permanent inhabitants of the tundra between the Kolyma and Indigirka Rivers, and in the 1970s they crossed the Alazeya River and reached the Verkhoyanskiy Okrug. Thus, over the course of 200 years, the Chukchi returned to those regions from which they were crowded out in the past by the Russian Cossacks. To the south, the Chukchi penetrated deep into Koryak territory between Penzhina River and Korfa Bay. The Koryak assimilated some of these migrants here, but the majority of them preserved their language and culture.

The expansion of Chukchi territory was accompanied by increased isolation between individual groups of Chukchi. The Kolyma, Bering Sea, Olyutorskiy, and other regional groups took final shape at this point. In 1897 the total Chukchi population was 11,751, with a 2:3 ratio of coastal to nomadic Chukchi.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Chukotka's population was in a critical situation. Gross over-harvesting of marine mammals by foreign whalers undermined the hunting base of the coastal Chukchi. In 1900, of the twenty walrus haul-outs along the Chukotka Peninsula, it was only possible to kill a walrus at five of them. Mass famine, epidemics, and increased mortality followed as a result of declining marine mammal hunting. Many coastal villages were left empty: residents had either died or left for the tundra to live among the reindeer herders. In 1926, when the next census took place, the ratio of coastal to nomadic Chukchi was 3:7.

Social organization

At the time of first contact with the Russians, Chukchi society was transitioning from a patriarchy to neighboring community organization. This was particularly clearly illustrated by reindeer herders, who by that time were experiencing material inequality. By the end of the nineteenth century, settled Chukchi were also separating into the rich and the poor. Trader middlemen had appeared in almost every village. Private property included work implements, reindeer, *baidara* boats (similar to *umiaks*),

homes, and dogs, while pastures and hunting territories were communally owned. The main economic and social unit for reindeer herders was a camp community and consisted of three or four families. Settled Chukchi were grouped into *baidarnaya* communities. Large reindeer herding camps included close relatives and workers with their families. Smaller reindeer Chukchi lived in groups with distant relatives or even unrelated households. They grazed their reindeer jointly. A *baidarnaya* community usually consisted of several families, one of which owned the *baidarkas* (kayaks). The owner received a greater share of the results of hunting.

At the turn of the twentieth century neighborly communities ultimately replaced the patriarchal family as the main production unit of Chukchi society. From that time onward, Chukchi production relationships more and more resembled class-based society, despite historical remnants.

Subsistence activities

Over the last few centuries, Chukchi traditional activities have included reindeer husbandry, marine mammal hunting, land-based hunting, fishing, and gathering. Reindeer husbandry was the main activity of the tundra Chukchi and was especially focused on animal skin and meat production. Herds varied greatly in size, and the Chukchi pastured them without the support of reindeer-herding Siberian huskies (a breed of Arctic sled dogs). Chukchi-bred reindeer are only weakly domesticated and as such required more extensive efforts by herders to pasture them. As a means of transport, reindeer were harnessed to sleds. They used urine lures to attract the animals for harnessing. The Chukchi did not milk their reindeer, although herders sometimes sucked the milk for their own use. Castration techniques were primitive — they simply bit through the animal's spermatic cord.

Reindeer herders spent most of the year in motion. Each herder group had regular nomadic routes and their own pasture territories. In the forest zone, migrations took place every five to six days, while they moved only three or four times during a single winter in the tundra. In the winter, entire families moved with the herds, but in the summer only men traveled with the reindeer. Women, the elderly, and children stayed along rivers or the seacoast. During the summer, herds grazed along the seacoast, where there were fewer mosquitoes and gadflies. Approximately one-quarter of all reindeer herding Chukchi summered in inland Chukotka, along the northern mountain slopes where the snow lay year round. When fall arrived, the herders moved deeper inland. In the winter they pastured rein-deer in valleys sheltered from the wind and only lightly covered in snow. Reindeer husbandry provided all that was required for life: food, clothing, shelter, and transportation.

The main household activity for coastal Chukchi was marine mammal hunting, whose products again provided all that was necessary for life and additionally could provide trade opportunities with reindeer herders. Reindeer herding Chukchi also engaged in marine mammal hunting when they were with their herds at the seacoast. They hunted whale, walrus, and seal. Whale and walrus hunting was done collectively using *baidarkas*, while individual hunters pursued seals. Hunting gear consisted of harpoons with floats, spears, and nets. During the second half of the nineteenth century, firearms came into common use. Meat from killed animals formed the foundation of coastal Chukchi nutrition, and the skins were used to sew clothing and shoes and to make dog harness.

Fishing was not an important activity for reindeer herding Chukchi. They fished only in times of extreme need during their free time not spent with their animals. Fishing was slightly more important to those Chukchi living along larger rivers, such as the Anadyr, Chauna, and Kolyma, but here too it was not a large-scale activity, rather a way to add dietary variety. Coastal Chukchi used dipnets to fish for saffron cod, fishing poles to fish for cod and halibut. They ice-fished in the winter and fished through the cracks in the ice in the spring. During the summer salmon spawning runs, they used homemade nets, which they set along the shore with the help of long poles. Men fished, and with the exception of salmon, they did not preserve fish for future consumption.

Fur animal hunting, mainly for fox or arctic fox, developed among the Chukchi as a result of Russian trade influence. Fur was an important trading item, and the Chukchi acquired the tools of the trade from the Russians. Hunting for wild reindeer and mountain sheep, which at one point were the foundation of the Chukchi domestic complex, lost its importance after the Russians arrived. When firearms came into use these animals were rapidly wiped out. The Chukchi still hunt birds today. They use a special thrown missile known as the bola. This gear, when thrown into a passing flock overhead, entangles a bird, causing it to fall to the ground. In the past, they also used an air-borne dart to hunt birds.

Coastal and reindeer-herding Chukchi gathered wild foods. Women prepared berries, roots, and bulbs.

In addition to reindeer husbandry and marine mammal hunting, cottage industries were also common: suede production, sleeping bags, rugs, etc. Using walrus bone, they made pipe mouthpieces, paper cutters, and other objects popular among traders. On the eastern Chukotka coastline, cottage industries arose to serve the internal market. As the American whaling industry became more active in the Bering Sea and gold mining began inland, many Chukchi were employed on whaling schooners or worked in the gold mines.

During the Soviet years (1917–1991) new industries appeared: livestock husbandry, fur animal farming, greenhouse gardening, and bird farming. These industries employed many Chukchi women. The

Chukchi also engaged in folk education, public health, and other service industries. Chukchi urban populations grew in Magadan and Anadyr. Overall, the modern-day employment pattern of Chukchi is fairly varied, although the majority of them are still engaged in reindeer herding and marine mammal hunting.

Reindeer husbandry developed successfully in Chukotka during the Soviet years. Improved bloodlines, more sustainable herd structures, and successes in fighting necrobacteriosis and other illnesses facilitated significant growth in herd sizes and overall productivity. By the early 1990s, Chukotka had one of the world's largest herds of domesticated reindeer — approximately 500,000 animals. Chukotkan reindeer *kolkhozes* were the largest in Russia, each containing 20,000–30,000 reindeer. Reindeer husbandry was the foundation of *kolkhoz* economics and compensated for losses in other areas. Post-Soviet market reforms caused severe damage to the industry. Herd sizes decreased by more than half in the Okrug. *Kolkhoz* restructuring and the transition to new organizational approaches and collective share-based property not related to material or technical resources led to a reduction in production. Almost all livestock operations have been liquidated, including fur farms employing Chukchi women.

Transportation

The main form of transport for Chukchi reindeer herders was reindeer, while coastal Chukchi preferred sled dogs. The Chukchi did not ride reindeer. Reindeer sleds came in several designs: driving, cargo (which were used during migration to move property), sleds to move *kukiinen* dishes, sleds to transport *yaranga* (tent) poles, and others. During the colder months, they used a special cargo sled (*kaaran*) to transport small children. This sled had a rectangular basket that was covered in furs. They harnessed pairs of reindeer to driving sleds, requiring only one reindeer for cargo transport. One person usually rode atop the sled, bracing their legs along the runners. They guided and encouraged the reindeer using a long whip made from thin and flexible willow.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Russians significantly influenced coastal Chukchi dog-sledding. Until that time, they used fan-style harnesses and reindeer sleds with arched stanchions. Under Russian influence, those sleds were replaced by paired dog harness and an eastern Siberian sled. They harnessed twelve dogs to a sled and used this transportation for winter hunting and to move loads across long distances. During the winter, sled runners were covered in a thin layer of ice, which they reapplied daily before setting out. In order to ice the runner, they poured boiling water over them. When necessary, this operation could be repeated several times per day, after each rest stop. The dogs were guided with the help of a whip with a long strap, which they cracked over the left or

right side, depending on which direction the driver was turning the sled. They also used voice commands.

During the summer months the Chukchi used skin-covered *baidaras* to move through the water. These boats were moved either with an angled sail or a paddle. If coastal conditions allowed, they used dogs to tow the *baidaras* along the shoreline with a long towline. *Baidaras* had a wooden frame covered in walrus skin and came in a variety of sizes, some capable of holding up to thirty people or more. Floats were frequently attached to the boat's sides to increase stability. In high swell conditions, the sides of the boat were stretched further using strips of leather or canvas, which in normal conditions were folded away. At the nineteenth century's end whaleboats had come into fairly common use. They used one other type of boat — a kayak — during reindeer hunts at river crossings. The Chukchi could also build *tymitym* rafts in times of need.

During summers on the tundra, Chukchi generally moved about on foot. It was no great challenge for them to cover forty to fifty kilometers over the course of several hours. They sometimes used a short stick while walking, pressing it to the small of their back. In the winter they used skis similar to snowshoes (*vekvyyeget*, known in Russian as "paws"). These had an oval frame and were attached with a strap. Sometimes they tied on cleats made from reindeer horn or walrus tusk. It was easier to walk across ice on such skis. In Kolyma, some Chukchi groups learned to use slippery legskin-covered skis from the Even.

Settlements and housing

In the past, nomadic Chukchi did not have permanent settlements. Their camps moved constantly behind the reindeer and usually consisted of two to ten *yaranga*, arranged in an east-west line. The *yaranga* of the camp master was placed in front. Coastal marine mammal hunter settlements were permanent and contained twenty or more yarangas haphazardly arranged at some distance from one another. There were two types of Chukchi homes: portable or permanent. Shelters used by reindeer herders year round were semi-spherical tents called *yarangas* and were built from reindeer skins stretched over wooden poles. A fur sleeping partition, in the shape of a rectangular box, stood opposite the entrance along the rear wall. In ancient times, it had two layers of fur, inside and outside. Fat lamps were used for lighting, heating, and food preparation. This allowed them to migrate in the treeless tundra at any time of year.

Coastal Chukchi lived in semi-dugout homes in the winter, similar in design and construction to those used by the Siberian Yupik. In the summer they lived in yarangas made from walrus skins. On the outside, these resembled those used by reindeer herders, but they did not have

an opening for smoke. Food was prepared using fat lamps or in special "kitchens." If there was no driftwood nearby, they burned marine mammal bones, pouring fat over them. At the end of the nineteenth century semi-dugouts were replaced by framed *yarangas* built directly on the ground.

Clothing

The Chukchi traditionally dressed in a pullover coat made from reindeer or sealskins. There were no major clothing differences between reindeer herding and coastal Chukchi. In the winter men wore a double-layered fur shirt called a *kukhlyanka* with the fur facing in on the inside layer and facing out on the outside layer. The *kukhlyanka* was always belted in such a way that it bloused out. Pants were also double-layered. Chukchi sleeves were the only part of winter clothing not to have two layers. The outfit was completed with short boots with fur stockings. The boots' heels were made from bearded sealskin. During blizzards they added a suede hooded overall, and in rainy weather coastal Chukchi wore raincoats made from walrus intestine. Women's clothing included a fur jumpsuit (*kerker*) made with wide sleeves and a collar. The *kerker* was double-layered in the winter and single-layered in the summer, with the fur on the inside. Women's footwear differed from men's only in that it had a longer bootleg. Small children had special clothing that resembled a jumpsuit. Babies' versions had the sleeves and legs sewn right on, leaving an opening between the legs. Here they attached a special *maka* flap inside which they inserted dry moss. Between the ages of six and eight children received adult-style clothing. Children's clothing was always equipped with various amulets and talismans made from beads and strips of leather.

Headwear was only rarely used, usually during trips and bad weather. The most common was a hat in the shape of a hood. In extreme cold the hat (*malakhay*) could include a mantle that covered the neck and chest. Sometimes they wrapped a scarf made from squirrel tails around the neck. They also occasionally wore a small hat with earflaps that covered the forehead and back of the head, leaving the crown bare.

Jewelry involved bracelets made from a narrow leather strip with a bead at the end and necklaces made with beads. The Chukchi tattooed themselves using very simple drawings: small circles around the corners of the mouth for men and two straight lines on the nose and forehead for women. Complicated tattoos were only rarely seen. The men shaved the tops of their heads, leaving the hair in a circle. Women braided their hair into two tight plaits into which they worked beads and very small pendants.

Food

Meat was the Chukchi's main food, from reindeer for the nomadic Chukchi and walrus, seal, and bearded seal for the coastal. They preserved the meat of large animals — whale, walrus, and beluga — for future consumption. It was lightly fermented in special holes (*kopal'gyn*) and then eaten over the course of the winter. Meat was also eaten grilled, boiled, dry cured, and raw. Fish they ate raw, although they made salmon into *yukola*. Reindeer were entirely consumed: blood, brains, intestine, and the stomach contents (*ril'keil'*) were all eaten. The brisket was considered the tastiest part. *Ril'keil'* included a large quantity of vegetable fibers. This was pressed and then mixed with blood, fat, and thinly cut bits of intestine and boiled. After large kills of numerous animals they preserved the meat. The Chukchi used dwarf willow, sorrel, and other edible plants as seasoning. They also ate laminaria (seaweed) and mollusks. Round breads made from pounded roots and mixed with meat and walrus fat were also a tasty delicacy. Reindeer herders sometimes used a special white clay ("fat of the earth") in their food, which they ate in broth or with reindeer milk. The Chukchi did not use salt. The most common imported product was tea (always in a compressed brick). They drank it quite strong several times daily.

Religion and spiritual culture

Prior to the arrival of Christianity, the Chukchi's traditional beliefs were a mixture of shamanism and hunting and fishing cults. As with other Siberian peoples, they also had animistic beliefs. They believed that the entire universe was filled with *kelet* spirits who lived no differently than humans. Evil spirit machinations were blamed for illness and death and other worldly problems. They used amulets, incantations, and various rituals to protect themselves from these spirits. Amulets were sewn onto clothing, attached to their homes and hunting gear, and inscribed on baidaras and other household objects.

Sacred objects believed to protect their herds and ensure successful hunts were especially highly regarded. Such items included firemaking tools, family protection amulets, and family drums. In order to ensure protection by the spirits they organized seasonal holidays: the holiday of horns, baidaras holiday, *Keretkuna* (master of all sea animals) celebration, and others. The most important part of these holidays was ritual sacrifice. They sacrificed reindeer and dogs. Sometimes small figures of reindeer made from snow, fat, or roots replaced live reindeer. The Chukchi had no set format for addressing spirits.

As with other Siberian peoples, Chukchi shamanism is a relatively late occurrence. Chukchi shamans still engaged in traditional production

activities and were not professionalized. Ritual séances usually took place within the family and were conducted by one of its members, usually the husband or wife. There did exist, however, well-known and widely recognized shamans. These shamans' help was requested to aid in dealing with troubles or illness that families could not resolve on their own. Such shamans were expected to be skilled healers able to understand the crafty ideas of other shamans. It is no coincidence that in the early years of Soviet power the Chukchi used the same term to describe Russian doctors and their own shamans — *enenyl'yn*.

Shamanic rituals always took place in a curtained enclosure in absolute darkness because shamanic helpers and protectors (*kel'et*) could only answer a shaman's call at night. Other than a drum, shamans did not have other special attributes, although they were identifiable by the large number of amulets and bones sewn to their clothes. Shamanic activities mainly consisted of ventriloquism and various tricks performed by the shaman (pricking himself with a knife, etc.). Shamans participated as fellow clan-members in the many holidays celebrated by reindeer-herding and coastal Chukchi. Their highly skilled and passionate performance of songs accompanied by the drum was their only role. No shamanic activities were permitted during these holidays.

Arts and crafts

Traditional Chukchi spiritual culture was rich and varied. They produced unique decorative arts, including artistic leather and fur work, braiding, and bone, metal, and woodcarving. Their decorative arts were distinguishable by unusual ornamentation — very fine and strictly geometrical. They used these designs to decorate clothing, footwear, fur coverings for sleds, arrow quivers, belts, and many other everyday objects. Women created these things, also braiding unusual bags from willow weed and wild rye. Men made artistic creations using hard materials. The Chukchi were most skilled in bone carving. These sculptures were decorated with grooved ornamentation, believed in the past to serve magical functions.

In the twentieth century, Chukchi art consisted mainly of bone carving. There is particular interest in their carvings of walrus tusks. Works created by Vukvol, Vukvutagin, Gemauge, Khal'mo, Ichel', Ettuga, and others are well known and are the foundation of modern bone carving and engraving arts among the Chukchi. Women are acquiring bone carving skills, including Kmeymit, Yanku, Tynatval', and others.

Folklore

Chukchi oral folk traditions are founded upon the mythological beliefs of Arctic hunters about their surrounding world. The most

important aspect of Chukchi mythology is the important essence of hunting, the invariable victory of man in his fight for existence. Polar bear, whale, and walrus all figure prominently in Chukchi myths, as do stories about the formation of the universe. The main genres of Chukchi folklore — mythological tales, legends, and sagas — are also connected to mythology.

Chukchi dance is a special and unique aspect of Chukchi spiritual culture. Along with other artistic activities, dance is a required component of all rituals and holidays. That fact determines the character and direction of their dances: required dances are known to all and are performed in a strict location and at a specific time. Dances can be pantomimes imitating hunting themes or the habits of one or another animal or can simply be for entertainment. Pantomime played a central role in Chukchi dance arts. It is a vividly distinctive occurrence whose origins are lost in the depths of the centuries. Chukchi dance imitates the behavior of the animals they targeted for hunting. In their imitation the Chukchi have reached complete perfection. A dancer's individuality and his performance style give dances an additional aspect of expressiveness and singularity. Pantomimed dance remains one of their native characteristics and an important part of modern Chukchi dance arts. Ergyron, the first professional Chukchi music and dance ensemble, is widely praised and well known in many countries around the world.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Many elements of traditional material and spiritual culture have been preserved: transportation methods, housing (for reindeer herders in the tundra), holidays, rituals and customs, and religious beliefs. They are successfully developing the traditional arts of engraving and carving on bone. The Chukotka branch of the Northeastern Integrated Science Research Institute (Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences) was created and supports the work of approximately ten researchers of Chukchi or other indigenous descent. They study aspects of traditional Chukchi culture, their language, folk medicine, challenges to changing economic relations and property ownership, and other issues relevant in the Okrug.

The Chukotka branch of the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON), created in 1989, is responsible for self-government functions. Each district in the Okrug has its own chapter.

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CHULYM

The Chulym people, as they call themselves, are an indigenous Siberian group that speaks a Turkic language. In the past they have also been known as Chulym Khakas, Chulym Turks, Tutal, Melet, and Tutal and Melet Tatars. The majority of Chulym live today in the Chulym River watershed in Te-gul'detskiy District of Tomsk Oblast, as well as in the villages of Pasechnoye and Chindat in Tyukhtetskiy District (Krasnoyarsk Kray).

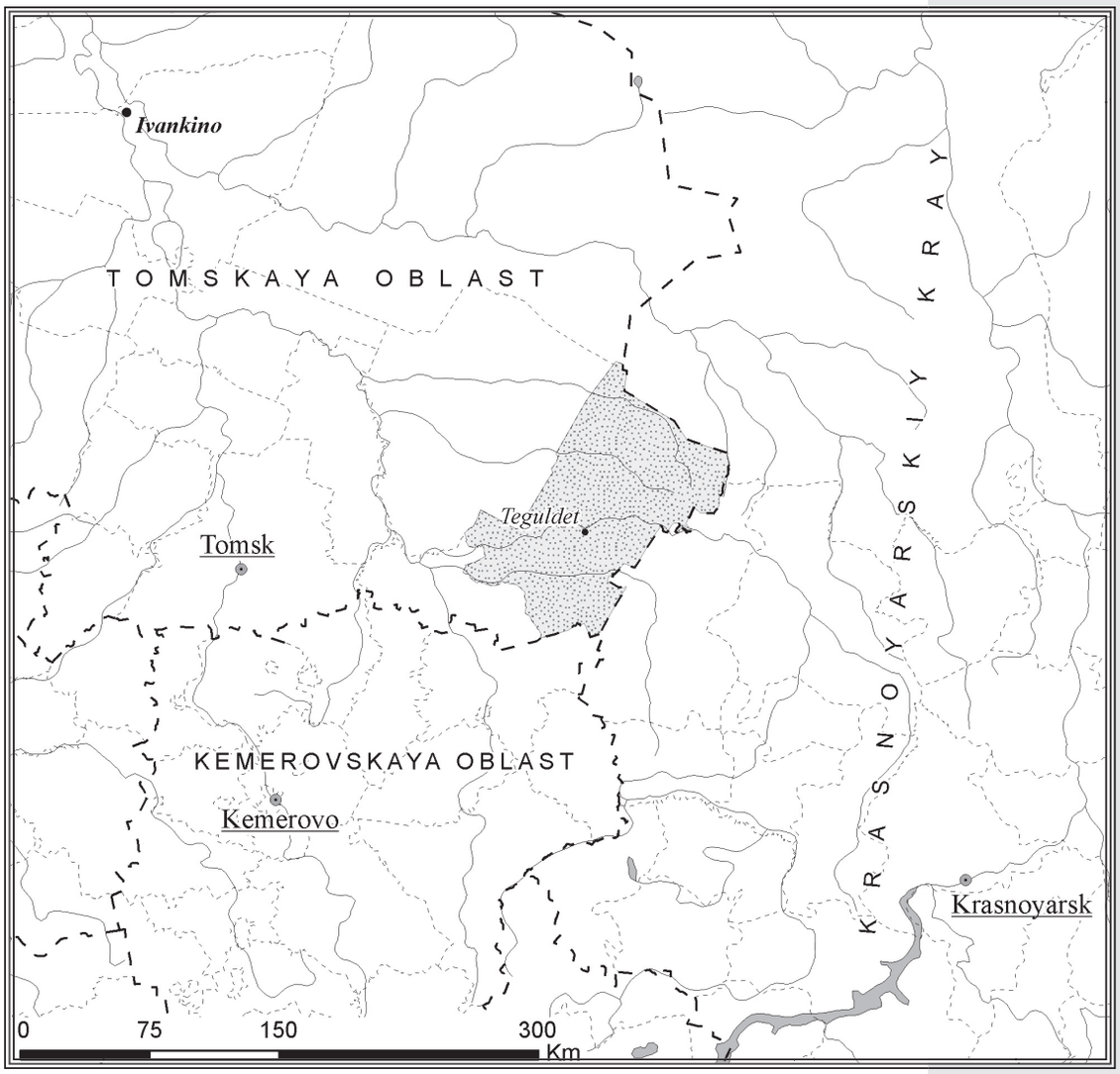
Language

The Chulym language belongs to the Uighur group of the Turkic branch of the Altaic family of languages. The indigenous population in Tegul'detskiy District spoke the middle Chulym dialect of Chulym-Turkic, which had two vernaculars — Tutal'skiy and Meletskiy. Some researchers believe that Chulym is a distinct language among the Turkic languages spoken in Siberia. In 1996, 24% of Chulym claimed Chulym as their native language, while 75% claimed Russian. Despite those claims, those who claimed Chulym-Turkic as their native language still had a better command of Russian. Chulym does not have a writing system and has never been taught in schools. The younger and middle generations have the weakest command of the language. Of children under ten years old, only 1–2% have some understanding of their native language.



Official records and self-identification

Until recently, the actual population of the Chulym people has remained unknown. During the Soviet censuses beginning in 1939, they have not been tracked as a separate category, but were instead grouped with the Khakas in census materials. In 1996, in accordance with a resolution by the Tomsk Oblast administration, the first thorough census of indigenous peoples living in Tegul'detskiy *Rayon* (District) took place



Current territory of residence of the Chulym in Russia

and tracked the Chulym as a separate indigenous category. As a result of the census, 742 people self-identified as Chulym or Chulym Khakas. The 2002 Russian federal census counted 656 people, but there are probably more, since some Chulym most likely self-identified as Khakas.

The official attribution of the Turkic-speaking Chulym population to the Khakas resulted in the group's failure to form a distinct ethnic self-awareness. In the mid-1980s, the majority (69.6%) of surveyed Chulym considered themselves to be Khakas, while the rest called themselves by other ethnonyms: Isashnyy, Chulym, Iyus Chonym, Tatar, Tadar Kizhiler, and others. Those calling themselves Isashnyy and Tatar are for the most part older individuals. The next younger generation prefers the term Khakas, although Chulym can also sometimes be heard. Youth also describe themselves as Khakas — over 85.2% of young people claimed that ethnonym. Many Chulym understand the artificiality of this ethnonym, which was created through an administrative process. Even youth not using other ethnonyms describe themselves thusly: "we were listed as Khakas," or "according to my passport, I am Khakas," etc.

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

The 1966 census conducted by V. P. Krivonogov showed that Chulym ethnic self-awareness had undergone significant change. By the mid-1990s, a strong movement affirming local uniqueness had arisen and encouraged local residents to acknowledge their ethnicity. The ethnonym "Chulym" was proposed. Efforts to achieve the official status of Indigenous Minority People of the North met with success, a status that results in certain government benefits. According to a decree issued by the Russian Federation on March 24, 2000, the Chulym were included in the "Single List of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the Russian Federation." Despite these successes, the 1996 census shows that the ethnonym Khakas continues to dominate, although when compared to the 1986 census, its use is on the decrease. At the same time, the Chulym ethnonym's use increased from 13.7% to 21.6%.

History

Modern Chulym are descendants of ancient Turkic settlers who came to this area as early as the fifth-eighth centuries AD. Before Russian colonization, their settlement area included all of the Near Chulym River between the borders of modern-day Pervomayskiy, Asinovskiy, Zyryanskiy, and Tegul'detskiy Districts of Tomsk Oblast. The Chulym Turks and other linguistically and ethnically related peoples living along the Yaya and Kiya River tributaries formed the main mass of yasak fur tribute paying peoples in the Tomsk administrative region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The closest neighbors of the Turks along the Chulym River were the southern Sel'kup-Tyuykum living in the area where the Chulym drains into the Ob' River. Their assimilation had been accomplished by the start of the twentieth century. The people living along the Lower Chulym, Yaya, and Kiya Rivers were also almost totally assimilated. Today, there are no indigenous Chulym remaining in Pervomayskiy, Asinovskiy and Zyryanskiy Districts. Their former presence in this region can only be seen in an analysis of surnames used by the current population. The only physically remaining group of indigenous populations in the Near Chulym region are those descendants of inorodtsy (otherborn) who settled the Tutal'sko-Chulymskaya indigenous council, a district that fell within today's boundaries of Tegul'detskiy District in Tomsk Oblast.

Settlements

At the start of the twentieth century, the Chulym lived in twenty-four villages, including Starye Tutaly, Verkh-Skobliny, Tyuzunovy, Ver-

shinka, Baygaly, Muny, and others. Only two old Chulym villages still exist, Skoblino and Shumilovo, while the others have all disappeared from local maps. Today, half of Chulym live in the district's main city of Tegul'det. Relatively many of them also live in the villages of Belyy Yar (88 individuals), Novoshumilov (71 ind.), and Beregayevo (57 ind.). Chulym live scattered sparsely in other villages.

Subsistence activities

At the twentieth century's outset, the Chulym lived mainly through hunting, fishing, gathering, and domestic livestock husbandry. Grain farming was in its infancy, but almost all Chulym households kept small gardens. Hunting was a deeply commercial activity. All hunters had firearms, although they also widely used traditional hunting gear, such as large metal traps, deadfall traps, jaw traps, and others. During the 1912–1913 hunting season, the Chulym harvested birds and animals worth 14,932 rubles. To a great degree, fishing was also a commercial activity. Each household had no fewer than at least ten types of gear, for example: set nets, seines, and trap pots.

Gathering edible and medicinal plants was a supplementary activity, including the search for Siberian pine nuts, preparation of weaving fibers, bird cherries, birchbark, nettle, and hemp (for weaving fibers), and berries.

When the Russians arrived on the scene, the Chulym began plowing agriculture. In addition to the traditional barley and millet, they began to cultivate rye, oats, and wheat. Domestic livestock husbandry was poorly developed. Domestic arts included weaving, rope making, net making, dishware (birch, wooden, and woven from roots and branches), construction of boats, skis, and sleds, general carpentry, leather work, and others. The majority of modern Chulym are engaged alongside Russians in agriculture, forestry, while fishing and hunting, what were once their main activities, have become hobbies.

Transportation

Their primary form of transportation was the horse, both on horseback and pulling a cart or sleigh. They also used other means: travois (*salttsa*), hand-drawn sleds with straight stanchions (*shanak*, *chanak*) and sometimes pulled by one or two harnessed dogs, dugout canoes, board and birchbark boats (*keme*, *kayuk*), rafts, skis covered with fur (*shana*, *sana*, *megne*) and simple skis (kana, kanachak, tygarge). The majority of these means of transportation are still used to some extent today.

Housing

They traditionally lived in summer and winter settlements known as *uluses* (known as *yurts* in a few places). Summer homes were sited along rivers and lakes, where the Chulym engaged in farming, livestock grazing, and fishing. In the winter they moved to their hunting territories. By the turn of the twentieth century, permanent villages closely resembling those of the Russians had replaced winter settlements.

The Chulym had several types of traditional housing: *odyg* dugouts, *kyshtag* log timbered semi-dugouts with semi-pyramidal roofs, rectangular or polygonal yurts with conical roofs made from boards or birchbark, and temporary housing consisting of chums built with boards and covered in birchbark, felt, or matting. With the start of the eighteenth century, the main form of housing became the Russian-style cottage, transitioning to five-walled log cabins in the nineteenth century. A home's interior varied within Chulym subgroups, but chuval ovens (*chuyal*) with an open hearth, low clay stoves (*kemega*) for preparing food, benches or bunks, trunks, and shelves for holding images and household items were all common elements. Non-residential structures included storehouses (*klat*), cattle sheds, barns, bath-houses, and overhangs and fencing for livestock shelter.

Clothing

Chulym clothing consisted of shirts and pants. Women's shirts were sewn from canvas, with holiday dresses cut in a tunic style and made from chintz or silk and frequently trimmed with fur. Early on, pants were made from eelpout fish skins, but later they were sewn from canvas. Both women and men wore vests trimmed in fur. In the winter, women dressed in squirrel or fox fur coats (ton) covered in silk. They wore white or crimson brimless hats, shawls (tastar), or semi-spherical hats made from red velvet and trimmed in fox fur and with long red silk tassels sewn to the top. In the winter months they wore fur hats.

During the summer, they usually went barefoot or wore a variety of footwear: *porshni* (low shoes with an oval toe and heel), *chirki* (low shoes with separately cut soft heel and ankle), boots (originally made from eelpout skins, later from leather) with angled leggings, and leather pull-on boots. Women plaited their hair into several braids and wore pendants of coins, earrings, beads, bracelets, rings, and signet rings.

Men dressed in shirts and kaftans (*tar*, *shobur*) made from wool or daba (a Chinese paper-based fabric, usually blue) with a standing collar and trimmed in wolverine or river otter fur, robes, and broadcloth pants. Over the winter, they wore a sheepskin coat or fur coat made from goat or moose skins, and a fur-trimmed hat with earflaps. For footwear, they too wore porshni, soft boos made from goatskin, boots with angled legs,

or Russian-style boots. Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Russian clothing slowly crowded out traditional Chulym styles.

Food

Their traditional food base included fish, wild game, and plants. Beginning in the nineteenth century, bread, other flour and dairy products, meat from domestic animals (especially horsemeat), pork, and mushrooms came into use. They dried, cured, and smoked fish. Until the end of the nineteenth century, they buried a fermented mix of dried barley, wild garlic, and other plants in a hole in the ground. Many milk products (curd, cheese, and others), soups, and beverages (*kvas*, *braga*, beer) were learned from the Russians. Traditional dishes still eaten today include *burak-porsa* (pounded cured or dried fish), a hot cereal made from *karmach* (cleaned and dried barley), and *talkan* (a gruel made from flour).

Social organization

In the past, the Chulym's main social organization unit was the clan society *suok*. In the eighteenth century, it was replaced by a geographically inter-connected neighbor society known as the *yon*. Patronymy existed until the end of the nineteenth century. Women had equal rights with men in both family and social spheres. Until the twentieth century, marriages through bride-stealing (with the bride's approval) were common.

Religion, spiritual culture and folklore

The Chulym are Russian Orthodox. They were converted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but until the 1930s they preserved some traditional beliefs including shamanism. Main shamanic attributes included a white headscarf, necklace of white beads, boots, a rattle, and spoon for feeding spirits. They worshiped the images of spirits, including clan, family, and personal protectors (for women, mainly birds, for men, rabbit skins), nature spirits, home protectors, etc., as well as ancestor cult, totems, sacred trees, etc. They stored spirit images in storehouses.

In addition to names given at baptism, children were given their own names. Pre-Christian elements were preserved in their burial ceremonies: the deceased was buried with his belongings (pipe, fire-making materials, hunting gear, tobacco pouch, etc.) in a grave. They held a funeral feast at graveside, built up a fire, and jumped over it.

Traditional folklore (bogatyr stories, to whom the surnames of the Chulym trace), is preserved to this day. Their ornamental arts using wood, birchbark, fabrics, and leather are similar to those of the northern Altay, Khakas, and Shor.

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CHUVAN

The Chuvan people are indigenous residents of Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. Their ethnonym is of Russian origin, probably based on the Chaun River. Their closest neighbors, the Koryak, called them *etylylgu*, while the Chukchi called them *etel*. Over time, this Chukchi term was adopted by the Chuvan themselves — *etel'*, *etal*, *etel'yt*. Another self-name also exists: *chuvanchi*.

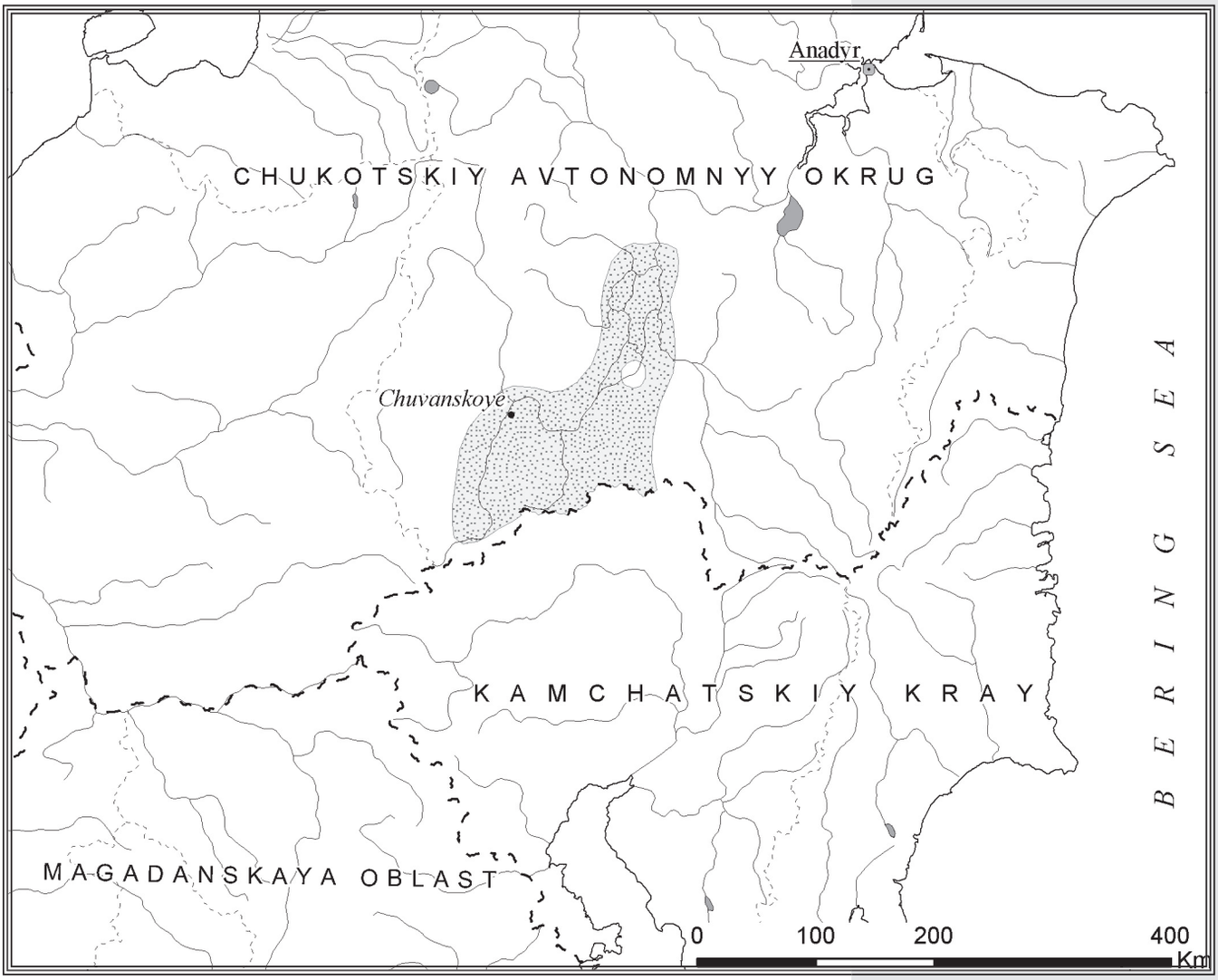
Language

The Chuvan language, probably similar to Yukaghir, has been lost. G. L. Maydel' reported that the last Chuvan to speak Chuvan died in 1870 at the age of 117. Some researchers consider Chuvan to be a distinct language in the Yukaghir-Chuvan subgroup of Paleo-Asiatic languages. Today, the Chuvan speak Chukchi and the Markovskiy dialect of Russian. In 1993, they were added to the Council of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the Russian Federation.

History

In the mid-seventeenth century, Russian sources listed the Chuvan as a Yukaghir clan. During this period they lived around Cape Shelagskiy, the headwaters of the Amguema, Chaun, Bol'shoy Anyuy, and Maliy Anyuy Rivers. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Chukchi raiders frequently attacked Chuvan camps, and as a result, some Chuvan moved to the Kolyma lowlands and Yakutiya. A larger group migrated to the southwest to Gizhiga, where they were greatly influenced, both culturally and linguistically, by the Koryak. At the start of the nineteenth century, two ethnographic groups of Chuvan emerged, neither of which showed much evidence of the seventeenth century ancestry. The first group had become settled and were fairly Russified. They lived in and around the village of Markov, near the Anadyr River. The second group was nomadic, living around the Anadyr River headwaters, and was culturally similar to reindeer-herding Chukchi and Koryak. By the end of that century, the settled population of Anadyr Okrug had separated into five "communities," one of which had a much greater population (256 people). They called themselves *Markovtsy*, *Anadyrtsy*, or *Anadyrshchiki* and spoke in the Markovskiy dialect.

At the end of the nineteenth century, A. V. Olsuf'yev described a typical Markovets this way: "of average to short height (tall only in very rare cases), beardless face, with black, sometimes curly hair, and slightly



Current territory of residence of the Chuvan in Russia

pointed cheekbones." The appearance of Markovets Chuvan varied from a straight Russian type to that more reminiscent of the Mongol type.

Official records and identification

The first All-Russian Census of 1897 counted 275 settled and 177 "wandering" Chuvan. During that time, they were listed as Yukaghir, Chuvan, or even Russian old-timers. The 1926–27 census founded 737 Chuvan and described them as a distinct people. It went one step farther and described the settled Markovtsy as Kamchadal. The use of this term to describe Markovtsy persisted for a long time, and in later years only the nomadic reindeer-herding groups were called Chuvan. No subsequent Soviet censuses, except for the 1989 census, counted the Chuvan as a separate ethnic group. The language spoken determined whether or not an individual was declared Russian or Chukchi. Scientific literature classified the Chuvan as an unusual ethnographic group positioned "between" the Yukaghir, northwestern Paleo-Asiatic Chukchi and Koryak,

and Russian old-timers. Despite this, they were always considered and considered themselves to be Chuvan. This Chuvan ethnic self-awareness was reflected in their passports as well as their local identity papers.

The 1989 Soviet census revealed 1,511 Chuvan. That number included 1,384 in Soviet Russia, further broken down to 944 in Chukotka Autonomous Okrug and 470 in Yakutiya. Almost all Chukotkan Chuvan (899 individuals) live in Anadyr District. Chukchi-speaking Chuvan live in the villages of Ust'-Belaya, Snezhnoye, and Chuvanskoye, while Russian-speaking Chuvan live in the village of Markovo and the city of Anadyr. The latter generally have Russian surnames — Shitikovs, Dyachkovs, Bragins, etc. The majority of nomadic Chuvan have surnames historically related to past or present Koryak or Chukchi names (Vukvugay, Geunto, Rol'tyrgin, etc.). In no settlement do the Chuvan form a majority population.

Socio-cultural formation

Two groups influence the ethno-social situation in the villages where Chuvan live — local indigenous residents and newcomers. The number of newcomers in Chukotkan villages grew quickly in the 1970s and 80s. Regional factors, migrants from the north, and immigrants from other parts of the country have all contributed. Most of the time, this increase was not a response to increased production demand, rather was initiated by local Russian leaders motivated by a desire to bring in their relatives and compatriots. A significant portion of the new arrivals were awarded prestigious, highly paid positions in the services arena, rather than being employed in manufacturing or production. The indigenous population considered this fact an indicator of social injustice. Since the onset of market reforms, Chukotka has seen a significant outflow of that newcomer population. This process is also impacting Chuvan villages. In the nine years since 1989, the villages have lost more than 1,000 people. Overall, the Chuvan welcome this development, seeing it as an opportunity to satisfy their socio-economic and cultural needs.

Subsistence activities

In the nineteenth century, settled Chuvan practiced subsistence activities similar to the Yukaghir, hunting wild reindeer and fishing. They generally hunted reindeer at river crossings up and down the Anadyr River: in the spring, when the animals migrate from south to north, and in August, when they return along the same routes. Using a guided fence trap at the crossing, they could kill as many as forty to fifty reindeer per hunter. At other times of year, they hunted reindeer using firearms, slingshots, and crossbows. Reindeer meat harvested in August

and September at river crossings was generally prepared and preserved for future consumption. August meat was cut into small pieces ("the size of a rifle flint") and dried. This meat was termed *ulyukty*. In September, when hard frost had already occurred, they simply froze entire sections of the animal.

The Chuvan hunted fur animals as well — wolf, fox, arctic fox, wolverine, squirrel, and other animals. Hunters mainly used Russian and locally-made traps. Arctic fox and fox were caught using snares, while ermine, rabbits, and wolverine were killed in metal traps. Squirrels, wolves and bear were hunted with firearms. They also caught foxes by herding them into nets set in thickly forested areas. Some Markovtsy worked as middlemen in the fur trade, buying and selling between Chukchi and Russian buyers.

Raising dogs for dogsledding and providing transport were important aspects of their economic activities, especially with the beginning of *kolkhoz* collectivization in 1930s. Until the 1950s, a successful state-owned nursery in Markovo bred sled dogs for all Kamchatkan agencies. Nomadic Chuvan practices large-scale reindeer herding as their primary economic activity. Their herding and grazing practices were identical to those of the Chukchi. Summer migrations between camps conducted only by herders, following the herd on foot. Winter migrations saw entire families traveling by reindeer-drawn sleds.

Housing

Markovtsy Chuvan lived a semi-nomadic lifestyle in flat-roofed log cabins (sometimes with earthen floors) in villages in the winter. They used whale kidney "balloons" or scraped reindeer skins for window coverings, in place of glass. Homes were heated using chuvals — fireplace-type stoves made from timbers coated with clay. In order to keep their homes warm, buildings had to be heated around the clock. In the summer, Markovtsy Chuvan moved into summer cottages near their fishing grounds. They called this summer period along the river "sitting on scree". They mainly fished for salmon swimming upriver to spawn: pink and chum salmon, which were dried as feed for their dogs in the winter. In order to feed a family of six (and their dogs) for one year, Markovtsy Chuvan had to prepare at least 4,500 fish. They used both salting (when salt was available) and smoking techniques to preserve fish. Local "residential" fish was used for everyday consumption — including various whitefish, grayling, and pike (ling). They fished using nets, seines, hook and line, landing nets, fish spears, and fish pots. Beginning in February, they fished underneath the ice, targeting grayling concentrated in the still waters of deep river pools during the winter. Nomadic Chuvan used blocking nets and fence-type nets during the months of September and October.

Transportation

Dogsleds served as their winter transport, with eight to twelve animals harnessed to the sled. They were harnessed in pairs to light sleds made from local birch. The sled itself was held together with the help of thongs. Dogs ate either *yukola* (dried salmon) or a floury soup made with fish once per day. In the summer, dogs were given raw fish. Dogsled travel took two forms: transport of passengers and cargo over long distances and domestic, local travel. In the summer, Markovtsy Chuvan navigated local rivers in Russian sailboats (*karbas*). Approximately six meters in length and one to two meters wide, the Chuvan transported relatives and dogs to summer campgrounds. The kayak was another type of boat usually used during wild reindeer hunts at river crossings. This was a simple narrow boat, approximately three to four meters in length and no more than a half-meter wide, and well known to Anadyr Even people.

Subsistence activities

The Chuvan people have preserved their traditional subsistence activities today. Some nomadic Chuvan, alongside Chukchi and Even, work in reindeer husbandry, while settled Chuvan are engaged in fishing and fish processing. As an economic activity, raising sled dogs is no longer practiced, but individual Chuvan families maintain dogs for sledding, using them for their own activities. As with other indigenous peoples of the North, Chuvan economics are primarily troubled by unemployment and poor conditions for reindeer herding.

Clothing

During the winter, reindeer-herding Chuvan dress in Chukotkan style. Atop a fabric or suede shirt, they wear a two-layer fur parka (*kukhlyanka*) and two-layer pants. In the summertime, they generally wore a one-piece pullover robe (*kamleyka*) with a hood made from suede or fabric. It was sewn in the same form as the winter parka. Shoes were made from sealskin, reindeer suede or leg skins. Markovtsy Chuvan wore Russian clothing adapted to local climate conditions.

Food

Nomadic Chuvan cuisine did not differ from that of reindeer-herding Chukchi and Koryak. It primarily consisted of reindeer meat. They used the toadstool (mushroom) as a stimulant. The Markovtsy Chuvan preferred fish as their main cuisine. Both fish and meat were seasoned with roots collected by women in the summer months. Their most com-

mon fish dish was a combination of *yukola*, fish, and in large part *pupki* (fish abdomen), which was then salted and smoked and left to ferment in an underground hole. Meat was prepared in boiled, dried, and jerky forms. For celebrations, they prepared cakes or bread. They prepared a homemade beer, and no meal was complete without black tea made from tea bricks. The Markovtsy Chuvan could not get by without tea and would complain to the local authorities if they were made to "survive on water" for too long.

Religion and spiritual culture and folklore

Russian culture significantly influenced the spiritual and cultural traditions of settled Chuvan. Most of their religious beliefs can be connected to Russian Orthodoxy. They celebrated the church's holidays, and homes were equipped with icons and religious books. Weddings were celebrated according to Russian custom, although unmarried women took advantage of their well-known sexual freedom. Prior to a marriage, both the bride and the groom had separate celebrations in their respective family homes. The dead were buried using Russian Orthodox ceremonies, with one exception — men were buried with tobacco, while women were interred with handicrafts. They also preserved some customs related to the cult of their traditional subsistence activities. Taking more than one needed from nature was considered a sin. They had a variety of taboos and superstitions, and shamanism was practiced to some degree.

The folklore of settled Chuvan also underwent heavy Russian influence. To this day, the Markovtsy Chuvan still tell old Russian epic stories and fairy tales and sing Russian songs. They also borrowed the theatrical game "Boat" (*Lodka*) from Kamchatkan Cossacks in the nineteenth century. Another remarkable instance of cultural borrowing took place during the Soviet years, when a choir known as the *Markovskiye Vecherki* was organized in the village of Markovo. This choir played an important role in the conservation and popularization of folklore for the Chuvan people.

By the end of the nineteenth century, settled Chuvan became literate. In 1883, the first parochial school opened in Chukotka, and the first representatives of an ethnic intelligentsia arrived on the scene. The first Chuvan scholar-autodidact, Afanasiy Ermilovich D'yachkov, is widely known. A teacher, he wrote an interesting book about the Anadyr region; a book that to this day remains an important primary source on the history, traditional activities, and culture of the Chuvan, Lamut (Even), and other peoples of this region during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The spiritual culture of nomadic Chuvan formed under the influence of the Chukchi and Koryak. They celebrated holidays connected to the reindeer-herding cycle and practiced ritual sacrifice (including reindeer). Shamanism was practiced. They made anthropomorphic and

animist figures from skin, bone, and wood and scattered stones to tell the future, as analogous to the Koryak practice of anyapeli. Nomadic Chuvan marriage customs had many parallels with Chukchi and Koryak traditions. Reindeer-herding Chuvan preferred to marry their cousins, along the lines of clan kinship. Traditional beliefs continue today amongst the nomadic Chuvan.

Ethnic revitalization

The "illegal" status of Chuvan over several Soviet decades, in combination with assimilative processes, would seem to be a death knell for the existence of this people. Despite these factors, the democratization of community life for the Chuvan has awoken their historical memory. Today, they are working hard to preserve their ethnic consciousness, consider themselves to be a distinct indigenous people, and are studying their ancestors, history, and traditional culture. There are branches of the Chukotkan Association of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North in Markovo and the village of Ust'-Belaya. The Chuvan participate in the activities of the Union of Russian Reindeer Herders. Within the Chukotkan movement for indigenous rights, they are highly engaged in social activism. Acknowledging their ethnic connections to the Chukchi and Russians, they call themselves a local indigenous people, and, based on this assertion, the consolidation of a larger ethnic community occurs.

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DOLGAN



The Dolgan people live in northern Krasnoyarsk Kray and northwestern Yakutiya. They call themselves *dolgan*, *dulgan*, *tya-kikhi*, *tege*, *sakha*. The term Dolgan was acquired from an Evenk clan, *Dolgan* and then became the ethnonym for the people themselves. They belong to the northern Asiatic group of the large Mongoloid race. They speak the Dolgan dialect of Yakut, a language belonging to the Yakut subgroup of Uighur-Oguz group of Turkic languages. Some researchers believe that Dolgan is a separate language. Within Dolgan, there are the following sub-dialects: Noril'sk, Pyasinskiy, Avamskiy, Khatangskiy and Popigayskiy. The Dolgan can be broken into three groups — western, eastern, and Popigaysko-Anabarskiy.

Ethnogenesis

The Dolgan's formation as a distinct ethnos took place relatively recently and was even partially documented. Four Evenk clans played a leading role in their ethnogenesis: the Dolgan, Dongot, Edyan, and Karanto. In the eighteenth century, they migrated to northwestern Eastern Siberia from the distant Lena, Olen'ka, and Aldan River watersheds. In addition to the Evenk clans, small groups of Yakut, Enets, Nganasan, Nenets, and Russian settlers (known as "Tundra peasants") contributed to the Dolgan as well. The first references in literature to the Dolgan as a distinct ethnos occurred in the mid-nineteenth century and were made by A. M. Kastren and A. F. Middendorf. During that time, the appearance of a new people in Russia was not accompanied by great fanfare, and in 1926, B. O. Dolgikh "rediscovered" them while conducting the Polar Census.



B. O. Dolgikh's analysis concluded that the current ethnic composition of the Dolgan, based on their ancestors, breaks down to 50–52% Tungus (Evenk), 30–33% Yakut, about 15% Russian, and 3–4% Samoyedic (Enets and Nganasan). Inter-marriage facilitated the mixing of these varied ethnicities into one new ethnic group. By the beginning of the twentieth century, most Dolgan families had spouses of a different ethnic group. The administrative border separating Yakut from Taymyr Dolgan also played an important role. Prior to the Revolution (1917), they were part of the



Current territory of residence of the Dolgan in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

Yenisey Province, while the Yakut territory was considered part of the Yakutsk Oblast. With the creation of the Taymyr Okrug during Soviet years, contact between these two related peoples was almost completely eliminated.

Current settlement and population

The Dolgan live in Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Okrug of Krasnoyarsk Kray. Here, they are settled mainly in Khatangskiy District and on lands belonging to the Dudinskiy City Council (gorsovyet). There is also a significant number of Dolgan living in Anabarskiy District

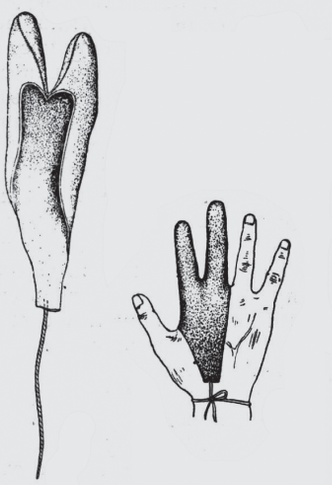
in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya). In 1989, the Soviet Union counted 6,945 Dolgan, including 6,584 in the Russian SSR itself. Over 70% of Dolgan are concentrated in Taymyr Autonomous Okrug — 4,939. As of January 1, 1999, 858 Dolgan lived in Anabarskiy District in Yakutiya. However, the 1989 census found only 408 Dolgan in all of Yakutiya, with none at all in Anabarskiy District. This was not a statistical error; rather, it reflected a nationalist trend by Soviet Yakutiya to attribute the Dolgan, Evenk, and Even to the Yakut people.

Today, the Dolgan are concentrated in several settlements, living with Nganasan, Russian, Yakut, and other peoples. The largest settlements in Taymyr Autonomous Okrug are Khatanga (regional center), Popigay, Novorybnoye, Syndasko, and Novaya. In Anabarskiy District, the main settlements are Saskylakh (regional center), Yuryung-Khaya, and Ebelyakh.

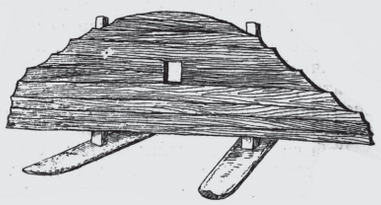


Social organization

Prior to the arrival of Russians, the Dolgan had strong clan relationships, tracing along the male lineage, although a few matrilineal holdovers also survived. Matrilineal kinship was considered to be closer to the father's line. Women kept the fire and tended family spirits and protectors. The senior woman in a family held a privileged position, with all men looking to her for leadership. While this kinship system fell apart in the nineteenth century, some of the older kinship traditions were preserved: collective wild reindeer herding, game bird hunting, and fishing, as well as collective ownership of harvested game. Furs were considered the property of the hunter and not subject to collective sharing. Subsistence activity territories (hunting, fishing, etc.) did not have permanent owners, but were divided up each year among nomadic groups through a collective decision-making process.



In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Dolgan experienced increased stratification of property ownership, with a distinct group of families owning large reindeer herds. As commodity relations developed, a layer of small traders came to exist, serving as brokers for Russians and Yakut merchants.



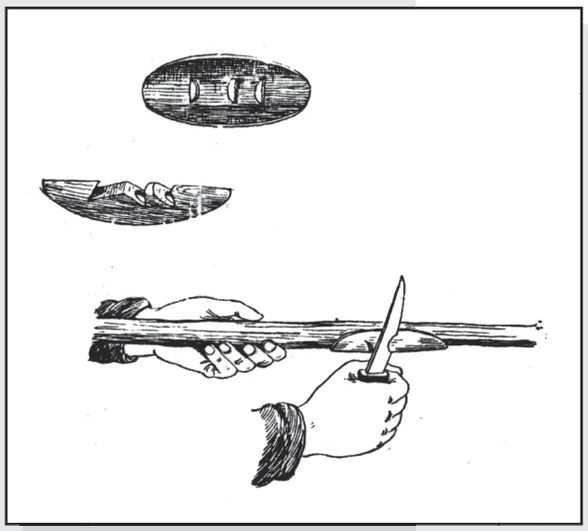
Subsistence activities and lifestyle

The Dolgan practiced nomadic reindeer herding, fished, and hunted wild reindeer and other fur species. These traditional activities played an important role in the formation of the Dolgan ethnos. Both Tungus and Samoyed characteristics can be found in Dolgan reindeer herding. Like the Tungus, the Dolgan milk their reindeer, but were more similar to the Samoyed in keeping herding dogs. Their summer packsaddles for

reindeer are clearly Tungus in origin, while winter transport by sled is closer to the Samoyed in style. Dolgan sleds have Nenets, Nganasan, and Russian tundra peasant characteristics. Their harness differs from the Nenets style in that the leading reindeer is harnessed and steered from the right, not on the left in Samoyed style.

The Dolgan had two forms of nomadism. Near the Noril'skiy lakes and in the Popigay River watershed, herders lived year-round in the forest-tundra, migrating to treeless alpine areas in the summer and back to forested river valleys in the winter. Reindeer herders from other groups summered with their reindeer in the tundra, spending their winters in the forest-tundra zone. They all migrated between summer and winter pastures during the spring and fall. In the winter, Noril'sk and Popigay Dolgan lived in separate family groupings in isolation from one another. Those Dolgan who migrated along the northern tree line built a chain of camps stretching along the winter road between Noril'sk and Popigay.

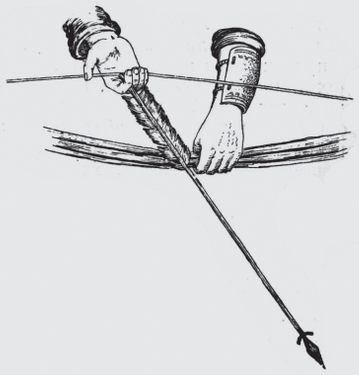
With spring's arrival, the Dolgan formed nomadic groups based on territory and neighbor relationships. They grazed their reindeer collectively, watching over herds around the clock in shifts manned by sentinels from each group in turn. In the fall, the summer nomads would split again into family groups, migrating between their hunting territories.



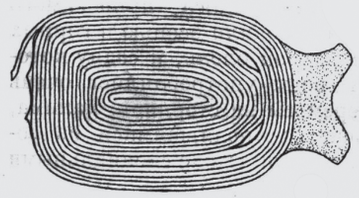
During the Soviet period (1917–1991), Dolgan reindeer herding developed as an offshoot of the collective production system. The Dolgan worked in reindeer collective farms, known as kolkhozes. Despite this, at the end of the 1950s, subsistence reindeer herding activities in Taymyr encountered serious problems. Increasing wild reindeer populations began to encroach on the traditional lands of domesticated reindeer, mixing with them and drawing the domesticated reindeer into their herds. Dolgan farms along the Pyasina River suffered severely from this issue. As a result, by the beginning of the 1980s, domestic reindeer herding by the Dolgan was practically eliminated in some regions. Today, herding is growing on clan and family farms. In Anabarskiy District, there are four municipal enterprises, three nomadic communities, and two farms. In 1999, there were 19,000 reindeer, and they produced up to 800 metric tons of reindeer meat annually. Over the last decade, in Khatangskiy Dis-trict, small-scale reindeer farming has been reduced to a minimum due to the large growth in wild reindeer populations in the region.

Hunting was another important subsistence activity for the Dolgan. They hunted for wild reindeer, geese, ducks, partridge, and Arctic fox. Legends tell of them hunting reindeer using slingshots and darts. In the nineteenth century, arrows (acquired from nearby peoples) and guns were used. They also frequently used poisoned bullets, coated in rancid fat. In winter months, they pursued the target herd from a sled pulled by

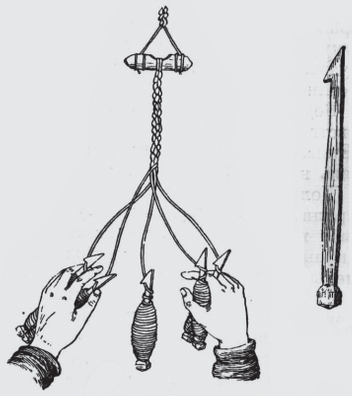
four strong reindeer, armed with firearms and arrows. In another technique, the Dolgan hunted with firearms, concealing themselves behind a blind made from a shield on runners. The hunter, dressed in white camouflage clothing and hiding behind the shield, would crawl toward the animal until close enough to get off a clean shot. Wild reindeer were also hunted with the help of hunting dogs. East of Khatanga, they also built abatis of felled trees with sharpened branches in combination with deadfall traps.



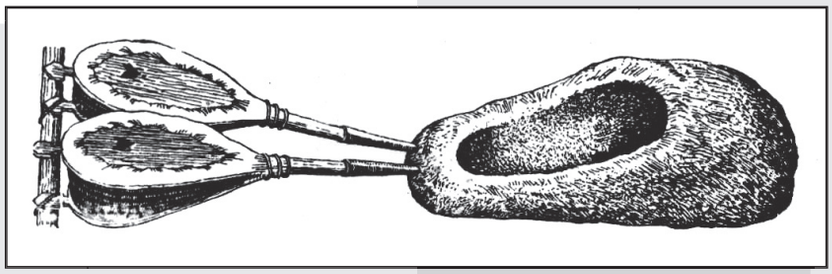
Dolgan reindeer farming was unique due to several ancient characteristics. They often used guided fence systems (*pokolki*) at river and lake crossings and hunted with live reindeer "decoys." From the Nganasan, they borrowed pursuit hunting using nets and flags. The flags (*makhalki*) were posts with feathers attached to them and stuck into the ground in order to direct a reindeer herd in the desired direction, preventing them from straying from the intended route. The eastern Dolgan were especially likely to use this technique. Western and central Taymyr Dolgan were less likely to use river-crossing traps to hunt.



Due to population increases of wild reindeer and increasing stress on grazing lands, at the start of the 1970s, a state reindeer industry was created in Taymyr. This specialized state industrial kolkhoz conducts all types of reindeer farming and attracts not only local participants, but visiting hunter professionals. From the start, the knowledge and experience of the local indigenous population has formed the basis for the industrial harvest of reindeer. Annual reindeer harvest levels average more than 60,000 head, which significantly exceeds domestic reindeer farming. Wild reindeer hunting in the Anabarskiy tundra is mainly of a subsistence nature.



Hunting for game birds and Arctic fox is an important part of traditional hunting activity for the Dolgan. For geese, they set traps or snares near nests, herded moulting geese into pre-arranged nets, or hunted them with dogs. Ducks were caught using nets stretched out over the water. These same nets could be used for partridge hunting in the wintertime. Fur hunting was a good source of income for the Dolgan. In addition to Arctic fox, they also hunted red fox and ermine. For this they used jaw traps acquired from the Russians. Prior to such traps they fashioned automatic trigger traps. In recent years, mass-produced steel traps have become common.



For the Dolgan, fishing was generally a subsistence activity. Their main target species included broad whitefish, whitefish (*sig*, *muksun*, *chir*), Siberian white salmon, sterlet, and grayling. For fishing gear, they most often used set nets (*pushchal'ni*), ranging in length from six to thirty meters. These nets were used in the summer and winter, when they were placed

underneath the ice. *Pushchal'ni* were made from hemp leaves or horsehair. In some areas, they were also used for seine fishing. In seine fishing, the ropes were pulled by a person mounted on a reindeer, to which the ropes were tied. A variety of hook and line tactics were also used — set lines, hooks made from bone, and so forth. Even today, the Dolgan conduct subsistence fishing in the Khatanga and Anabara River watersheds.

Transportation

In the past, the Dolgan's primary transportation included packsaddles on reindeer and harnessed reindeer, both of which were used not just in the winter, but during the summer as well. For the most part, they used water transport during the fishing season and while hunting reindeer using *pokolki* at river crossings. On the water, they used single-masted boats, bought from Russian or Yakut merchants.

Housing

Residential and other buildings were quite varied for the Dolgan. In villages (camps) along the Khatanga Tract, the Dolgan lived in Russian-style cottages. In the tundra and forest-tundra, reindeer herders and hunters used portable and stationary framework buildings: an Evenk-type hut (*chum*), covered in suede in the summer and reindeer skins in the winter, or the *golomo*, a structure built from wooden scaffolding covered in bark and banked with earth or turf. At the end of the nineteenth century a new type of residence was widely used — the *balok*. The *balok*, a shack built upon sled runners was called *syrga dzhiye* as well. Its frame was built from lath strips, with the overhead portion curved and semi-spherical in profile. The exterior was covered in reindeer skins and the interior with colorful fabrics. A canvas cover protected the exterior of the *balok* from moisture. Inside the building there are two windows. The Dolgan live in *baloks* year round and heat them with iron stoves. During migratory periods, a *balok* can be moved on its runners by 5–7 reindeer. The Dolgan were also known to build wooden storage sheds along at nomad camps and other buildings on stilts to store winter clothing and household implements.



Clothing

Traditional Dolgan clothing is reminiscent of that of the Evenk, while clothing terminology, with only a few exceptions, is Yakut in

origin. Their clothing shares characteristics and various components with the clothing of neighboring peoples. Men and women wear a fur kaftan stitched with beads, resembling that of the Evenk in both cut and appearance. Their kaftans are distinguishable by a slight flare across the back, allowing them to sit comfortably on the cold ground. By the nineteenth century, the majority of Dolgan clothing was sewn from purchased fabrics. Cloth kaftans (*sontap*) were worn over fox- or rabbit-fur coats. During the winter, instead of pullover parkas they sometimes wore hooded parkas made from reindeer skins and thick fur clothing with a hood (*soku*y) and with an opening in the front. These hoods were worn mainly in transit. During rainy weather, the Dolgan wore a fabric sokuy. They rounded out their outfits with a bead belt. In the past, men and women both wore an apron (*tyukhyulyuk*), similar to Evenk aprons, but distinct in shape and the location of the ornamental embroidery. Men wore shirts with side pockets over pants. Women's dresses were sewn from fabric and closely resembled the clothing of Russian tundra peasants. The Dolgan did not wear underclothing.



Men's and women's hats known as *bergese* were in the shape of hood. The upper part was cut from fox legskins or cloth. There were two types of legskin winter shoes: knee-high and taller. They correspond to Evenk footwear, known as *unt*. Summer footwear was sewn from reindeer suede and had an opening along the mid-sole to allow water to drain. Modern clothing (fur coats, rainwear, rubber boots, etc.) is no different than in other areas of northern Russia. Villagers and herders alike dress in modern style, especially during the summer.

Food

Their primary foods are reindeer meat and fish, prepared raw, boiled, or frozen. Freshly caught fish was eaten raw and lightly salted. In the winter, all fish dishes were served as thinly sliced frozen pieces (assorted whitefish, white salmon). Sometimes, fish dishes made in advance were fermented in special holes in the ground. They also buried game fowl harvested in the fall. Geese and ducks from the spring hunt were dry-cured. Partridge meat was boiled in its own juices, adding flour or other grains. They used onions and the roots of several tundra plants. By the start of the twentieth century, they had begun buying other foodstuffs — flour, sugar, tea, oil, etc.

Religion and spiritual culture

As early as the nineteenth century, all Dolgan professed Christianity and observed Russian Orthodox rituals. Upon entering a home, they always crossed themselves. They hung icons prominently and arranged their annual calendar according to Orthodox holy days. Alongside Orthodoxy, they also preserved traditional animist views. The Dolgan divided deities and spirits into three categories — *ichchi*, formless invisible beings capable of bringing any object to life; *ay-y-y*, people-loving spirits; and *abaasy*, spirits who cause trouble to humans. The Yakut classify spirits similarly.



The Dolgan had a specific term to describe all supernatural beings — *saytaan*, from the Russian *shaytan* ("devil" or referring to Muslim "spirit"). A variety of objects could be considered *saytaan* — an unusually shaped rock, a tree, a misshapen reindeer horn. Such *saytaans* were considered hunting and fishing protectors. The Yakut forest spirit *bayanay* also protected Dolgan hunting, as did the Yakut fishing protector *bay-bayanay*. Hunters wore amulets made in the shape of target animals and birds (*singken*).

The shaman (*oyun*) protected the Dolgan from evil spirits, healed their ills, and served as an intermediary between people and deities. Shamanic clothing and other attributes were Evenk in type. The shaman's staff, symbolizing a mythical world tree for the Dolgan and the Yakut, was called *turu*, an Evenk word. Dolgan burial rituals were an especially complex aspect of their beliefs. Unlike other peoples in the Taymyr, the Dolgan buried their deceased according to Russian custom. Similar to the Nenets, they used carved wooden grave markers, hanging the deceased's belongings from it. The dead person's reindeer mount was slaughtered as a part of the burial ritual.

Folklore and crafts

Dolgan folklore was no less mixed, borrowing elements from a variety of sources. This includes tales similar in content and style of execution to the Yakut heroic epic *olonkho*, Russian stories *ustuoruia* (from the Russian "history"), Evenk tales about *changytakh* (robbers), as well as other subjects common to other Siberian peoples. Much of this folklore describes activities that the Dolgan themselves do not engage in; there is never any mention of reindeer. Talented folk performers were greatly respected by the Dolgan, who saw them as chosen by good deities and

spirits. According to their beliefs, the images drawn by storytellers could become visible. For this reason, these tales (known in Russian as *bylina*) were not told in the spring, when the geese returned, nor were they told in fall, so as to avoid scaring birds and reindeer. On occasion, Dolgan shamans used storytellers' services during their shamanic ceremonies.

The Dolgan did not possess any musical instruments unique to them, although they did widely use the Yakut *vargan* (mouth harp) at the beginning of the twentieth century. They had a relatively developed singing culture. Short, lyric songs were sung by anyone who wished to join in, while highly gifted improvisator professionals performed long songs. Dolgan dancing reflected a noticeable Tungus influence. A common ring dance, accompanied by singing and known as the *kheyro*, resembled dances amongst the Evenk and Even, both in form and rhythm.

Dolgan fine arts were generally applied in nature. Dolgan women were highly skilled in their crafts: suede reindeer hair embroidery decorated with alder bark, ochre, or graphite concoctions; formal and everyday clothing embroidered with beads or appliqué made from strips of colored fabric; open-work embroidery of reindeer harness using strips of animal tendon. Men carved mammoth bone carving and metal inlay work using copper, tin, and silver. The Khatanga Dolgan decorated the top and support sections of light sleds with whimsical paintings. For the most part, Dolgan ornamentation is geometric, consisting of a combination of crosses, half-circles, and bent or zigzagging lines. Cult-focused sculpture was also common.

Current lifestyle, cultural revitalization and ethnic mobilization

The modern Dolgan are one of the more urbanized peoples in Taymyr Autonomous Okrug. Many of them live in the towns of Dudinka and Khatanga. Their life differs little from that of the general population. The ethno-social situation in rural and remote locations is determined by typical Russian North issues: closure of unprofitable local production and related unemployment and cutbacks in government funding directed at supporting social infrastructure.

In recent years, the numbers of people arriving in settlements where Dolgan live have decreased substantially. According to the Dolgan, this fact has led to aggravated relations with the Nganasan. Growing social stratification within the Dolgan is also a growing problem. Relations between the relatively prosperous reindeer herders and wild reindeer hunters and their less well-off village residents leave much to be desired. The dissatisfaction of many Dolgan in Taymyr Autonomous Okrug raises the unanswered question of the allocation of hunting territories.

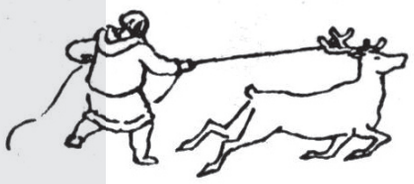
Today, the lack of reindeer herders, hunters, and fishermen is a serious problem. Specialists be-lieve that this is the primary challenge

to ongoing development of Dolgan ethnic traditions and subsistence activities. Youth are not interested in following in the footsteps of their forefathers due to the difficult working conditions, a life in the tundra, and the dramatic differences between that life and life in population centers. In the Anabarskiy District of Yakutiya, they have attempted to address this issue by creating residential complexes in the tundra, to be used as a base for subsistence activities. One such complex has already been built — it contains a small school, medical center, and trading post. They are also developing more comfortable portable housing.

Contemporary spiritual culture is growing within the framework of cultural outreach organizations. In Taymyr Autonomous Okrug, the Dolgan-Nenets dance and singing ensemble Kheyro is well known. Children's folklore collectives operate in most regional centers and larger villages. All Dolgan age groups speak Dolgan fluently, and in 1989, 82 % of Dolgan considered it to be their native language. Regional radio and television programming can be found in Dolgan, and in Anabarskiy District, there is a local television station dedicated to the preservation of Dolgan history and culture. Also in Anabarskiy District, the Saskylykhskiy Folk Theater is in operation. Two new holidays were created to support cultural renewal — *Bayanay* and the Anabar Tundra Nomad Day.

Reindeer and mammoth horn carving and the ornamentation of footwear and clothing with reindeer fur and beading are also becoming more frequent. The Dolgan have developed a noticeable arts intelligentsia. The female poet, Ogdo Aksyonova, has a significant following, as has the artist B. Molchanov. G. Popov and T. Eremina, both Dolgan scholars, have contributed significantly to the study of history.

The Dolgan are one of the few peoples of the Russian North possessing their own indigenous territorial region — the Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Okrug. The Anabarskiy District of Yakutiya also has a similar status (Anabarskiy Indigenous Dolgan-Evenk Ulus). Administrative responsibilities are taken care of by regional Associations of Indigenous Peoples of the North. In Taymyr, the Association was created in 1996 and exists to preserve the distinctive culture of Taymyr peoples and encourage the development of traditional subsistence activities. In Anabarskiy District in Yakutiya, the Association was founded in April 1991 and includes about 400 Dolgan, Evenk and Even. There are other community-based organizations, including the Elder Council and the Association of Fathers of the Ulus Center of Saskylakh.



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ENETS



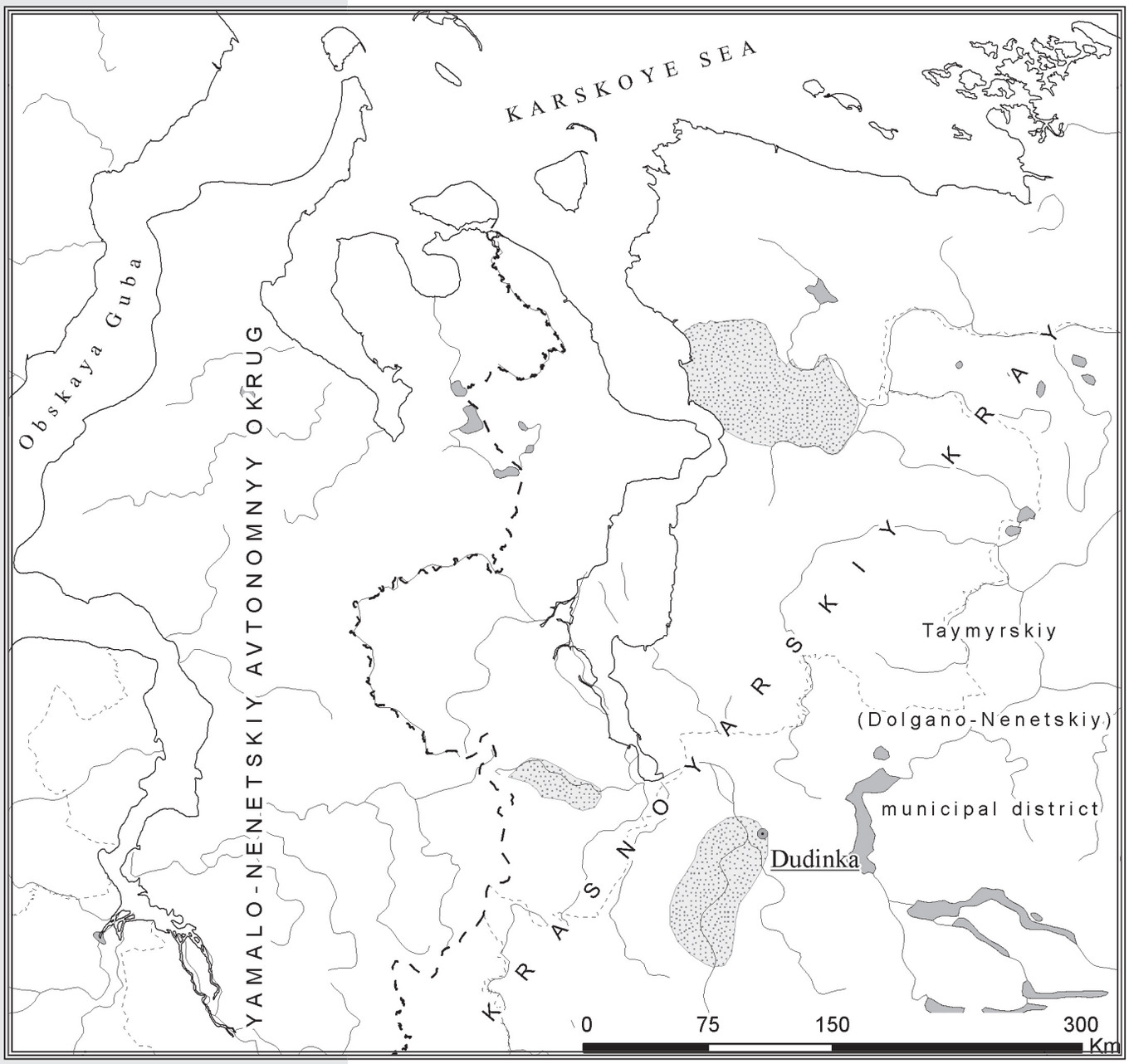
The Enets people live in Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Okrug in the north of Krasnoyarsk Kray. The ethnonym is an artificial creation and was brought into scientific use by G. N. Prokof'yev in the mid-1930s from the Enets term *enete* (man). It has not been broadly accepted as a self-name among the Enets themselves. Old self-names of Nganasan and Nenets origin are still in use — *enneche*, *somatu*, *pe-bay*, *madu* (person), all of which are based on the names of the largest Enets clans. In the past, Russian called the Enets Yeniseyskiy, Khantayskiy or Karasinskiy Samoyeds.

Language

The Enets speak language, which belongs to the Samoyedic branch of the Uralic language family. The Enets language has two vernaculars (which some researchers consider dialects): tundra Enets (Somatu) also



known as Khantayskiy Enets, or forest (Pe-Bay) also known as Karasinskiy Enets. The Enets also commonly speak Nenets. The language is closely related to Nenets, with only a few lexical and phonetic differ-



Current territory of residence of the Enets in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

ences. Their sound system approaches that of the Nganasan language. All Enets speak Russian as well.

Official records

At the moment of Russian contact, the Enets occupied the Taz and Turukhan River basins and the entire Yenisey River lowlands from the Nizhnyaya Tunguska River to the Yenisey Bay. They were crowded out of the Taz and Turukhan region in the early eighteenth century by the Sel'kup and the Ket and out of the left banks of the Yenisey by the Nenets. At the start of the seventeenth century, the total Enets population approached 3,000 people. Their population was greatly reduced by a series

of epidemics, encounters with the Sel'kup, and assimilative processes. The 1926 census marked their population at 378 people. Subsequent Soviet censuses, with the exception of the 1989 census did not include the Enets at all. The majority of them claimed to be Nenets or Nganasan. In 1989, 209 Enets were counted in the Soviet Union, including 198 in Russia, although this number is probably not accurate. Ethnographic research on the Enets in the 1980s determined their population to be 340 people, in agreement with survey sheets.

Contemporary settlements

Today, the Enets live in two districts in Taymyr Autonomous Okrug — Dudinskiy and Ust'-Yeniseyskiy. Here they are concentrated on the lands of the Vorontsovskiy, Noskovskiy, Messoyakhskiy, and Potapovskiy village administrations. In 1996, the largest *obshchinas* of Enets lived in the villages of Vorontsovo (fifty-nine individuals) and Tukhard (forty-five ind.). The village of Potapovo registers eleven Enets. They live in other population centers as well, mixed in among majority Nenets and Russian populations. Their small population and similar cultural traditions are facilitating the assimilation of the Enets by the Nenets, Nganasan, and Evenk. For example, while a significant number of Enets lived in the village of Baikalovskiy in the early 1970s, there are no longer any Enets remaining there. The Potapovskiy Enets population has declined significantly.

Ethnogenesis and history

The development of the Enets as an ethnic community is connected to the Samoyedic peoples who arrived in the area from southern Siberia and the middle Tom' River area and were assimilated by the local population of northern Siberians and acquired the main characteristics of their culture. A number of Enets clan names (Yuchi, Bay, and others) find analogies among the Sel'kup, Tofalar, Kamasintsy, and others. Overall, the modern Enets people consist of several ethnic components: early Samoyeds mixed with the aboriginal population, Tungus-icized aborigines as a result of assimilated Samoyeds, emigrants from southwestern Siberia (Sayan Samoyeds), and various Evenk and Ket-Sel'kup tribal clan groups.

The first mention of Enets, then known as Molgonzei, can be found in fifteenth century Russian sources. Even then they were divided into two ethnographic groups: tundra Enets (Madu, Somatu) and forest Enets (Bay). The nomadic tundra Enets migrated in the forest tundra between the Yenisey and Taz lowlands, and the forest Enets traveled the Turukhan River basin. Under pressure from the Nenets in the west and

the Sel'kup, Evenk, and Ket in the south, the Enets lost their lands in the Taz and Turukhan basins and retreated to the right banks of the Yenisey in the northeast in the second half of the seventeenth century. Some Enets merged with the Nenets and the Sel'kup. In accordance with the Statute on the Management of *Inorodtsy* of 1822, these new Enets lands were made into administrative *uprava* (regions). The tundra Enets joined the Khantayskaya Uprava and the forest entered the Karasinskaya Uprava.

In 1827 the tundra Enets numbered 239 people. In the summer they moved to the Gol'chikha River on the right shore of Yenisey Bay and in the Pur River watershed. In early winter they drove their herds across the Yenisey River to the forest tundra in the south. Families of forest (Karasinskiy) Enets who owned large numbers of reindeer migrated jointly with tundra Enets to the right banks of the Yenisey near the Gol'chikha River. Families with smaller herds lived year round in the forest tundra between the Dudinka River to the north and Plakhino to the south. In 1827 the forest Enets numbered 258 individuals. In 1850, following military conflicts between the Nenets and the Enets at Lake Turuchedo, the two groups agreed upon a final border: the right mountainous slope of the Yenisey River came to be considered Samoyed (belonging to the Enets), and the left lowland side became Yurats (Nenets).

Social organization

Until the nineteenth century the Enets preserved patrilineal exogamous groups, large patriarchal families, polygamy, levirate, and bride money. By the nineteenth century's end, their main form of social organization had become neighborly obshchinas — camps for the collective pasturing of reindeer and small seine fishing brigades organized during spawning seasons. The ethnic composition of these communities was varied in part. Dolgan, Nenets, and Evenk lived with the Enets.

Subsistence activities

Hunting, reindeer husbandry, and fishing formed the basis of the Enets traditional activities. They practiced Samoyed-style reindeer husbandry, and in the past their husbandry focused on providing transportation. The system of free reindeer pasturing accompanied by smoke fires in the spring and fall seasons existed among the forest Enets in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and is genetically connected to the pack reindeer husbandry of the northern Samoyedic peoples. During the Soviet period, transport-based reindeer husbandry converted to production-based.

In the seventeenth century, they provided for their everyday needs by hunting wild reindeer. Many Enets even paid the *yasak* fur tribute in

reindeer skins. They used pursuit hunting aided by leather nets. Pursuit hunters chased part of a herd into an enclosed space. Blundering in the nets, the animals were killed with spears and shot from bows. At the end of the nineteenth century their main weapon became ramrod rifles. In order to stealthily approach an animal, they used decoy reindeer and a blind set on runners. In the tundra, the Enets hunted wild reindeer at river crossings, although their fencing at the river crossing was less substantial than that used by the Nganasan. Unusually, the Enets never used firearms at these fenced crossings. Under the influence of trade relations, fur hunting gained in importance. They hunted arctic fox using jaw traps and other pressure traps. The forest Enets also hunted squirrel and ermine, using pressure traps and other passive traps. They hunted rabbits using snares. They used nets and snares to catch partridge.

Fishing was an important activity for the forest Enets. The Yenisey, its tributaries, and tundra lakes were rich with valuable fish species: whitefish, broad whitefish, sturgeon, *omul'* (Arctic cisco), and white salmon. Lake fishing was a predominant activity, but a significant portion of families also fished on the Yenisey River. They fished not just to meet subsistence need, but also for trade, receiving important imported products and groceries in exchange. Their main fishing gear consisted of purse-seine type nets and throw nets. With the spread of commercial fishing, they began to use seines, which they rented from Russian merchants in exchange for half their catch.

In modern conditions some Enets work at the "Zarya Taymyra" and "Tukhard" reindeer herding *sovkhoz* collective farms, while others have their own "farms". However, many Enets are no longer engaged in these traditional activities, instead working in various organizations and institutions. Wild reindeer hunting maintains its importance.

Transportation

In the past the Enets rode reindeer as their main form of transportation. They acquired the skills to harness and drive reindeer from the Nenets. Their transportation inventory consisted of driving and cargo sleds, although their sleds differed somewhat from those of the Nenets. Winter passenger sleds usually had four or five pairs of stanchions. Summer sleds used by the forest tundra Enets had a "ram" brushbow attached to the front of the sled and easing passing through bushy areas. Women's winter sleds were very tall with semi-rounded sides and rear to which they attached a fur curtain. Unlike those of the Nenets, Enets cargo sleds always had angled stanchions. Reindeer were used as transportation mainly during nomadic migrations. During the winter, hunters moved about on skis. In the summer, during wild reindeer hunting and fishing they used boats — single person board (*vetka*) and larger log boats designed to move cargo.

Housing

The Enets had only one housing type — a Samoyed conical *chum (mya*). Tundra Enets *chums* were identical to those of the Nganasan and differed slightly from the Nenets *chum*. Enets *chums* had three or, more often, two main poles and two covers. It differed from the Nenets *chum* in that it was smaller, somewhat differently arranged on the inside, and had a different door location. Enets doors always opened to the east. They had summer and winter *chums*, and they used old, worn winter covers for their summer *chums*. The inside of a chum was lined with grasses, reeds, and reindeer skins. The hearth was in the center. Inside the *chum*, they sat on litter bedding and slept in sleeping bags. Low wooden tables rounded out the indoor furniture. In the rear of the *chum*, beyond the hearth, they stored wooden anthropomorphic figures of their ancestors. During migrations they carried these figures on special sacred sleds.

In the 1930s, the Enets began to live in *baloks* (a *chum* on a sled) in the winter, a custom borrowed from the Dolgan. The *balok* is a rectangular shelter with a flat roof set upon runners. The wooden frame of the balok was covered on the outside with skins and canvas and lined with fabric on the inside. It was heated with an iron stove. The average size of a balok was three meters long by one and a half to two meters in width and no more than one and a half meters in height. Unlike the Dolgan, the Enets always placed the door on the left side. In contemporary villages, the Enets live in manufactured homes typical of buildings in northern villages.

Clothing

Tundra Enets' clothing is similar to that of the Nganasan, while the forest Enets clothing resembled that of the Nenets. It was sewn from reindeer skins. In the winter, men's parkas were pull-overs similar to the Nganasan and had two layers: the internal *dyodu* was sewn with the fur on the inside and was longer than the outer layer (*pazo pagga*), which reached to the knees, had a hood, and was sewn with the fur on the exterior. These were trimmed along the hem with white dog fur. *Obi* mittens were made from legskins and seamed tightly to the sleeves of the parka. While traveling on the tundra in the winter, they wore a hooded *sokuy* parka (*sokote* in Enets) made from white reindeer fur atop their parka. A "horn" was sewn to the front of this over-parka — a protuberance made from skins and filled on the inside with reindeer wool. Such "horned" *sokuy* were also worn by the Nganasan. Men's winter pants (*taruo*) were sewn with the fur on the interior, and their design did not vary from those worn by the Nenets. Summer pants were made from suede, the material they also used to make undershirts similar to the Nenets. Summer parkas were lighter in weight. Unlike those of the Nenets, men's winter foot-

wear (*bakari*) did not have a rise. In the winter they wore them with fur stockings (*motuza*).

Unlike those of the men, women's parkas opened in the front and had no hood. Outer and inner parkas were sewn together at the collar, and the trim was made of dark or white dog fur. They wore a sleeveless deerskin jumper with openings in the front and back. They added a small purse to the jumper to hold fire-making tools and a needle holder. The jumper was decorated with crescent-shaped pendants in front and rings, chains, and small pipes on the thighs. In the summer women wore only one parka directly over their skin. Women's legskin boots were shorter than those worn by men, and the sides of the legs were decorated with strips of dark fur. Women's winter hats (*ten*) were made from white deerskin in the shape of a hood and had two layers. Forest Enets clothing in the late nineteenth century greatly resembled that worn by the Nenets, and by the twentieth century this was true of tundra Enets as well. Today, traditional clothing is worn only during winter months when they are hunting, fishing, or working with their reindeer. Traditional clothing is better preserved among the Enets who live among the Nganasan.

Food

Meat and fish are the Enets' traditional foods. They especially valued reindeer meat, but also ate rabbit, partridge, goose, and duck. In the past, they generally ate reindeer meat and fish frozen or raw. Later, they began to boil large chunks of meat in pots, serving it on wooden trays or platters. Geese, ducks and other birds were boiled whole. They ate with their hands, cutting the legs off with knives. Fish and meat was boiled into a variety of soups or made into a fish broth with grain. *Varka* was a common dish and was made from fish flour (*porsa*), which was added to soups or mixed with rendered fish fat.

Plant foods included wild onion, roots, and berries. They brewed tea from lingonberry leaves and other woody parts. In the latter half of the nineteenth century imported products came into use: sugar, tea, dried cookies, flour, and oil. They made purchased rye flour into thin flatbreads and ate them smeared with fish fat. Today, Russian cuisine predominates, although raw fresh fish and meat are still popular, as are thinly sliced strips of frozen fish (whitefish, broad whitefish, and white salmon) or salted and seasoned meat. Fresh raw reindeer meat is usually eaten after a cull or successful hunt, dipping the pieces into warm blood.

Religion and spiritual culture

At the outset of the twentieth century, the forest Enets and most of the tundra Enets were nominally Russian Orthodox, despite the fact

that they preserved their traditional animist beliefs. They believed that the universe consisted of two worlds: the Upper World, in which various deities resided, and the Lower World, populated by evil spirits spreading death and illnesses and taking the souls of the dead. There were four categories of supernatural beings: *nga*, *kacha*, *samady*, and *amuki*. *Nga* were deities generally appearing in the form of women: *Dy-menyuyu* ("Old Woman of the Earth"), *Kadya-e* ("Sun Mother"), *Bid-e* (Water Mother), and others. *Badasi* ("Orphan God") was a special protector to the Enets and took the form of a man. *Kacha* were demon carriers of illness. *Samady* were deities that helped shamans. They took the form of animals. Supernatural *amuki* resembled people but differed in some non-human characteristic: thick fur, great height, etc. They frequently appeared in the role of fairy tale cannibals or other varied functions.

The Enets had cults for natural phenomena, spirit-masters of particular places, and others. They made sacrifices (pieces of meat, fish, fabric, money, etc.) and placed their images at their hunting grounds and at elevated points nearby fishing areas. Shamanism was practiced. They had several categories of shamans. Depending on a shaman's experience and length of service, they had a variety of functions: healing the sick, foretelling the future, leading burial rituals, conducting souls of the dead to the afterworld, etc.

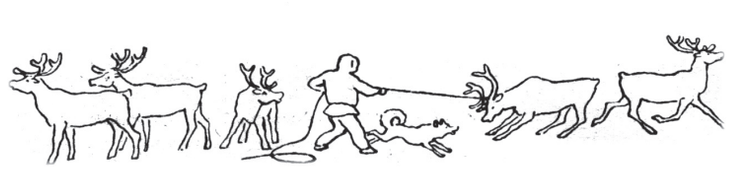
Enets burial rituals had much in common with the Nenets and Nganasan. The dead were wrapped in special clothing and sewn into reindeer skins and then taken by sled into the tundra. They erected a wooden shack with no entrance at the burial site directly over the body on the sled. The reindeer that brought the deceased to burial were killed. They left the deceased's belongings at the site — spear, boat, and traps for men, and dishes and sewing implements for women. All of their belongings were damaged ahead of time. Shamans always participated in the burial. Returning to camp, participants in the burial underwent ritual cleansing by stepping over the fire or a dead dog.

Folklore

Enets folklore includes mythological and historical legends, animal stories, and fables. The *dyore* is their epic genre and has stories of real historical heroes and events, while *syudobichu* stories recount mythological heroes. They were performed in recitative style. Their musical culture is based on folklore tradition and is related to Nenets and Nganasan music. Songs came in two genres: *bare* ("melody") and are characterized by individual improvisation, while *kunuyare* ("song") is a musical poetic composition observing a system of traditional symbols and allegorical images. Their applied decorative arts included artistic appliqué of fur and bone carving.

Contemporary society

Modern-day Enets live in mixed communities with other indigenous minorities and form a single, unified ethno-cultural society. Nonetheless, 46 % of Enets claim Enets as their native language, 38 % prefer Russian, and the rest speak Nenets or Nganasan. The Enets do not have a writing system, although there is talk of creating an Enets alphabet. Enets language instruction is not offered in schools. Only the older generation speaks Enets, and it is mostly used in everyday conversations as well as during local radio broadcasts (Vorontsovo village). They do not have Enets ethno-cultural institutes or community organizations. Some self-government duties are performed by the Numpan Association of Clan Communities, a unified part of the Tukhard Reindeer Sovkhoz (collective farm) that split off from the sovkhoz of the same name and leads independent reindeer husbandry activities.



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EVEN

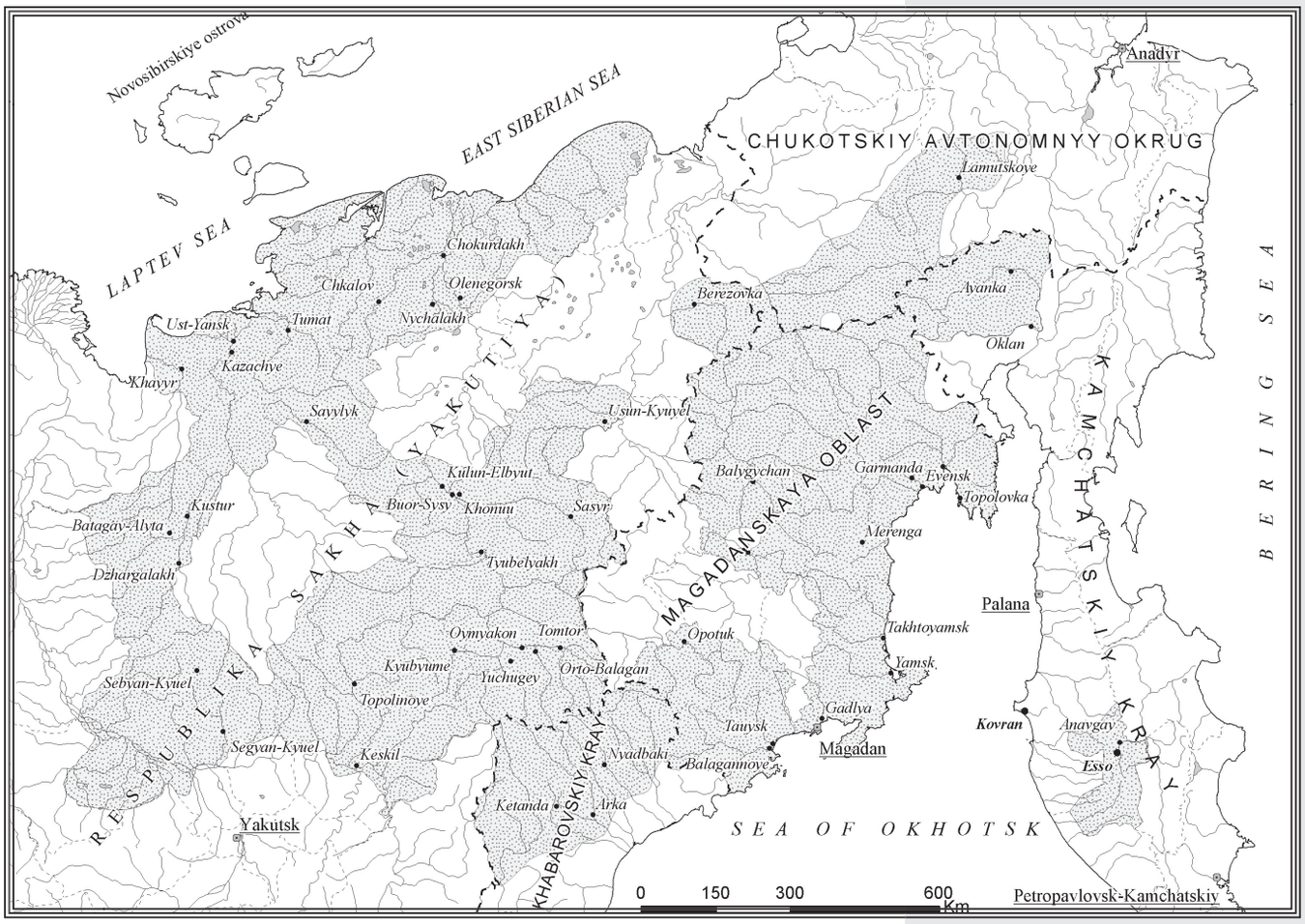
The Even people live in northeastern Siberia and are a branch of the northeastern Tungus (Evenk). In the past, two large ethnographic Even groups existed: reindeer herders and settled "unmounted Tungus." The majority of contemporary Even call themselves *Even*. Based on this term, the people's official name was created in the early 1930s. There are a few variations: *yvyn*, *eben*, *evun*. Researchers translate this ethnonym in several ways: "local", "of here", "descending from the mountains", and others. The ethnonym *oroch* (of reindeer) was also used by Even reindeer herders along the Sea of Okhotsk coastline. Until recently, settled Even also used the term *mene* as an ethnonym. Unmounted Tungus called the Even reindeer herders by this name. Traditional geographical self-names were also quite common: *didiginkenel* of the Gizhiga River, *rassokhamnel* of the Rassokha River, the *kavenkenel* who lived along the Kava River, and others. Old Russian terms for the Even were *lamut*, *lamskiye tungusy*, and *lamskiye muzhiki* (from the Evenk *lamu* or "sea"). At the turn of the twentieth century, the ethnonym *Lamut* was used as a semi-official term describing most eastern Even, despite the fact that their official name remained *Tungus*.

Language

The Even speak Evenk, part of the Manchu-Tungus branch of the Altaic language family. There are approximately twenty dialects and vernaculars in Evenk, united by three main dialects: eastern, middle, and western. The dialect of Even living in Magadan Oblast is used as a literary language and is fairly broadly used. 44% of Even claim Evenk as their native language.

Ethnogenesis

Even ethnogenesis is related to the disintegration of the larger Tungus community and the separation of the Tungus. The Tungus were the ancestors of modern Evenk and Even and lived across vast areas of middle and eastern Siberia. The Tungus likely began to leave Trans-Baikal and the Near Amur for the north in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries AD. The area around the Vilyuy River was one of the first regions settled by them in Eastern Siberia. From there, they traveled to the upper Nizhnyaya Tunguska and Olenyok Rivers. A significant number of Tungus left northwestern Trans-Baikal and ended up along the Sea



Current territory of residence of the Even in Russia

of Okhotsk coastline. The Tungus penetrated the northeastern tundra in Yakutiya fairly early.

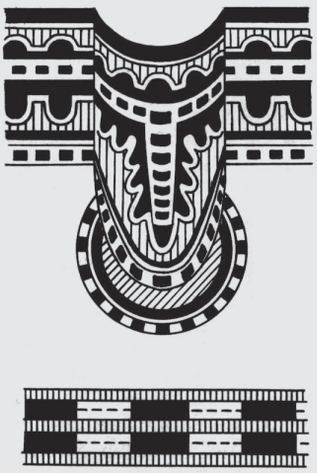
During these migrations across Siberia, the Tungus met with aboriginal Siberian tribes. They fought with some of them, while developing good neighbor relations with others. In the end, however, they assimilated all of these groups. During these ethnic interactions between the Tungus and aboriginal tribes, the Even formed as an independent ethnos. The Yukaghir and Koryak played an especially notable role in their ethnogenesis. In Yakutiya, the Even experienced strong Yakut influence late in their formation.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Even had migrated to the Sea of Okhotsk coast, as well as to points west, along spurs of the Verkhoyansk Ridge and along the Kolyma, Indigirka, and Omolon Rivers. The arrival of Russians combined with devastating disease epidemics during the latter half of the seventeenth century led to intensive Even migration to the Uda and Amgun' River regions. They reached Yukaghir and Koryak lands to the northeast, some of them joining Even clans and facilitating an increase in Even numbers. The Even's movements to the northeast continued into the nineteenth century. By the 1840s they had appeared

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

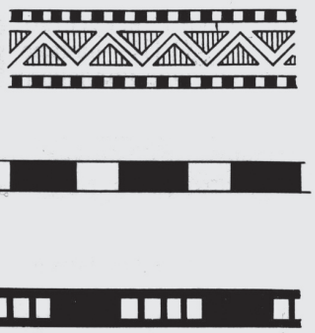
in the Gizhiga River region, and after a few more years, on the Kamchatka Peninsula. During this northeastern migration phase that began in the latter half of the seventeenth century and ended at the conclusion of the nineteenth century, the Even tripled in size, growing from 3,600 to 10,700 in population.



Official records

The 1989 census counted 17,199 Even in the Soviet Union, including 17,055 in the Russian Federation. The majority of Even live today in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya), Magadan Oblast, Kamchatka Oblast, and Khabarovsk Kray. In Yakutiya, the Even are mainly settled in Ust'-Yanskiy (939 people), Eveno-Bytantayskiy (903), Tomponskiy (735), Kobyayskiy (677), Momskiy (645), Allaykhovskiy (544), Nizhnekolymskiy (520), Bulugunskiy (384), Srednekolymskiy (364), and Oymyakonskiy Districts (322).

In Magadan Oblast, the majority of Even live in Ol'skiy (822 people), Severo-Evenskiy (734), and Omsukchanskiy Districts (295). In the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, the Even are concentrated in Bilibinskiy and Anadyrskiy Districts, 807 and 448 individuals respectively. On the Kamchatka Peninsula, 672 live in Bystrinskiy District and 713 in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. In Khabarovsk Kray, 1,125 Even live in Okhotskiy District.

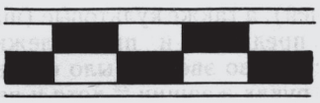


Social organization

At the start of the twentieth century, the Even had preserved significant remnants of their patriarchal clan organization. They were divided into exogamous patrilineal clans. In terms of social relationships, the Even have similar institutions to those of the Evenk — paternal clans, large and small patriarchal families, patronymy, private ownership of reindeer, the custom of *nimat* (which flowed out of an ancient technique for dividing property), and others. The Even have other specific characteristics. Despite the existence of marriage dowries, levirate was not widely practiced, and in several regions it was not observed at all. Even did not marry the daughter of the mother's brother, while the Evenk considered this type of marriage preferable. The Evenk categorically forbade the marriage of blood-related brothers (and cousins) to sisters (and cousins). The Even permitted such marriages. These and a whole list of other differences in marital customs are the result of influence by the Even's neighbors, especially the Yukaghir. Many social institutions reflect the priority of a matrilineal beginning.

Subsistence activities

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Even had split into three groups, based on their primary activity: taiga reindeer husbandry, mixed taiga-coastal (where hunting, fishing, and reindeer husbandry were equally important), and non-reindeer herding fishing and hunting (with a main focus on coastal fishing). Taiga reindeer herders stayed on the mainland and did not spend time in coastal lands. Their reindeer grazed year-round in the mountainous taiga zone. The annual cycle was adapted to the interests of reindeer husbandry. Approximately one-quarter of all Even lived this lifestyle.





Another 70% of Even lived the mixed taiga-coastal lifestyle. They completed enormous annual migrations, leaving the continental taiga in the spring and traveling to the Sea of Okhotsk coast and returning to the taiga in the fall. Their migrations frequently reached 1,200 kilometers in one direction. Comparatively small herds grazed in coastal mixed grasses in the summer months, staying in wind-sheltered areas near Even hunting grounds in the winter. Semi-settled fishermen comprised the remaining 5% of the total Even population, spending the majority of their time on the Sea of Okhotsk coastline fishing for fish and hunting marine mammals. In the winter, they headed into the taiga to hunt, not far, as a rule, from their permanent settlement.

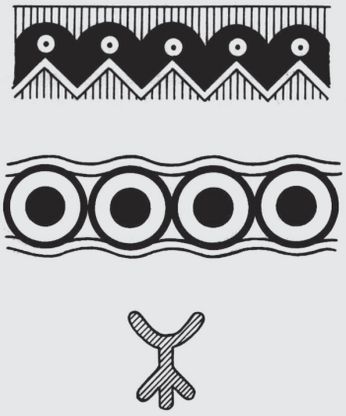


For the Even, hunting was the most important means of meeting all of their main needs. Hunting equipment, techniques, and targets had much in common with the Evenk and reflect a general Tungus cultural influence. They mainly hunted for wild reindeer, moose, mountain sheep, musk deer, and rabbit. In addition, they caught wood grouse, partridge, hazel grouse, geese, and duck. The Even hunted bear, a practice strictly regulated by rules and rituals relating back to the ancient totemic cult. Similar beliefs prevented them from hunting wolf, eagle, swan, and a few other bird species.



Hunting for wild reindeer and mountain (snow) sheep was an important activity for the Even. As opposed to the Yukaghir, who hunted for reindeer mainly at river crossings, the Even preferred to hunt them on dry land. Their favorite approach was persistence hunting. A hunter on skis followed the animal until it was too tired to extract itself from deep snow. They also used decoy reindeer and other passive techniques to hunt wild reindeer. Hunting using snare traps was especially common. They only rarely hunted for birds, and then only a few hunters from the resident population worked mainly in the spring and fall during goose and duck migrations. The settled Even were the only people to hunt marine mammals. At the summer's end, they caught seal at the mouths of rivers and on the remaining fast ice. They initially clubbed the seals at their haulouts, but in later years they began to use firearms.





Fur hunting, especially for sable, was fairly common even before the arrival of the Russians. The Even clearly preferred active hunting to passive techniques such as trapping. They used dogs at the start of winter, when the snow was not yet deep. The dog tracked the animal until chasing it up a tree, at which point the hunter shot it using a bow. In the latter half of winter, they generally caught fur animals using traps and snares. By the end of the eighteenth century sable stocks were greatly reduced in most regions of the northeast. Instead of sable, they began to hunt squirrel, fox, and wolverine. At the same time, hunting techniques and gear noticeably changed in various regions. In Oymyakon, they preferred deadfall traps. They used crossbows to hunt for fox and rabbit. In the spring, jaw traps were widely used. Ambush techniques were also practiced.

In Tomponskiy District in Yakutiya the Even preferred traditional hunting using dogs. Bears were caught in deadfall traps, wolverine in a specially designed jaw trap. In Momskiy District, hunters focused mainly on hunting for meat skins, killing (commercially valuable) fur-bearing animals only as the opportunity arose. They did not travel far from camp and always rode atop a reindeer. In comparison with the Evenk, the Even acquired firearms relatively late, although firearms did appear quickly after the Russians' arrival in some areas.

Even reindeer husbandry was initially purely focused on using the animals for transportation. It was in many ways (free grazing, no guard dogs, using reindeer for riding and pack transport, etc.) similar to Tungus taiga style reindeer husbandry. In the eighteenth century, some Even groups switched to a more production-oriented style, acquired from the Koryak. By the nineteenth century's end, the Gizhiginskiy and Ol'skiy Even had families each owning herds with thousands of reindeer. The Bystrinskiy Even on the Kamchatka Peninsula mainly practiced this type of productive reindeer husbandry.

The main distinction between Even reindeer husbandry and that of the Koryak and Chukchi was grazing of reindeer in small herds. Due to the difficulty of grazing large herds in taiga conditions, they divided larger reindeer herds into small groups, each of which was pastured separately. Even pasturing techniques differed from those of the Evenk, as the Evenk mainly set their animals free to graze without guards. The Even always sent someone out to watch over the herd, either mounted or on foot. They did also practice free grazing, but only during certain times of year, usually during the rutting and mushroom seasons, when the reindeer became difficult to manage. They used a system of smoke fires to protect the herds from flies in taiga pastures. The Even did not use dogs to watch over herds, although they did use them as herd protection against wolves. Unlike the Evenk, not all Even milked their reindeer, and today only the Momskiy Even practice this, but only on occasion. The Penzhinskiy and

Bystrinskiy Even learned to suck reindeer milk from the udder from the Koryak and Chukchi.

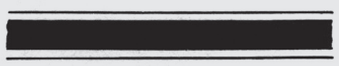
During the period of Soviet *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* production, the Even formed large communal herds of reindeer (up to 30,000 heads). Even reindeer husbandry was known for its high productivity, meeting all the needs of not just the Even themselves, but also the surrounding population. The post-Soviet reformation of collective farms in the 1990s led to new ways of organizing reindeer farming — clan and family collectives, indigenous corporations, and others. The Even invested great hope in the creation and use of these types of farms, hopes that were unfortunately not justified. Weak or non-existent government assistance for the creation and development of indigenous corporations led to the complete destruction of industrial-scale reindeer husbandry.





Fishing is another important activity for most Even. Along the Sea of Okhotsk coastline, their main target species was salmon. Fishing was less important and had more of a supplementary nature for the Yanskiy, Indigirskiy, and Kolymskiy Even. They fished for whitefish, broad whitefish, white salmon, northern pike, and, in the upper reaches of mountain rivers, for grayling. Fishing gear was typical Tungus hook and line gear: *chen'ch* and *elg"*. The Even also used nets (*adal*) that were elegantly plaited from white horsehairs bartered from the Yakut. The Even in Kamchatka and Yakutiya, as well as among the Anadyrskiy and Gizhiginskiy Even further north, acquired pot trap technology from the Koryak, Itel'men, and Yukaghir. They generally preserved fish for future consumption, using the *yukola* technique. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, Even living along the Okhotsk coast commonly preserved fish by means of salting and smoking.





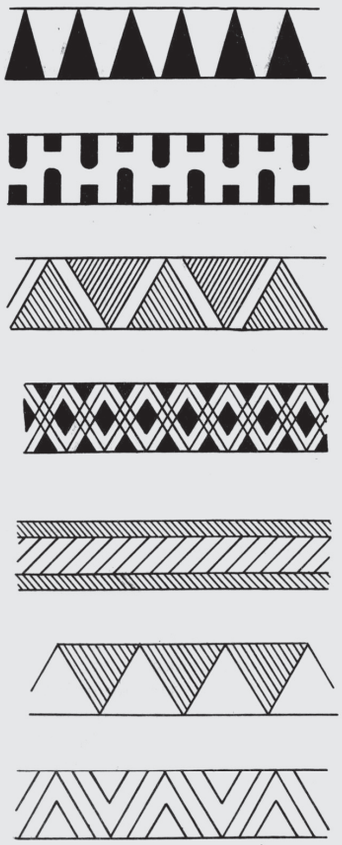
By the end of the twentieth century, Even fishing began to turn away from a subsistence focus toward commercial fishing. This process has been especially intense along the Sea of Okhotsk seaboard, as well as in the Anadyr River area. The Even actively acquired new target species (spawning herring) and new gear (nets, beach seines). The growth of the herring fishery brought about significant changes to the Even reindeer-herding calendar, requiring them to spend part of the summer on the sea-coast. If earlier they would have brought their herds to the sea in July or August, now they began to arrive in early May. They fished for herring until July, when salmon spawning season began. Reindeer herds spent this entire time free at pasture, and the Even began gathering their herds again only with the first snow.



In the distant past, gathering was also a very important aspect of Even activities, as important as hunting and reindeer husbandry. This can be deduced from the extremely rich terminology associated with the names of various plants. They gathered plants not just in the spring and summer, but also at other times of year, although they did not preserve plants for future consumption. They used berries, nuts, and various roots in both raw

and cooked forms. Russian settlers greatly admired the rich expertise of the Even in using the plant resources of the Russian northeast, borrowing much of this knowledge for their own use.

Even cultural interaction with Yakut and Russian "old-timers" facilitated the development of new activities — domestic livestock husbandry and gardening. Yakut-type horse husbandry appeared earliest. They kept horses year round, setting them to graze. In the summer the animals were pastured with reindeer, but kept separately during winter months. They did not gather hay for horses, nor did they build special barns for them. They rode horses, mainly in the summer, and also used them as pack animals. Dairy farming and gardening appeared later, although by the mid-nineteenth century, the Even already had domestic livestock, gathered hay, and planted potatoes.



Material culture

The Even did not have any professional trades. They made all of their work gear, household objects, implements, and gear by making things at home. Blacksmithing was long known to the Even, as illustrated in their terminology related to ironwork. The Even did not, however, engage in smelting iron or other metals. They acquired iron from neighboring peoples, mainly the Yakut. Among their neighbors, the Even were known as recognized authorities on the production of various metal items.

Almost all Even men produced items from wood, bone, and horn. They used axes, knives, saws, bow drills, chisels, gougers, and shavers. Using these tools, they made saddle frames, children's cradles, skis, and household items. Unlike the Chukchi, who used axes only to cut down trees and chop firewood, the Even used this tool to hew boards, split timbers, and do even finer work.



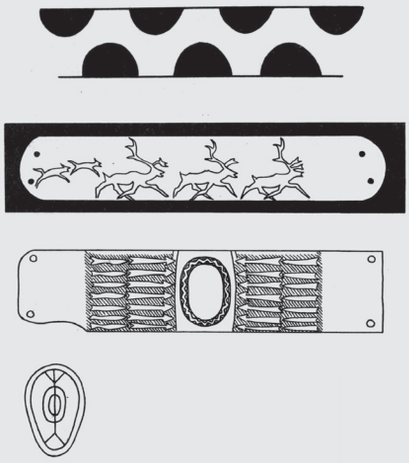


Settlements and housing

By the start of the twentieth century, the Even had three settlement types: camps used by reindeer herders and hunters, villages for long-term residents, and the *zaimka*, a type of single-household settlement. Camps were generally small settlements used during part of the year and contained several families, usually related. Camps grew in population in the summer, usually from the end of May until the beginning of August. At those times, Even camps could contain seventy or more *yurts* in which several hundred people might live. The majority of camps were part of a nomadic association. The association gathered in one place only rarely, usually during the summer. Annual *sulgan* meetings were attended by everyone in the nomadic association.

Permanent Even villages were mainly found along the Okhotsk coastline and in the Anadyr River watershed. For the most part, descendants of "unmounted" and "sitting" Tungus lived here. The 1897 census located seventeen such settlements, the majority of which had Even living with Russians, Kamchadal, settled Koryak, Chuvan, and Yakut. These settled Even shared many common lifestyle aspects with the Russians. They lived in cottages containing a "clean" room for guests, kept livestock, planted potatoes, and hunted only occasionally.

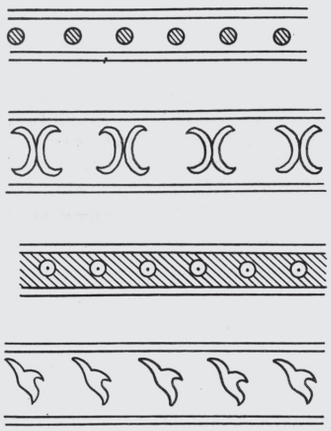
Settled Even also lived in permanent *zaimka* settlements. These arose in locations convenient to fishing or hunting for marine mammals or were close to existing settlements. Some of these *zaimkas* became large villages over time. For example, the village of Arka (Okhotskiy District) grew from the Even *zaimka* Mokrousova, which was founded in the last century alongside the Agat'kan River spawning grounds.



The Even had two main types of portable housing: *ilum*, a conical *chum* of the general Tungus style, and the *chorama dyu*, a unique cylinder-cone design better known as a *yurt* or *uras*. The *ilum* fell out of use in most regions by the end of the eighteenth century. It continued to be used as a storage facility until recently in many villages in Yakutiya, Severo-Evenskiy, and Omsukchanskiy Districts of Magadan Oblast. Reindeer herding brigades and hunters sometimes use the *ilum* for temporary shelter. There were other types of housing, in addition to the *ilum* and *yurt*. Unmounted Tungus from the Okhotsk coast lived in oblong eight-sided *uran* and round *kol'tan* that reach up to three meters in height and had two entrances. These were covered in birchbark or fish skin. In the winter, they lived in round semi-dugout homes with flat roofs and the entrance made through the smoke vent *utan* or with a cone-shaped roof and side entrance *dzhug*.



The transition from *chums* to cylindrical-conical *yurts* is likely related to the development of pastoral style reindeer husbandry among the Even. The *chorama dyu*, a portable home, was used by Even across all of their range. Its framework consisted of four posts (*khalkimancha*), two of which have openings at the top ends to which a horizontal crossbar (*eketen*) is attached. Kettles are then hung from the *eketen* inside the *yurt*. The cylindrical wall of the yurt is built from short poles (*chora*), connected into a tripod. Two of its legs are about one meter in height and inserted into the ground at angles to each other, while the third leg serves to connect to the upper corner of the next rung. Arranged in a circle around the future *yurt*, these tripods create its cylindrical shape. The *yurt* was covered in the winter using reindeer skins with the fur facing the inside. In the summer, the *yurt* was draped with suede or birchbark boiled in water and ash. Along the seacoast, they also used fish skins as *yurt* coverings. Such *yurts* were called *garmi*. The *yurt's* floor was first covered with larch branches or Siberian pine brush and then overlaid with unworked reindeer skins. The doorway was hung with an appliqué



embroidered suede curtain. Each family member had their own place in the *yurt* — women lived in the domestic corner and men lived in the front area. Everyone slept along the walls. During the mid-nineteenth century, bed curtains came into use, an idea borrowed from the Koryak. In the summer, these were made from calico or suede, while made with fur for winter use.

Traditional non-residential Even buildings are generally still used today. They can be divided into three groups: log storehouses on pilings, platform storage, and awnings. Those structures with coverings have the conical roofs characteristic of a Tungus aesthetic tradition. Storehouses and platforms (described with a variety of terms in different regions: *neku, puri, birken, edae*) were built from timbers set on posts or sawed off stumps. They were raised stair-step fashion or along a notched timber. The Even generally stored perishable (at risk of damage from rodents or predators) and non-perishable items in them. Canopies (*uradan*) were used to protect sleds and other types of goods and equipment. The roofs of such constructions were made from evergreen bark. Similar structures were common in other taiga regions. In the tundra, where there was no wooden building material, items not required in a given season were usually stored atop cargo sleds and protected with a *chum* cover.

In the past, they also built conical huts (*nimngyn*) from thickly layered boards to store *yukola* and frozen fish and two-sided pitched huts (*kaltam*), with coverings from branches and dried grass (*dalda* among the Yakut Even and *kheve* for the Kamchatka Even). As distinct from those built out in the taiga or tundra, non-residential buildings built today in villages are more substantial and do not have a piling foundation.

Food

In the past, Even nutrition consisted mainly of meat and fish. They considered mountain sheep and wild reindeer meat the tastiest. Domestic reindeer were rarely killed for their meat. To this day, the Even prefer to eat wild game meat. They use all parts of the animal for food. They boiled out bone marrow (*imren*), which they then stored in special containers. Blood was boiled with meat broth, poured into the kettle in a thin stream. The resulting mixture was boiled until it thickened, and the dish was called *nimin*. Sometimes they added dried fish roe to it. Thick liver was stuffed with fat and allowed to air dry for two or three days, then fried with flatbreads. They also simply dried liver and ate it alone or with meat. They made aspic from hooves. "Road" food included dried spinal meat (*khit*). Hot skull and leg bone marrow from reindeer and immature reindeer horn were also delicacies.

The most popular dishes among the Even, however, were raw kidneys (*bosta*), liver (*khakan)*, eyes (*yasal*), lungs (*evto*), mouth (*kapka*), and nose cartilage (*nosma*). They usually ate these while butchering the

carcass. Eyes were cut in half and drunk like an egg. In the winter, they ate frozen liver. Fresh liver was believed to provide strength. Russian hunters also valued raw liver and acquired this dish from the Even.

Boiled meat was the most common everyday meal for all Even. They boiled it in a pot in large pieces, cooking until just underdone. It remained tender at that point. Newborn and unborn reindeer meat (*khonngachan*) was also considered especially tasty, as was tongue (*ennge*) and jaw (*keve*). These were served on special occasions.

Wild game and marine mammal meat were also eaten boiled. Raw or frozen flippers and seal fat (*nemek*) were considered tasty. Unmounted Tungus willingly ate sea mollusks. Fish was an important aspect of diet for settled Even, while for reindeer herding Even it simply provided a bit of variety. The Even never boiled fish whole, nor did they cut it into pieces. The meat was separated from the bones in two thick filets connected at the tail and then boiled. Other parts of the fish were used to make flour (*porsa*). When mixed with fat and berries, *porsa* was known as *khulta*.

Yukola was and remains one of the most popular dishes for the Even of Magadan Oblast. Other, no less loved, fish dishes include fermented salmon heads (*munche*). The Even also ate raw salmon roe, thinly sliced fins, and fish tails. Head cartilage was popular, as was *kolalich nyangucha*, dried roe with Siberian pine nuts. This dish also served as a treatment for stomach ailments. Dried roe was also made into a soup (*kholpin*) with pieces of seaweed and sap. The Even were not known for their varied consumption of vegetables. They did eat raw bilberry, but did not preserve them for later consumption. In the spring, they ate larch sap, boiling it together with bone marrow. They prepared an extract of young honeysuckle vine, which they drank with tea. They added day lily bulbs, willow weed, and young buds to dishes.

With the arrival of the Russians, settled Even began to gradually change their dietary structure. Flour, grains, salt, sugar, tea, alcoholic beverages, and other products were added to their diet. As did other northern indigenous peoples, the Even bought tea bricks, which they used to prepare very strong tea, almost black, without milk. In recent decades, Even living in Yakutiya have acquired the habit of drinking tea with dried milk from their Yakut neighbors.

Clothing

Traditional Even clothing resembled that of the Evenk. They used reindeer furs and suede in its manufacture. Men and women's outer clothing consisted of kaftans with frontal openings. Kaftans were always sewn to be close-fitting: the flaps did not join but were connected with straps. Depending on the season, kaftans would be made from spring, summer, or winter furs from reindeer. There were no design or cut dif-

ferences between women's and men's kaftans. Women's clothing was more richly decorated. Even kaftans differed from those of the Evenk in that in the past they had a "tail" — a fur strip (sometimes two) hanging from the rear that split when it reached the ground.

They also wore a chest cloth (*nel*) with asymmetrical edges, an apron or loincloth, leggings, knee socks, boots, a hat, and sleeves. The latter was sewn even with the kaftan's sleeves, allowing the hunter to rapidly free his hands. The kaftan's sleeves had openings. By the end of the nineteenth century, traditional Even clothing had gone out of use, although some elements are used today.



Aprons (*kherke*) were similar to modern shorts and thus were always accompanied by leggings (*doton*) that played the role of pants. Over time, loincloths gradually lengthened until they turned into common short pants, a process that led in turn to shorter leggings that became knee socks (*bokonan*). Women's traditional leggings were worn long, while men were more likely to wear knee socks.

The hood-style hats (*avun*) worn by the Even had several varieties. A rounded shape was most common and consisted of two sides and one strip that crossed from the forehead down the back. It was always trimmed with fur around the edges to protect the face from cold winds. Another hood-type hat was the *elumcha*, commonly worn by women and children. At the start of the nineteenth century, many Even, especially women, began to wear dresses, which they accompanied with the traditional hat.

Even footwear (*unta*) were customized for summer, fall, and winter wear. In the summer, boots were sewn from reindeer suede, while winter boots were made from reindeer leg skin. They used skins to make two types of boots — the short *tevun* and *nuidu* and long boots that reached the groin, *khelsyk* and *merun*. Tall boots were tied at the waist using a *tiri* tie. They wore *merun* boots for hunting. They used dried grass as an inner lining to boots. In the winter, they always added fur stockings (*dotyn*) to their costume.

Transportation

Historically, the Even only used reindeer for transport. Reindeer could be used at any time of year. Unmounted Tungus and settled Even traveled by dogsled. Any trained reindeer could serve as a pack animal, while larger individuals were chosen for mounted riding. As a rule, such reindeer were neutered.

The Even approached, saddled, loaded, and mounted reindeer from the right side only. The saddle was fastened at the animal's shoulder. When mounting, the rider leaned on a special staff for balance. A rider also maintained balance while riding with the help of the staff. The Even had male (*ninkami*) and female (*tiyun*) staffs. A female staff had a metal hook at the end, which women used to straighten the constantly shifting loads. Although reindeer riding and packing are still practiced today, horses are becoming more commonly used. Horses are capable of carrying large loads.

With the appearance of sleds, the Even began to provide hired transport services. This was especially common during the Soviet period in regions where Dal'stroy (a Soviet organization that used forced labor for development and mining activities in the Far East) was active. Two reindeer were harnessed to a cargo sled and each driver had seven to eight harnessed teams to manage. The driver sat astride on the sled while it was in motion, mounting from the right side and with the left leg on the sled and the right leg on the runner. He managed the reindeer with a long rein in the left hand and carrying a rod (*taralavun*) to urge the reindeer ahead.

At the onset of the twentieth century, it was quite common for some Even to travel by dogsled. Initially, it was the settled Even who used dogs along the Okhotsk coastline, where conditions were good for keeping sled dogs. They harnessed twelve dogs together. The Even kept sled dogs year round, outdoors and leashed. Today, dogs are not often used as a means of transport. This is connected mainly to the extreme cost of maintaining dog harnesses.

The Even also commonly used and continue to use skis as a means of transport. They had two types of skis: *kaysar* skis and *merengte* short skis covered with reindeer legskins on the bottom. The latter were well suited for moving along the taiga. At some point in the past, Even skis were curved not just in front, but also in the rear, a design that was especially useful for slow downhill descents. In those moments, they reversed the skis, wearing them with the grain of the fur on the skis going against the movement. Today, skis are not commonly used. When the Even traveled on skis, they used the same tradition of using only one staff for balance, similar to riding reindeer. Sometimes this staff (or pole) was used as a support for guiding shots.

The Even used two types of boats for water transportation: dugout canoes (*momi*) and birchbark boats (*neluch*). The former were generally used on rivers, although they also set out to sea in them during the spring to hunt seals. Birchbark boats were sized for one, maximum two people. Similar boats were widely used by all Tungus across all regions of Siberia and the Far East until recent times. Some of them are still extant today. Dugout boats have almost completely fallen out of use today.

Religion and spirituality

For the most part, the Even world model and belief system follows Manchu-Tungus lines. They divided the world into three spheres: the world of people (middle world), world of the dead (lower), and world of God (upper). Given these traditional divisions, admission to the upper world and, to some degree, the lower world was transformed by the spread of Christianity. The upper world was frequently juxtaposed with Christian heaven, and the lower world equated with hell. Similar to other peoples of northeastern Asia, the Even believed in reincarnation — immortality of the human soul and its return after death into the world of the living as a new person, in the form of a newborn baby.

The Even belief system also includes a cult of spirit-masters in nature and other elements. According to their animistic beliefs, each thing, phenomenon, natural object, and element had its own spirit (*muran*, *musan*). Only a few of these numerous spirit-masters living in the surrounding world were worshipped by the Even. The fire spirit was always especially highly regarded. It was common practice to "feed" the fire before setting out to hunt or fish. Immediately after a successful kill, a hunter was required to throw small pieces of fat, heart tissue, the head, and lips into the fire, requesting that the fire spirit give him success again in the future. Fire "feeding" is still common today, including the use of wine. Chukotkan Even regularly made sacrifices to the river spirit: during the period of ice breakup, they threw tea or tobacco into the water in order to ensure a good summer and a generous river. They also made sacrifices to a number of local spirits, taking special care with the spirits in those areas where humans pastured reindeer, hunted, and fished. In these cases, sacrifices were not limited to small gifts; in some instances they even sacrificed reindeer.

The cult of the family sacred place was also included in Even beliefs. Each yurt always contained an anthropomorphic image of the *khayta* spirit, the primary protector of the world and a family's wellbeing. It was placed along the wall and covered with an item of clothing. During migration, it was carried in a white pouch on a special reindeer that always traveled at the center of the caravan. Later, when Christianity had spread widely among the Even, orthodox icons received the same treatment.

Like other Siberian and Far Eastern peoples, the Even practiced the cult of the bear. The most distinct aspect of this practice can be seen in their bear holiday. This took place after a successful bear hunt, and only men were allowed to participate. It was forbidden to utter the word for bear (*nakat*) in conversation. Instead, especially during the hunt, they used special terms. At the holiday's end men laid the bear's skull and bones to rest on a special platform. More recently, the Even have

mostly forgotten the bear cult; only older hunters maintain superstitious beliefs in regard to the bear.

For the Even, shamanism was mainly a family practice. Each family appointed by general agreement a person to perform the functions of a shaman. That said, each larger geographic group of Even also had a professional, generally accepted shaman. The Even believed that the true gift of a strong shaman was passed down matrilineally. Shamans were forbidden to hunt, and many individuals with long-term health problems became shamans.

Shamans played a huge role in Even traditional society. This person was responsible for explaining the universe, foretelling the future, and accompanying the dead to another world. Shamans were generally experts on folk customs and traditions, had the power of suggestion and persuasion, and served as leaders in their community. Healing was one of the most important and socially meaningful functions of a shaman. A shaman's success in healing was directly related to that individual's standing among fellow clan members. The burial of a shaman was different than that of a non-shaman. Earlier it was customary to lay them to rest on an *uradan* platform, although other more unusual techniques were also acceptable: the body was dismembered, and the bones and head were hung in a tree.

Despite the important role that shamanism played in traditional Even society, it was not the only belief form among them. Many rituals occurred without the participation of a shaman. For many Even groups, shamanism grew in parallel to the expansion of Christianity. Unlike other northeastern peoples, the Even accepted Christianity in more than just name alone. All Even wore a cross next to their skin and each yurt contained icons stored in special cases and trunks. On Sundays and church holidays, they lit candles at their icons, which were kept in the front corner by the door. If there were no candles available, they hung squirrel or ermine skins near the icon. They always prayed at night and upon waking. They conducted all prescribed church rituals — confession, penance, baptism, etc.

Folklore

Even folklore includes incantations, myths, tales, epics, legends and fables, improvised songs, riddles, sayings, protections, and taboos. *Pirgechen* incantations are an ancient genre of ritual poetry arising from core hunting rituals and have not undergone any genre transformation. Folklore includes addresses to the Sun, Moon, Earth, spirit-masters, and nature. Even myths are of three types: totemic (concerning the origin of specific clans), cosmological (concerning the universe's creation and the origins of flora and fauna), and animistic (where the main theme concerns

the interactions of humans and spirits of nature). Their mythology system is extremely enduring and pervades all Even folklore.

Even songs and dances are especially rich and unusual. Within this genre, Even songs are especially diverse. In addition to celebratory songs, they also sang satirical *d'arganike*, in which an object is mocked and compared to an animal. Borrowed composition-songs were also important to the Even. If someone other than the song's original composer performed a piece, it was expected that the composer be credited. This custom was also applied to the performance of epic pieces.

Even dances were an intrinsic part of their magical ceremonies. For the Okhotsk Even the bear holiday was concluded with a group dance. Dance also accompanied the ceremony in preparation for a successful bear hunt. The majority of traditional Even dances are based on dances in the round. They are accompanied not by musical instruments, but by vocal song and rhythmic exclamations. Vocal impressions of a running reindeer's breathing and the tinkling of metal decorations on the clothing of dancers also serve as accompaniment. Round dances are participated in by the majority of participants and accompanied by rhythmic exclamations. This is a common, large group dance accompanied with separate words and onomatopoeia uttered first by a leader and then repeated by all participants.

Arts and crafts

The main object of Even decorative folk art was clothing. Many travelers and scholars praised the elegant Even costumes. They compared the Lamut Even costume to Spanish tunics. Kaftans were usually richly decorated with colored beading, embroidered with white reindeer hairs and colored silk threads, appliquéd with pieces of fur, strips of skin, and bits of colored fabric, braided straps, and appliquéd with pieced of colored fabric and metallic pieces. All embellishments were carefully thought out and applied.

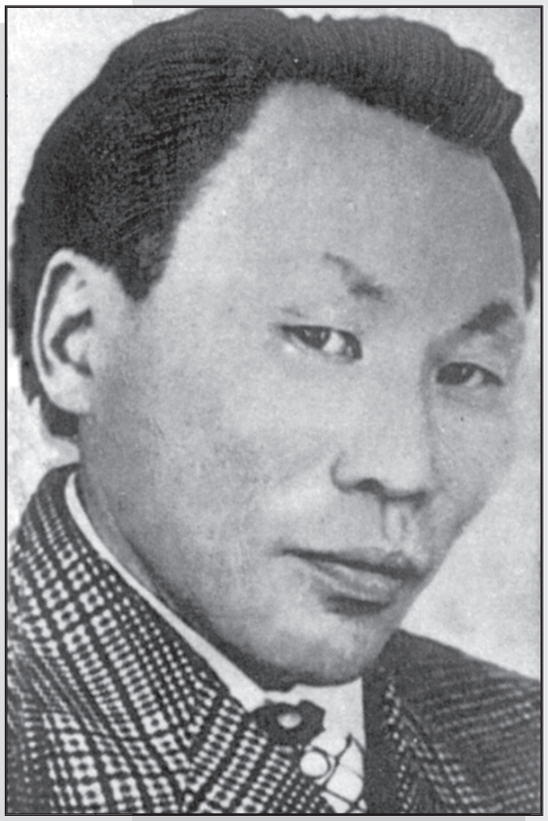
Traditional ornamentation in women's art took the form of simple geometric figures. Even skilled artisans had a perfect command of such artistic techniques as interweaving contrasting colored strips of skin, leather appliqué, beading, fur mosaic work, decorative seam finishing, colored thread embroidery, and others. Ancient and traditional methods such as inserting thin leather strips into cuts in larger leather pieces and reindeer hair embroidery were also widely used. Circle motifs were especially popular among the Even and were thought by all northern peoples to symbolize the sun's image. The sun was worshiped as a source of heat and as the creator of all living things on Earth.

Even men mainly practiced artistic work on wood, metal, bone, and other hard materials. Skillful carving on wood and bone was then decorated using a winder (*uchun*) for tendon-based thread, polygonal

birchbark boxes, unique wooden calendars, various metal decorations of silver, tin, copper, and iron. Ornamental motifs included rhombi, circles, and stylized flowers. Unlike the Evenk, Even metal designs were significantly larger and used composed of crooked lines, stripes, and flourishes, most of which were rosette shapes.

Contemporary life

The fate of the Even in the twentieth century is complex and by no means unambiguous. Without a doubt, economic and cultural constructions and new economic activities sped up consolidation processes and destroyed their isolation and nomadic insularity, but they also facilitated an acknowledgment of ethnic unity. Consolidation only occurred in the framework of specific territorial groups of Even. Pre-existing regular contact between various groups of Even was not a negative impact. Administrative boundaries, the transition to a settled lifestyle, and a lack of a transportation network between and within oblasts meant that regular contact between territorial Even subgroups and within families was practically impossible. Under such conditions, inter-ethnic contacts between the Even and the surrounding population intensified, the number of inter-ethnic marriages grew, and many lost their native language of Even. Beginning in the 1960s, assimilation began to play a determining role in Even ethnic processes.



Bilingual language skills and a reduction in the role of the Even language are a good example of the character and direction of these processes. While, in 1959, 77.5% of Even claimed the Even language as their native tongue, in 1989 only 43.8% made that same claim. Specialists believe that today only older generations and some middle-aged people have a native command of the language. In the 18–35 year old age group, 30–60% of Even speak Even, and only 20% of all school age children speak it. More often than not, Even is spoken in families and in production collectives where the only people are Even.

Ethnic self-awareness, cultural revival and self-governance

A 1992 congress of the Even people gave a powerful stimulus to the growth of ethnic self-awareness. Representatives of all territorial Even groups participated in the congress' work. The congress' outcomes noticeably stimulated the activities of Even community-based organizations focused on linguistic renewal and the development of traditional

spiritual culture. In most regions today, the Even language is taught in grades one through four, although in some schools it is an elective. In Bilibinskiy District of Chukotka, the language is taught through the eleventh grade. There is an experimental nomadic school here that teaches Even. Some preschoolers also study Even. Even teachers are trained in Yakutsk, Palana (Koryak Autonomous Okrug), and Anadyr teacher academies, as well at the Indigenous Minority Peoples College in Cherskiy (Yakutiya), at the Yakutsk University, the International Pedagogical University in Magadan, Herzen Russian State Pedagogical University in St. Petersburg, and Khabarovsk Pedagogical University.

Radio broadcasts in Even take place in Yakutiya, Koryak Autonomous Okrug, and Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. Even literature is printed by publishers in Magadan and Yakutiya. The Chukotkan regional newspaper prints inserts in Even, as do regional papers in Yakutiya. *Aydit* newspaper in Bystrinskiy District of Kamchatka prints in both Even and Russian. Folk ensembles operate in Even villages, including such groups as Nulgur, Gevan Folklore Theater, and others. Folk holidays are again celebrated, traditional sports competitions held, and applied arts and crafts are produced.

Associations for Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North created in the early 1990s in all regions act in the role of self-governing agencies. They actively collaborate with regional and federal agencies, as well as with other agencies, to set fishing and hunting limits, develop employment opportunities for the indigenous, and participate in land allocation processes on behalf of indigenous peoples. Over the last decade, these Associations, clan societies, and other Even organizations have acquired significant experience in self-government.

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EVENK



The Evenk people live in the Russian Federation, Mongolia, and northeastern China. They call themselves *evenki*, *even*, *ile*, *mata*. The ethnonym Evenk became official in 1931; prior to that they were known as the *Tungus*. Some Evenk groups were known as *Orochon*, *Birar*, *Manegry*, *Solon*.

Language

Their language, Evenk, belongs to the Manchu-Tungus group of the Altaic language family. Evenk can be divided into three dialects — northern or Khakayushcheye, southern or Sekayushcheye/Shekayushcheye, and eastern or Sekayushche-Khakayushcheye. Each of these dialects can be further subdivided into vernaculars and accents. In all, there are fifteen dialects that can be separated into fifty vernaculars. The Sekayushche-Khakayushcheye dialect is spoken east of the Vitim and Lena





Current territory of residence of the Evenk in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

rivers; while the border between northern and southern dialects crosses along the Nizhnyaya Tunguska and Vitim rivers. Evenk speak southern dialects in the Trans-Baikal region and in the Lena River headwaters, although there are pockets of eastern dialect-speaking Evenk mixed in throughout. Russian is spoken widely, and many Evenk living in Yakutiya and Buryatiya also speak Yakut and Buryat.

Official records / population

At the point of their unification with Russia, the total Evenk population was not determined. B. O. Dolgikh analyzed *yasak* journals and determined that by the seventeenth century there were 36,135 Evenk. Government statistics on Siberian indigenous populations was based on audits of *yasak* populations and could not be counted on for accuracy. Initially, only work-ready men were counted (by the number of bows). Later, both men and women were counted, but not with precision. The well-known Russian statistician S. Patkanov believed that reliable census data only began with the fifth census (1795 / 1797). After the tenth census, their population was determined using a combination of previous data and calculations for natural growth, a formula that was purely approximate.

The 1897 census gave more accurate data. It counted 64,500 Evenk, including 34,471 of which who claimed Tungus as their native language. The remaining individuals claimed Russian (31.8%), Yakut, Buryat, and other languages. Wandering Evenk (hunters) numbered 28,472 individuals, with the remaining Evenk considered either nomads (horse and livestock herders), settled, Cossacks, etc. S. Patkanov analyzed the results of the census and concluded that there were an artificially high number of Tungus and other indigenous Siberian peoples. He believed that social stratification across Siberia hindered the determination of exact populations of Siberian peoples. Each of these social strata had rights and duties. For example, because Siberian indigenous peoples (inorodtsy) were not required to serve in the military and their *yasak* was smaller than Russian peasant tribute, there was no incentive for them to cross over to the peasantry. As a result, even the most Russified indigenous continued to consider themselves Evenk or other native peoples, even though they were not, for all practical purposes, members of those peoples. Nor did the government wish to translate these Russified inorodtsy, as this would lower the number of *yasak* taxpayers, and thus lower the *yasak*, the primary income source for the Tsar and his family. S. Patkanov wrote, "It will be enough to destroy the relative social stratification of Siberian residents…and the mass of Russified inorodtsy will become Russian even in name."

S. Patkanov's prediction came true. The revolutionary events of 1917 resulted in the elimination of these strata. By 1926, only 37,545 Tungus (Evenk and Even) could be counted in the census. 35,750 Evenk and Even were identified in the 1937 census. No subsequent Soviet censuses can be considered absolutely correct.

Anthropologically, the Evenk present a rather varied picture. The Evenk of Trans-Baikal, Yakutiya, and the Sea of Okhotsk coast have clear indicators of belonging to the Baikal anthropological type. Western Evenk are significantly different from eastern Evenk across a whole range of characteristics, a fact that leads anthropologists to separate them into a distinct western Tungus or Katanga anthropological type. The southern Evenk, including those in the Amur region, belong to various Central Asian types.

As of 1989, 30,163 Evenk resided in the Soviet Union, of which 29,901 lived in the Russian Federation. The Evenk live across a broad range stretching from the western bank of the Yenisey River to the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk and Sakhalin to the east. To the north (above the 70th parallel in places) they share a border with the Even, Yakut, Dolgan, and Nenets. Their southern border travels along the left bank of the Amur River and into northern regions in Mongolia, Manchuria, and Angara. Administratively speaking, the Evenk live in Tyumen and Tomsk oblasts, Krasnoyarsk kray, Irkutsk oblast, Chita oblast, Amur oblast, the Republics of Yakutiya and Buryatiya, Khabarovsk kray, and Sakhalin

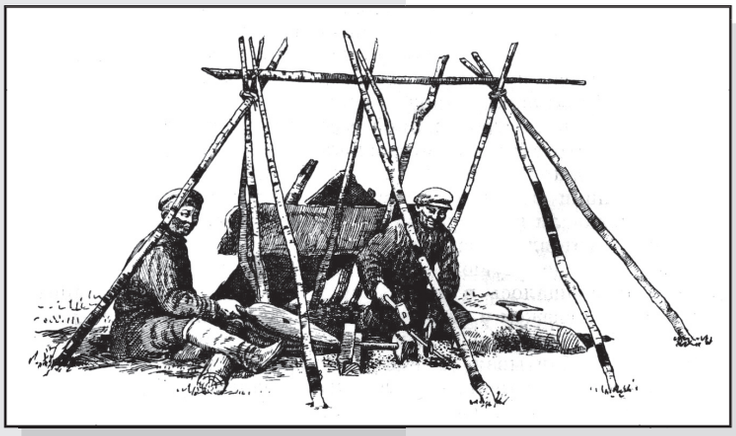
oblast. In no one of these places do they constitute a majority population, tending to live in settlements mixed together with Russians, Yakut, and other peoples. Almost half of all Russian Evenk are concentrated in the Republic of Yakutiya (Sakha). Here, they live mainly in Aldanskiy (1,890 individuals), Bulunskiy (2,086 ind.), Zhiganskiy (1,836 ind.), Olenyokskiy (2,179 ind.), and Ust'-Mayskiy (1,945 ind.) districts The Evenk ethnic territory, the Evenk Autonomous Okrug, actually contains relatively few Evenk — only 11.6% of their total national population. Almost as many Evenk (12.3%) live in Khabarovsk kray. The remaining regions hold 4–5% of all Evenk. Evenk live in mixed communities with other indigenous peoples in Evenkiya, Yakutiya, Buryatiya, Chita oblast, Irkutsk oblast, and Amur oblast.



Without exaggeration, the Evenk are the great Siberian people. There is likely no other people that, despite such insignificant numbers, was able to conquer such a huge territory — more than seven million square kilometers. Their expansive settlement area is a testament to their completely remarkable qualities. Many researchers assert that the Evenk are the best forest hunters and trackers in the world. Travelers were shaken by their high moral ethics, great nobility, and generous souls. The well-known researcher Kastren once called the Evenk "Nobles amongst the Siberian natives."

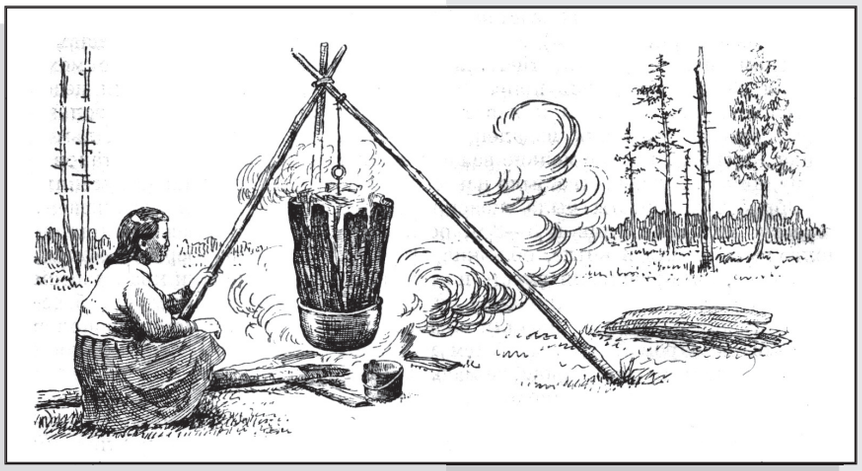
History

The Evenk are set apart by their diffuse settlement pattern. There are hundreds of Russian settlements where Evenk live, but the majority of these contain only a few dozen to two hundred Evenk. This type of settlement pattern has a negative impact on the ethno-cultural development of the group.



A variety of hypotheses exist to explain Evenk ethnogenesis. According to one long accepted theory (G. M. Vasilevich, A. P. Okladnikov, and others), the Tungus were considered the Siberian aborigines. However, archaeological and paleo-anthropological data do not support this conclusion. Neolithic residents of Near Baikal, Yakutiya, and the Near Amur were settled and semi-settled fishing and dog-breeding peoples. There is insufficient basis in historical

sources and folklore to connect these peoples with Tungus nomadic hunters and reindeer herders. Reindeer husbandry is a relatively late cultural and historical development. The earliest sources citing reindeer herders date back to the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries AD, and they are all related to the Trans-Baikal *uvan'* people, who can be readily linked to the Tungus-Evenk and seen as their direct ancestors. One primary source describes the uvan' lands as lacking in grass, sheep, and horses, but having trees, moss, and reindeer (which they harnessed). Chinese chronicles permit a reasonably exact pinpointing of the *uvan*' range — mountainous taiga to the northeast of Barguzina and Selenga, approximately between the upper Olekma and Verkhnyaya Angara rivers.



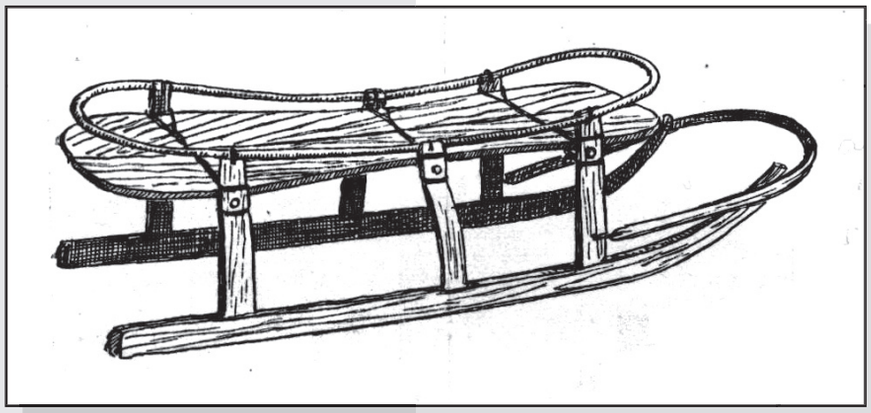
Comparison of a variety of texts, ethnonyms, and toponyms allow the hypothesis that the *uvan'* were not native to Trans-Baikal, rather that they were nomadic herders who arrived from more southern climes. It is more likely that the *uvan'* broke off from the *khi* people, who had much in common with the *syan'bi* and *kidan'*, and that they also shared aspects with the *hun*. The *uvan'* were a comparatively small group within the *khisets*. The *mokhe* and *chzhurchzhen*, ancestors of the Manchurians and other southern Far Eastern peoples, are also members of the *khitets*. Another hypothesis regarding Tungus ancestry is worth mentioning — S. M. Shirokogorov believed that the proto-homeland of Manchurian and Tungus ancestors was the area between the Khuankhe and Yangtze Rivers in southern China, from which they were forced further north. While this hypothesis was criticized for a long time during the Soviet years, today, increasing numbers of scholars believe that his views are solidly based.



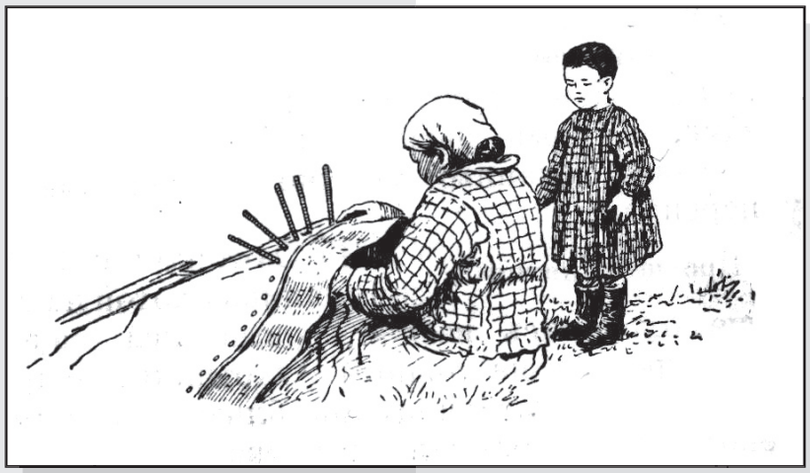
When the *uvan'* appeared in Trans-Baikal and the Near Amur, they intermarried and mixed culturally with the local population, laying the foundation for Tungus formation, who went on to become modern-day Evenk and Even. From time to time, new Turkic, Mongol, and Chzhurchzhen groups joined the *uvan'*. For example, the well-known Tungus clan Dulikagir has clear connections to ancient Turkic ancestors. Mongol descendants mixed with Tungus *uvan'* to form the Gol'degir, Ulyat, Chongolir, Chipchinut, and other clans.

The initial Tungus migration from Trans-Baikal and Near Amur to other Siberian regions likely occurred in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The area around the Vilyuy River was one of the earliest settled

regions, followed by the upper Nizhnyaya Tunguska and the Olenyok rivers. A significant number of Tungus from northwestern Trans-Baikal ended up on the Sea of Okhotsk coast. They also reached the northeastern tundra in Yakutiya relatively early. During this Siberian expansion, the Tungus came into contact with local tribes, whom they eventually assimilated. The complexities of Tungus ethnic formation resulted in three anthropological types and three distinct economic-cultural groups: reindeer herders, livestock herders, and fishermen.



The first contact between Russians and the Evenk occurred at the beginning of the seventeenth century. After the Cossacks established a series of forts in the Ob River watershed, they set out for the Yenisey River. Here, they began to move along its right-hand tributaries, an area settled by Evenk. By 1623, almost all Evenk along the Angara, Nizhnyaya Tunguska, Vilyuy, and Chona rivers had accepted Russian allegiance. With the establishment of Fort Yakut in 1632, the Lena River Evenk were drawn into the judicial relations with the Russian state, not long after followed by the Evenk of Trans-Baikal and the Near Amur.



Although the Evenk's sparsely distributed population and the strength of Russian firearms allowed Russia to bring the Evenk under control with relatively few forces, the process of subjugation was by no means brief or easy. Several decades after the Evenk formally pledged Russian allegiance, various Evenk groups repeatedly rebelled, "beating" officials and businessmen. With minimal Siberian military forces, the Tsar's administration had difficulty keeping abreast of the mobile and bellicose Tungus. Officials were instructed to "rule with kindness, not cruelty." After an initial period of conflict, the Evenk themselves strived for peaceful relations, as they desired to expand trade connections with the Russians, from whom they traded furs for various goods, metalwork, and firearms.

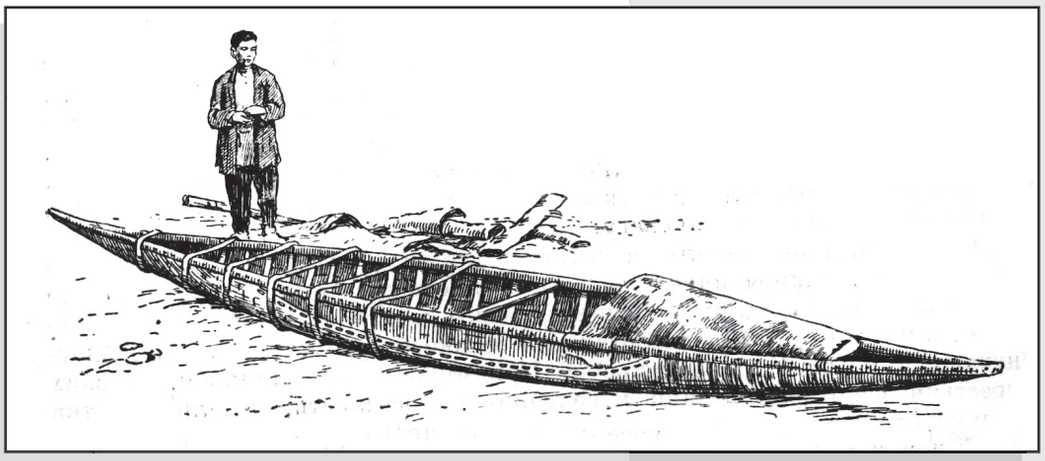
The spread of Christianity amongst the Evenk provided another important means of strengthening Russian influence. Christianization had begun by the end of the seventeenth century. By 1897, 82% of all Evenk were Orthodox, despite the fact that their orthodoxy was rather superficial

in nature. They observed only the most basic church rituals, preferring their ancient religious views and turning to shamans for help.

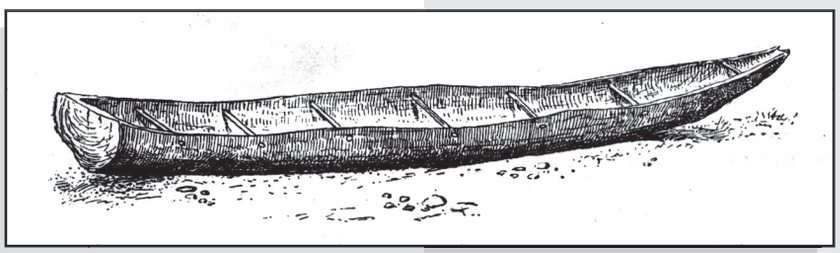


The Evenk's main obligation to Russian allegiance was in the form of paid tribute in furs, the *yasak*. Evenk clan structure facilitated *yasak* payments to the government. A hostage (Rus. *amanat*) was taken from each clan, chosen from amongst "the best people" — the clan's leaders and their close relatives. The Evenk's administrative structure was built around these fiscal goals. Their rules were mainly concerned with proper payment of the yasak, and they did not become involved with the internal lives of their Siberian *inorodtsy* (otherborn), engaging only when a real threat to *yasak* payments arose. Specifically, the administration energetically suppressed internal Evenk conflict, as these events led to significant losses to yasak taxpayers.

The hostage-taking system and *yasak* tax levels set in the seventeenth century led to the oppression of the tribute-paying peoples and abuse by tax collectors and bureaucrats. As a result, in the mid-eighteenth century both the hostage system and the tax collectors were eliminated, and *yasak* collection fell to local *knyazets* (Russian small princes) and Evenk elders. The administration system persisted in this format until 1822, when M. M. Speransky's "Statute for the management of Siberian inorodtsy" was accepted. This law remained in effect until 1917.

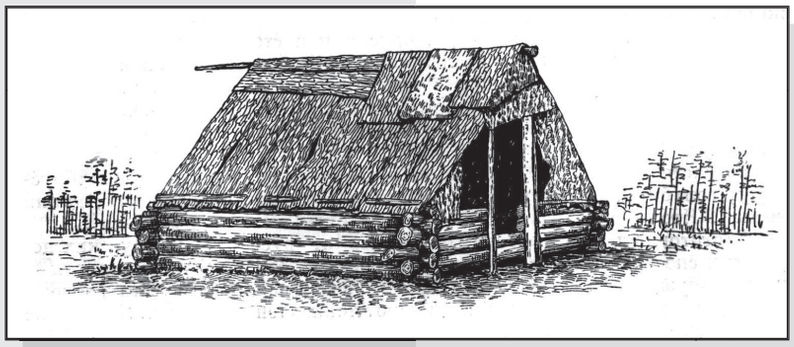


According to the statute, all Siberian *inorodtsy* were separated according to lifestyle and activities: settled, nomadic, and wandering. The Evenk were categorized as belonging to the latter two categories. The main distinction in terms of status was that wandering *inorodtsy* were able to move freely between administrative regions, while nomads were limited to a specific area.



Administratively, nomadic and wandering Evenk were further separated into "clans" and "clan governments". Administrative clans were not based on blood relationships; rather they united representatives of assorted exogamous clans located in one area (as a rule, within the boundaries of a *yasak*-paying volost district). A knyazets or elder ruled

each of these "clans". These leaders were chosen by the population itself, but were approved by the Russian governor. This person was responsible for the collection of yasak, enforcing administration decrees, and meting out justice to "clan" members for a variety of infringements, except in the case of serious criminal acts. This administrative system was based on Evenk self-government, their common rights, observed traditions, and popular habits.



At the moment of their creation, these administrative "clans" encompassed real territorial and tribal Evenk groupings; they were not artificial constructions. They went on to become artificial groupings in the future, as Evenk repeatedly migrated from place to place.

There were a number of reasons for mass Evenk migrations: conflict with *yasak* collectors, Russian peasants taking over their lands, and deadly epidemics. More often than not, however, the main stimulus was the search for new lands rich in fur-bearing animals. By the end of the seventeenth century, the fur industry had become the determining factor for successful life among the Evenk. As a result, at the end of the nineteenth century, significant changes in Evenk migration had occurred. They departed from their traditional regions on the middle Vilyuy, Angara, Biryusa, upper Ingoda, lower and middle Barguzin, and lower Amur. They also abandoned lands in the Lena River valley and along the lower Olekma and Vitim rivers. By that time, Russians, Yakut, and Buryat peoples had settled these regions. The 1897 census noted significant Evenk movements to the west from the Yenisey River, to the north from the Angara. Some Okhotsk Tungus spread to the area between the Sea of Okhotsk coast and the Amgun' River, while others moved to Sakhalin Island and south of the Amur River. A group of reindeer-herding Evenk from Yakutiya moved to Manchuria, accompanied by the Manegry and Birar.



Such significant movements by the Evenk could not but influence ethno-demographic processes. Surrounded by other peoples, the Evenk were influenced both economically and culturally by neighboring peoples. To the west, a significant number of Evenk joined with the Dolgan and Nganasan. Along the Olenyok, Anabara, Aldana, and Amga rivers, the

Evenk merged with the Yakut, while in Trans-Baikal they mingled with the Buryat and the Mongol. Manegry, Birar, and Solon Evenk all experienced strong influence from the Manchurians, Daur, and Chinese.

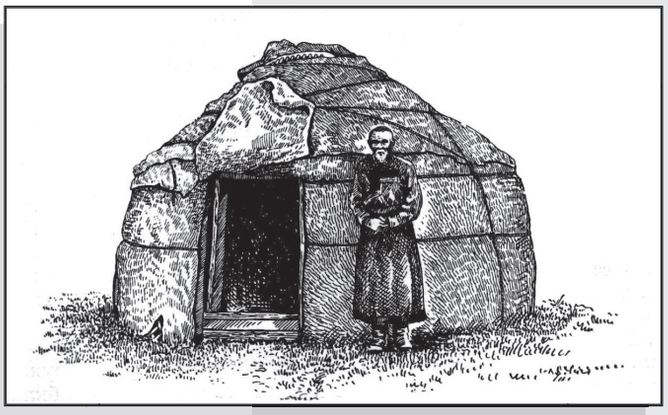
In turn, the Evenk had great impacts on their new neighbors. Many ethnically mixed groups of Russian, Buryat, and Yakut arose. Some Nanai became "Tungus-ized" — the Samagir and Kilen. Mixing along the Amgun' River with the Nivkh and Ul'chi, the Evenk contributed to a new ethnos — the Negidal. As a result of complex ethnic interactions in northeastern Siberia, the general Tungus group spun off the independent Even ethnos.



At the same time, these movements of the Evenk population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also impacted the linguistic dialects of Evenk groups, leading to the formation of larger geographic (rather than tribal or clan-based) commonalities. Today, more or less compact groups of Evenk live only in the Evenk Autonomous Okrug, in Katangskiy District of Irkutsk Oblast, in Vitimo-Olekminskiy District of Chita Oblast, Aldanskiy District of Yakutiya, Ayano-Mayskiy and Tuguro-chumikanskiy Districts of Khabarovsk Kray, and Zeyskiy, Tyndinskiy and Selemdzhinskiy Districts of Amur Oblast.

Social organization

At the nineteenth century's conclusion, the Evenk's basic economic unit was the small family. Property was passed down along the male line; after a husband's death, it remained in his family. Parents usually lived with their youngest adult son. Women held great authority in Evenk society. Marriage was accompanied by the payment of a dowry. Both levirate and polygamy were practiced.



Subsistence activities

Hunting was the primary activity for the majority of Evenk groups. Even those who kept livestock and lived nomadically considered themselves hunters first and foremost. "Sitting" (settled) Evenk (those who lived along rivers and lakes) were an exception to this rule. During summer months, they focused on fishing. Evenk reindeer herders (Orochon) combined hunting with reindeer husbandry. Their folk calendar is a testament to

the importance of hunting in the lives of the Evenk, with many months named with words related to hunting and gathering.

Prior to the arrival of the Russians, the Evenk hunted for animals that provided meat and fur. The latter was used in the manufacture of clothing and other traditional necessities. They mainly hunted moose, wild reindeer, musk deer, roe deer, red deer, mountain goat, and bear. Hunting for fur animals was a secondary activity, the furs used mainly to trim clothing. The importance of fur hunting grew when the Russians arrived, since *yasak* was paid in the furs of valuable fur animals. It was also possible to trade furs for necessary items and groceries with merchants.

During the winter and winter's shoulder seasons, their main target in most regions was moose. The rest of the year, they only hunted moose in passing. Pursuit hunting on skis was a much-favored and hazardous technique. It demanded great endurance, sometimes pursuing the creature for several days. In the fall, the hunter worked with dogs. A dog could overtake the animal, holding it at bay until the hunter arrived. In some regions, the Evenk hunted moose from boats, waiting for the animal to approach the river or lake to eat water lilies or attacking at river crossings. Traps, snares, and trapping pits were often set on paths to watering holes.

The Evenk hunted wild reindeer using similar techniques in the spring and fall. They were ambushed along traditional migration routes and at river crossings. Some Evenk hunted using decoy reindeer along the forest tundra zone, the upper Vilyuy and Olenyok rivers, and the middle tributaries of the Aldan River. This type of hunting was especially effective during the fall mating season. The wild reindeer could be depended on to attack the decoy deer, not noticing the hunter in its ire.

The hunting of musk and roe deer was common east of the Lena River and near Baikal. These were hunted using snares, and musk deer were also called using a special *pichavun* whistle, made from two small strips of birchbark. Along Amur River tributaries, they hunted these deer using an abatis barricade. Trees were laid side-by-side in parallel lines, leaving small gaps every forty-sixty meters in which traps were set. The Manegry Evenk called these traps *okhor*. Evenk from Shilka and Argun' also used these barricade traps to hunt moose and reindeer. Red deer was an important hunting species along the upper Lena River, in Trans-Baikal, and along the left-hand tributaries of the Amur River. In addition to meat, the hunt for red deer yielded velvet-covered antlers, an item much prized by Chinese traders.

In terms of traditional activities, the Evenk differ significantly from other hunting peoples of Siberia and the Far East. First and foremost, they are hunter-reindeer herders. Evenk hunters spent the better part of their lives on the back of a reindeer. While there were non-reindeer herding Evenk who hunted on foot, mounted reindeer are the main call-

ing card of the Evenk people. It is no coincidence that the Chukchi call them "riders on reindeer."

Evenk reindeer husbandry was of the taiga style, using them as pack animals and riding them. The Evenk practiced free pasturing and did not use dogs as a means of protecting the herd. In addition to meat and skins, the reindeer provided the Evenk with milk — the milking of reindeer cows was a distinguishing characteristic of Evenk husbandry. The reindeer themselves are special too, being significantly larger than tundra reindeer. For example, the Chukchi traded three or four of their animals in exchange for one Tungus reindeer. An Evenk reindeer's live weight can reach 150 kilograms, and they can reach maximum riding speeds of eighteen kilometers per hour. With this sort of mount, an Evenk feels free to travel great distances.

Another Evenk feature relates directly to reindeer husbandry. The Evenk are born nomads. Nomadism is all-important to the Evenk. The missionary M. Pryanishnikov wrote, "A Tungus can sit in one place no more than three days. Even those without reindeer always move their home from place to place every few days." Hunting reindeer herders could migrate hundreds of kilometers every year. Some families covered thousands of kilometers.

The essence of Evenk hunting can clearly be seen even in secondary activities such a fishing. For the Evenk, fishing is also hunting. For many years, the Evenk's main fishing gear were a hunting bow equipped with blunt arrows used to stun the fish and a lance, a type of hunting spear. They were very impatient fishermen and found it difficult to sit in one place with a fishing pole. This speaks to their desire for act, movement, and change, inherent aspects of their ethnic character. For the most part, fishing was a secondary activity, but in the Near Baikal, along the Okhotsk coast, and the Vilyuy River, fishing was a commercial activity. They used set nets, stop nets, and hook-and-line gear. On the Okhotsk coast and at Baikal, fish was caught using seines borrowed from the Russians. They mainly caught salmon using spears on the Amur River.

Transportation

A riding reindeer was their main form of transport. Sledding was not typical for them, although reindeer-drawn sleds found widespread use in some Siberians regions. North of Podkamennaya Tunguska River, the Evenk used Samoyed-type harness, adapting it to taiga conditions, while they preferred Yakut-style harness in Yakutiya and along the Okhotsk coast. Sleds were generally used to travel great distances.

The Evenk used a special saddle called the neme. It consisted to two arches made of horn and wooden boards, in the middle of which "wings" (*degtyle*) were attached vertically. Different groups of Evenk constructed their saddles with small variations. Men, women, and chil-

dren rode in such saddles. The saddle was strapped to the reindeer using a girth around the front shoulders of the animal, a fact that required a particular set of riding skills. A staff was used to help a rider maintain balance. The Yenisey Evenk did not have riding saddles, and only the old and the sick rode in saddles. The Upper Lena, Amgun, Chumikan, and Urmiyiskiy Evenk in the Far East all forbade riding reindeer. When mi-grating, they moved on foot, pulling their belongings behind them on a travois or sleds. They used a variety of packsaddles to move cargo by reindeer. Loads were also moved in special saddlebags made in both soft and rigid formats.

They walked the taiga on skin-covered skis called *kingne* or on legskin-covered *suksilla* skis. They used a single ski pole with a hook at the top that could be used to grab onto trees during climbs. They used boats and two-ended paddles to move by water. The birch boat known as a *dyavkan* was especially widely used. It was generally used for hunting and fishing, especially when crossing from one river system to another. There were also several types of dugout boats, also widely used for hunting and fishing. Flat-bottomed board boats (*ongocho*) were used on the Vitim, Olekma, Aldan, and Amur rivers, while on Sakhalin and the Nizhnyaya Tunguska they used keeled momi.

Clothing

Evenk material culture was determined by the nomadic lifestyle of their hunters and reindeer herders. The kaftan was the main element of Tungus clothing (with front openings). The ends did not come together, rather they were fastened at the chest using suede ties. This design was an excellent adaptation to riding reindeer, as there was nothing in this clothing to restrict a rider's movement. These kaftans were always accompanied by a chest bib, held on with a strap around the neck and covering the opening between the kaftan's two front panels. This bib consisted of two parts — the chest covering and an apron, richly ornamented and sewn together or cut from one piece of skin. Women's aprons (*nelli*) had a straight lower edge, while men's aprons (*khelmi*) were sharply angled.

There were two types of Evenk kaftans: summer *sun* and winter (parka) *khegilme*. During winters in the forest tundra, a pullover fur parka (*sokuy*) was frequently worn atop the kaftan. Evenk horsemen of Trans-Baikal wore a robe that wrapped to the left in place of a kaftan. Traditional everyday clothing also included underwear (*kherki*) and leggings (*aramus*). In the winter, they kept warm with a long scarf (*vachi*) made from fur animal tails. The belt was a mandatory piece of Evenk costume. Men carried their knives on the belt, while women attached a small pouch for sewing implements, fire-making necessities (tinder and a flint), and a tobacco pouch.

For footwear, they used two types of tall fur boots (*untal*, *olochi*k, *olot*): with a sole pleated at the heel and toe or those with soles reaching up the leg and sewn with an internal seam. The length of the boots varied. Shorter boots (*khomchura*) reach slightly above the ankle; the tallest *kheveri* and *bokari* stretched to the groin. Winter boots were generally worn with fur stockings. Winter headwear (*avun*) was made from the fur from a reindeer's head, with the holes for eyes and horn sewn closed and ornamented with beads. Hoods were common in some regions, trimmed with fur around the face and at the neckline. A special hat (*elden*, *derbeki*) could be worn at celebrations and consisted of circlet and two or three embroidered and beaded strips reaching over the head.

Historically, clothing and shoes were made from animal skins. Some Evenk groups manufactured shoes and some clothing from fish skin, while Evenk livestock farmers used their animals' skins. Some aspects of Evenk headwear hint that bird skins were used in ancient times. As fabric became more widely available, summer clothing began to be made from cloth. At the end of the nineteenth century, Russian-style clothing became more common: women's shirts, sarafans, jerseys, skirts, jackets, pants, etc.

Settlements and Housing

The camp was the main type of settlement. Camps could either be temporary (*urikit*) or permanent (*meneyen*). Winter camps were more often permanent, consisting of one or two residential buildings. Summer camps were more heavily populated and were sited in a dry pine forest along a stream or creek. Evenk summer camps for taiga-type reindeer herders included indispensable smudge fires located near each *chum*.

There are six traditional housing types amongst the Evenk: *chums*, polygonal framed bark structures, the *golomo*, felt *yurts*, log cabins with an A-frame bark roof, and log cabins. Until recently, highly mobile Evenk hunters lived in light, portable *chums* known as *dyu*. This cone-shaped structure was framed with twenty to forty poles. Depending on the *chum's* size, it had anywhere from two to five weight-bearing poles. These were connected in one of three ways: tip to tip, using a thong at the ends of the poles, or using a rope around the crisscrossed poles. In the winter, this framework was then covered with two layers of suede. In summer months, a double-layer of birch bark was used. Boards or poles were laid atop this covering, and in winter snow was piled atop this. Taiga Evenk left *chum* poles when they broke camp, taking only the covering layers along with them.

The hearth was located at the center of the *chum*. The cooking hook was attached to a horizontal pole connected at one end to the *chum* frame and at the other end to a special post at the hearth. Other horizontal poles were used to dry shoes and clothing. The mistress of the *chum* worked

on either side of the hearth across from the entrance, and household objects were stored here too. The space behind the hearth was considered honored, and guests and men stayed here. They slept on reindeer furs in reindeer fur sleeping bags with their feet to the fire. In the twentieth century, the Evenk *chum* was replaced by a tent, *utan*.

The *golomo* was used by semi-settled Evenk hunters as a permanent type of winter housing. This structure was either pyramidal or flat-topped pyramidal in shape (depending on the method of connecting the main weight-bearing poles) and either four cornered or round in layout. The *golomo* had four main posts with mortises, into which boards were inserted to form a frame. Boards were then leaned obliquely against this frame, creating walls. This structure was then covered with larch bark, sod, or earth. *Golomos* were heated using a chuval (fireplace built of clay-coated boards). A piece of thick fabric or an animal skin was used to cover the doorway. Sometimes a small window was created near the entrance. On the inside, the layout was the same as in *chums*. The *golomo* is used even today by hunters and fishermen.

The Near Amur Evenk borrowed the permanent winter *kalta* residence from neighboring Amur peoples. It was built from squared-off logs connected using grooves and was rectangular with a pitched roof. The outside was banked with earth or smeared with clay. The stove was located to the left of the door and was equipped with a cauldron and flues. These flues passed along the plank walls around the building, providing heat, venting to the outdoors to the right of the entrance.

In the summer, hunters and fishermen used to live in permanent bark-covered rectangular homes made of poles or timbers and with a pitched roof. The walls took the shape of a frame of vertical poles or narrow timbers. Some Evenk (along the Sym River and in Yakutiya) traditionally lived in temporary summer homes in the shape of a cupola or semi-sphere and built from birch branches braided together at the tips and covered in bark.

Southern Evenk and nomadic hunters from Trans-Baikal lived in moveable *yurts* of the Buryat or Mongol type. These were conical or cylindrical lattice-built homes, covered in felt and birchbark. By the nineteenth century, some southern Evenk lived in Russian-style log cabins. Today, most Evenk live in large multi-ethnic villages in modern style homes usually built of logs. Traditional homes — *chums*, *golomos*, *ugdans* — are used only during hunting and fishing.

The Evenk did not traditionally build non-residential structures. When they did, those mainly consisted of storage platforms and fencing and shade-providing structures for reindeer. There were two types of platforms (usually a platform built on tall stilts up to four meters in height): *neku*, a platform built of thin poles resting on two to four beams and *delken*, a platform topped with a small cabin with two to four sills and a flat or pitched roof made of bark or boards. G. M. Vasilevich docu-

mented ancient platforms serving as residences built by the hunter for his family's use during his absences. Such homes protected the family from enemies and predators.

Food

In the past, meat from wild animals formed the basis of Evenk nutrition. Evenk folklore includes no mention of any other foods. During summer months, meat was varied with addition of fish and various wild plants. The Evenk did not preserve large quantities of meat and fish for future use. Their nomadic lifestyle combined with rich wildlife resources allowed them to hunt as much as was necessary to feed their family on a daily basis. Dried preserved meat and fish became important only during the coldest winter months, December and January. Meat and fish were only boiled or fried, and it was always eaten without seasoning. The exceptions were bone marrow, cartilage, and sometimes the heart and liver. Only some Evenk commonly ate raw meat and fish, and these instances were generally related to wedding relations with neighboring peoples. They usually drank boiled or hot water.

Meat was boiled only briefly as undercooked meat was considered juicier and more aromatic. They drank meat and its broth from cups. Sometimes they added fresh blood to the cooking meat, resulting in a white, thick soup known as *nimin*. Dry-cured meat (*khulikta*) was combined with bilberries to prepare *kulnin*. Telik was prepared using dry-cured and smoked meat and red bilberry. Blood sausage (*buyukse*), sausages with fat (*kuchi*), and meat aspics were also widely prepared. *Seven* was a holiday dish — finely crumbled bear meat mixed with fried bear fat. This dish's availability was always advertised to everyone at camp.

Fish played an important role in nutrition for the Okhotsk, Amur, and other Evenk subgroups. They made *yukola* (dried fish) and *purcha* (fish flour), both of which were used with seal fat. Dried *chum* salmon roe was also mixed with seal fat, berries, and stems of willow-weed. Seal meat was widely eaten. Some Trans-Baikal Evenk living alongside Russians salted fish.

Vegetable and dairy products were used most often in the spring and summertime. Daylily bulbs were used everywhere to prepare flour and bake flatbreads. A nutritious hot cereal was made from ground Siberian pine nuts. Not all Evenk ate wild onion. Of the vegetables, only bird cherries were dried and then preserved as a powder. Evenk who lived alongside the Yakut ate larch sap during hungry times, boiling it in a bone broth. Middle Amur Evenk obtained millet and beans from the Daur. By the latter half of the nineteenth century some Evenk independently began cultivating vegetables and potatoes. Reindeer milk was drunk with tea or poured over a flour cereal and crushed berries. They ate condensed milk with bread and produced it by boiling milk in a cauldron

of boiling water. Some Evenk churned butter from reindeer milk. In the Trans-Baikal region, farmer's cheese (*tvorog*), sour cream, and clotted milk was commonly made from cow's milk, as was *araki* vodka.

The Evenk were aware of flour prior to the arrival of the Russians. They used flour only to make soup or to fry it in fat, borrowing baked bread from the Russians. They used sourdough to bake round loaves and unleavened dough to make one day's worth of flatbread. Hunters in the field baked bread on skewers. Only Evenk who lived near Russians and lived in wooden houses with iron stoves or chuvals baked Russian bread (*kilep*).

Religion and spirituality

The Evenk managed to preserve many of their early archaic religious beliefs for a long time: a belief that various objects and natural occurrences possessed a spirit or anthropomorphized those objects or occurrences, concept of upper and lower worlds, belief in the spirit *omi*, and several totemic precepts. By the start of the twentieth century, these traditional beliefs about their surrounding world had been complimented by elements borrowed from Christianity and neighboring peoples.

Pre-shamanic beliefs are also characteristic for all Evenk groups. Rituals associated with the cult of nature and animals include feeding fire, master-spirits of particular locations, bear worship, and special relationships with moose, reindeer, wolves, eagles, cranes, and other representatives of the animal world. The process of bear hunting, butchering, and consumption of the bear's meat was accompanied by a multitude of taboos and limitations for all Evenk groups. Only a member of a different clan could skin the animal, and it was forbidden to break or fracture bones. The carcass was separated only at the joints, and the head and bones of the bear were customarily laid to rest on a special platform, the *chuki*. Right up to the twentieth century, the Sym Evenk still practiced the *ikenipke* ritual — a multi-day persistence hunt "miracle-play" for reindeer, ending in the animal's death and sharing of its meat. Eastern Evenk did not hunt eagles, nor did they eat eagle flesh, and the Orochon Evenk forbade wolf hunting.

With the spread of shamanism, the Evenk developed new beliefs about the *seven*, good and evil spirit-helpers, which inhabited the shaman's world. Shamans inherited and enhanced many pre-shamanic rituals, creating their own ritual séances. The most common shamanic séances were the *illemechipke*, a healing ritual, and the *tyrechupke*, the process of accompanying spirits of the deceased to the land of the dead. Healing ceremonies were conducted at the request of the sick person's relatives and took place over several days. Initially, the shaman determined the current location of the sick per-son's soul (having been carried away by evil spirits) and then decided how to find the soul and return it to its

rightful owner. The most important and final step was reestablishing the soul in the person's body. Shamans used a variety of tools to achieve their goals. Trans-Baikal Evenk focused a great deal of attention on making ritual sacrifices to spirits. The shamans of the Yenisey Evenk often used cleansing rituals, requiring that the sufferer be pulled through an opening in a frame, ring, figure of a person with spread legs, etc.

Shamans conducted the souls of the deceased to the land of the dead without awaiting permission from relatives. It took place some time later following the burial ritual. Sometimes the shaman waited until several people had died and sent all of these souls off to the land of the dead at the same time. Other shamanic rituals existed as well: gathering a child's soul in the event of their death, stealing reindeer souls during epidemics, counting reindeer with the goal of increasing herd size, etc. Shamans were frequently asked to predict the future.

For the Evenk, a shaman's talent was inherited along either the male or female line. Prior to acquiring all of the usual attributes, a beginning shaman commonly underwent training that frequently took up to two to three years to complete. A shaman's first belonging was always a mallet, *gikhivun*, for the drum. It was made from a piece of wood taken from a tree destroyed by lightning over which a piece of bearskin was stretched. A bear paw could be used as the shaman's mallet. A shaman's drum, *untuvun*, consisted of a wooden rimmed sidewall and crossbar handle over which a piece of moose or reindeer suede was stretched. The shape and size of such shaman drums varied for eastern and western Evenk. In Trans-Baikal and the Near Amur, shamans also possessed a staff symbolizing a horse or reindeer. The shaman "rode" the reindeer in the upper world and the horse in the land of the dead. All shamans characteristically wore a metal mask.

Shamanic costume (*lombolon*) was sewn from the skins of hoofed animals or bearskins. It was accented with metal hangings and fringe. Shamans typically wore a chest cloth or shoulder throw (*arkalan*), a hat (*avun*), a skullcap (*oroptun*), and a bird's comb. The shaman's entire costume was reminiscent of a bird. In some regions, shamans had two costumes, one representing a bird and the other a reindeer. They conducted rituals in the first, addressing the master-spirit of the heavens and sought the souls of the sick in the latter costume. The shaman reserved the entire costume to wear during large ceremonies and conducted general rituals in everyday clothing. Evenk burial rituals were conducted without a shaman.

Folklore and folk art

Evenk folklore includes improvised songs (*iker*), mythological and historical epics, animal stories (*nimngakan*), historical and everyday legends (*ulguril*), and other genres. Various Evenk groups had their own



epic heroes and comic personages of everyday stories. Some subject matter in Evenk folklore was borrowed from other neighboring peoples: Russian fairy tales about the Ivan the Fool (*Uchanay Tonganay*), the Buryat tale of Khani Khukhun, and others. They were known to play a number of musical instruments — metal and wooden mouth harps, dried bird throats (*bilgau*), and the hunting bow. Their most well-known and popular dance was a round dance known as the *kheyro*, accompanied by vocal improvisation.

Evenk figurative art illustrates their exceptional skills of observation, developed sense of color, and ability to quickly grasp and convey the most characteristic aspects of a subject. Their bone, wood, and metal artwork were created by men, while women designed objects made from birchbark and fur and animal skins. The ends of saddles were decorated with flat bone carvings. Wooden sculpture was mainly represented in a shaman's belongings. Knobs for ski poles and staffs were carved from bone, more often than not in the image of an animal head. They were skilled in lead and tin metallurgy to create a variety of figures used to decorate chest cloths and women's kaftans.

Birchbark crafts were ornamented with stamping and overlays in the shape of geometric figures on a blue background. Colorful mosaics were composed by Evenk craftswomen using multi-colored pieces of fur. Suede objects were ornamented with fringed seams trimmed with white hair or wrapped in threads made from dried tendons. Neighboring artistic traditions had a significant impact on Evenk ornamentation technology, including that of the Yakut, Khanty, Mansi, and Near Amur peoples.

Contemporary life, ethnic renewal and social mobilization

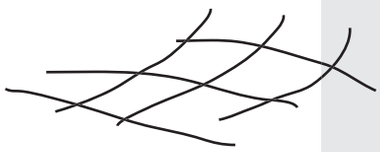
In the majority of regions where Evenk live, their contemporary culture is represented by a multi-layered pyramid. At its base is a thin layer of settled village residents, who, as they did one hundred years ago, conduct nomadic activities. However, this layer is irreversibly declining, taking with it the core bearers of Evenk traditional culture.

In terms of their modern linguistic situation, the Evenk are bilingual on a large scale. The level of Evenk fluency varies by age group in each region. Overall, 30.5% of Evenk claim Evenk as their native language, with another 28.5 claiming Russian. More than 45% of all Evenk speak Evenk fluently. The Evenk written language was developed at the end of the twentieth century, and beginning in 1937, it was written using the Russian alphabet. The Evenk dialect of Podkamennaya Tunguska was the basis for literary Evenk, although this literary language failed to become a "super-dialect." Evenk is taught from grades one through eight as a mandatory subject, becoming an elective in high school. The teaching of their native language depends on the presence of qualified

teachers and, to an even greater degree, the language politics of the local administration. Radio programming is broadcast in Evenk in Yakutiya and in Evenkiya. Local radio programming exists in a number of other regions. There is a weekly addition to the regional newspaper in Evenk Autonomous Oblast.

In recent years, non-governmental organizations have come to play a growing role in the development of their ethno-cultural life. In 1993, the first Evenk congress took place in the village of Tura, the administrative center of Evenk Autonomous Region, providing a huge push to the community's movement. In the congress' declaration, participants set out main programmatic directions for ethnic renewal based on self-organization and self-governance. Following the congress, there was an increase in the creation of associations, ethno-cultural societies, and various forms of cultural autonomy, all of which operate today across the regions where Evenk reside. The Evenk are developing contacts with regional government officials and participating in the creation of legislation. Some Evenk groups have the right to put forth legislative initiatives.

Evenk community organizations are working to ensure a renewal of their traditional culture. In the Republic of Buryatiya a republic-level Arun Center for Evenk Culture was established, and in Krasnoyarsk Kray, the Eglen Association of Northern Cultures was founded. Cultural centers operate in many schools in native villages where Evenk live. Republic-level television and radio programming dedicated to Evenk culture is broadcast in Yakutiya and Buryatiya. The Bol'der holiday is regularly celebrated in Buryatiya, with participation from the Evenk of other Russian regions and Mongolia. An ethnic intelligentsia participates actively in the work of community-based organizations: teachers, medical workers, lawyers, and members of the creative intelligentsia. The Evenk literati, Alitet Nemtushkin, Nikolay Oyegir, and others are well known in Russia. The Evenk's territorial dispersion continues to be their single greatest challenge to ethno-cultural development. All Evenk dream of conducting annual congresses ("Big Suglans") including representatives of all Evenk subgroups at which important questions of their ethnic life could be discussed.



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ITEL'MEN

The Itel'men people are indigenous to the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Russian Federation. They call themselves *itel'men'*, *itenm"n* (local resident), or by their old name Kamchadal. They belong to the Arctic group of the large Mongoloid race, although their physical appearance differs significantly from neighbors and their racial characteristics. Anthropologists set them apart in a unique type that corresponds to their linguistic and cultural-genetic differences.

Language

They speak the Itel'men language, which is customarily attributed to the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family. There is an alternative viewpoint that connects Itel'men to that family only on a geographic basis and asserts that there is no connection to the Chukchi or Koryak languages. Linguistically speaking, the Itel'men could in the past be divided into three large groups: eastern (Pacific Ocean coastline and the Kamchatka River valley), southern (around Bol'sheretsk and Petropavlovsk), and western (along the Sea of Okhotsk coastline). Linguistic differences can also be observed within these groups. Today, only western Itel'men is relatively well preserved, although it has undergone significant Koryak influence. The eastern and southern Itel'men dialects have been lost, and information about them is limited to a small quantity of lexical materials. Western Itel'men can be divided into four dialects: Napanskiy, Sedankinskiy, Sopochnovskiy, and Khayryuzovskiy. Russian is widely spoken, and 76.6% of Itel'men consider it their native language.

Population

Modern-day Itel'men live mainly in Tigil'skiy District in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. In 1989, their total population in the Soviet Union was 2,481, including 2,429 in the Russian SSR. Almost half of all Itel'men (1,115 individuals) live in Tigil'skiy District. They are concentrated in four of the district's villages as well as in Palana, the administrative center of Koryak Autonomous Okrug. Despite this, most of this population lives in just one village — Kovran. Small groups of Itel'men can be found in other population centers on the Kamchatka Peninsula, including 179 in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy.



Current territory of residence of the Itel'men in Russia

History and ethnogenesis

Itel'men ethnogenesis was a complex and lengthy process, many aspects of which remain unclear to this day. The ancient substrate at the base of their foundation is connected to a Mesolithic culture of wandering hunters and fishermen, which was then characteristic of a very broad territory. Archaeological materials show that their culture reaches back

Legend

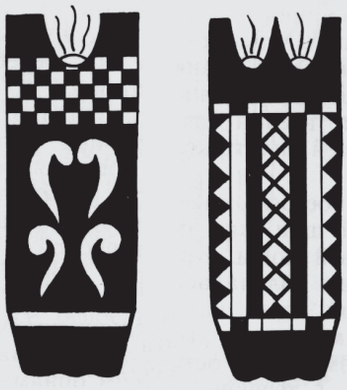
- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities















to regions in eastern Mongolia, from whence it later spread to Near Baikal, Near Amur, and over a significant part of eastern Siberia and northeastern Asia, including onto Kamchatka and the Aleutian Islands. Anthropological data also support a genetic connection between Itel'men and ancient Mongoloids. This is supported by the presence of an ancient layer present in the Itel'men language substrate.

The next stage of Itel'men ethnogenesis occurred in the early Neolithic era, when local cultures began to form across the regions of northeast Asia. One of these, the Tar'inskaya Culture, encompassed central and southern Kamchatka. This culture was very similar to the Neolithic culture of continental Siberia, particularly the cultures of the Lena River and Near Baikal regions. It was noticeably influenced by the Neolithic cultures of Near Amur and Primorye. Overall, archaeological materials permit the conclusion that the carriers of the Tar'inskaya Culture are based on Neolithic fishermen and hunters who penetrated Kamchatka from the Near Lena, Near Amur, and Primorye. Here, they mixed with the remnants of an older Yupik-Aleutian population and partly inherited the culture of that population.

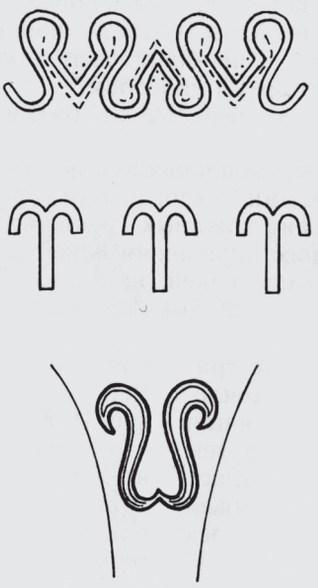
The Tar'inskaya Culture is notable for its continuity, stability, and noticeable isolation from neighboring cultures of the Northeast. At all stages of its existence (5000 BC through the mid-seventeenth century AD), traditional elements of Tar'inskaya Culture changelessly dominate over innovation. This is possible when a culture belongs to one and the same ethnos. The majority of researchers today are inclined to believe that that ethnos was the ancient Itel'men people.

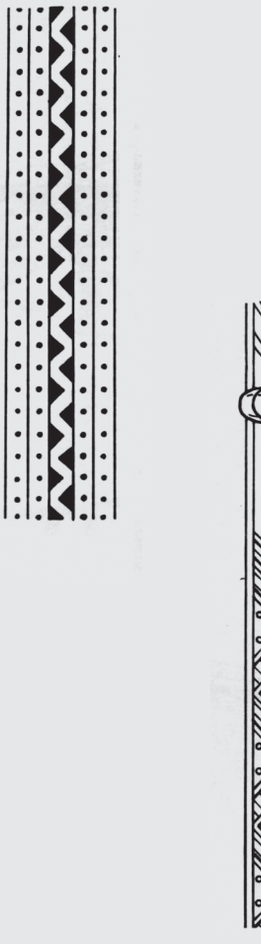
The continuity between Itel'men culture of the seventeenth century and their distant Tar'inskaya Culture ancestors is well supported by ethnographic comparisons. Dugouts inhabited by Neolithic tribes on Kamchatka are reminiscent of Itel'men traditional homes in terms of design particulars. Enormous middens of fish bones testify to the dominating role played by fishing, an activity typical of the Itel'men. Neolithic tools including arrow and spearheads, axe heads, scrapers, and others are very similar to the bone and stone tools found among the Itel'men by V. Atlasov, S. Krasheninnikov, and G. Steller. No less indicative is the lack of anthropological material at Tar'inskaya Culture archaeological monuments. It is likely that the Tar'inskaya people, like the Itel'men, left their deceased in the open air. In those conditions, bodily remains are not preserved, but are carried away by birds and animals.

It is also notable that the natural phenomena, flora, and fauna recorded in Itel'men folkloric materials are clearly describing Kamchatkan conditions. This fact provides a basis for the assertion that basic Itel'men ethnic characteristics were formed on Kamchatka and have ancient roots. In addition to local Kamchatkan roots, the Itel'men have other genetic sources. Many Itel'men cultural elements (braiding techniques, sled types,

dog harness, bird skin clothing, an unusually developed gathering culture, etc.) are completely uncharacteristic of their neighbors in the region and bear traces of a different natural-geographic surrounding that unites the Itel'men with Near Amur, Primorye, and North American peoples. The genetic independence of Itel'men among their Paleo-Asiatic neighbors is underscored by the unusual phonology of the Itel'men language. Many elements of it resemble Native American languages.

When Russians arrived on Kamchatka, the Itel'men were the main population on the peninsula and could be broken up into five regional, likely tribal, groups: *burin*, *cuaachyu-ay*, *kykhcheren*, *lignu-rin*, and *kules*. At the seventeenth century's end, their population was 12–13,000. At the end of that century, the Itel'men, or Kamchadal, as the Russians called them, inhabited the central part of the peninsula. The northern border of their range reached the Tigil' River on the western coast and the Uka River on the eastern coast. To the south, their settlements stretched to the very tip of the peninsula. When Kamchatka entered the Russian feudal state, the majority of these Itel'men territorial groups found themselves in zones of intense contact with the Russians. Their population began to decline rapidly as a result of numerous military conflicts with Cossacks, inter-tribal enmity, epidemics, and famine. Internal fragmentation of the Itel'men combined with the predominance of local self-awareness facilitated increased assimilative processes. By the first third of the eighteenth century a significant number of Cossacks and industrialists had entered into marital relations with Itel'men women. This resulted in a rapid breakdown in Itel'men social structures and the loss of their language and ethnic self-awareness. A special ethnic environment arose on Kamchatka, changing the physical appearance of both the Russian and indigenous populations. A new culture began to form based on Itel'men traditional activities and new types of work introduced by the Cossacks and peasants.





Social organization

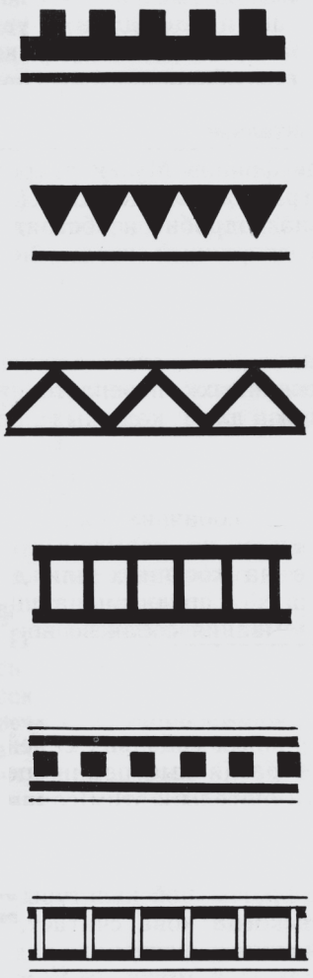
By the seventeenth century's end, the Itel'men's initial social structure was decaying. Clans, as a unit of social organization, were already gone, and had been replaced everywhere by large patriarchal families. In the winter, all members of this family lived together in one home, and then in the summer the family split into small families who went their own way to work. In addition to larger family communities, there also existed associations of these large family communities that lived in a single settlement. Ties of kinship, mutual assistance, common cult beliefs, and shared lands and fishing grounds connected members of these associations. The head of such an association was the elder (*toyon*), who regulated all internal aspects of life in the settlement. Association members jointly held production gear and equipment, although there

were already "better peasants." Early forms of slavery persisted, and polygamy was common.

Despite the absolute authority of the man, women commanded a relatively high position in family and social life. Remnants of a disappearing matrilineal clan can be clearly observed: the groom lived temporarily in the bride's community, bride payments, and men's performance of purely "feminine" duties such as food preparation.

Tribal organization never formed completely. Without a doubt, existing territorial groups already possessed typical tribal aspects (particular name and dialect, similar ethnographic characteristics, etc.), but tribal self-government was not present. Even within a single geographical group, large family communities and community associations constantly feuded amongst themselves and fell into multiple armed conflicts.

At the end of the eighteenth century there were approximately 3,000 Kamchadal-Itel'men on the peninsula. They were, for all practical purposes, a sub-ethnos of the Russian settlers — a special ethnographic group formed of descendants of russified Itel'men-Burin, Suaachyu-Ay, Kykhcheren, and some western Itel'men. By the second half of the nineteenth century the speed of russification of the Kamchadal increased. It occurred especially intensively in the Kamchatka River valley were the bulk of Russian settlers lived. The Kamchadal increasingly lost their local characteristics, dispersing into the growing mass of the Russian population.



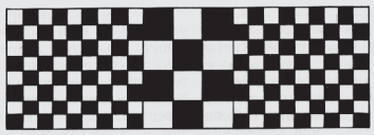
Ethno-cultural transformation

To the degree that their anthropological type changed, the language, culture, and ethnic self-awareness of Itel'men and Russian old-timers changed as well. The semantic meaning of the Kamchadal ethnonym reflected these changes as well. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the term acquired a collective meaning, and it was applied more and more frequently to other parts of the population — descendants of the Cossacks, Kamchatkan old-timers, and even all Kamchatkan residents. Continued mixing of the Kamchadal with Russians occurred in Soviet times within the framework of an internal consolidation of the Russian nation, although today a significant number of local residents (mainly in the Kamchatka River valley) consider themselves Kamchadal. In the 1990s they began to actively fight for acknowledgment as a separate people. In April 2000, the Kamchadal were recognized as an independent ethnos by a decision of the Russian Federation and were added to the List of Indigenous Minority Peoples of Russia.

The assimilation of Kules and Lugnurin Itel'men proceeded more slowly on the western coast of the peninsula. Here, aside from Tigil', there were no Russian settlements. In the mid-nineteenth century local Itel'men had preserved their native language and many elements of

their traditional culture. They had a dual aspect to their self-awareness, categorizing themselves as both Itel'men and Kamchadal. The russification process gained noticeable ground in the early twentieth century, when the fishing industry reached the coast. Despite russification, the Khayryuzovskiy Itel'men experienced this process very differently. E.P. Orlov, the registrar of the Circumpolar Census in 1926–27, found nine villages on the western Kamchatka coast (Amanino, Sedanka osedlaya, Napana, Utkholok, Kovran, Moroshechnoye, Belogolovoye, Sopochnoye, and Tigil') whose residents had vividly ethnic faces. They were identified as Itel'men by the census and numbered 825 individuals.

In recent decades, the ethnic development of Itel'men illustrates contradictory trends. Russian policies for the ethnic renewal of indigenous peoples were actively implemented in the early Soviet years and facilitated the development of the Itel'men as an independent ethno-social organism, strengthened their ethnic unity, assisted in the homogenization of their culture at the time, and supported cultural information sharing. These policies also created the Itel'men Ethnic Region, created a writing system, developed curriculum for Itel'men language instruction, and other additions. At the same time, socio-cultural reforms led to increased ethnic contacts, integration processes, and natural assimilation, all spread in large part by mixed ethnicity marriages. By the mid-1960s the Itel'men did not have any families with blood relations that did not include Russians or other peoples. Despite all of these factors and unlike the pre-Revolution era, assimilation processes in these new conditions were accompanied by a growth in ethnic self-awareness and the population itself.











Subsistence activities

Historically, the Itel'men primarily lived off fishing. Their main target species were salmon. The majority of fish were caught using blocking nets, although they also used spears, hook-and-line gear, and nets made from nettle fibers. When imported fibers became available, they began to manufacture seines. Blocking nets were erected on almost all rivers after the large spring flood ended and remained there from the end of May until late fall. There were several kinds of blocking nets differing in method of operation and type of trap. For example, the *tk-apes* net caught fish moving against the current when they entered the trap through the only opening. The *k-ens* net drove fish into a purse seine that flowed with the river current. The *meroz* net was designed to catch eulachon, char, and other similar fish.





The most common net was *the tk-ap'z*. This consisted of a semicircular fence of woven branches built at one side of the river. From the center of this fence to the opposite side they added stakes to which a willow branch grill was attached at the end, facing into the river current. When water levels rose in the river, the grillwork was supported with

sawhorse-shaped struts. Trap nets were set into openings in the grillwork, and the mouths of these nets were pentagonal.

Marine mammal and land animal hunting also played an important role in Itel'men life. They hunted various species of seal, bear, wild sheep, reindeer, and fur-bearing animals. In the eighteenth century, southern Itel'men hunted whales using poisoned arrows, and on the east coast they hunted sea otters and fur seals. Their primary hunting gear included bow and arrows, various traps, nets, snares, and spears. They most commonly caught pinnipeds at their rookeries, where they slaughtered them using wooden clubs. They also used special "jaw"-traps in the form of truncated four-sided conical pyramids. These were placed in a river channel and fenced in by a fine-meshed net of sealskin straps. When the animal landed in the trap, they pulled it above the water's surface. After Russians came to the peninsula, firearms came into wide use.

Itel'men hunting of land animals for their meat was a secondary activity, although fur hunting was widely practiced. At the start of the twentieth century, 95 % of Itel'men families regularly hunted fur animals. The quality of Kamchatkan sable furs was especially highly valued. The Kulem Itel'men hunted sable with the help of arrows and blunt spears. They trapped fox using metal traps.

The results from marine mammal hunting were used for their own subsistence and traded with the Koryak for reindeer skins and meat. They paid the *yasak* fur tribute in furs straight into the twentieth century. Furs were their only commercial product. Fishing and hunting were considered men's work, although women were responsible for processing and preparing fish as well as manufacturing nettle fiber for use in nets. The nets were usually made by older men. Work tools were made from stone, bone, and wood, and they manufactured knife blades and harpoon tips from quartz. They made fires with wooden drills.

The Itel'men subsistence system was distinguished by a widely developed gathering of edible foods by women. They gathered hundreds of species of edible plants (hog weed, willow weed, day lily, meadow salsify, a wild growing tundra potato (*kimchiga*), wild garlic, and others), berries, medicinal plants, and the nut from pygmy Siberian pine. These collected foods were dried, dry-cured, and smoked and then stored for the winter months. Women used plants to make matting, baskets, and sacks to store foods, as well as protective armor and cloaks. The Itel'men had some skill in metalwork.

Close contacts with the Russian population on the peninsula facilitated Itel'men acquisition of new economic activities. By the second half of the nineteenth century, all Itel'men settlements had small gardens planted with potatoes and vegetables, horses and large horned livestock. The Itel'men acquired more sophisticated tools from the Russians, also borrowing fishing and hunting gear and modern fish conservation techniques.

Itel'men subsistence and economic activities have changed significantly in recent decades. Marine mammal hunting has been eliminated, and hunting and gathering have lost their former meaning. The Itel'men are mainly engaged in fishing, which has become a lucrative and highly technical activity for community-based production, although few Itel'men work on commercial vessels. The majority of those engaged in this industry prefer to fish traditionally using nets. Itel'men are mainly employed in livestock husbandry, construction, and commercial fish processing, although a significant number of Itel'men work in public education, public health, housing and communal services, and other service areas. Approximately 40% of all Itel'men live in cities.

Transportation

In summer months, the Itel'men's primary means of transportation was the dugout canoe, which a vessel well adapted to navigating shallow and rapid Kamchatka rivers. They were made from poplar or willow. Depending on the extent to which a log was hollowed out, they inserted braces inside the canoe to prevent cracking. The sides of the boat were finished using heat. After filling the vessel with water, they heated it over hot rocks. In order to ensure that the boat was thoroughly steamed, they covered it in skins. They inserted round struts in pre-cut grooves of the steamed boat, three to five in each boat. To protect the boat from cracking under pressure from large waves or in rocky river channels, they added a special opening in the wood, sewing it with whale baleen and stuffed it with moss or dried soften nettle. Two people usually piloted such a boat — one at the prow and one at the stern. They used poles to move upstream, descending the river with single-ended paddles. Canoes could be tied together to move heavy or voluminous cargo, and sometimes they even built large boats capable of traveling under sail.

In the winter, they moved about using dog sleds. In the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, the Itel'men used two types of sleds — driving and cargo sleds. They built these sleds from birch and used leather straps to bind them. They have their own unique sled style with two pairs of arched stanchions and a saddle seat, made from thin wooden lath attached with straps. These sleds were richly embellished, and drivers mounted from the right side. They steered the dog team using exhortations, as well as a driving stick and reins. By the mid-nineteenth century, the ancient Itel'men arched stanchion sled was replaced by an eastern Siberian style that was more practical and capable of carrying loads, as well as requiring less time to manufacture. Itel'men dog harness differs from Chukchi-Kamchatkan types of dog sledding. They preserved this practice until the middle of the 1950s. Today, only those Itel'men still engaged in hunting use dogsledding for transportation.

Each Itel'men possessed their own skis and snowshoes (braided "paws") to wear in the winter. The latter fell out of use in the early nineteenth century. Skis were always covered with legskins or sealskins. When traveling by ski, they used a pole of well dried and carved birch for balance.

Settlements and housing

Itel'men *ostrozhki* (fort-style settlements) were sited along rivers not far from the mouth and were fenced in with a palisade or earthen wall. The settlement consisted of one or several communal semi-dugouts that sheltered one hundred or more people in addition to summer shelters intended for one family each. All of these structures were arranged haphazardly. At the end of the seventeenth century, there were 120 such settlements. These villages were generally named for the rivers on which they were located. In addition to permanent winter ostrozhki, they also built summer *letov'ya* — temporary settlements where they fished and hunted. This tradition of summer and winter housing, temporary and permanent, persisted until the 1930s.

In the winter, ancient Itel'men lived in a semi-dugout home framed around four main posts connected by a frame of thick crossbars. Logs were leaned against the frame and then latticed by smaller poles. The walls of the semi-dugout were covered in dry grasses and then a layer of earth. The exterior took the shape of a small rounded hilltop, and the entrance was through the smoke opening in the roof. On the inside, the walls and floors were rectangular and covered in matting. The hearth was placed in the center or near one of the long walls, and there were benches along the walls. They entered the house by climbing down a notched post. They lived in such homes from fall through the spring. In the spring, married couples moved out to live in separate summer shelters.

In the summer, a pyramidal hut made from branches or thin poles and covered in grasses served as summer housing. This hut was built on a high platform. The Russians called such shelters *balagans*. This hut had two doors, placed opposite each other. Balagans were built not just within the fenced enclosure of their settlements, but also in seasonal settlements at hunting or fishing grounds, where they were used as work buildings. They climbed a notched log stairway to reach the hut. The Itel'men lived in these aerial huts from spring to fall. When Itel'men transitioned to log-cabin cottages, balagans were no longer used as summer homes, but continued to be used as work structures.

By the eighteenth century's end, the semi-dugout was replaced by a Russian-style log cabin, known as an *izba*. An *izba* had one or two rooms and was heated using stoves made from two-layer squares of unfired bricks. The smoke from the stove exited through an opening in the roof that could be latched closed. A bark and grass covered roof

made from poles was either two-sided or four-sided and pitched. Small windows (two logs high) were covered in fish or salmon skin, an animal's bladder, bear intestine, or the throat of a wolf fish. The floor was earthen and there was no mudroom. They slept on benches or on the ground, on bearskins. The home was lit using a fat-burning lantern covered by a birchbark shade. The cabin was squared and built on a slab that was then covered in earth. In the early nineteenth century, they began to add a slab ceiling and build on a barn to the house. Homes were built from boards as well as using tongue and groove techniques for the walls. In that case, the walls were covered in lathe and clay mixed with straw.

While working, they lived in light framed structures (*bazhabazh*) which were pyramid-shaped or with single or two-sided pitched roofs (and double roofed). They covered these in branches and grass and heated them with a hearth fire. A door was made from boards. More complex structures had a frame made from five pairs of vertical corner and side posts upon which they laid a two-sided pitched roof. The walls were assembled from vertically arranged poles or slabs, and their exterior was covered in bark and grass. In the winter such structures were covered in sod.

Clothing

The Itel'men dressed in fur pullover style coats made from the skins of reindeer, dogs, marine mammals, and birds. In addition to those animals, they also used fish skins to make footwear. Women were responsible for preparing the materials and making the clothing and footwear. Men's and women's everyday wear included pants, a *kukhlyanka* cut in a shirt style with a hood and breast cloth, a *kamleya* (fish skin pullover) that was longer than the *kukhlyanka* ("almost to the heels"), and tall boots (*torbasa*). In the winter, their *kukhlyanka* and pants were double layered: the inner layer had the fur on the inside, and the outer layer's fur faced outward. Women's *torbasa* had longer legs than those of the men — they stretched to the knees. Prior to Russian contact, men wore hats made from bird feathers and various furs, switching to wooden hats similar to those worn by the Aleut or birchbark *umbrakuly* with ties at the back in the summer. In the nineteenth century, men began wearing hoods, called *malakhays* by the Russians. Later this hood was replaced by hats with earflaps. Women wore a *kukhlyanka* hood in the winter. At home, women wore *khon'by* jumpers, and men wore a leather belt with a simple leather loincloth to cover the genitals and a canvas rear covering. They used straw matting and grass braided raingears as protective clothing. Holiday clothing consisted of a single-layer fur parka. Children were dressed in clothing similar to adults, and there was no special ritual or burial clothing among the Itel'men.

They decorated clothing using reindeer hair, dyed furs, and bits of white dog fur to make borders (*opuvany*), which were then attached at the hem of the *kukhlyanka* or parka. These borders used a traditional design of three rows of alternating blocks, edged top and bottom with a red or black strip. They embellished their clothing with medallions, fur trim, and straps dyed using minerals or alder extract.

At the start of the eighteenth century, the Itel'men still had unusual hairstyles. Married women braided their hair into numerous small braids, gathering the ends of them into one or two larger braids. To add volume to the braids they braided in additional hair and used grass wigs. The hair-do was liberally smeared with fish or seal fat. Girls kept their hair in several small braids that they then wrapped around their heads. Men braided their hair into two plaits.

Food

Itel'men nutrition was based on fish. Their most common fish dishes were dried *yukola*, *chupriki* (specially baked fish), and dry-cured salmon roe. Fermented fish heads were a tasty treat. They also ate boiled fish. It was boiled in wooden troughs over heated rocks. Meat and fat from marine mammals, land animals, and birds were a significant addition to their fish diet. Seal and fish fat were indispensable components of almost all Itel'men dishes. A *tolkusha* made from various roots and berries mixed with fish roe, seal or whale fat, and boiled fish was an important holiday dish. The Itel'men drank water only. They drank an extract of willow weed in which agaric mushroom had soaked as a hallucinogenic beverage.

The Itel'men were skilled in a number of methods of fish conservation. In addition to dry-curing, fermentation was another common technique. They dug a hole and lined it with grass, filling it with fresh fish. Over this they laid a layer of grass and covered the whole thing in earth. This fermented fish was eaten right into the 1930s. Later, they used fermented fish to feed dogs, saving only the fish heads to ferment for their own consumption.

They had an unusual method for preparing the meat and fat of marine mammals by stewing it in scorched earthen holes. The bottom of the hole was lined with rocks upon which they built a large fire. When the rocks were quite hot, they covered them in fresh alder branches, upon which they laid a layer of fat and meat, and continuing with alternating layers of meat and fat and alder. When the hole was full, they covered it in grass and a thick layer of earth. After several hours, the stewed meat was removed and could be stored for an entire year.

Salted and smoked fish preservation was acquired from the Russians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but was not widely

used by the Itel'men due to the scarcity and expense of salt. Today salt preservation is a widely used method.

Plants were an important part of Itel'men cuisine. They made grass sugar from hogweed. First they scraped off the outer fibers from the stalks, braiding them into thick chunks and hanging them out in the sun. The wilted stalks were placed in a grass sack, where they quickly became covered in a sweet powder, which they collected in a special dish. S. Krasheninnikov observed "a quarter pound of grass sugar could be extracted from a single *pud* (16 kilograms) of dried grass." A *pud* is sixteen kilograms. They continued making grass sugar from hogweed into the 1930s. Today, it is only used fresh.

Willow weed played no less important a role in food production. The Itel'men made dough for baking flatbread from the hearts of willow weed stalks. Day lily bulbs, various berries, and nuts from pygmy Siberian pine were all used widely. Wild garlic was a good seasoning for dishes and also an excellent anti-scurvy plant. At the start of the nineteenth century, the Itel'men began to use new vegetables — potatoes, turnips, dairy and flour products, grains, tea, and other imported items.

Religion and spiritual culture

The Itel'men traditionally practiced animism, totemism, and fetishism and worshipped spirit masters related to those beliefs. The degree of worship of one or another spirit depended on its purported influ-ence on the material wellbeing of humans. They especially honored the spirit of the sea, *Mitg*, who provide them with their main source of food — fish. They held a fall celebration "cleansing" in his honor, a holiday that clearly exhibited magical and productive characteristics. They paid less attention to the spirits related to hunting. Holidays in their honor occurred periodically. Itel'men beliefs also reflected their food gathering activities. In places where they collected wild plants and other items they erected wooden figures of spirit-masters and left various offerings at these figures.

The Itel'men did not worship heavenly bodies or stars. They considered their world to be eternal and spirits to be immortal. The idea of a single deity was foreign to them. The Raven (*Kutkh*) was believed to be the creator of the world and the first being. According to legend, *Kutkh* pulled the earth down from the heavens with the help of his sister, setting it upon the sea. *Kutkh* created boats and taught people to fish; he created animals and was the first to sew warm fur clothing. The Itel'men believe that numerous mountain ridges and valleys in Kamchatka are evidence of *Kutkh's* travels by dog sled, and that a rainbow is nothing other than a border to *Kutkh's kukhlyanka*. Thunder is the rumbling of *Kutkh's* boat on the rocky shore.

The Itel'men gave other animals human characteristics as well. Even until recently they had a belief that mice were a special people consisting of several tribes. When Itel'men women found mouse caches full of *kimchiga* (*Claytonia tuberosa*) and day lilies, they always left a portion of the cache behind, since they were convinced that if the mice were left without food that they would commit suicide. In Itel'men stories, mice are always imbued with skills, thrift, and quick-wittedness.

The Itel'men also practiced shamanism, although their shamans did not have ritual clothing or drums. Women served as shamans.

All aspects of traditional Itel'men life were regulated by various superstitions and omens: on the first day of hunting it was forbidden to discard litter, ashes, or hot coals; rescuing a drowning person was strictly forbidden due a belief that water spirits would lose their meal; seeing a lizard was an omen of upcoming death; metal axes were not used to beat poles into a blocking net, since this might "block" the river and result in fish leaving the river; etc.

From the mid-seventeenth century the Itel'men nominally accepted Christianity, whose ritual aspects quickly took fairly deep roots. Their traditional beliefs, however, based on their lifestyle, social organization, and natural environment were maintained and even exist to a certain extent today.

Highly developed Itel'men dance arts play a particular role in their spiritual culture. Their dances were a constituent part of everyday life and all holidays and were frequently large scale. Ritual dances were held in honor of a successful hunt of a bear, Steller's sea lion, seal, and other animals. The choreography reflected animal and bird behaviors, imitating their voices and habits. There were everyday dances for men and for women. Women's dances generally involved a circle of dancers and a single dancer and had a lot of upper body movement and uncomplicated movements across the ground. Other women's dances clearly illustrate traces of ancient mysteries. Itel'men folk holidays are connected to their annual calendar of work activities. The most important holiday is *Alkhalalalay*, lasting approximately one month (around November) after the end of the fishing season. A special "cleansing" ritual whereby people passed through hoops of birch branches closed the day.

Folk art and folklore

Their most developed genres of applied folk art were embroidery, artistic braiding of grass and leather straps, birchbark stamping, fur appliqué, and carving on bone and wood. Itel'men ornamentation is typical of other northeastern Paleo-Asiatic, taking the shape of small hearts, rhomboid grids, and all sorts of crooked lines and s-curve spirals. Itel'men carving on bone is similar to that of the Aleut and Siberian Yupik, and southern Itel'men also incorporated shades of styles used by Ainu and

other lower Amur peoples. At the start of the nineteenth century, skilled Itel'men artisans began to use Russian plant ornamentation in their designs, a style that merged surprisingly harmoniously with their traditional striping and geometric figures. Ancient techniques of embroidery using reindeer hairs regained importance. Today, Russian plant ornamentation has become an organic component of Itel'men folk décor.

Itel'men folklore mainly consists of stories, but used to include a rich mythology lost to the modern day. *Kutkh* is the main hero of these stories and myths. Some Native American peoples have an analogous character in their folklore, as do the Koryak, Chukchi, and Siberian Yupik. Despite the similarities, it has been determined that the image of *Kutkh* originally belonged to Itel'men mythology, and that neighboring peoples borrowed it from them. In recent decades, Itel'men writers G. Porotov, T. Gutorova, and N. Suzdalova have created such works as *Songs of the world of Uykoal', Nongaach, Suzvay*, and others.

Cultural renewal and social mobilization

Modern Itel'men are a stable and distinctive community with a high level of ethnic self-awareness. They show a great deal of interest in their history and in a creative understanding of the cultural experience of past generations. The center of this renewal movement is the village of Kovran. Here, there is a folk dance ensemble (*El'vel'*), an ethnographic museum, and at the start of September they conduct the annual *Alkha-lalalay* cleansing, at which Itel'men, Kovran residents, and people from all corners of Kamchatka, Russia, and the world gather. In respect for their ancestors, Kovran residents and their guests climb the legendary peak of El'vel'. During this ceremony they customarily erect sacrificial figures made by local artisans of Khantay, Nustakhchakh, and Azhushak. The celebration includes numerous rituals and family competitions, and the ancient holiday serves, as it did in the past, as a way of unifying the indigenous. Many elements of traditional material culture are undergoing renewal. They have relearned the skills of boatbuilding, making ancient driving sleds, and are developing dogsledding. An ethno-cultural center is underway in Kovran.

The Itel'men were among the first in Russia (1989) to create a community-based organization — the *Tskhanom* ("Sunrise") Council for Kamchatkan Itel'men Renewal. They are actively involved in the larger movement for indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East fighting for their economic and cultural rights. The Council is particularly involved in Itel'men cultural renewal in all aspects of community life and in facilitating the development of indigenous corporations based on traditional activities that use local natural resources. Tskhanom supports close contacts with foreign indigenous organizations and participates in international applied science projects.

An important challenge for the Itel'men is the slow fading of their language. In 1989 Itel'men was spoken at a native level by 20% of Itel'men. Only a few people who are fifty or older speak it. In recent years attempts have been made to revitalize the language. An Itel'men alphabet based on Russian has been created, and grammars, textbooks, and Russian-Itel'men and Itel'men-Russian dictionaries have been published. Schools in Khayryuzovo, Kovran, Sedanka, and Tigil' teach in Itel'men and reflect the dialect differences of those villages. Itel'men language instructors are being trained at the Pedagogical College in Kovran, and at Herzen State Pedagogical University in St. Petersburg. Koryak Okrug radio broadcasts in Itel'men.



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KAMCHADAL



The Kamchadal people are a sub-ethnic group of Russians that arose in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in areas that are now the Kamchatka and Magadan Oblasts. This group was formed as a result of inter-marriage between Cossacks and Russian peasant immigrants with the Itel'men, Koryak, and Even peoples.



Initially, the Russians called all the indigenous residents of southern Kamchatka Kamchadal. The term was used in this sense until the mid-1920s, although nineteenth century literature had already begun to differentiate between the Kamchadal and Itel'men. They were officially registered as two independent ethnic groups during the 1926–27 census. From that time forward the residents of nine settlements on the western Kamchatka coastline were considered Itel'men. Those Itel'men had preserved their native language and a number of archaic aspects in their material and spiritual culture. The Kamchadal were defined as russified and Russian-speaking Itel'men as well as the descendants of Russian old-timers from the Kamchatka River valley and several settlements near Petropavlovsk. This group consisted of a single ethno-cultural group that shared many common traits in their economic activities, lifestyle, and language.

Language

The Kamchadal's native language is a variety of the northern Russian vernacular that underwent strong influence from indigenous languages spoken in the Russian northeast and isolated from the main body of Russian speakers.

Official records / Population

As the immigrant population increased, cultural differences between the new immigrants and Kamchatkan old-timers grew more noticeable. Under those conditions, people began to make cultural distinctions between the Itel'men, the new Russians, and the Kamchadal, a fact that likely ultimately led to development of a regional self-awareness and particular ethnic identity. At this time the term "Kamchadal"



Current territory of residence of the Kamchadal in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

as used to label all "other-born" (Itel'men) began to lose its broader meaning. More and more frequently it was used to describe that part of Kamchatka's indigenous residents who were of mixed ethnic heritage. The unity of Kamchatka's residents and their loyalty to a single religion and state were clearly seen in 1854 during the Anglo-French attacks on Petropavlovsk when the Russians, Itel'men, and Kamchadal heroically defended the city from invaders.

The 1897 census tallied 2,779 Kamchadal in Kamchatkan villages. If one considers that 946 of those Kamchadal included residents of nine villages on the western Kamchatkan coastline (Sopochnoye, Moroshechnoye, Belogolovoye, Khayryuzovo, Kovran, Utkholok, Napana, Sedanka, and Amanino) who were counted as Itel'men in the 1926 census, the true number of "actual Kamchadal" at the end of the nineteenth century was actually 1,833 individuals. In reality, there were even fewer, as 226 of

that total claimed Kamchadal (Itel'men) as their native language, and thus should have been considered Itel'men. The 1897 census located Kamchadal in twenty-six settlements: Pushchino, Shoromy, Kirganik, Mashura, Shapino, Tolbachik, Kozyrevsk, Ushki, Kharchino, Elovka, Kamaki, Koryaki, Yavino, Golygino, Nachiki, Apacha, Ganaly, Malka, Utka, Kikhchik, Kol, Vorovskoye, Kolpakovo, Krutogorovo, Oblukovina, and Icha. The majority of these villages no longer exist today, but it is known that they were all located in the Kamchatka River valley and the region around Petropavlovsk. This region should be considered the main area where Russian-speaking indigenous people of mixed ethnicity live — the Kamchadal. According to data from the 2002 Russian federal census there were 2,293 Kamchadal.

Similar processes worked to create an analogous mixed-ethnicity Russian-speaking group in Magadan Oblast. This group is sometimes also labeled "Kamchadal", although it has no connection whatsoever to the true Kamchadal, only being united by a common ethnonym. This group came about due to inter-marriage between Russian Cossacks and the initial settlers with the Koryak, Even, and even some Yakut. During the pre-Soviet period neither the official powers nor the residents themselves called them Kamchadal. Principles of class and geography helped to identify them. According to these principles, residents of various settlements identified themselves in a variety of ways: Tauyskiy *Inorodtsy* (Otherborn), Yamskiy Koryak, Armanskaya settled Tunguska, and so forth. The "Kamchadal" ethnonym was used to label them following the onset of Soviet power. That labeling facilitated in no small way the policy of ethnic growth, strengthening of ethnic groups, and the implementation of unified ethnonyms. In terms of their ethno-cultural characteristics, mixed-ethnicity Russian-speaking residents on the Okhotsk coastline of Magadan Oblast were quite close to the Kamchadal of Kamchatka. Ultimately, this was the determining factor for the choice of ethnonym, a label that became part of official documents (lists of families, house registers) and was relatively quickly adopted as a self-name as well. Individual residents were certainly strongly influenced by the government benefits system for indigenous peoples when it came time to select an ethnicity.

The situation changed at the start of the 1980s when regulatory documents clarified that the only minority indigenous peoples able to claim benefits were those that were included in the 1926 list. The Kamchadal were not yet a part of the list at that time. In an effort to preserve benefits, attempts that were supported by local authorities, a new ethnic transformation began — the majority of indigenous Okhotsk residents were relabeled Itel'men. That event explains the almost twofold increase in Itel'men population that was registered by the 1989 census. The 2002 census shows that Itel'men self-awareness had "taken hold" among Magadan "Kamchadal." 643 individuals, who clearly knew that in 2000

the Kamchadal were added to the official list of indigenous minority peoples of the Russian Federation, nonetheless preferred to identify themselves as Itel'men at the time of the census.

History

Kamchadal formation began at the end of the seventeenth century, when Kamchatka joined the Russian state. The first permanent Russian settlements in Kamchatka were the forts of Verkhnekamchatskiy, Nizhnekamchatskiy, and Bol'sheretskiy. The Cossacks that served there were not permitted to leave Kamchatka without the permission of the Yakut *voevoda*. Because there was a constant lack of people to serve the state in the Yakutsk district, there was basically no troop relief in the Kamchatkan forts. Beginning in 1707, Cossack service in Kamchatkan forts became permanent and continuous. As a result of those conditions, the Cossacks settled firmly on Kamchatka, started families, and married Itel'men women after first baptizing them. Their sons were automatically included in the Cossack class and upon reaching their majority began to serve in the Cossack ranks.

The supplies to the Cossacks arrived only irregularly, so they were forced to provide their families with all that was required, like the Itel'men. They engaged in the same activities as the Itel'men, using indigenous tools and food preservation techniques. Christianization and the clergy played specific roles in bringing the Itel'men and Russians closer together, facilitating the rise of schools, distribution of the Russian language, and hunting and fishing expeditions that reached the Aleutian Islands. There was not a single hunting expedition that left the shores of Kamchatka that did not involve the participation of the Itel'men.

Intermarriage between Itel'men women and Cossacks and peasants increased and spread at the end of the seventeenth century, a fact that could not but affect the anthropological appearance of the Itel'men and the Russian populations of the peninsula. This in turn strengthened their cultural and economic ties and facilitated the elimination of ethnic differences. The distinct Russian vernacular that is still spoken today arose under those circumstances.

Russian and indigenous cultural interactions in Kamchatka could be observed in almost all areas of material production. A syncretic culture formed on the basis of traditional hunting and fishing and other economic activities as well as on new activities brought to Kamchatka by the Cossacks and the Russian peasants. "Cossack life in Kamchatka," wrote S. P. Krasheninnikov, "is almost indistinguishable from that of the Kamchadal (Itel'men — V. T.), for both of them live on roots and fish and the same kinds of work: fishing in the summer, providing for the winter, digging roots in the fall…."

As the Russian population grew on Kamchatka in the eighteenth century, so did the mixed Itel'men-Russian population. In 1741, 224 Cossacks of mixed heritage served on Kamchatka, and counting their families brought the number to approximately 500. By 1774, there were 429 active-duty mixed-ethnicity Cossacks, and the entire mixed Russian-Itel'men population had increased to 1,700. Increasing Russian immigration to Kamchatka and a growing mixed ethnicity population accelerated in the mid-eighteenth century, when Siberian peasants began immigrating to Kamchatka.

After failing at crop farming, the peasants and, in their time, the Cossacks switched to the Itel'men system of living — they transitioned to fishing, fur hunting, and gathering wild plants. The Russians widely practiced dogsledding. Russian buildings in Kamchatkan villages (*izba* log cabins and storehouses) were supplemented with Itel'men buildings on pilings — *balagans*, which were well adapted to storing dry-cured fish and other gathered items.

Adapting to life on Kamchatka, the immigrants did not forget their own traditional activities: vegetable gardening and domestic livestock husbandry. Potato growing was the most successful of these activities. This proved to be a help to energetic efforts on the part of Kamchatka's government administrators. They required the entire peninsula's population to engage in vegetable gardening. A. S. Sgibnev reported that at the end of the eighteenth century every settlement in the Kamchatka River valley had gardens.

Linguistic and cultural ties formed the most quickly in mixed villages where both Russian and indigenous peoples lived. At the nineteenth century's end, there were thirty-three mixed Itel'men-Russian settlements. The majority of these were concentrated in the Kamchatka River valley and near Petropavlovsk. Traveling along the Kamchatka River, K. Ditmar wrote, "Thanks to close relations with their neighbors and frequent mixed marriages, over the last decades, the Russians have managed to borrow as much from the Kamchadal (Itel'men — V. T.) as they have given them their appearance." S.K. Patkanov noted later that, "The Kamchadal and Russians, having inter-mingled, work together and have a culture that is well adapted to local conditions, a culture that is somewhere between Kamchadal and Russian peasant culture."

At the end of the nineteenth century commercial fishing developed on Kamchatka. With that development the number of permanent and temporary Russian workers on Kamchatka grew. In 1912, the government permitted the "unrestricted settlement" of Kamchatka, which led to a noticeable flow of peasant settlers. At the turn of the twentieth century they had become 85% of the Russian population on the peninsula.

Social organization

The main unit of social organization among the Kamchadal was the village community. These communities consisted of households headed by a man. At the turn of the twentieth century small families predominated. Households had a great deal of independence in terms of their work.

Subsistence activities

The Kamchadal's main activities were fishing, fur hunting, gardening, and dairy farming. According to the 1926–27 census materials, Kamchadal households (in Kamchatka) were categorized by their primary activity (highest value of gross production): 68.7% fishing, 15.2% agriculture, and 11.6% hunting. Just over 1% claimed marine mammal hunting as their primary activity, and 3.4% claimed other activities (military service, carrier trade, sales, and others).

River fishing was their main source of support. Their calendar for fishing and fish processing determined their entire annual activity cycle. They fished from April through November, but the most intensive period took place in July, August, and part of September. They fished using blocking nets, nets, and seines. Each fish species required its own fishing and preparation techniques. In July, residents of each village collective "locked up" rivers, blocking them with wattles made of willow and setting mouth nets into the gaps. At the end of the nineteenth century the Kamchadal perfected this design. Blocking nets came to be boxes that crossed the entire width of the river with a grid of branches in place of front and back walls and with scaffolds on either side. As the fish filled the box, they were fished out with fish gaffs and then shared out into boxes. The majority of the catch was made into *yukola*. Fish was also smoked and salted, and they rendered out fish fat. The Kamchadal used unique low-salt techniques to preserve their fish catch. Fish was filleted into boneless strips and then placed on a layer of coarse-grained salt. From there the excess salt was shaken off (leaving only the salt that stuck to the fillet) and the fillets were placed in a barrel. In the winter they ate fish prepared this way without needing to soak it first, covering it in a layer of pinkish fat. In order to not cook the fat from *balyk* and *tesha* (also called *yukola* traditionally) during smoking, they left a portion of the fish head cartilage intact and did not remove the bones from the belly.

Hunting also played an important role in Kamchadal activities. They began hunting sable with the first snow. In October they hunted for bear and mountain sheep. They hunted wild reindeer by building fences at river crossings. Residents of coastal villages also hunted for marine mammals. The meat and fat of bearded seals and other seals was used in food, and the fat was used to light their homes. The skins went to make

clothing, footwear, and implements. The Kamchadal traded strapping, skins, and fat from marine mammals for reindeer meat, skins, and tendons with the reindeer-herding Koryak.

The Kamchadal gathered edible and medicinal grasses, roots, and berries, storing raw vegetable materials for household crafts. They used berries in food in combination with fish and seal fat. They especially enjoyed "sweet grass", known as hogweed. It was given to children for vitamins and was used to season many dishes. They used hogweed to distill strong vodka, which, G. Steller reported could be used to etch iron.

Overall, Kamchadal activities included both traditional indigenous activities (fishing, gathering) and activities introduced by the Russian Cossacks and other settlers (fur hunting, livestock husbandry, and gardening). Gardens, horned cattle, and Yakut-bred horses could be found in all settlements. In addition to potatoes, they mainly cultivated turnips and cabbage. In Klyuchi and Mil'kovo they sowed barley, but did not fertilize their fields. At the start of the twentieth century, the main difference between the Kamchadal and the Russians or the Itel'men in terms of work activities were not the practices but the volumes of work done. For example, in 1909 in the Kamchatka River valley the Kamchadal caught significantly more fish per capita than the Russian peasants. However, the Russian peasants kept more cattle and horses. There were even more noticeable differences in agricultural production. For every 100 peasants the Russians gathered 1,300 pud (one pud equals sixteen kilograms) of potatoes, the Kamchadal produced only 800 pud. In terms of agricultural production, the Kamchadal significantly outstripped the Itel'men. They also hunted many more fur animals than did the Itel'men.

Transportation

The Kamchadal mainly used dugout boats for transportation in the summer. They connected two or even three boats using poles to transport heavy and voluminous cargo. In the winter they generally used teams of sled dogs for transportation. A special breed of Siberian husky was bred on Kamchatka. Initially, they used old Itel'men arched stanchion sleds, but these were later replaced with eastern Siberian sleds capable of carrying more cargo and requiring less time to manufacture.

Settlements and housing

At the eighteenth century's end, when it was possible to speak of the Kamchadal as an emerging ethnographic group, their villages were typically Russian and representative of the Siberian taiga zone. Each village had a church or chapel. *Balagans* used as work buildings served as reminders of bygone Itel'men fenced *ostrozhki* settlements. They also

built hanging racks for dry-curing fish. The main housing type at that time was the log cabin. Each Kamchadal courtyard had a barn for livestock, a smokehouse, and a storehouse with a cellar. In April, the cellar was filled with snow. This snow melted by the time of salmon spawning season, settled, and turned into an icy pillow. They stored their preserved fish, meat, and other perishable food in this sort of refrigerator.

Clothing

Their activities and the natural and climatic conditions of the region determined their clothing and their footwear. Their winter clothing, especially their work clothing, resembled local indigenous clothing in many ways. The main aspects of their winter uniform (a *kukhlyanka* parka and *torbasa* boots) were acquired from the Itel'men and the Koryak. Sometimes they bartered for clothes from their neighbors, but on the whole they sewed them from skins, suede, and legskins. In the winter, typical Russian peasant clothing predominated. At the turn of the twentieth century, purchased European-style clothing came into wide use.

Religion and spiritual culture

The Kamchadal belief system was a combination led by a Christian worldview that left room for early pre-Christian beliefs acquired from local residents. Church rituals played a leading role in social and family life. The most important Christian rituals were observed without fail. All Kamchadal wore a cross against their skin. Icons could be found not just in homes but also in temporary shelters in the lands where they worked. The Russian Orthodox belief system was actively passed down to children in families and in rural church schools.

Many elements of pagan beliefs were also prominent in their consciousness. Water and earth elements were traditional objects of worship. Twice a year, in the spring and fall, they conducted a thanksgiving ritual at a river. When leaving home on a long trip, a person brought along an amulet from home. They also preserved ancient beliefs in demonology and ghosts, prophetic dreams, and omens. There were many elements in the Kamchadal world that were borrowed from the Itel'men and other indigenous peoples: belief in spirits, worship of natural objects, support from shamans, and others.

Folk culture

Kamchadal life also included the rural Russian population's customs. Ice-skating was a favored entertainment for adults and children. In the villages they often organized "evenings" with Russian songs and dances. Their main musical instrument was the three-stringed balalaika. Fortunetelling was an important aspect of their ritual activities.

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KEREK



The Kerek people, who are very few in number today, live in the Beringovskiy District of Chukotka Autonomous Oblast. In the earliest historical sources the Kerek were referred to as Koryak. They were also labeled an ethnographic subgroup of the Koryak ethnos in Soviet ethnographic literature. The Kerek label derives from the Chukchi kerekit, a term used by the Chukchi to describe the Kerek. N. L. Gondatti, the leader of the Anadyr Okrug in the nineteenth century, used this ethnonym to document them. The Kerek themselves prefer *ankalakku* (coastal), but also used *karakykku* from the Chukchi *kerekit*. Over the last two centuries, Kerek ethnic development took place under great cultural influence from the Chukchi, who have, by today, totally assimilated them.

Language

The Kerek people spoke Kerek, a language that belonged to the Chukchi-Koryak branch of Paleo-Asiatic languages. The Kerek language can be further divided into two groups: Navarinskiy (Meynypil'gynskiy) and Khatyrskiy. Each of these groups had their own names in the past. The Navarinskiy Kerek called themselves *yyulalakku* (upper), and the Khatyrskiy *iutylalakku* (lower). The majority of Kerek spoke the Meynypil'gynskiy dialect. The Kerek language has never had official status. No attempts have been made to establish a Kerek writing system. Kerek were usually spoken within the family. Linguists believe that Kerek is a dialect of Koryak with noticeable characteristics acquired from Chukchi. Past and present, all Kerek were and are trilingual, and they speak Chukchi much better than they do Russian.

Official records / population

The Kerek are the smallest indigenous group among all the indigenous minorities of the North. Data regarding their population is contradictory and inexact. In 1901, V.G. Bogoraz found 644 Kerek. The 1926–27 census counted 315 Kerek. N. B. Shnakenburg's 1937 data is considered more accurate at 152 individuals. Post-war Soviet censuses did not track Kerek population, but sixty-four Koryak were counted in 1959 in Beringovskiy District. There are reasons to believe that these were, in fact, Kerek, since no Koryak live in that district according to field research.

In the 1970s, V. V. Leont'yev, a Magadan ethnographer, conducted field research among the Kerek. According to his data, only fifteen people



Current territory of residence of the Kerek in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

in Meynypil'gyno considered themselves Kerek in 1970, and of these, only eleven spoke Kerek. He found another eleven Kerek in Khatyrka. By 1975, the Kerek population had further decreased to fourteen individuals. On January 1, 1999, only three Kerek were counted in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug's count. 2002 census documents showed eight instances of people self-identifying as Kerek. The main reason for Kerek population decreases is assimilation by the Chukchi. Other factors contributed in the past: Chukchi-Koryak wars in the eighteenth century, where the Kerek were caught in the middle, epidemics at the turn of the nineteenth century, and a general worsening of conditions as a result of falling marine stocks.

History

First contact between Russians and the Kerek took place in the seventeenth century. At that time, the Kerek occupied a large territory

along the coast of the Bering Sea, stretching from Anadyr Estuary to Cape Olyutorskiy on the Kamchatka Peninsula. Archaeological data and memories of elders identified up to thirty old Kerek settlements (Nigrin, Elkytveem, Yankinan, Amaamyn, Etch'un, and others), each abandoned at different times. Today, the descendants of the ancient Kerek are concentrated in two Chukchi villages — Meynypil'gyno and Khatyrka.

Settlements and housing

Historically, the Kerek did not have any permanent villages. They had seasonal settlements, for both summer and winter. These were sited on pebbly spits of land near the mouths of rivers or on small terraces near marine mammal rookeries or rich fishing grounds. Winter settlements consisted of one to three large dugouts, each of which contained several families. In the summer they lived in temporary shed-type shelters. They moved into their winter homes at the first snow or with the first heavy frost.

Kerek winter homes differed noticeably from the semi-dugouts of other northeastern indigenous groups. They lacked walls made from vertical posts, and the opening in the roof was used only for lighting and ventilation. It had no grooved timbers for entry and exit, but had a long corridor and walls built from snow. Another important difference is the lack of a funnel to channel smoke out of the home. Kerek winter homes were most similar to the semi-dugouts of the Apukinskiy Koryak. It is hypothesized that Kerek-style dugouts are more ancient than those of the Koryak, which possess the funnel-shaped structure on the roof.

Four wooden drains connected by girders are the base of a Kerek dugout, each buried approximately one half meter deep. They leaned thick poles on these gutters and then covered them in sod and earth. The floor of the shelter was spread with pebbles. In the winter, they closed the ventilation opening with a thick layer of river ice. As it grew colder, more snow was added to the walls, and they built a long snow *khattuyun* corridor. During rainy summer weather, such dugouts quickly fell apart, so each winter they had to be rebuilt.

Often they would build smaller homes around a central larger one, each containing individual families. These were all inter-connected with each other and the central dugout using branched corridors, which were also used as food and implement storage. In this fashion, several homes could share one common entrance, although some dugouts also had their own entrances. This relatively complicated system was called *kuymayaana* (house with branches).

Winter homes were heated from a hearth built with vertical stone tiles. They laid a large stone tile atop the standing tiles. Each family in a dugout lived in a separate sleeping compartment. They always slept with

their heads toward the rising sun. This tradition is observed in modern housing. The Kerek never rested in bed with the head to the west.

While settling into their winter homes the Kerek conducted protective rituals — spreading a paste made of berries and the roots of various plants mixed with fat on the four main posts. This paste was also thrown in all directions away from the dugout. Finally, they erected five or six boards that also served as protective amulets against various ills.

Kerek non-residential structures included *mayna* platforms upon which they stored large items and hanging racks for drying *yukola* fish.

Subsistence activities

The Kerek economy was based on fishing and marine mammal and fur animal hunting. Bird hunting and gathering were also important activities. They mainly fished for salmon, especially chum and sockeye. They fished for eulachon, saffron cod, and broad whitefish in the mouths of rivers and lagoons. In the ocean they fished for halibut and flounder, returning to the seacoast to gather capelin. Their primary fishing gear was a short net made from whale or reindeer sinew and which was set along the shore using a long pole. They also used hook-and-line gear. In the winter they set purse seines in small rivers.

They preserved salmon for the winter in the form of *yukola*. They had another technique for preserving fish. It was buried in special holes in the ground, in which the fish fermented. This fermented fish was eaten in the winter and fed to the dogs. Eulachon and capelin were dry-cured on special bedding or smoked over the hearth in homes after braiding it into grassy ropes.

Marine mammal hunting was an important activity for the Kerek. In the nineteenth century they mainly targeted seal, using its fat and meat for food and making sealskins into clothing and footwear. They usually hunted seals in the spring on the ice, trapping them with nets in the fall. They did not hunt with a toggle harpoon. They also hunted marine mammals with the help of *kaluvyanana* clubs, spears, and arrows. When fish were migrating they also used large metal baited hooks. Overall, the Kerek fishing industry was limited to coastal waters, spits, and shoals. Water-based marine mammal hunting was quite primitive and ineffective.

Historically, the Kerek also hunted whales. Unlike the Siberian Yupik and the Chukchi, the Kerek did not use toggle harpoons for whaling, but instead struck them with spears and arrows, trying to immobilize the animal by breaking the vertebra of the tail fin.

At the end of the nineteenth century marine mammal hunting fell into decline. This was related to active hunting by American whalers who, over a short period, managed to almost completely eliminate whales and walruses in the region. Seal populations dropped significantly as well.

Bird hunting was an important and meaningful activity for the Kerek. All Kerek groups engaged in bird catching, as this was their most advanced hunting activity. The Kerek ate all seabirds, but their main target was the guillemot. They caught birds in the spring at bird rookeries using special *paynintyn* nets. They threw their nets down over the edge of a sheer cliff, on whose ledges the birds built their nests, and then slowly raised the net. The startled birds leapt off their nests and became entangled in the net. They could catch several dozen birds in one attempt. They also used these nets to catch birds on the water.

They used *ivchukuna* snares to catch cormorants. This snare was at the end of a short club. In the night they would lower one person at the end of a strong strap down the cliff face to the cormorants' perches. The hunter looped the snare over the cormorant's neck, tightened it, and dropped the bird into a leather sack. They hunted the same way but with a bow and arrow, using specialized *tomary* arrows. The Kerek cooked the birds in enormous quantities, and this was their main food source after a long winter until the spawning salmon arrived. Today, the Kerek no longer bird hunt. The activity lost its meaning by the 1930s.

Kerek dry-land hunting was not widely practiced. Judging by Kerek folklore, they historically hunted for wild reindeer, mountain sheep, bear, and other animals. It is also known that they organized a thanksgiving celebration after a successful bear hunt. By the nineteenth century, however, they no longer hunted for those animals. During the occasional hungry year, the Kerek hunted fox and arctic fox, not for their furs but for consumption. They did not have specialized hunting gear. They shot animals with arrows or dug them out of their burrows. Small rodents were a much more important source of sustenance. Ground squirrel hunting was even mentioned in their folk calendar. The end of March and beginning of April, when the ground squirrels began to climb out of their burrows, was called *sikakayillyn*, meaning "month of the ground squirrel." During this period they dug the squirrels out of their dens, taking their remaining stores as well.

Kerek women gathered other edible items. After a storm on the seacoast they collected lamina-ria and other seaweed, and various mollusks. They gathered crowberry, salmonberry, lingonberry, and other berried and edible plants in the tundra. They braided various objects using certain plants and shrubs.

Transportation

The only domestic animal that the Kerek kept was the dog. They used dogs as a means of transportation and ate their flesh. They also raised sacrificial dogs not used for sledding. Kerek dog sleds were similar in design to Chukchi or Koryak cargo sleds. The dogs were harnessed to the sled in a paired line.

In the summer the Kerek moved about using Koryak-style *baidarka* kayaks. Their bow and stern were semi-spherical. *Baidara* frames were covered in walrus, bearded seal, or reindeer skins. *Baidaras* are still made and used by the Kerek today, although motorboats are more common.

Food

In the nineteenth century, Kerek nutrition was based on fish, bird meat, marine mammals, and bird eggs. Depending on the season, one or another of these was most common. Fresh fish and meat was usually eaten boiled. In the winter, *yukola* and fermented fish was most common. *Pavalyaan* sausage was an especially tasty dish and was made using the following technique. They removed the gullet and stomach from the bird (usually gulls), inflated, and dried it. The dried organ was then filled with a mixture of egg yolks and boiled. A similar sausage was also made from wild reindeer intestine and bear, when they were able to catch them.

Puyalkyk (to steam, to braise) was a unique way of cooking meat and fish. They lined an earthen hole with flat rocks and built a fire. When the rocks had become hot, they removed the coals, and filled the hole with game, fish, or meat. They covered the hole with another more flat rocks and covered the entire area with earth or sand. The contents of the hole then cooked in their own juices. The Kerek preferred this cooking technique. The Itel'men are also known to use this approach.

Social organization

The historical particulars of Kerek social organization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are not known. Researchers believe that their main economic and social unit is the large patriarchal family, which, by the early twentieth century, was already in decline. It consisted of a family leader, usually a middle-aged man, his wife, and children. Married children could continue to live with or apart from their parents, but in any case they were members of a large collective of relatives who hunted together for marine mammals and helped each other with food. In the summers, large families broke down into small families, rejoining again for the winter. Fish prepared by small families and work tools and gear were commonly held.

Kerek marriages were patrilocal — the woman moved into the husband's home, although all familial issues and day-to-day questions were addressed by the eldest woman. The leading role of women in Kerek families is reflected in their folklore. Before going anywhere, the heroes of stories ask the grandmother for permission. Familial ties along the matrilineal line were very strong. After her husband's death, a woman returned to her mother's clan, along with her children.

In the past, Kerek inter-marriage with neighboring peoples was extremely rare, but as the Chukchi settled the coastline, it became a much more common occurrence. V. Leont'yev attests to the fact that many Meynypil'ginskiy Chukchi trace their ancestry along the male line back to the Kerek. Today, there are no "pure" Kerek families. Kerek polygamy was not common except in cases of sororate, where, if an older brother died, the youngest married brother was required to marry the widow.

The Kerek believed that newly born children are ancestors who have returned to them. Due to this concept, the Kerek believed a newborn son to be the mother's father or grandfather, if the mother's father was still alive. Similarly, a newborn daughter was the father's mother or, in the case of the mother, her mother. Similar beliefs were built into their naming system. Children were given the names of matrilineal ancestors.

Religion and spiritual culture

Spiritually, the Kerek had much in common with other northeastern Asian indigenous peoples. Over the course of their historical development, they incorporated elements of Itel'men, Koryak, and Chukchi cultures. At the same time, their culture also has a number of aspects not shared by neighboring cultures. Unlike the Chukchi, Kerek shamans did not hunt or fish, serving only to predict the weather, heal the sick, and conduct a variety of religious services. Kerek shamans wore specialized ritual clothing. This long clothing opened in front and was embroidered with designs and trimmed around the edges in dog fur. They wore a fluffy hat with a tassel on their heads. Kerek shamans practiced the trick of cutting themselves with a knife, an act common to other northeastern peoples.

Kerek beliefs about animals and rituals related to birth and death are different and at the same time related to similar rituals of their neighbors. The Kerek believe that each slaughtered animal comes to visit them as a guest. When meeting the hunter with his kill, the mistress of the household always conducted a thanksgiving ceremony accompanied by a song of praise. Unlike the Chukchi, when they ate the animal they did not destroy the bones, instead tying them to a special strap and burying them in the sand or pebbles on the seashore. While burying them, they asked the animal not to be offended and invited it to visit again.

When greeting a hunter returning from a long trip, they threw a piece of burning wood out of the hearth. It was believed that this would scare away evil spirits attacking the person on their return journey.

There are also similarities and differences with Koryak and Itel'men methods of burial. During the winter, the Kerek threw their dead into the sea, but in the summer they buried them in the earth. They also sometime buried their dead at sea in the summer. Overall, sea burials were preferable. Newborn children were buried in the earth under the wall of the dugout. Burial site selection in the summer was determined by divination: they

touched the thigh of the deceased and depending on which direction the head turned; the deceased would be buried at sea or on land. The face and body were covered in stone dust. While the body was still in the dugout home, they laid a small grinding stone on the chest.

After all the rituals were complete, the deceased's legs and arms were bound with straps, and their hood was tightened around their face, leaving only the nose visible. Before dropping the body into the sea, they pierced its side with a knife to ensure it would not inflate in the water. The body was carefully lowered headfirst into the water and pushed away from the edge. Fur clothing allowed the body to float on the water's surface for a long time. They believed that the deceased person swam to its ancestors. Sometimes it happened that the current would carry the body back. This was a bad omen, and they believed that it meant the deceased was awaiting a traveling companion. The wife, children, and close relatives of the deceased did not attend the burial. Children were even tied outdoors and then forced to howl and bark like dogs after the burial. When the body was buried underground, they always laid it to rest with the head to the west. Earth covered the grave in the shape of a pyramid, and they placed a shovel- or paddle-shaped marker at the head.

Folklore

Kerek folklore shares many common typological characteristics and subjects with the oral folk tradition of other northeastern indigenous peoples. Their folklore has many mythical legends whose cultural heroes include *Kukki* the Crow and his son *Sikulylan*. The stories of Kerek mythical legends about the crow are very close to those of the Itel'men. Many of the names of heroes in Kerek folklore coincide with those of the Itel'men. Some of them are clear borrowings from Itel'men folklore, as they are not translated into Kerek.

Like Siberian Yupik, Chukchi, Itel'men, and Koryak folklore, Kerek folklore has its own unique characteristics. It lacks historical and heroic legends and tales as well as several types of fairy tales. Unlike those of the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik, Kerek tales typically contain dialogue. There is almost no description of the hero or natural surroundings, and the action is conveyed only briefly. They also have an unusual manner of storytelling and perception in their tales. Listeners hear the story silently and seriously, with no exclamations to encourage the storyteller. Intonation and facial imitations play a meaningful and artistic role in Kerek tales.

These aspects of Kerek folklore are in a large way related to their way of life and religious beliefs. In all Kerek stories, the younger children always turn out to be wiser than their mothers and fathers and even instruct them. The eldest woman, a grandmother, plays a most important role in stories.

Overall, Kerek material and spiritual culture is a conglomeration of borrowings. One can see the ancient Koryak culture of the Sea of Okhotsk coast and western Kamchatka in Kerek culture. Itel'men culture had a strong influence on Kerek culture during a particular historical phase. The next most significant layer of influence belonged to the Koryak. Over the last two centuries, Kerek ethnic development took place under great cultural influence from the Chukchi, who have, by today, totally assimilated them.

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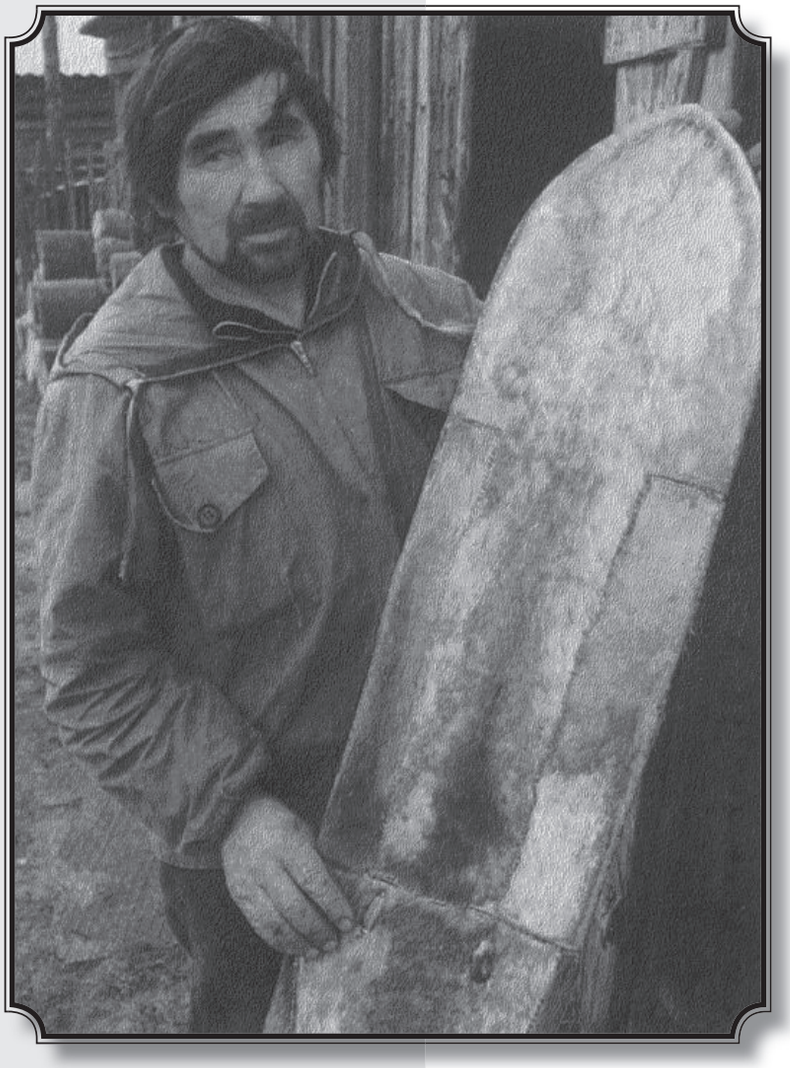
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KET

The Ket people live along the middle branch of the Yenisey River. They call themselves ket (person). In the past, the Russians called them *Ostyaks*, *Yenisey Ostyaks*, and *Yeniseytsy*. In the seventeenth cen-tury, various Ket subgroups were known as *inbaks*, *yugun'*, *zemshaks*, and *bogdentsy*. The 1989 census recorded 1,084 Ket. The majority of these (994 individuals) live in Turukhanskiy and Baykitskiy Districts of Krasnoyarsk Krai. They speak the Ket language. Two Ket dialects exist: Imbat and Sym (Yugskiy). They differ significantly in terms of phonetics, morphol-ogy, and vocabulary. Some researchers even consider them separate languages. The majority of Ket speak the Imbar dialect, which can be further subdivided into vernaculars.

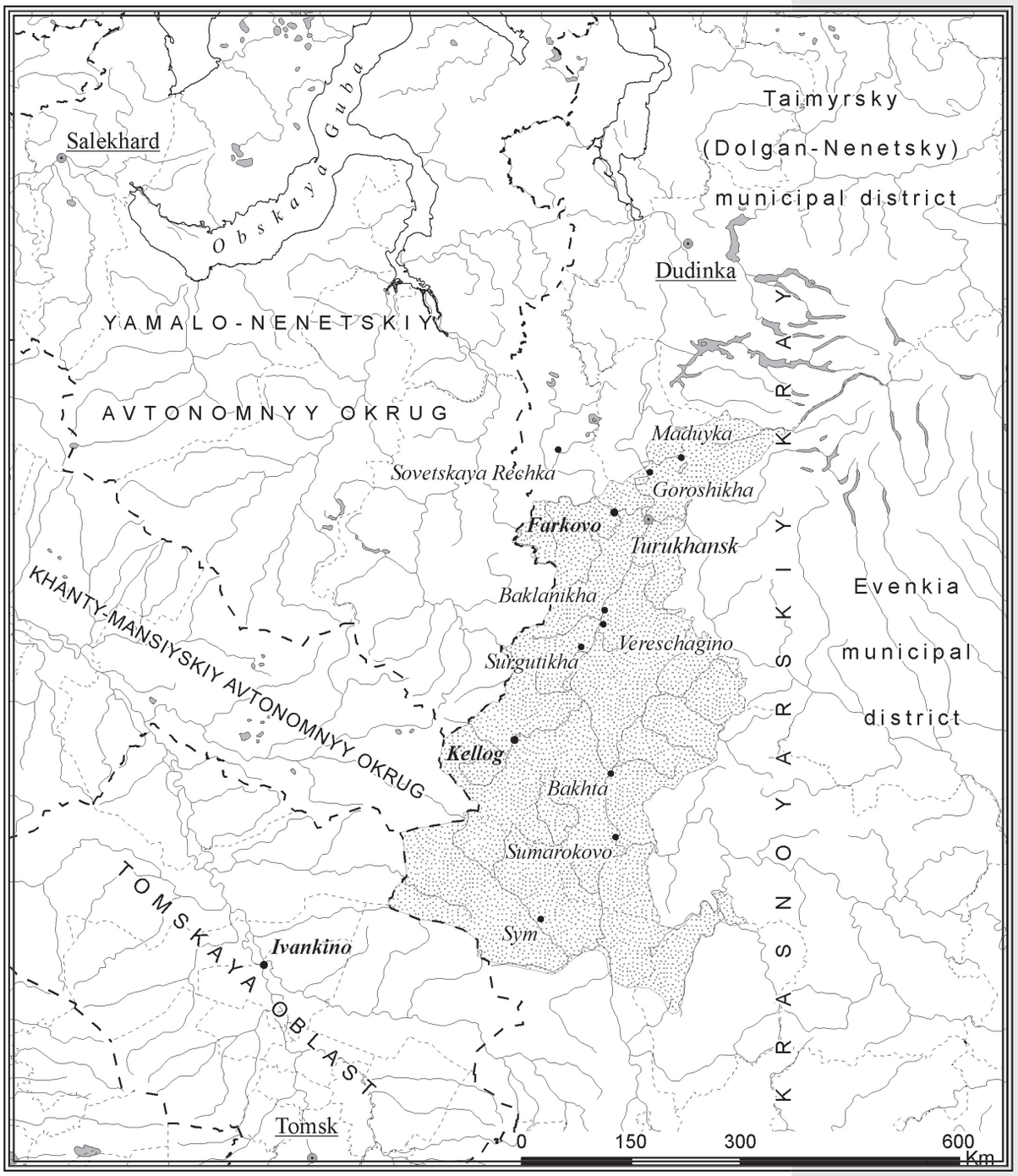


The Ket language is an isolate amongst the languages of other Siberian indigenous peoples. Linguists point to similarities in its construction with languages spoken by Caucasian mountain peoples, the Basque, and native North American peoples. A vari-ety of verb forms and the presence of three grammatical genders for nouns (masculine, feminine, and inanimate) make the language unusual. The Ket had no written language, although one is now being developed using the Russian alphabet. All contemporary Ket speak Russian, and a few speak Sel'kup or Evenk.

Anthropologically, the Ket belong to the Uralic group, possessing both European and Mongoloid characteristics. Further study of their anthropological characteristics has resulted in the Ket being assigned their own category — Yenisey type.

Population and contemporary settlement

According to the 1989 census, the total Ket population equals 1,084 individuals. Today, the majority of Ket (994 people) live in Turukhanskiy, Severo-Yeniseyskiy, and Yeniseyskiy Districts of Krasnoyarsk Kray, as well as in the Baykitskiy District of the Evenk Autonomous Okrug. They



Current territory of residence of the Ket in Russia

live in mixed communities with Russians, Sel'kup, Evenk, and other peoples. They are the majority population in the villages of Farkovo, Vaduiyka, and Sovetskaya Rechka.

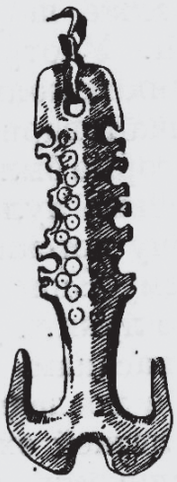
Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
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- Tomsk — Administrative centers
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Ethnogenesis

Researchers have worked for a long time to determine the Ket's origins. This interest is mainly prompted by the isolated status of their language, and a number of hypotheses exist regarding Ket ethnogenesis.





M. A. Kastren wrote of the Ket's southern origins based on linguistic similarities with the Arin, Kott, and Asan peoples of southern Siberia. Linguistic research by K. Donner and G. Ramstead concluded that Ket is related to Southeast Asian languages — Tibetan and Burman. E. Levy found connections between Sino-Tibetan languages and Ket. N. Collins viewed the Ket as a remnant of an ancient Tibetan population descended from Athabaskan Indians (western areas of USA and Canada). G. F. Debets, B. O. Dolgikh, A. Mordvinov, G. N. Prokof'yev, and others observed anthropological similarities between the Ket and North American Native Americans. Still others believe that the Ket language is similar to the language spoken by the ancient Huns.

Today, it is commonly accepted that the Ket's ancestors arose during the Bronze Age along the southern region of the Ob and Yenisey Rivers due to mixing of European southern Siberians with ancient "undifferentiated" Mongoloids. Around 1000 BC they came into contact with a Turkic-Samoyed-Ugric speaking population. They migrated to the Yenisey North, where the Russians found them in the seventeenth century. Specifically, the Kott settled along the Kanu River (right tributary of the Yenisey, the Asan along the Usolka and Ona Rivers (left lowlands of the Angara River), the Arin along the Yenisey near Krasnoyarsk, and the Yarintsy and Baykotovtsy further north along the right bank of the Yenisey up to the mouth of the Tuba River. Modern Ket ancestors settled further down the Yenisey, its tributaries the Kasa, Syma, Dubchesa, Yelogaya, and Bakhta Rivers, and the Podkamennaya Tunguska lowlands. Linguistically speaking, all of these tribes differed drastically from the languages spoken by nearby Turkic, Samoyedic, and Tungus peoples. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, almost all these peoples lost their language, mixing into the Russians (Kott), Evenk (Asan), and ancestors of the modern Khakas (Arin, Yarintsy, and Boykotovtsy). Only the most northern of these peoples (the Ket's ancestors) preserved their language and physical appearance. Thus, the Ket are the only remaining representatives of this vanishing group of tribes.

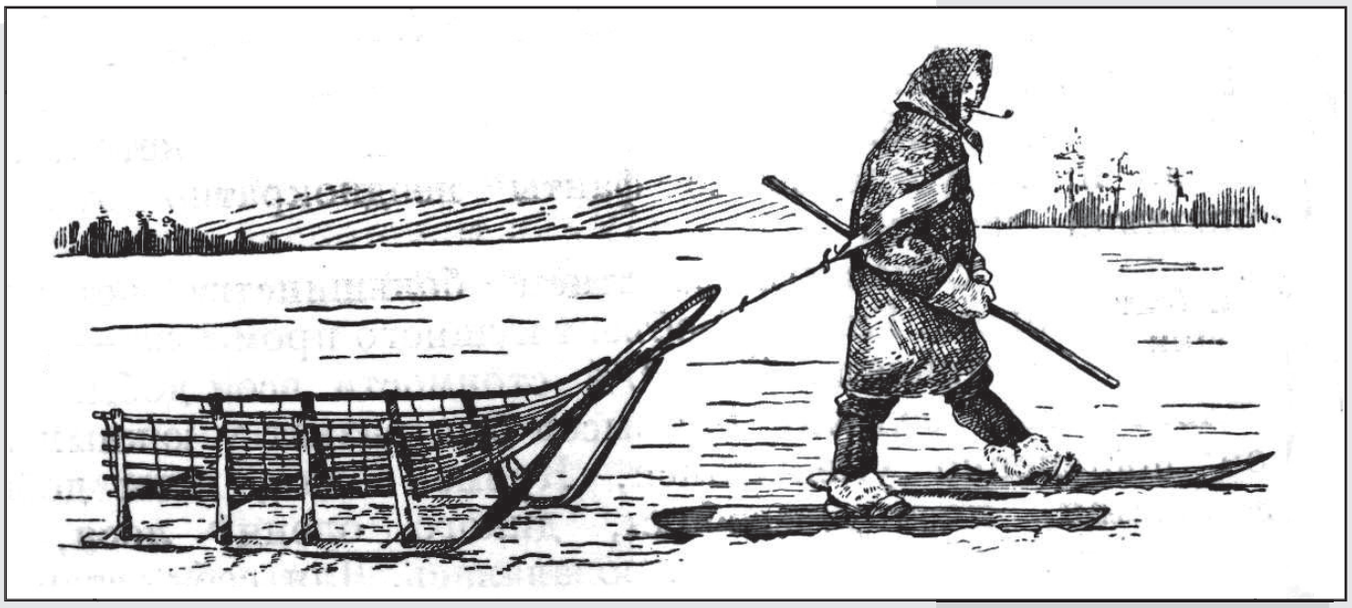
History

The Ket joined the Russian state in 1607. When they entered the Russian sphere of cultural influence, their conflicts with neighboring peoples came to an end. The Ket region was divided into a number of administrative *volosts* (Russian districts): Tunguskaya, Verkhneinbatskaya, and Nizhneinbatskaya. In the mid-eighteenth century, some Ket moved to the Kureyka River and joined the Sel'kup there, creating the Sel'kup Baikhinskaya Volost. Ket living along the Kasa and Syma Rivers became part of the Syma-Kasa Volost. Official documents named each *volost* by clan, although a *volost* could also unite representatives of exogamous clans and clan groups. Each *volos*t was led by a *knyazets*

(elder, clan elder), elected every three years at a general meeting (*suglan*). The Russian administration usually provided candidates from amongst clan elders.

Social organization

At turn of the twentieth century, all Ket lived in large (up to forty people) and small (three-seven) families. Several families, connected by blood relatives along the father's line formed a patronymy. Its members could live together or separately and be members of various *volosts*. Members living in one area were connected by shared activities, mutual assistance, and collectivism. Men of the same generation called each other *bisebo*, "brother." Relatives residing outside the given area could be called this as well. Clan relationships were most valued in terms of clan solidarity and religious belief.



Linguistic, ethnographic, and historical data point to the fact that Ket traditional subsistence and cultural activities formed prior to the migration of Ket ancestors to the Yenisey North. These activities were characteristic of hunting and fishing populations of the taiga zone, where they traveled on foot. Upon their arrival to the Yenisey North, the majority of Ket took up taiga-style reindeer husbandry as a result of contact with their Samoyedic neighbors, an activity which did not result in significant changes to their previous activities. In the nineteenth century, the majority of Ket were primarily engaged in hunting and fishing.

Hunting provided meat for food and skins for clothing and footwear. Reindeer and moose were the main hunting targets, although they also pursued waterfowl and upland fowl. The fur trade became important when the Russians arrived. The Ket paid the *yasak* fur tribute, receiving groceries and commercial wares in exchange. They also hunted sable and



fox. Hunting equipment was mainly the bow and arrow, whose tips were covered with poison made from rotting fish fat. Ket arrows were much praised in the Yenisey North and could be used for barter. When firearms came to the region, bows and arrows fell out of use, although poison was still used (on bullets). Sable was trapped using Russian-produced nets, while foxes were caught in traps or using strychnine. Squirrels and wood grouse were hunted with dogs.

Distinctions in their economic structures were created due to a combination of the relative isolation of various Ket groups, natural conditions, and contact with neighboring peoples. To the north in what is now Turukhanskiy District, their primary hunting target was wild reindeer. In the Yeloguya and Taza watersheds, as well as along the Podkamennaya Tunguska River, they hunted moose. They used persistence hunting and were aided by pit traps. The Podkamenno-Tunguska Ket frequently hunted collectively using river crossings. North of the Surgutikha River, they hunted reindeer using a blind, behind which the hunter hid, crawling up to the animal until close enough to get off a clean shot. The lack of a specific Ket term to describe this blind speaks to the fact that this tactic was borrowed only later from their northern neighbors.

Bear cult rituals accompanied ritual activities related to Ket bear hunting. They hunted collectively — the hunters placed themselves around the bear's den in a specific arrangement. The privilege to the first "hit" or shot went to the hunter who found the bear, or one of his blood relatives. The sto-mach, lungs, and internal organs were buried on the spot, while the rest of the carcass was cut apart, removing the spine, ribs, and pelvis in one piece.

Fishing was the second main industry for the Ket. Fishing was the predominant activity for the northern (Kureysk) Ket. Fishing took place year round, although under-ice fishing was not all that common. They mainly fished using hook-and-line gear and basket traps, set nets (*pushchal'nyi* in Rus.) made from nettle fibers, and traps (*kotets*). The *kotets* is probably the main feature of Ket fishing. They used this tool to catch fish then preserved for future consumption. *Kotets* were placed in one location over a period of many years, more often than not in the mouth of small rivers. The trap consisted of fences used to block the river. Within this fencing, there was a small passageway, to which was attached a braided cone-shaped pouch. Fish entered the trap through this section, ending up in the sectioned-off part of the river, from whence they were simply scooped out. Since this type of fishing is referred to in their folk calendar, it seems clear that the Ket have practiced the technology for a long time. One can suppose that the Ket's perfection of trap fishing is a reflection of the larger barrier fishing technique used by other Siberian and Far Eastern peoples. At some point, the Ket simply added the kotets and the pouch to the process. It is commonly accepted that the Ket borrowed the technique from their Samoyed neighbors.

Ket reindeer husbandry was a secondary activity. Reindeer were used exclusively as a means of transportation during the winter hunting season. Each family required no more than ten animals. Many families possessed no reindeer.

Ket reindeer had a different appearance than the reindeer of the Yenisey Evenk and Nenets. They were larger, taller, and appeared reminiscent of the Sayan stock. Ket husbandry had many Sayan-type aspects: lack of herding dogs, free summer grazing, use of smoke smudges, blood castration, etc. These facts have led to a hypothesis that Ket reindeer husbandry, together with the related Sel'kup style, arose from the ancient Sayan type, and that in combination, they form the basis for a unique reindeer culture whose roots trace to the Sayan Mountains.

The latest research provides some foundation to discuss the late appearance of reindeer husbandry for the Ket — it is almost totally unrepresented in their spiritual culture, including religious beliefs, and also goes unmentioned in their folk calendar, generally based on their annual traditional cycle of activities. Ethnographic, linguistic, and folklore data show that the characteristics shared by Ket and Sayan reindeer husbandry are of different developmental time periods and that there is no genetic connection. The only connection they share is that the husbandry techniques were acquired in the mid-seventeenth century by Samoyedic peoples, the descendants of southern Samoyedic peoples who originated in Sayan.

It follows that the types of sleds and harness used by the Ket reflect their clear borrowing from their Samoyedic neighbors. Terminology related to the mounted use of reindeer was acquired from the Evenk.





Housing

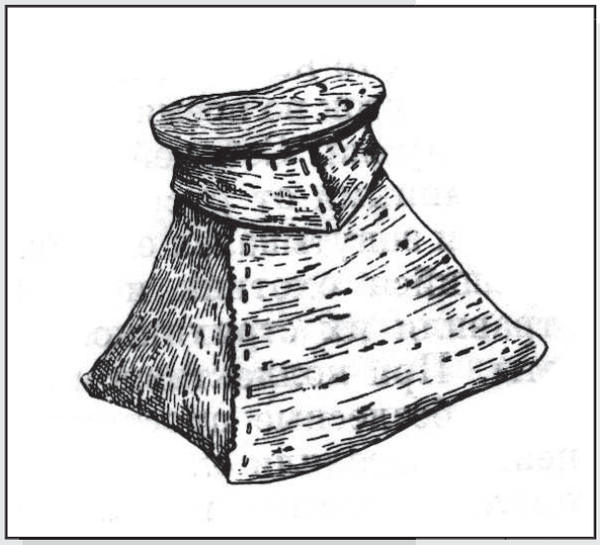
The Ket generally lived in *chums* and *zemlyanka* homes. They sometimes used vaulted leantos made from branches for temporary housing, as well as covered boats, which were widely used during the summer fishing season. All housing types involved initial framework construction and were then covered with birchbark, reindeer suede or fabric, bark, or evergreen tree branches.

In the past, the Ket did not live in permanent settlements. They had more or less permanent campsites at summer fishing grounds, where they preserved fish for future consumption. Winter camps changed frequently, although they often chose new locations not far from camps used for the same purposes in the previous year. The Ket prized groves and high points with good water access and sufficient firewood for campsites. A summer camp generally consisted of two or three *chums*, sometimes as many as six or seven. In the winter, there were usually only one or two.

Most Ket lived in cone-shaped *chums*, an architecture that was widespread amongst all Ket. There were no major design differences

within Ket groups. They assembled the *chum* such that the side opposite the entrance faced the east, where the Ket believed "the good eastern spirits live." Only the Kureysk Ket carried their *chum* poles with them between camps in the forest tundra. A summer *chum* was built using seven–nine poles, connected from the inside using a hoop. The pointed bottom ends of the poles were inserted into the ground. Winter chums did not have any major differences. A hole was left at the center for the hearth, which was surrounded by a rectangular frame of wooden blocks. A notched staff leaned over the hearth from which pots and kettles could be suspended. This staff connected one of the front chum poles to a vertical pole over the entrance.

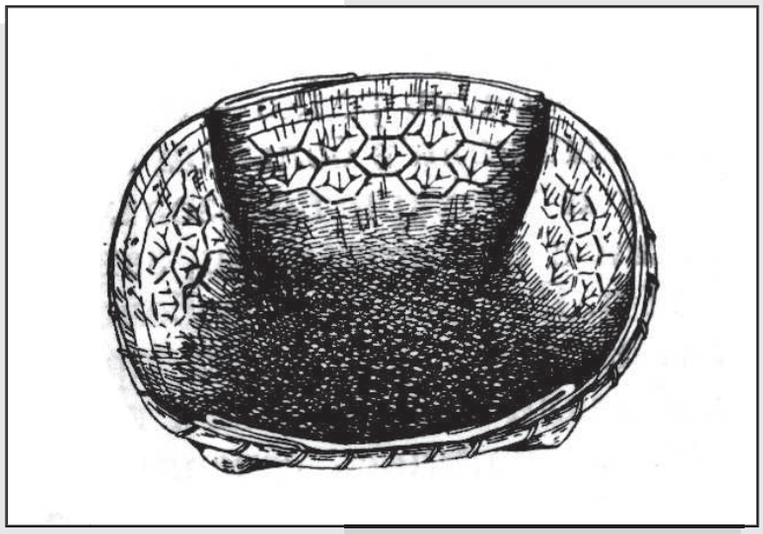
The front of the *chum*, between the doorway and the hearth, was used for housekeeping affairs. Food, dishes, and household implements were stored here, and dogs were tied at the door as well. Families slept on either side of the fire in the central section. The part of the *chum* behind the fire was considered "pure." They stored family belongings, firearms, and cult objects here. Only the eldest (considered to be guiltless) family member could live in this section, although honored guests could sleep here as well.



The Ket method of fastening *chum* poles together differs from techniques used by other Siberian and Far Eastern indigenous peoples. The Ket attached them using either a forked wooden knot at the tip of the poles or with a hoop, which was also used as a support for remaining poles. Analogous techniques are characteristic of the Sel'kup, southern Khanty and Mansi, Symskiy Evenk, as well as the Altayan, Shor, and Tubalar. It is interesting that the Ket terms for the poles and the *chum* are similar to those terms used in Tuva, northern Altay, and by the Khakas-Kachintsy.

The Ket also commonly built *dugout* (Rus. *zemlyanka*) buildings. Families lacking a provider-hunter usually lived in these types of homes. The *zemlyanka's* framework consisted of bent piece of wood, resting against four central roof timbers. The hole for the building was dug only after the framework was assembled and was rectangular in shape. The edges of the hole were layered with beams or thick poles, and some of them had holes from which household objects could be hung. The *zemlyanka* was covered with split beams or thin fir trunks, placed closely together. The upper edge was lined with boards where it connected to the weight-bearing roof timbers. A rectangular opening for lighting was left open at the top. Some Ket made window openings on one side of the building. The entire *zemlyanka* was covered with clumps of dried grasses and then covered with earth. These homes were heated with a fireplace or *chuval* stove made from wooden timbers covered in clay. *Chuvals* fell out of use before *zemlyankas* did, replaced by iron stoves.

The Ket sometimes built temporary housing and lean-tos at their fishing grounds. Shrubby willow branches were stuck into the earth in two parallel rows. The tops were connected, and the resulting arched corridor was further interwoven with several more horizontal branches and then covered in birchbark. The fire was located near the lean-to's entrance. This arched lean-to was built along the same principles of the shelters built onto riverboats (*ilimkas*). An *ilimka* was a large boat up to fifteen meters in length and with a covered area made from branches and birchbark. This living space was divided into two parts with a partition — the front part serving as a living area and the rear for storage. A mast was installed in the center of the boat. Such boats were pulled along the river, drawn by people and dogs along the river's edge. Oars were used only at river crossings. Under windy conditions the sail could be raised.



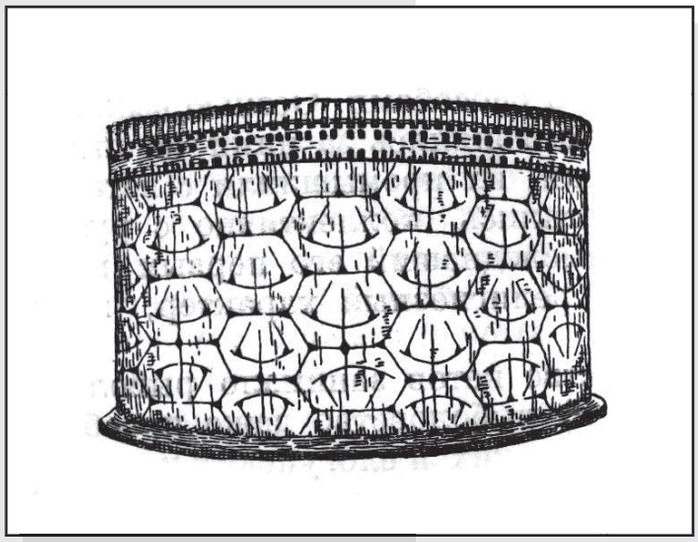
When it came to non-residential structures, the Ket most commonly built sheds. Sheds came in a variety of forms: rectangular platforms on four posts, timber or plank sheds built on tall scaffolding, platforms with an A-frame bark roof, simple shacks built from sticks, and others.

Clothing

Traditional Ket clothing was sewn from moose skins as well as domestic and wild reindeer skins. They also used rabbit and squirrel skins. Starting in the latter half of the nineteenth century, commercial clothing materials became quite common — various fabrics (coarse colored fabric, hessian, chintz, ticking, burlap, and others), although certain aspects of their traditional styles were preserved. Women prepared animal skins and furs and sewed clothing. Skin processing by the Ket was similar to that of neighboring peoples and boiled down to two major processes: scraping clean the skins and softening them. Fur clothing was made using thread made from animal tendons, while fabric was sewn with purchased thread.

A typical men's outfit consisted of a shirt with a vertical opening in front and a collar, a short robe reaching only to the knees wrapping across the chest from right to left and traditionally embroidered with ribbons at the shoulders and along the sides, pants, stockings made of cotton or wool reaching to the knees, and leather slippers. The shoes were died a reddish color with an alder dye. In the winter, a similarly cut fur coat replaced the robe, and the shoes were swapped out for leg skin shoes

with long fabric leggings. Winter robe-coats were decorated along the sides and bottom with squirrel feet and other small animals, creating a broad furred border. The interiors of shoes were stuffed with soft grasses prepared using a special comb. Outfits were rounded out with a fabric belt, ornamental embroidery with reindeer hair, and a fabric head scarf, their traditional headwear year round. Some Ket wore Evenk-style hoods.



Women's outer clothing did not differ from that of the men. Women's shirts were longer, and they frequently wore them instead of a dress. A birch-bark belt worn during menstruation was a specific characteristic of women's dress. When traveling by reindeer, the Ket wore a Nenets-style fur parka (*malitsa*) and hooded outer parka (*sokuy*).

In design, Ket robes differed sharply those worn by all other eastern Siberian peoples, resembling more closely the clothing worn by southern and western Siberians. In addition to the robe and coat worn by the Ket, they also had a short winter parka, open all the way down the front (with closures) and no collar. This piece was cut whole from a single reindeer skin. This parka was identical in design to those worn by the Sel'kup. "Parka" is a broad ancient Samoyed term for a coat with a frontal opening. Another Samoyed-specific characteristic is the lack of vertical side seams. As far as shirts are concerned, they came into use only after Russian contact. This hypothesis is supported not only by the shirt's design, but also by the fact that the Kureysk Ket still call these shirts *kyc kat* (Russian clothing) today.

Food

The Ket's main sources of nutrition were animal and bird meat and fish. Wild plants also made a significant contribution to their diet. In the winter they mainly ate large animal meat (wild reindeer, moose, bear) and upland fowl (wood grouse, black grouse, partridge, hazel grouse). The Ket also ate much of the meat from other fur animals they hunted. During the summer months, they subsisted almost entirely on fish. Moulting waterfowl provided some variety. The only waterfowl the Ket did not hunt were swans.

Meat was prepared in a variety of ways. They ate liver, kidneys, and body fat raw and drank warm blood from fresh kills. The blood and liver were considered to have restorative properties. Fresh wood grouse stomach was a special delicacy, as was ungulate bone marrow. They boiled meat in large chunks in small amounts of lightly salted water. The meat and resulting broth were served separately. Bear meat was only eaten when boiled, and bear meat broth was never consumed. Bear entrails were

used to make the *kurgyt* delicacy: after washing the entrails, they cut them into pieces, turned them inside out to reveal the interior fat, fastened the ends with tendons, and cooked them in a pot. Their favorite foods also included boiled reindeer, moose, and bear head. All the men at a given camp joined together to eat this dish. Meat was grilled on sharpened birch skewers placed into the fire and turned periodically. Skewered meat was known as *daknis* and was their main meat dish.

The Ket almost never preserved meat for future consumption. Usually, meat was consumed immediately after the hunt. In the spring, if they had killed a large number of wild reindeer, they dried the excess meat. They also dried the meat of ducks, upland fowl, and chipmunk. This dried meat was pounded into a powder and stored in birchbark boxes. Beginning in the fall, they froze meat and stored it on storage platforms. The Ket also prepared bone marrow fat in small quantities. Pounded bone was thoroughly boiled until the oil rose to the water's surface. This oil was used to season food.

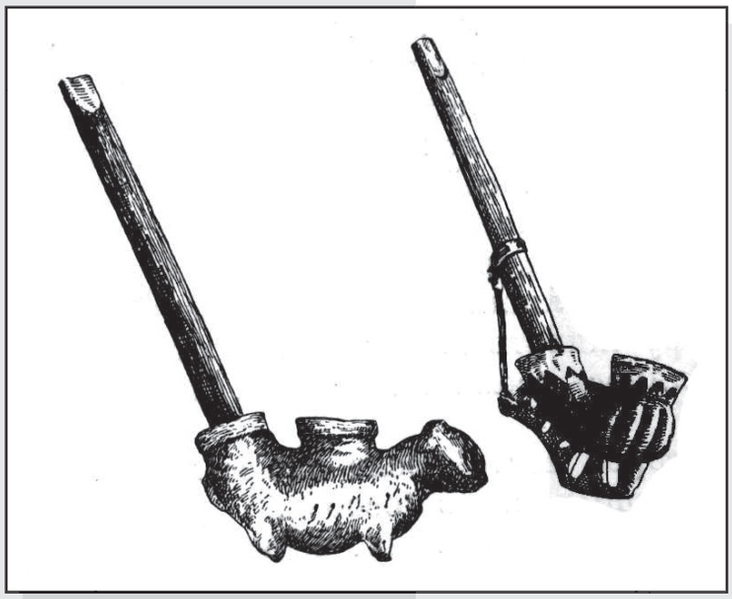
From May through the end of the year, the Ket ate fresh fish. They boiled it or grilled it on skewers. They preferred oily fishes for boiling —sturgeon, sterlet, whitefish, and broad whitefish. They also sometimes prepared fish cutlets. Small fish were grilled on skewers, with seven to ten fish on one stick. Large fish were cut into small pieces. Fried fish was eaten straight off the skewers. During the winter, they ate a lot of frozen fish (whitefish, broad whitefish, grayling), mainly cutting it into small strips called *stroganina*.

Fish was preserved for future consumption. In frozen form, it was stored on platforms and in snow holes. Russian influence led the Ket to salt fish, but they used this technique mostly for fish they later sold. Another preservation technique was known as *porsa*. Fish was first skewered and lightly fried, then dried and smoked over a fire burning green wood. Finally, it was pounded into fine powder. *Porsa* was stored in waterproof baskets made of eelpout skin. In the winter, they used this powder to prepared a thick gruel flavored with bullion. Alternatively, flour could be added to make a flatbread. *Yukola* was prepared for the winter using northern pike, carp, and large bream. During the winter, *yukola* was boiled, made into soup, or soaked and grilled on skewers. Hunters always took a small supply of *porsa* and *yukola* with them to their hunting territory.

Varka was a tasty fish dish. It was prepared from fatty fish, boiled in a small amount of water until the liquid boiled away. Afterwards, the fish was mashed, covered in oil, and stored in a dish.

The Ket ate all edible berries, although rarely ate them raw. More often, berries were used as fillings or preserved for winter consumption. Pounded berries mixed with fish fat were a delicacy. Salmonberry and dried bird cherries were especially tasty prepared this way. The Ket did not eat mushrooms, but did prepare Siberian pine nuts in small quantities.

They gathered birch syrup in the spring. This was drunk fresh from the tree or boiled and served with tea. The Ket also made an alcoholic drink similar to beer from birch syrup and a *sas* grass tisane. Day lilies were also collected. Its mealy bulbs were boiled, baked, added to soups, or simply eaten raw. Wild garlic was used as a flavoring in meat and fish dishes. Wild onion, garlic, and sorrel were also added to foods. Dried bilberry, blueberry, and currant leaves, dried fireweed flowers, rosehip roots, and birch fungi were all used to prepare teas.



The Ket did not prepare any particular dishes for holidays or special occasions. Weddings and holidays that took place prior to the beginning of hunting or fishing seasons were distinguished only by the vast quantity of food. Serving boiled bear head was traditional after a successful bear hunt, and each man was expected to eat a piece of each part of the bear's body.

All Ket, regardless of gender, smoked. Children began smoking between eight and ten years of age. They smoked commercially bought tobacco, and each individual had a pipe. Women's pipes had large, long mouthpieces. The bowl was carved from a piece of birch burl, while the shank was made of bird cherry wood. Celebratory pipe bowls were encrusted with lead and tin. Skilled artisans created unusual Ket pipes resembling animals.

Religion and spiritual culture

Ket religious ideology was based on animism. According to these beliefs, the surrounding world was filled with multitudinous supernatural beings that lived amongst humans and had directed relationships with them. Some beings took a neutral position, while successful hunting and fishing depended on others (master of the beasts *Kaygus'*, master of the forest *Kholay*, master of water bodies *Ul'gyc*, and others). These spirits had to be appeased. Still others were in constant conflict with people, trying to inflict harm. These beings were feared, and a variety of rituals attempted to protect people from their influence.

Yes' was the main good deity for the Ket. He appeared in the form of a bearded old man (the Ket did not wear beards) dressed in a wide white parka and lived in the heavens. It can be supposed that this image formed relatively late and as an undisputable result of Christian influence. *Yes'* goodness contrasted with the evil female *Khosedam*. She lived to the north, underground, and all rivers intersect with her. *Khosedam* is mistress of day and night, and all evil spirits answer to her.

Remnants of ancient totemic beliefs also play a significant role in Ket religious ideology. They can be seen in shamanism and form the basis of many beliefs associated with their traditional activities. The latter beliefs are expressed in the many taboos, rules, omens, and rituals and consist of observations of animal life, nature, and a unique set of ethics regarding these activities. Most of the beliefs are related to traditional activities connecting animals to humans based on the strength of their kinship. They attributed animals with a human ability to comprehend the world, and from this they extrapolated a belief that animals could understand human language. It was taboo to speak about an upcoming hunt or other activity, as it also was to speak negatively of animals or others. For example, Ket told each other of a newly found bear's lair through hand gestures and jumping about. Upon discovering a moose, they told of it by rapid taps of a ski pole to a ski. Bears were called "father," "old man;" sable were labeled "black-backed." Other peoples had similar practices.

In their anthropomorphization of animals, the Ket believed in an animal's ability to avenge misdoings. It was forbidden to speak ill of animals, mock them, cause suffering, or to kill more than necessary for a person's subsistence needs.

The Ket believed in the ability of a human to acquire specific animal qualities and because of this a number of prescripts existed in the use of an animal for food. The majority of Ket did not eat the broth resulting from boiling bear meat as they believed that the human would acquire the weight of a bear's bones. In order to gain strength, it was necessary to eat a piece of freshly killed bear heart and drink its blood. A bear's eyes were swallowed raw during the celebration of a successful bear hunt. The Ket believed that this gave a human a bear's keen vision.

There were also many ritual activities and beliefs related to the resurrection of hunted animals. It was forbidden to separate or throw away the main parts of an animal's skeleton. The bones were gathered together and placed into a hollow on the eastern side of a Siberian pine or buried underground. They did similar things with fish heads and duck feathers. The bones of sable limbs were kept together with their claws as amulets.

When conducting their traditional activities, the Ket worshiped supernatural beings, protectors, and patrons of animals, birds, and fish. For example, in order garner goodwill from the master of all creatures, *Kaygusya* (the son of a bear and a woman), it was important that each rule and instruction be followed. In addition to *Kaygusya*, they also worshiped other masters of nature — forests, waters, rocky ridges, etc. They asked these protectors for successful hunting or fishing, brought them presents, and made offerings. These rituals were especially diligently conducted prior to hunting or fishing. They threw coins, cups, and food into a lake

before fishing in it. Anthropomorphic figures of master-spirits, cut from stumps or carved from larch, were placed along rivers or lakes in sacred cult locations, which were originally related to individual clans. The names of such places were related to the female spirit *Kholay*, who lived in larch trees. When the Ket speak of *Kholay* they always mention the amazing size of a particular larch tree.

The majority of cult hunting and fishing ceremonies were familial or individual in nature. These beliefs were closely interwoven with the cult of family and clan protectors, and the main family and clan protector amongst the Ket was fire. Fire was considered a female spirit. They fed it, throwing pieces of bread, sugar, and fat into the fire. New logs were added to the fire aslant, because flame from perpendicular logs was considered as bad as a bone stuck in a person's throat. Trash was not permissible in the fire, nor was it permitted to touch the fire with a sharp object, as fire feels pain, etc. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ket considered fire to be a protector and symbol of family unity. Fire could only be given to fellow clan members, never to strangers, as that threatened the family's well being. For this reason, even today the Ket prefer not to give out matches to strangers.

The *alely* were another type of domestic deity — protectors of the hearth, family — who took the shape of anthropomorphic female figures. The body and head of each figure was generally covered in animal fur, wrapped with bits of fabric held together with a beaded belt. *Alely* were periodically fed and "worn" clothing was replaced. Specific rules for *alely* care existed: they were fed on moonlit nights, moved and dressed only before noon, keep in the "pure" part of the home, etc. Only women conducted rituals with family protectors, despite the fact that the figures were handed down patrilineally, usually to the younger son. If a family had only women who married outside the family, the figures were passed to other male relatives. In addition to the alely, some families kept and patrilineally handed down images of relatives who died an unnatural death or were known in life for their great respect of the spirits. These figures were called *dangol's*. *Alely* mainly helped domestic activities, while the dangol's supported hunting and fishing.

As with other peoples, Ket shamanism centered on a belief in the ability of a particular individual, the shaman, to serve as an intermediary between people and the supernatural world. The shamanic séance was the main ritual activity, creating a means of interacting with the other world. During this ceremony, the shaman imitated the voices of animals and birds, in whose images the spirits were appearing. Each shaman had his or her own distinct melody, consisting of seven parts.

The Ket believed that a shaman's gift was inherited, and furthermore, that that gift was passed down to alternating genders. At a shaman's death, his daughter became shaman next, followed by a grandson (son of the daughter), etc. A person answering the call to become a sha-

man indicated his skills through behavior, usually between the ages of eighteen and twenty, although it could sometimes occur in early childhood. Shamans served a variety of functions: healing, fortune-telling, ensuring successful hunting or fishing, etc. That said, the sick sought out shamans from other clans for healing, believing that a shaman could not heal their own "blood."

Shamans dressed in a parka, breast cloth, footwear, a head cloth or iron head wear — *korona*. Shamans were also equipped with a drum, mallet, and staff. Shamanic clothing was noteworthy for its masses of metallic pendants and drawings made with ochre on leather and partly surrounded by reindeer hair embroidery. The main subject matter of these drawings included a stylized anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figure in the parka's center, the sun and moon on either side, and images of people below this. The metallic pendants represented parts of the skeleton, bear paws, animal (eagle, loon, swan) and human helpers to the shaman, his means of transport (boat, sled), weapons (shield, eagle claw), and eternity (earth, sun, the Milky Way).

Ket shaman drums were round with a wide base made from Siberian pine over which wild reindeer skin was stretched. A flat narrow handle was inside. The drum's main peculiarity was the presence of resonators on the outside of the base. According to E. D. Prokof'eva's classification, this drum is a Sayan-Yenisey variant of the southern Siberian type. The geographic distribution of this drum, unique to the Ket, indicates the ancient connections between the Ket and southern Siberian peoples, including Sayan tribes, whose descendants are the modern-day Sel'kup, Tuva, Tofalar, Shor, Altayan, and Khakas.

Ket shamans were closely linked to birds. According to legend, the first shaman was an eagle. Those shamans showing great respect to shamanism with the springtime arrival of birds were considered especially powerful. Shamanic clothing and attributes were prepared and made with this annual deadline in mind.

Before the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ket had shamans whose main spirit was the bear, the master of the underworld. Such shamans wore clothing made from bearskins and hung with bits resembling a bear's bones. These shamans' rituals were always conducted in the dark. They never ate bear meat and, as a rule, never hunted bear.

Ket shamans had a great deal of influence, serving as the chief actor in social and spiritual life. He participated in conflict resolution between clan members, was matchmaker, and participated in marriages and burials.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Ket practiced two means of burial: underground (more frequently) and aerial (in a severed tree stump or atop a high platform). The deceased remained in his home up to three days after death. People were advised of the person's passing by the presence of his sled, the front facing west (usually they faced east). The

deceased was washed and dressed in his best clothes. When wrapping clothes across the chest, the panels were switched by placing the upper flap to the right, the opposite of customary practice. Clothing was cut and the buttons removed. The body was placed to the left of the door, with its head closer to the door (to the west). Food and tobacco-filled pipes were regularly offered. Burials took place in the afternoon only. Prior to carrying the body out of the home, children bid the deceased farewell, stepping through his legs from right to left.

The body was moved to the burial site by sled, boat, or hand-carried. It was not permitted to look back during this time. The grave was dug at once from west to east, and the body was placed in the grave in a coffin made of whole boards and with the head to the east. The clothing of the deceased was hung from nearby trees, and his personal items (rent asunder) were left at the gravesite. No graveside ceremony took place, although reindeer-herding Ket killed a reindeer belonging to the deceased. Mourners did not look back when leaving the graveside. Back at camp, refreshments were served. Several days later, the family left the campsite where the person had died, migrating to a new location.

Shaman burial sites were located close to sacred clan locations. If that was not possible, then the deceased shaman's clothes and attributes were laid at the base of a larch tree at the sacred site. The shaman's grave was marked by wooden images of his personal spirits cut into the shape of birds and hung from poles around the grave.

By the start of the twentieth century, the Ket only buried children in aerial graves. Babies were interred in hollowed out trees. The oldest man in the family was responsible for burying children. At the chosen site, a thick Siberian pine or pine was cut off at a height of about one and a half meters. Part of the trunk on the eastern side was removed and both parts were hollowed out. The child was placed into the niche in the stump with its face to the river or to the west. That grave was then covered with the trunk section, held on with wooden switches. The cradle was hung not far from the gravesite.

Only the most southern Ket practiced aerial burial on platforms at the end of the nineteenth century, although shamans who expressed a preference were often buried this way as well. Aerial burials have been noted among many Siberian and North American peoples and can likely be connected to the culture of ancient taiga peoples. These same groups participated in the formation of Ket, Samoyed, Tungus and other peoples.

Folklore, arts and crafts

Ket folklore contains mythological and cosmological subject matter telling of the creation of the world and humanity. *Al'be* and the *bogatyr Bal'ne* are the main Ket heroes. Tales of animals, *Kaygus* (protector of

forest creatures), the evil *Kelbesam*, and deceitful people abound. A mouth harp or a very simple woodwind instrument accompanied these improvisational songs.

The Ket practiced a variety of traditional figurative art — reindeer hair embroidery, bone and woodcarving, birchbark work, and fur appliqué. Ornamentation was always strictly geometric in design. The most common motifs included circles, circles with a center point, dotted lines, stripes, zig-zags, triangles, crosshatched squares, and half circles. Designs set along horizontal lines were frequently intersected with vertical lines. Six-sided polygons filled with horn-shaped designs occurred occasionally. While Ket ornamentation resembled Evenk styles, it also had some Khanty, Mansi, and Nenets attributes.

Contemporary life and cultural revitalization

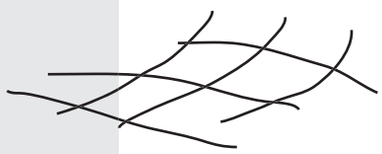
Over the last decades, Ket culture and life has undergone significant changes. In particular, the social and professional structure has changed. Approximately 20% of all Ket live in cities and towns. Only rural Ket practice traditional activities. The Ket have an intelligentsia.

Today, most Ket live in the villages of Turukhansk, Kureyka, Surgutikha, Verkhne-Inbatskoye, Kellog, Lebed', and Sulumay. The Ket who live in these villages live exactly as their neighboring Russians do. The ongoing development of communications links has led to a mainly urban lifestyle. Some elements of traditional life are preserved, but only during active traditional activities such as hunting and fishing practiced by an insignificant number of Ket. The Soviet economic reorganization (collectivization, reorganization of *kolkhozes* into state farms, resettlement of individuals to large multi-ethnic villages, etc.) reduced the role played by hunting and fishing for the Ket. Reindeer husbandry has been entirely lost. Only a few aspects of their traditional material culture have been preserved or have become inter-ethnic in nature: transportation tools (boats, skis, hand sleds), winter footwear, and a few implements. Traditional spiritual culture is better preserved — religious beliefs, familial and clan cults, burial cults, figurative art, and oral traditions (especially folksongs).

The Ket continue to retain a great deal of clan solidarity and a tradition of respect for elders. Mutual assistance, help for the needy, and general hospitality are the norm in contemporary life. Despite increased assimilative processes (more than half of families are multi-ethnic), Ket ethnic self-awareness is very stable. Interest in their history and ethnic culture continues to grow, especially amongst the intelligentsia. In 1989, 48.8% of Ket claimed Ket as their native language. Only the older generation speaks Ket, with the middle generation faring a bit worse. For all practical purposes, Ket children do not speak Ket. Today, Ket language

instruction has returned to elementary schools, after it was stopped in the 1930s. In the village of Kellog, Ket is taught to high school classes as a part of the standard curriculum. A grammar and other Ket curriculum, Ket-Russian textbooks and dictionaries also exist. All of these efforts have resulted in a slowing of this language's decline. Village museums are being organized. Two ethno-cultural centers are under construction in Kellog and Farkovo.

The Association of the Ket of Turukhanskiy District, established in the early 1990s, is also working to preserve their native culture.



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KHANTY



The Khanty people live in western Siberia. They call themselves *khanti*, *khande*, and *kantek*. They also use local names based on nearby rivers: *Kazym ekh* (people of the Kazyma), *Synya ekh* (people of the Syni), etc. In scientific literature, the Khanty and the Mansi are sometimes united under the common term "Ob Ugric." Prior to the twentieth century the Russians called the Khanty *Ostyaks*.

The Khanty consist of three ethnographic groups (northern, southern, and eastern) that differ in dialect, self-naming, variations in culture and activities, and the practice of endogamy. Each of these groups in turn has regional subgroups that are generally recognized by the names of Ob and Irtysh River tributaries and the watershed in which they live: Vasyuganskiy, Salymskiy, Kazymskiy, and others.



Khanty, Mansi, and Hungarian form the Ugric subgroup of Finno-Ugric languages. Khanty has three dialect groups: northern (Obdorskiy, Shurushkaro-Beryozovskiy, Kazymskiy, Sherkal'skiy), southern (Atlymskiy, Leushinskiy, Irtyshko-Kondinskiy) and eastern (Surgutskiy, Salymskiy, Vakho-Vasyuganskiy). The Khanty lexicon reflects a close relationship with neighboring peoples — the Nenets, Tatar, and Komi-Zyryan.

Geography and population

In ancient times, the Khanty inhabited a very wide region — from the Ob River lowlands (to the north) to the Barabinskiy Steppes (to the south) and from the Yenisey River (to the east) beyond the Ural Mountains (to the west). This includes the watersheds of the Severnaya Sos'va, Lyapin, Pelym, and Konda Rivers. Later, the western Khanty living in those watersheds moved north and east. In the north, the Khanty came into contact with the Nenets and were partly assimilated by them. To the south, intensive turkicization was underway, followed by russification starting in the eighteenth century. By the twentieth century, the southern Khanty were almost completely assimilated by the Siberian Tatar and the Russians.

During the first three centuries (seventeenth–nineteenth) that the Khanty people were Russian subjects their population grew from



Current territory of residence of the Khanty in Russia

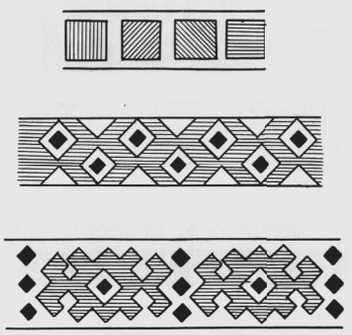
Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

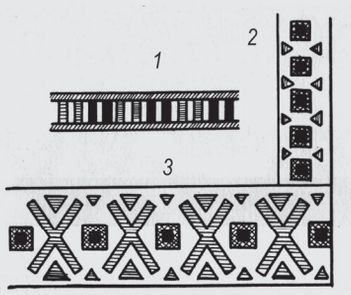
6,300 to 16,200 people (an increase of 250%). Of this, the number of northern Khanty almost tripled (from 2,579 to 7,534), the number of eastern Khanty increased by a factor of 2.7, and the southern by 1.7. This population growth continued into the twentieth century. In 1989, the Soviet Union had 22,521 Khanty, including 22,283 in the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. By population, they remain one of the largest indigenous peoples of the North. More than half of all Khanty live in Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug (11,900 individuals or 52.8%), 32.2% live in Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (7,200 ind.), and another 3.6% (804 ind.) live in Tomsk Oblast. There are more than seventy villages in Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug where Khanty live. The majority of these are small settlements frequently inhabited by no more than a few dozen people. Approximately 2,000 Khanty live in the cities of Khanty-Mansiysk, Nizhnevartovsk, Surgut, and others. A significant number live outside of their traditional boundaries.

Ethnogenesis

Like the Ob Ugric overall, the ethnogenesis of the Khanty is by no means clear. According to one viewpoint (V. N. Chernetsov, V. I. Moshinskaya, V. A. Mogil'nikov, and others) the people are based on an ancient culture of Uralic tribes who were fishermen and hunters. Later they came under the influence of livestock herding Andronovskiy tribes belonging to the Scythian-Sarmatian tradition. The process of combining these ethnic elements was fairly lengthy, lasting into the middle of the first century AD, at which point the Ob-Ugric tribes were relatively uniform. At the end of that millennium, Samoyedic tribes arrived from the east and southeast. A new period of ethnic interaction began, as a result of which some Ob Ugric acquired elements of Samoyedic culture, a process that continued for the first two hundred years of the second millennium.



The ethnic interpretation of archaeological cultures of this period elicits serious disagreement. V. I. Molodin asserts that Andronovskaya Culture is more closely related to the Iranian ethnos than to the Ugric and that the most ancient Ugor culture is the Kulayskaya Culture. Geographically speaking, the Kulayskaya Culture is in the southern Near Ob taiga, an area that can be considered the Ugric homeland. The Kulayskaya moved north and west at the end of the first millennium BC. The first flow of migrants led to the formation of the Ust'-Poluyskaya Culture along the lower Near Ob, on which basis the second wave of migration to the northern Near Irtysh formed the Potchevashkaya Culture. Both of these cultures are considered to be proto-Khanty.

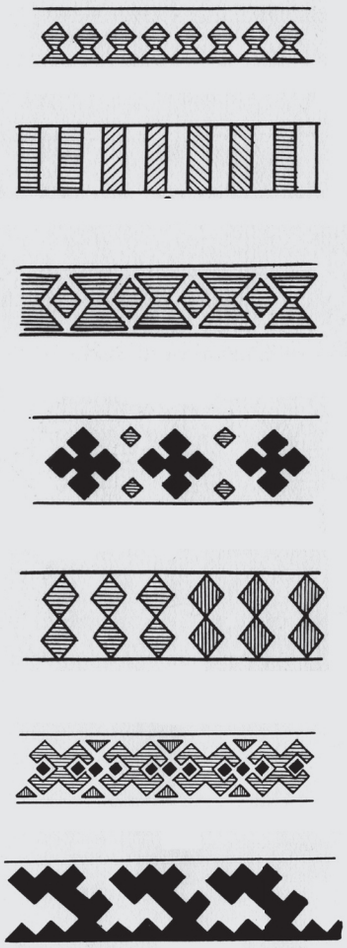


Overall, archaeological materials point to the complexity of proto-Khanty cultures and to the presence of a variety of ethnic elements in those cultures. Later, during the middle ages, there was significant Turkish influence. Traces of Tungus and Ket can also be seen.

History

The Russians (Novgorod traders and hunters) had contact with the Ugor, including the Khanty, by the eleventh century. However, the region in which the Khanty lived became part of the Russian state only after the defeat of the Siberian Khan Kuchum. At this time, southern (Irtysh) Khanty, seeking safety from the Tatar, requested the Cossack Yermak to accept them into the protection of Moscow. The first Russian fort of Obskiy Gorodok was built on Khanty lands in 1584. Other forts appeared almost simultaneously — Surgut, Pelym, Beryozovskiy, and the territory began to be settled by Russian officials and tradespeople, followed by peasants and fishermen in the seventeenth century.

At the time the Russians arrived, the Khanty were grouped into tribes. Each tribe spoke a corresponding dialect and had its own center



and leaders. During times of military danger, the tribes agreed upon unions against common enemies. Each Khanty tribe broke down into two exogamous phratry: mon't' and por. All members of a phratry were considered blood relatives. In later years, phratrial exogamy was replaced by clan exogamy. The number of clans in each phratry continuously in-creased due to population growth and migration to other hunting and fishing lands. Each clan had a its own property brand mark, cemetery, and ancestor cult.

Administratively, the Khanty lived in three districts: the northern Khanty in Beryozovskiy, southern in Tobol'skiy, and eastern in Surgutskiy. There were more than thirty Khanty volosts and another ten where the Khanty lived in combination with Mansi, Sel'kup, and Nenets. Russian voevodes relied on the Khanty clan leadership ("princelings"). The Kodskiy Alachevy princelings were especially helpful to Russian officials. They participated in many Russian expeditions around Siberia. They were given an unprecedented in Siberia favor in recognition of their hard work: they received the right to collect "for themselves" the *yasak* fur tribute from two Khanty *volosts*. When the Russian government no longer needed the Alachevy as leverage, they were relieved of all their privileges.

In an attempt to strengthen their influence on the Khanty, the government spread Christianity among them. Baptisms were especially frequent in the early eighteenth century, and the process was considered complete by 1751. Despite those efforts, Christianization was a purely nominal process and had almost no impact on their traditional religious beliefs.

Over the course of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, the Khanty did not experience any significant changes. Tactically, the Russian government was not making an all out attempt to break down their social life. The government tried to regulate land relations in the interests of the indigenous population (the *yasak* fur tribute depended on them). In accordance with the 1822 "Statute for the management of Siberian *inorodtsy*," (otherborn) the Khanty were classified as nomadic and thus were allocated lands that immigrants were not permitted to enter. The Statute required legal proceedings involving Siberian indigenous to account for their rights, excluded them from military and land duties, forbade the import of liquor, and created conditions for religious tolerance.

The situation began to change in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The government gradually began to subject the Khanty to government-wide laws: permitting the unification of Russian and *inorodtsy* settlements, regulating the movement of members between clans, including the Khanty in the passport system, and beginning to reclassify inorodtsy as settled instead of nomadic. Administrative structures also began to change: old *volosts* were replaced by new ones without regard

to clan boundaries. For example, the twenty-four *volosts* of Narymskiy Kray were reformed into five *volosts*. The Khanty lived in two of them: Vasyugansiy and Nizhneobskiy. By 1917, the main legal distinction between the Khanty and the Russians was the former group's relief from military duty.

The Khanty are one of just a few indigenous minority peoples of Siberia and the Far East to possess their own national territory, the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. It was created in 1930 and played an important role in the consolidation of the Khanty. At its creation, the Khanty were not yet a single people, with the eastern Khanty calling the northern group a "different people." This state plays an important role in the preservation of traditional culture, for it is much better preserved among the Khanty who live on its territory than it is for those living in the Tomsk Oblast, where the traditional way of life has almost been lost.

Subsistence activities

The Khanty have historically engaged in river fishing (especially on the Ob, Irtysh, and their lowlands and tributaries), taiga hunting, and reindeer husbandry. The latter is primarily for meat and skins in the tundra and forest tundra zones and for transportation in the taiga. In the south and along the Ob River, the Khanty were already involved in livestock husbandry and vegetable farming by the nineteenth century. Gathering is an important life activity for them. Local conditions played a determining role in their activities. Those who lived along the Ob River survived mainly on fishing with hunting as a secondary activity only. Hunting and fishing were relatively equal in importance to groups living near large Ob tributaries. The Khanty who lived in near river headwaters placed only secondary importance on fishing. The balance between fishing, hunting, and reindeer husbandry varied even within a single river's watershed.

Fishing was the most generally reliable source of existence for the majority of Khanty. The abundance of valuable fish species (sturgeon, sterlet, taimen, muksun, and others) made it a very effective industry. Blocking seines were the most important piece of fishing gear: more than 200 techniques existed using blocking seines. The Khanty blocked river channels with flexible shields made from wooden boards (*kotets*), from which they scooped fish with dip nets. In the gaps between the block net walls they set up purse seines, creels, *gimgi* (a basket net with mainly vertical willow poles), and other similar gear. They were also known to fish with a dragnet in the blocked area of the river. This method became quite common when fishing became a commercial activity. They also used other gear: fishing spears, fishing poles, bow and arrow, net gear, and others. Nets were woven from hemp and nettle fibers and then dyed with an extract of bird cherry bark, making them less visible in the water.

During the Soviet years, large fish processing facilities were created. Today, these have been divided into a number of small joint stock companies. As a result, many Khanty fishermen lost their jobs. In response, indigenous residents began to unite in fishing associations and native corporations that specialize in fishing. Seventeen associations and corporations operate in Beryozovskiy and Beloyarskiy Districts, where this form of activity is most active.

The Khanty hunted northern reindeer, moose, bear, rabbit, squirrel, fox, sable, ermine, and other fur animals. Of bird species, they targeted ducks and geese. They used both active and passive methods of hunting. They shot squirrels and waterfowl using simple and compound bows and preferred to use a forked "bear-spear" for bear hunting. By the start of the twentieth century, firearms were used universally. Active hunting techniques also include pursuit hunting of animals with the help of dogs. Passive techniques involved the use of various traps, trigger traps, and snares. They also used deadfall traps to catch bears, rabbits, and wood grouse. For fur animals, they preferred homemade pressure traps (including jaw traps) and purchased metal traps to catch fur animals. Crossbow traps could catch large game as well as river otter, fox, and wolverine. They used snares to catch reindeer, moose, bear, and birds. They usually hunted waterfowl during the spring migration and during moulting season. Spring geese and ducks were caught using *pereves* nets: in the forest, between two water bodies (lakes, creeks, rivers), they cleared an area of trees and stretched nets across. Birds flying between the two water bodies would become entangled in the nets.

The Khanty set out to hunt on reindeer or on skis in small bands of five to ten people. Reindeer-herding Khanty frequently brought their families along to hunt. No one was permitted to leave the group, go on ahead, leave or be left in the taiga. The hunter who had a successful kill was not permitted to claim it; rather the animal belonged to those following along. However, this custom did not carry over to fur hunting.

Each Khanty village had its own hunting and fishing grounds, set aside by tradition. If a village contained members from several clans, each clan had its own territories. Usage rights were strictly observed only in terms of fishing areas; hunting allowed a greater degree of freedom in site selection. Rivers, lakes, and forests along border areas were considered part of the commons.

Reindeer husbandry was distributed across a large part of Khanty lands. In the tundra and forest tundra they used Samoyed style techniques for pasturing reindeer, their harness and use in transport, and riding technique. Herders keep herds of 1000–1500 animals and move with the herd along the meridians: to the north in the spring and to the south in the fall. In the forest zone, reindeer husbandry techniques are local in origin, and the animals are used mainly for transport. Here, reindeer herds are small, perhaps a few hundred head. They allow animals to

graze freely or partly freely, setting up smoke fires in open air or within special enclosures designed to limit the herd's mobility. In the event of insufficient forage, they supplement their herd's feedings. Today, there are approximately 39,000 reindeer, of which 27,000 are commonly owned. In recent years herd sizes have decreased. This is especially true in the social sector, while the private sector is growing.

Transportation

In the summer, the Khanty traveled mainly by water, using a variety of boats. Dugout canoes were most often used on Ob River tributaries. Their *oblas* dugout was made using aspen. The tree trunk was trimmed at both ends, and then the ends were cut to a point. Further hollowing out was completed using an adze — an angled axe with a semi-circular blade. The hollowed out boat was filled with water and then set over a fire. The wood steamed, allowing the builders to stretch the sides, which were then held out using inserted crossbars. These boats were built in a variety of sizes and could carry eight or more people. Sometimes they strapped on additional thin boards to the boat's side in order to increase the capacity for cargo. The Khanty also used birchbark boats until the mid-eighteenth century.

Along the Ob River itself, they commonly used more finely crafted boats with the hull made from Siberian pine and the sides made of spruce boards. Such boats were light and known for their steadiness and good way of going. The Khanty used Yenisey River style *ilimka* boats (with birchbark covered cabins and a mast for a square sail) for long-distance seasonal trips. The *ilimka* was also used as a summer home while out fishing and hunting.

In the winter months, they moved about the landscape using skis — legskin-covered skis and simple wooden skis — as well as reindeer and dog sleds. Northern Khanty drove reindeer-drawn sleds year round. Reindeer sled construction techniques and harnesses were borrowed from the Nenets. They usually used dog transport to set out for hunting, bringing home firewood and water, and moving cargo. Dog sleds were lower to the ground, narrower, and lighter than reindeer sleds. Dogs were harnessed in either fan or paired configurations. Sometimes the hunter helped dogs to draw a hand-drawn sled. Khanty who kept horses harnessed them to Russian style sleighs and special horse carts. During the last decades of the twentieth century mechanical transport was widely used.

Settlement and housing

Most Khanty lived a semi-settled way of life, moving between permanent winter settlements and seasonal summer settlements located

at hunting and fishing grounds. Permanent winter settlements had five to twenty-five homes, while seasonal camps had only three to five. Homes were sited along the riverbanks at some distance from each other. Settlements had an unplanned layout. Traditional Khanty households had this format: a residential home, one or several storehouses, awnings for property storage, a wattle and daub oven for bread baking under an awning, an open summer hearth for food preparation, hanging racks for nets, clothing, fish smoking and curing, and dog kennels.

The Khanty had a wide variety of housing types. Traditional winter homes were post frame dugouts and semi-dugouts with the entrance via the roof. At the end of the nineteenth century, homes were sunk a third or halfway underground, but earlier they could be placed as deeply as four to five meters deep. Such homes were framed with angled posts, where the top ends were connected into a square frame, resulting in a home in the shape of a flat-topped pyramid. Another construction technique was also possible: the posts' ends were cut into each other, resulting in a pyramidal home. They then laid poles, half-timbers, and sod against the posts, covering the entire structure in earth. A door was made from boards, and a window was cut in a sidewall. The floor was earthen, and the home was heated using a *chuval* stove very similar to that used by the Sel'kup. They slept on earthen benches supported with boards and bedded in birchbark, with grass matting or furs.

Khanty living in the Middle Ob and Vasyugan region lived in framed dugout homes built without the use of posts. The hole was strengthened using vertical logs, and the edges were lined with a single row of beams, upon which a simplified, slightly raised roof was placed. A window was added onto the pitched roof. The entrance corridor had a flat roof.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century the Khanty began to build semi-dugout log cabins and primitive surface-built log cabins for winter housing. The log cabin frame was sited in a hole in the ground with only two or three layers of logs above ground, covered by a flattened roof. The entrance was in the rear, and a small window was sited on the east wall. The Beryozovskiy and Obdorskiy Khanty had four to ten separate spaces in a single underground winter home intended for one married couple.

Their seasonal homes were quite varied in style — poles over a frame and covered in birchbark or tree bark, single or double pitched roofs, conical, rectangular or semi-spherical shapes. Along the Agan River rectangular buildings with double pitched roofs were unique in that one side of the roof was longer and more sloping than the other. Some summer homes with single pitched roofs had an open front wall in front of which an awning was installed over a fire for smoking fish. There were conical homes, with an opening for smoke in place of the roof ridge on a double-pitched roof. The Khanty slept on branches, mats,

or furs in their summer homes. The fire used for food preparation was usually outdoors.

Khanty reindeer herders lived in Samoyedic *chums*, covered with layers of reindeer skins (in the winter) or birchbark (tarp-style) in the summer. *Chums* were used widely, including as seasonal housing at the work site. Work structures included plank and log storehouses built on pilings with double pitched or flat roofs, storage platforms, and awnings. One special aspect of Khanty villages is the presence of special hitching posts for reindeer and horses. Such a post stood in front of every home. Sometimes the posts were decorated with notches in the image of human faces, animals, and birds. In former times, they tied sacrificial animals to these posts.

Today, the majority of Khanty live in villages that were built in the 1950s and 60s as a result of the changeover of the population to a settled lifestyle. Despite this some of those engaged in traditional activities, including reindeer husbandry, live in permanent and seasonal traditional settlements.

Clothing

Northern Khanty (reindeer herders) outer clothing consists of a pullover (no frontal opening) hooded top, a style acquired from the Nenets. Other groups wore similar clothing (*malitsa*, *gus'*) only during travel. Everyday outer clothing was a fur coat with a frontal opening closed by suede ties or using a leather belt that included a pocket. Northern Khanty women also wore these fur coats, usually made from reindeer fur over a coat-type robe made of fabric worn over their dress. On the Vakh River Khanty hunters wore a *kolek* in the winter — a short piece of clothing made with the reindeer fur on the outside. The *kolek* was tightly closed with a belt, with the front bottom ends tucked into the belt to keep them out of the way while traveling by skis. In the winter, all Khanty wore Nenets-style *pima* boots made from legskin and trimmed in fur. Southern and eastern Khanty usually bought their footwear from reindeer herders.

Khanty men's summer clothing in the north was no different in style from winter clothing. Eastern and southern Khanty clothing was based on a short robe made of rough fabric, trimmed around the collar, sleeves, and hems in fur. In the summer most Khanty wore low *nyara* — boots made from smoked moose, reindeer, or horse legskins with the fur on the outside. Underneath, they wore thick stockings made from fabric, canvas, or suede.

The everyday clothing of the southern Khanty also included men's and women's shirts. Men belted these shirts, while women's shirts resembled tunics. Earlier, these shirts were made from nettle cloth, but beginning at the end of the nineteenth century they were using purchased

fabric. Men's shirts covered narrow pants made from suede, fish skin, or fabric that stretched down just below the knees. Not all women wore pants. After a girl reached sexual maturity, she wore a special belted sash that she continued to wear into old age.

Both men and women wore a hood-style hat, but in the summer and often in the winter too, men wore no headwear at all. They wore a neck scarf in the summer to provide protection from mosquitoes. Winter and summer, women wore large headscarves with a wide hem and fringe. The scarf was folded into an uneven triangle along the diagonal. The small triangle fell over the face, blocking it from view from men and her husband's older relatives.

Historically, the Khanty did not cut their hair. Men parted it down the middle, gathering it at the sides into two pigtails, wrapping them with colored strings. Women braided their hair into two braids, connecting them at the bottom with a thick copper ring that kept them together.

Both men's and women's clothing was decorated. Fur clothing used combinations of white and dark colors and was trimmed with colored fabric. Fabric clothing in a variety of colors was embroidered with beads and metal bits. Embroidery using geometric designs and appliqué was widely used. Women wore jewelry — beads, rings, and earrings. Tattoos were also in evidence.

Today, traditional clothing is worn only rarely as everyday clothing. Winter clothing is an exception and is worn by reindeer herders and hunters. In the villages, purchased clothing and footwear are the rule year round.

Food

In the past, the Khanty primarily ate fish and the meat of reindeer (mainly wild) and other animals, including fur-bearers (squirrel, river otter). They boiled the meat from hunted game. They ate the kidneys, liver, bone marrow, eyes, ears, and lips raw. They also drank the blood fresh, gathering the remnants to mix into floury flat breads. Immature reindeer horn was also used in food preparation. In the fall they preserved wild reindeer meat: dry-curing and sometimes lightly smoking it. Smoked reindeer was a particular delicacy. In the winter they ate frozen reindeer meat.

Past and present, fish are a favorite food of the Khanty. They ate it raw, boiled, dry-cured, and frozen. They rendered fat from fish innards, using it in its pure form, mixed with ground bird cherry berries to make flatbreads, boiling it with pounded fish and then frying it in fat. They took this fat with them on the road and while hunting. They used fish heads and other bits to make fish flour, which was then boiled into a mash. Fish bones remaining after *yukola* preparation were also used in food. They made fish bladders into glue. Upland and waterfowl was

eaten in a boiled form, but could also be smoked or dry-cured. They also ate the eggs of wild birds.

The Khanty ate wild plants including "bear's pipe" (a reed), wild onion, various bulbs, and other berries (bilberries, currants, bird cherry). Berries were often mixed with fat. The Khanty did not eat mushrooms. To prevent scurvy they chewed pine (usually larch) tar. In the spring they gathered birch sap, and the most common and popular drink both past and present was strong tea. They drank it many times daily.

Baked bread was known as early as the seventeenth century, but came into wide use only recently. In place of bread they baked flat-breads made from rye flour, and a flour-based mash with rose hips and *mar'iniy* root.

Spiritual culture

Khanty spiritual culture placed great value on the cult of the bear and related mythology and ceremonies — the "bear holiday" or "bear games." The Khanty believed the bear to be an ancestor-relative. At first, the bear holiday was organized only by members of the Por phratry, who claimed descent from bears. Over time all Khanty began to celebrate the holiday. Its start was tied to the winter solstice and the spring equinox, but it also occurred after a successful bear hunt. This is how the holiday is celebrated today. The holiday centers on entertainment based on folklore, folk dance, and songs.



Clan totems are honored alongside phratrial totems. Animals, birds, rarely plants, and sometimes even insects (butterflies) were considered to be clan ancestors. Zoomorphic figures of these totems are kept in sacred places. Sacrifices were made to them at the start of a hunting or fishing season. Men boiled and consumed reindeer meat at their sacrificial places or left strips of white fabric hanging from trees (spruce, Siberian pine, larch). Women brought home-cooked food to their sacred places and hung strips of colored fabric in birch trees.

Shamanism was mainly practiced within the family. Shamans did not have special garb except for a cylindrical hat. The Khanty fairly regularly created deities common to a particular tribe or clan or the entire people as a whole. Their main deity was *Torum* (*Numi-Torum*). They also worshiped his wife, *Kaltash* (protector of women), their younger son, *Mir susne khum* (rider on a horse), *Kul'otyr*, spirit of the lower world, and others. Today, older Khanty generations have preserved many traditional beliefs and cults based on associations with totemism, hunting and fishing cults, ancestor cults, bears, and the worship of the supernatural powers of nature.

Folklore, contemporary life and cultural revival

Khanty oral traditions include mythology, epic heroic tales, stories, riddles, and historical legends. They tell of the origin of phratry, totemic ancestors, inter-clan conflict, and other events relating to past history.



Little is known of Khanty musical culture. They used plucked stringed instruments such as the *naras-yukh*, a five-stringed zither, the "swan" a nine- or thirteen-stringed harp, as well as a single or double-stringed bowed instruments known as the *neren iv*. They made strings from moose ligaments. Women played the *tumran* mouth harp.

The modern ethno-cultural situation of the Khanty varies significantly. They can be divided into three main groups: Khanty who are engaged in traditional activities and have partly preserved a traditional settlement pattern, way of life, and culture (in the Okrug, these are usually called "camp Khanty"); Khanty not engaged in traditional activities and who live in villages (thus their local label of "village Khanty") and are subject to assimilation and in a number of cases have become quite marginalized; and the "city Khanty," who live in Khanty-Mansiysk and other cities around the Okrug and live a life that is almost identical to that of other peoples. These three groups have wide-ranging attitudes to the preservation and renewal of their traditional culture. Camp Khanty have the greatest interest in these challenges. Ritual holidays are conducted, decorative arts are developing, and places for the worship of spirit-protectors are being restored.

Interest in traditional culture is on the rise among other groups as well. This interest supports the activities of the Center for Culture

and Art of the Peoples of the North, which has a network of branches in the region. Its staff creates folklore ensembles, conduct exhibitions, and organize competitions. There is a weekly Okrug newspaper in Khanty (*Khanty yasang*), and radio (forty minutes weekly) and television programs (twenty-five minutes) broadcast weekly.

60.5 % of Khanty claimed Khanty as their native language in 1989. At one level or another, all middle and older age groups have some command of Khanty. The Khanty writing system was developed in 1932 based on the Kazymskiy dialect. There is wide variation among dialects, leading to writing systems being developed in the 1960s for the five dialects. Textbooks were published for all of these dialects. From there, the Kazymskiy and Shuryshkarskiy Khanty dialects demonstrated the most potential. Textbooks and dictionaries have been published in these dialects and children's literature is in preparation. Children study Khanty in elementary school and as an elective in high school. The Khanty-Mansiysk Pedagogical College (Kazymskiy dialect) and Salekhard Pedagogical College (Shuryshkarskiy dialect) are preparing teachers, as is Herzen Russian State Pedagogical University.

Okrug research facilities have been created to study the issues of traditional cultural renewal for the Khanty and other indigenous peoples. These include the Research Institute for the Renewal of Ob-Ugor Peoples, the Northern Khanty Folklore Archive, the regional Torum Maa Ethnographic Museum-Zapovednik, and others. The Khanty have professional painting and literature. Khanty literary figures such as A. Tarkhanov, E. Aypin, R. Rugin are becoming known, as are the artists G. Raishev, V. Igoshev, and others.

Ethnic self-awareness and indigenous rights

Social organizations play an important role — the Okrug-based "Saving Yugri", the Union of Private Reindeer Herders, the Union of Master Folk Artists, and the Organization for Ob-Ugor Youth and others.

Ethno-ecological issues raise serious concerns among indigenous residents of the Khanty-Mansiisk Autonomous Okrug. The destruction of their natural environment by energy and timber producers has become a powerful factor bringing indigenous minority peoples together and increasing their ethnic self-awareness. Some peoples have achieved specific results in the fight for their rights and for the right to independently determine the parameters of their traditional Khanty lifestyle. They achieved a well-publicized compromise regarding the balance of industrial production and traditional ways of life, and a series of normative legislative acts have significantly widened the rights of the indigenous population.

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KORYAK

The Koryak people (of the Russian Federation live in the former Koryak Autonomous Okrug of Kamchatka Krai, as well as in Chukotka and in Severo-Evenskiy District of Magadan Oblast. They have no single term for themselves — reindeer herders call themselves *chauchu* (rich in reindeer), while the settled Koryak prefer *nymylgyn* (local resident). Geographically descriptive names were also common — *vyvnylgo* (of Vyvenka), *vaykenalgu* (of the Kamenskoye), etc. In the 1920s it was tried to officially unite the Koryak people under the label Nymylan, a variation of the term *nymylgyn*, but it was not accepted, and it was reverted to Koryak. The Nymylan had previously seen themselves as a subgroup of Koryak living in Olyutorskiy District in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. The Koryak ethnonym is likely a Russian term borrowed by the Yukaghir or Even, from whom the Russians learned of the Koryak. Over time the Yukaghir term for the Koryak (*karaka*, or the Even term *kheyekel*) turned into a Russian adaptation —*Koryak*. The belief that the ethnonym Koryak can be traced back to the Koryak word *khora* (reindeer) has been deemed unlikely by most researchers.



The Koryak people can be divided into two large localized groups according to their lifestyle and household specifics: reindeer-herding Chavchuven and settled Nymylan. Within the Nymylan there are a number of geographically isolated groups: Alyutor, Kamensk, Paren, Itkan, Karagin, Apukin, and Kerek. More recently, a number of researchers have separated the Kerek and the Alyutor into separate ethnoses. These groups were accepted as independent ethnoses and included on the List of Indigenous Minority Peoples of Russia approved by the Russian government in 2000.



Current territory of residence of the Koryak in Russia

Language

Anthropologically speaking, the Koryak belong to a special Kamchatkan group of the Arctic group of the larger Mongoloid race. They speak the Koryak language, which has a number of dialects: Chavchuvensk, Apukin, Itkan, Kamensk, Paren, Karagin, Palana, and Kerek. There are viewpoints asserting that the Kerek and Alyutor dialects are independent languages and that Karagin and Palana are dialects of the Alyutor language. The Russian language is widely spoken. In 1989, approximately half of all Koryak considered Koryak to be their native language. The writing system is based on the Russian alphabet.

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities



Population and Settlements

In 1989, the Koryak population stood at 9,242 individuals in the entire Soviet Union, of which 8,942 lived in the Russian Federation. Koryak Autonomous Okrug includes 6,572 Koryak (71% of the total population). 1,013 Koryak live in Magadan Oblast, approximately 11% of the total. Koryak migration outside of their traditional boundaries is on the rise. So, while the total population of Koryak rose 25% between 1970 and 1989, it rose by only 11% in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. A large Koryak community of 386 people formed in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. More than 300 were recorded by the 1989 census as living outside of the Russian Federation. According to the national census, there were 8,743 Koryaks in Russia in 2002.

The Koryak live in all population centers of the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. The majority of their population lives in thirteen population centers: Tymlat, Sredniye Pakhachi, Khailino, Paren', Voyampolka, Lesnaya, Sedanka, and others. The largest Koryak village in Magadan Oblast is Verkhnyaya Paren'.

Ethnogenesis and History

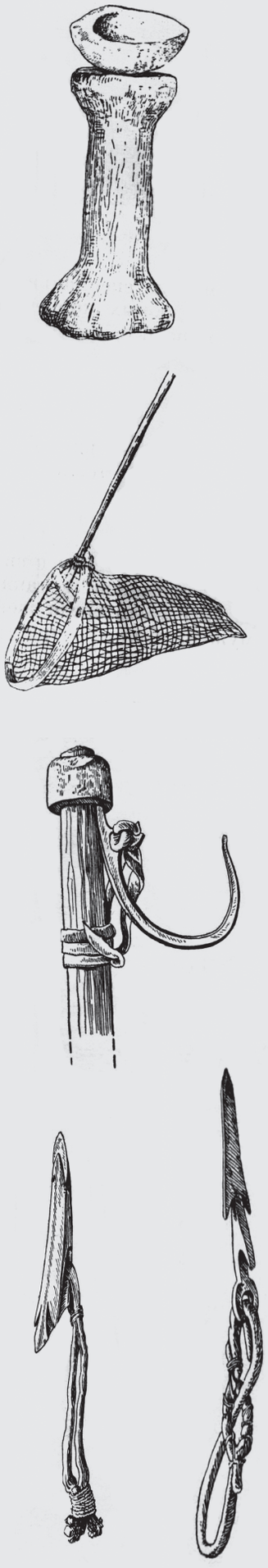
The Koryak are an ethnic subdivision of the northeastern Paleo-Asiatic, whose ethno-genetic roots reach far back into history. Archaeological materials show that humans appeared here approximately 30,000 years ago, although the first human communities that can be realistically related to the early northeastern Paleo-Asiatic stage were formed only during the Mesolithic epoch. These were small-numbered collectives of nomadic hunters and fishermen who penetrated the northeast from the depths of Asia. In anthropologic terms, they are "undifferentiated" Mongoloids with only mild Mongoloid characteristics. Molecular anthropological data shows the Koryak's descent from those ancestors. Material and spiritual cultural elements common in the seventeenth century (fire-making techniques, meat and fish preservation, cult of the dying and reborn hunted animal, bone and stone tools) and characteristic of northeastern Paleo-Asiatic clearly arose from the Mesolithic hunting-fishing culture of those ancient Mongoloids.

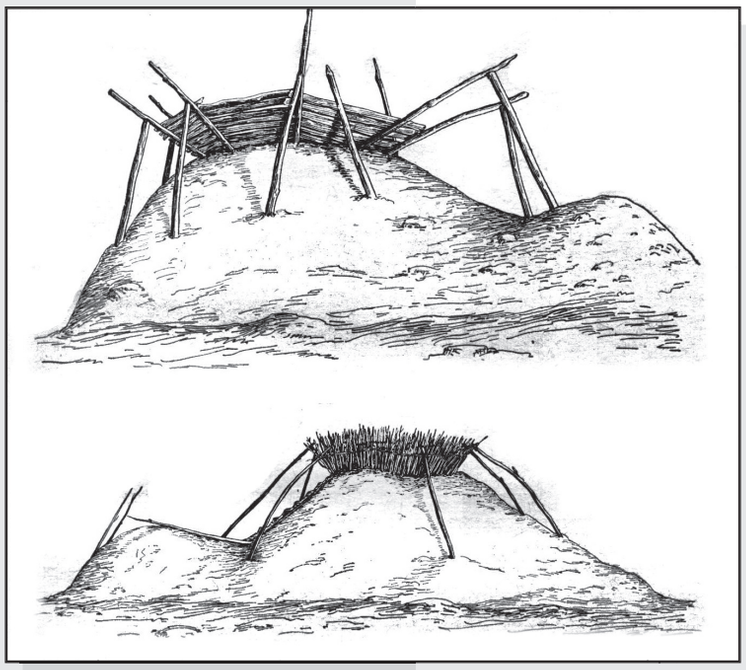
Of course, ethnic differentiation of Paleo-Asiatic in the northeast had not yet occurred at that time. The formation of characteristics specific to the Koryak occurred significantly later, when local cultures began to form in the northern Pacific Ocean. One of these, the Tokarevskaya Culture, discov-ered only recently, arose in the middle of the second millennium BC in the northern Sea of Okhotsk region. Continental tribes contributed to the culture's formation when they reached the coast, as did ancient cultures of the Near Amur, Primorskiy, and Near Baikal regions. Tokarevskaya culture subsistence was continental-coastal: dry-

land hunting complemented fishing and marine mammal hunting. Tools specialized for use in marine mammal hunting appeared in the second half of the first millennium BD, under influence of more developed marine mammal hunting cultures of the northeast — Ancient Yupik, Ancient Kerek, and Tar'inskaya. Ethnically speaking, carriers of the Tokarevskaya culture appeared to have two related groups — ancestors of the "unmounted" Tungus found by the Russians along the Sea of Okhotsk in the seventeenth century and the Paleo-Koryak. Located between the northern and southern cultures of the Pacific coastline, the ancient Koryak acquired some of their traditions and various elements of their material and spiritual culture. A gradual adaptation by Neolithic hunter to new subsistence activities occurred, and they developed the skills required for a more settled lifestyle. By the middle of the first millennium BC, this transition period was mostly complete. A new ancient Koryak culture began to develop in the northern region around the Sea of Okhotsk. Unlike the Tokarevskaya culture, its economy was clearly focused on marine mammal hunting and marine gathering. There was a gradual movement of these ancient Koryak inland on the Kamchatka Peninsula. By approximately the tenth century AD they were the immediate neighbors of the Itel'men.

The transition to marine mammal hunting and a non-nomadic lifestyle led to the isolation of separate groups of the ancient Koryak. During this period, the ancient Koryak language divided into dialects, and coastal Koryak developed specific characteristics and physical traits. The final phase of Koryak ethnogenesis was the formation of the reindeer-herding group of Chavchuven. The Koryak came relatively late to reindeer-herding, probably some time during the eleventh-sixteenth centuries, as a result of skills acquired by isolated groups of settled Tungus marine mammal hunters. It probably took place in the region around the Penzhinskiy Bay, as well as on the eastern coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula where it is close to Chukotka. This may be a specific reason for the proximity of the dialects spoken by the reindeer-herding Koryak and Chukchi with the Penzhin and Apukin coastal Koryak. Initially, reindeer husbandry was only supplemental to the existing activities of coastal residents, but later, as herder-hunters moved north, it became a specialized form of grazing reindeer husbandry. The transition of some coastal residents to a new activity resulted in significant changes in the ethnos' culture. The final formation of the Koryak people occurred, and it was at this point that the Russians arrived on the scene.

Russian sources first mention the Koryak in the 1730s and 1740s. Several decades of Russian-Koryak contact were entirely episodic in nature, although by that time the Cossacks had learned much about ethnic and economic variation within the Koryak. Two cultural-economic groups could be clearly identified at that time: coastal (Nymylan) and reindeer-herding (Chavchuven). At the seventeenth century's end, the





total Koryak population was approximately 10–11,000, of which 2,500 were Chavchuven. Reindeer-herding camps stretched for some distance along the Sea of Okhotsk from the Ola River to the Tigil' River on the western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula and between the Apuka and Pankarinaya Rivers on the eastern side. Despite their scattered locations, all reindeer-herders strongly preserved their cultural, material, and linguistic unity.

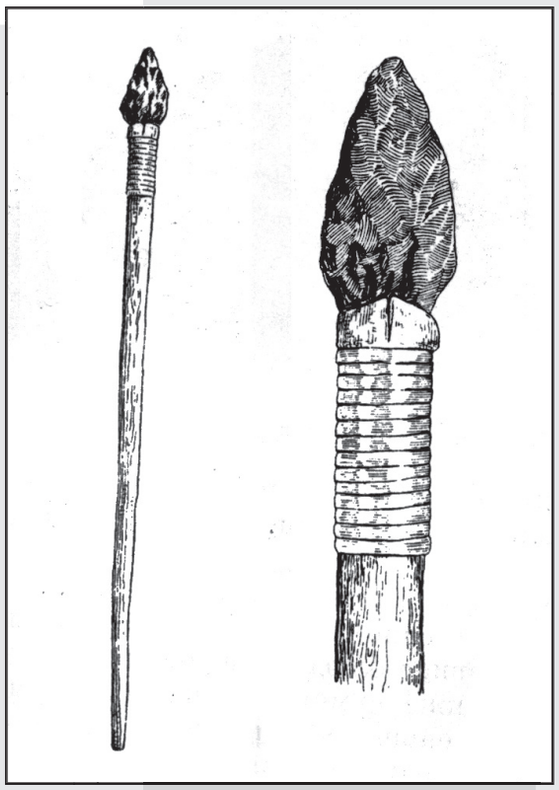
The Nymylan Koryak were separated into geographic groups who differed significantly in terms of language and culture. In the seventeenth century, the most numerous of these were the Palantsy (2,600 individuals). They lived in the settlements of Tigilskiy, Napanskiy, Utkholokskiy, Amaninskiy, Voyampol'skiy, Kakhtaninskiy, Palanskiy, Lesnovskiy, and Podkagerniy along the western Kamchatka Peninsula. These were mainly inhabited by fishermen who were also significantly engaged in fur hunting. The Koryak living along the northeastern Sea of Okhotsk numbered approximately 1,200. One of their main sources of existence was marine mammal hunting, which including whaling. Similar numbers of Karaginskiy and Alyutor lived along the eastern Kamchatka Peninsula. They were traditionally engaged in a combination of fishing and marine mammal hunting, to which the Alyutor added reindeer husbandry.



Several localized Koryak groups lived on the coast closest to Penzhinskiy Bay. These were the Itkanskiy, Parenskiy, and Kamenskiy. In the seventeenth century, they numbered 1,300 individuals in total. Despite cultural, lifestyle, and linguistic differences, the entire population in this region was perceived by the earliest Russian explorers as a single unit possessing specific external characteristics and language. Economically speaking, they were all first and foremost marine mammal hunters. In the early eighteenth century, the most meager information existed regarding the Apukinskiy, who had settled on the northeast Kamchatka Peninsula coastline (between the mouths of the Pakhacha in the south and Kavacha River to the north), an area far away from well-traveled Russian routes. The Apukinskiy lifestyle was determined by marine mammal hunting and fishing. Apukinskiy reindeer-herders lived nomadically at the headwaters of the Apuka, Pakhacha, and Vyvenka Rivers.

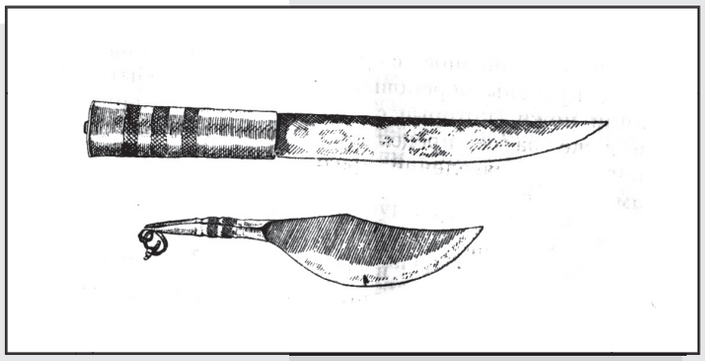
Russian-Nymylan Koryak relations were complex during the first decades of Russian colonization. Cossack troops moving east from the Sea of Okhotsk and south from Anadyr met with bitter resistance from them.

These conflicts with the coastal Koryak continued for almost fifty years. Armed conflict persisted into the mid-eighteenth century on Kamchatka. In their unevenly matched struggle, the Nymylan suffered significant losses — almost half of their population. The Alyutor, Palanskiy, and Penzhinskiy Koryak suffered the most and their populations were reduced by 3–4 times. A smallpox epidemic in 1769–1770 also inflicted serious death among the Nymylan.



The fate of the Chavchuven was no less dramatic during the same period. Unlike the Nymylan, they quickly accepted Russian subjugation. The Cossacks frequently involved them in assaults on the coastal Koryak. At this time they became the object of attacks by reindeer-herding Chukchi. Unable to turn to their coastal tribe members for support, the Chavchuven were in a very difficult position. Weak Russian troops could not protect them from the devastating Chukchi attacks as because of the frequency of the attacks. By the early 1880s, when the Chukchi-Koryak wars ended, the Chavchuven had lost more than half of their population and were forced to relinquish parts of their territory to the Chukchi and the Even. The Chavchuven decamped from Anadyr and Gizhiga and headed further into Kamchatka. The total population of coastal and reindeer-herding Koryak at the end of the eighteenth century was barely 4,800.

Changes in *yasak* fur tribute policies by the tsar's government in the second half of the eighteenth century led to more peaceful relations between the coastal Koryak and the Russians. Gradual rapprochement began between them. Russian villages appeared on Koryak territory — Gizhiga, Penzhino, and others. Russian trade increased, and the Koryak acquired new tools, metal items, food products, and manufactured goods. Russian language spread rapidly along the Okhotsk coastline, as did the number of ethnically mixed marriages. In the nineteenth century, Koryak contacts with their neighbors expanded further. The Karaginskiy and Palanskiy experienced strong cultural influence from the Itel'men. Northern Chavchuven groups developed closer ties with reindeer-herding Chukchi, and Gizhinskiy, Tumanskiy, and Yamskiy Koryak mixed with Russians. Russification gained ground noticeably on the western coast of Kamchatka. The Penzhinskiy and Olyutorskiy coastal Koryak and inner Kamchatkan Chavchuven preserved the most uniqueness, but even they were more and more actively drawn into contact with their neighbors. By the 1930s, the Koryak began to experience stable population increases. The 1897 census documented 7,300 Koryak.



Overall, the Koryak's ethnic history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a testament to their great vitality. Despite the difficult historical situation, significant human losses, and large ethnic population movements observed at this time in the northeast, they maintained their hold on their original lands for the most part. At the end of the twentieth century, all Koryak ethnographic subgroups were still in existence. The most numerous were now the Chavchuven. In 1926–27 they numbered 3,500. By 2000 the number of Alyutor had grown. Karaginskiy Koryak shrunk in number to 300 individuals as a result of ethnic mixing, but they were all concentrated in the villages of Karaga, Drank, and Ivashka. The Apukinskiy (approximately 200) lived in the settlements of Pakhachi, Apuka, Kavacha, Tomak, Machevna, and Vatina. The Palanskiy Koryak (numbering approximately 1,000) lived more compactly closer to the sea. Their total number of villages (Voyampolka, Kakhtana, Palana, Lesnaya, Kinkil', Podkagernaya) was reduced, but their population increased. The settled Koryak of Penzhinskiy Bay moved closer to their fishing and marine mammal hunting grounds. The Kamenskiy Koryak (550 ind.) lived in the villages of Mamich, Talovka, Kamenskoye, Lovaty, Ornochiki, Yagach, Shestakovo, Mikino, and Tylkhoy. The Parenskiy Koryak (150 ind.) lived in Parenskiy' and Kuel, while 100 Itkanskiy lived in Bol'shaya, Yuzhnaya, and Malaya Iktan.



Consolidation processes have had the largest impact in recent decades on the Koryak. *Kolkhoz* and other collective farm construction and the creation of fish processing facilities allowed the population to concentrate in large towns and cities. Until the mid-1950s, these processes occurred mainly within the framework of existing geographic groups. For example, all Kamenskiy Koryak were concentrated in the village of Manila at the mouth of the Penzhina River, many Alyutor gathered in Vyvenka, and so forth. The lack of isolation, camp insularity, and increased ethnic unity facilitated the formation of Koryak autonomy in the form of an *okrug*. Despite these factors, contact between reindeer-herding and coastal Koryak was relatively rare into the 1940s.

These two groups intensively developed closer ties in the early 1950s through the unification of fishing and reindeer-herding *kolkhozes* and the resulting strengthening of those *kolkhozes*. Joint labor further brought nomadic and settled groups together, as did inter-marriage between reindeer-herders and coastal Koryak. Their lifestyles grew more unified, and dialectical differences became less noticeable. At this point, only elders were able to discern their membership in a particular ethnographic group. Differences in dialects can still be heard today; only the most rarely spoken of the dialects have disappeared — Itkanskiy and

Kerekskiy. Traditional production skills characteristic of past ethnographic groups are retained. For example, mainly children of Chavchuven become reindeer-herders.



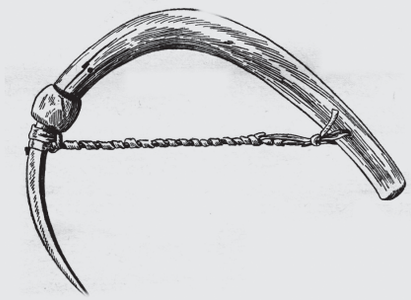
Social organization

By the time that the Russians had made contact with the Koryak, they had already lost clan organization and did not use clan names to identify particular groups of people related by clan or economic activities. Russian documents with mentions of Koryak "clans" referred to simply geographic groups of residents. As early as the seventeenth century, the settlements of settled Koryak were formed as geo-social communities with no exogamous characteristics. Some households worked jointly to fish or hunt, owned *baidarka* boats and work tools, and evenly shared the fruits of their efforts. Nomadic groups of reindeer-herders consisted of the herd's owners. The richest owner had the deciding voice in business and social affairs and also served as an intermediary between the camp and official powers. Familial relations were very similar among the coastal and reindeer-herding Koryak. Their marriage system precluded cousins from marrying and demanded rent payment for wives in patrilocal marriages. Reindeer-herding and settled Koryak differed greatly in the concept of "parents." Settled Koryak understood the term to refer to the mother, while herders referred to the father, a fact that illustrates the exclusive role that reindeer herding played in the evolution of Koryak social relations.



Subsistence activities

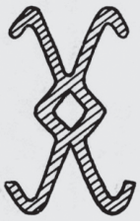
Traditional Koryak activities include reindeer husbandry, fishing, and marine mammal hunting. All Chavchuven and the majority of Alyutor Koryak engaged in reindeer husbandry. In Koryak reindeer husbandry the reindeer are generally only lightly domesticated. They did not used herding dogs and only used reindeer as a means of transport in harness. Chavchuven reindeer husbandry was set apart by its large scale, with herds up to 2,000–3,000 animals in size. Alyutor herds did not exceed 500–600 animals. Reindeer provided the Chavchuven with all of life's requirements. The annual work cycle of the herder consisted of four main migrations, during which the entire camp and all of its belongings followed along behind.



Fishing was more developed among the Karaginskiy, Alyutor, and Palanskiy Koryak, and they depended on it as their main source of nutrition. Fishing was important for other groups as well. Their main fishery was salmon, which they caught at the mouths of rivers during the fish's migration its spawning grounds. Men fished, leaving women









to prepare and preserve the fish (in the form of *yukola*) for future consumption. They used nets made from nettle fibers or animal ligaments for large-scale fishing, later converting to imported manufactured nets. Penzhinskiy Koryak used dip nets, while the Palanskiy Koryak preferred large blocking trap nets. They used fishing poles, hooks, and other small gear in all locations.

All settled Koryak and the reindeer-herding Alyutor engaged in marine mammal hunting. They hunted for seal, bearded seal, and harbor seal using harpoons, nets, and rifles. Hunting season was in the spring and fall. The Penzhinskiy Koryak most commonly hunted from *baidara* boats, while the Karaginskiy Koryak hunted on the sea ice on sleds. They also hunted at their prey's rookeries. In the past great importance was placed on whale hunting, but by the early nineteenth century these animals had almost disappeared from Kamchatkan waters.

Fur animal hunting was not an important activity for any Koryak groups. Prior to the arrival of the Russians they basically did not hunt for fur animals. Yasak fur tribute demands stimulated the development of this activity and opened a large buyers market for furs. Almost all furs went for sale. They hunted sable, fox, otter, ermine, wolverine, and squirrel, borrowing the necessary gear from the Russians. They had almost no Koryak hunting gear for this industry. Unlike fur hunting, the Koryak had hunted other animals and birds for their meat since ancient times: wild reindeer, mountain sheep, and bears. Prior to the use of firearms, the Koryak used bow and arrows, spears, and various traps (snares, pit traps, etc.). Migrating birds were killed during moulting seasons using clubs and javelins, and partridges were caught in nets or kill by slingshot.

Gathering was a secondary activity, and women were responsible for it. The settled Koryak were especially skilled in this regard. They gathered edible mollusks, bird eggs, berries, nuts, laminaria (seaweed), sorrel, day lily, willow weed, and others. Like other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, they gathered field mice ("mouse reserves") from their holes in the fall using a special ritual.

Bone and woodcarving, braiding, and fur production were their most important domestic activities. In ancient times the Koryak were also known to practice metalwork. Only settled Koryak were skilled braiders and weavers. Braiding was woman's work, as was fur and skin production. Their work tools were made from bone, stone, and wood. Stone axes and spear points were used right into the twentieth century, and skin scrapers made from stone are used today.

With the arrival of the Russians, the Koryak learned new activities — dairy cattle husbandry, horse husbandry, and gardening, and the Parenskiy Koryak became skilled in metalwork (hot ironwork and cold work with other metals).

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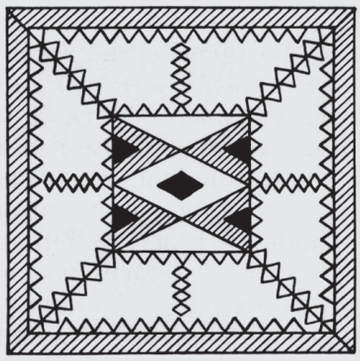
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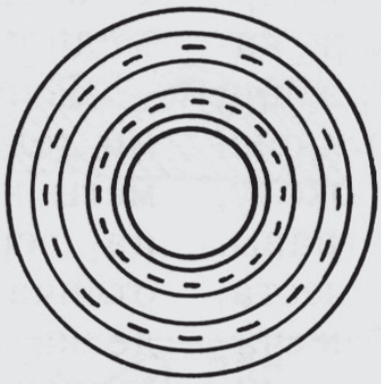
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During the Soviet years, Koryak economic life underwent significant changes. Marine mammal hunting stopped, and fur hunting, gathering, and many other traditional activities became less important. Fishing activities were concentrated in fishing *kolkhozes* — there was little to resemble traditional fishing. They earned their main income from commercial fishing. By the early 1990s there were approximately 160,000 reindeer in the Koryak Autonomous Oblast. Almost all of these reindeer were located in collective *sovkhoz* farms, each of which had several brigades of herders. The internal structure of these brigades and grazing technology preserved traditional aspects. Reindeer husbandry is the only economic activity that employed a majority of Koryak, although their modern employment structure nonetheless was determined by new activities.

The reform of *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* production in the early 1990s changed the employment picture significantly. Now indigenous corporations, family-clan work societies (*obshchinas*), and farms dominated the Koryak's employment pattern across all regions in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. The output of their work, however, was extremely low. Between 1990 and 1998 domesticated reindeer stocks fell to 63,000 animals. A large proportion of their production never reached the demand side due to a lack of reindeer processing facilities and increased tariffs for transportation. Marine mammal hunting is reaching a crisis situation, and fish catches are on the decrease.





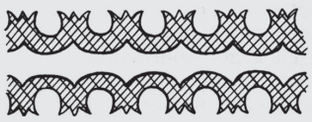


Transportation

The main form of transport for the reindeer-herding Koryak was reindeer, while the majority of settled Koryak used dogs. The reindeer-herding Alyutor also used sled dogs. At the start of the twentieth century some households had horses. Like the Chukchi, the Koryak used harnessed reindeer to sleds. There were two types of reindeer harnesses — driving (male and female) and cargo. They differed in the way the reindeer were harnessed and in sled construction. Driving sleds (*gekenuyetik*) had long stanchions, and two reindeer were required. Men's keyet sleds were narrow and low. Women's sleds were longer, wider, and taller than those of men. They required one reindeer. Cargo sleds (*ineneny*) had large runners and

a large front end. They also used specialized sleds for transporting small children, *yaranga* tent poles (*yalkylinan*), etc.

The Koryak harnessed eight to fourteen dogs in pairs to an eastern Siberian type dogsled. They used such sleds to transport cargo, check trap lines, and travel to distant fishing grounds. The dogs ate fish in the winter, and in the summer months they did not feed the dogs. The sled drive sat on the sled from the right side. He used a *pruyila* pole to guide and stop the dogs. No other form of transportation could compete in the conditions of the Kamchatka Peninsula in terms of effectiveness. A typical dog team could carry, in addition to the driver, no less than 160 kilograms of cargo at an average speed of ten kilometers per hour over great distances. Dogsledding continued to develop successfully until the mid-1950s. The number of sled dogs in the Okrug reached 20,000. In addition to the general population, *kolkhozes*, *sovkhozes*, and other organizations and institutions kept sled dogs.







During the summer, Koryak reindeer herders moved about on foot. In the regions where the Koryak mixed with the Tungus, they rode upon reindeer. Settled Koryak mainly moved about by boat in the summer. They used skin and dugout boats. The most common hunting and fishing *baidara* boat was the *kultaatvyt* (boat from bearded sealskins), which resembled the Yupik *umiak* and could seat up to fifteen people. Usually there were eight oarsmen and a helmsman. They could also travel under sail in windy weather. Another type of workboat was the *matyv kayak* intended for one person. Similar to the *baidaras*, the *kayak's* covering was made from bearded sealskins. It was propelled using one double-ended or two single-ended paddles up to 40 centimeters in length. The Koryak used such boats to hunt for marine mammals only in quiet, windless weather. They navigated rivers in dugout boats of two types: a flat-bottomed *kayuk chaynyatvat* and the *ylavit* boat. They transported cargo and people by strapping two of the *ylavit* boats together with planking. This unusual sailing raft was convenient and safe.

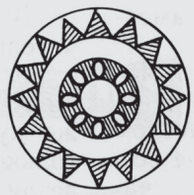
The Koryak used two types of skis: snowshoe-style *valvyyagyt* (crow's feet) and common sliding *tigyt* skis. The former consisted of two boards connected at the ends with crossbracing along the middle. They used these to travel on weak ice-crusted snow, making a path for their dog team. Common skis were covered in legskins or sealskins. They used these to move in powdery snow while hunting. To walk on slick ice they used specially adapted ice skates, made with bone or iron toothed blades attached to the soles of their boots.

Settlements and housing

Reindeer-herding Koryak lived only in camps consisting of a few *yaranga* shelters. The *yaranga* had a pole frame and was covered on the outside in skins. The interior contained fur sleeping partitions, one per family. Other partitions were reserved for adult unmarried men and women. The

Chavchuven had no other structures. Settled Koryak preferred semi-dugout homes with unusual funnel shaped roofs. The walls were built from wooden boards. The center of the shelter contained the hearth. In the winter they entered the dugout through the chimney, switching to a specially built corridor with a flat roof in the summer. Like the reindeer herders, the settled Koryak slept in fur sleeping partitions. The majority of settlements for the settled Koryak were sited at the mouths of rivers or along the coastline. They lived in them both winter and summer. The Palanskiy Koryak had winter villages at some distance from their hunting and fishing grounds, but in the summer they moved to summer homes on the coast. Settled Koryak villages were given an unusual appearance by storage sheds covered in dried grasses. Under Russian influence, some Koryak groups began to build log cabins in the mid-eighteenth century.













Clothing

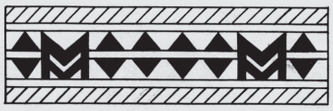
Koryak traditional clothing consisted of fur *kukhlyanka* shirts, pants, a hood, and footwear. Winter clothing had two layers: the lower layer kept the fur close to the skin and the outer layer put the fur on the outside. Most *kukhlyankas* were made with a hood, and the pants stretched to the ankles. Men's winter footwear had either long or short legs, and fur stockings were tucked inside the soft leather boots. When traveling, they wore a *kamleyka* over top the *kukhlyanka*. The *kamleyka* was a wide shirt made from suede or cloth. Women's winter footwear had tall legs. Women's clothing included a *kerker* jumpsuit, a fur *gagaglya* shirt, and a hood in place of a hat. The Koryak did not have specialized work clothing, although they did prefer to use dog skins or suede to make it. Ritual clothing (for dances and funerals) was richly and unusually ornamented, including the use of colored furs. Children wore jumpsuits.

Traditional Koryak clothing was decorated and hung with pendants. Jewelry included bracelets, earrings, and pendants, which were made from old copper and silver items. Many jewelry pieces also served as amulets. Their hairstyles had magical meaning. Men cut their hair, leaving only a circle on their skull or a narrow band all the way around the head. Women pulled their hair evenly and braided it into two tight braids, which were then decorated with a beaded thread. Some women had male haircuts.

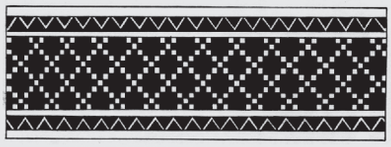
Food

The reindeer herders main diet was reindeer meat, which they consumed mainly in boiled form. They ate the kidneys, marrow, and cartilage raw. They made a soup from the blood and stomach contents. Dry cured meat was used to make powdered meat. They ate frozen meat on the road. All reindeer herding groups made fish *yukola* as a supplement to meat dishes,







and in the summer they varied their diet with the addition of fresh fish. Fish, meat, and fat of marine mammals formed the dietary cornerstone for all settled Koryak. Most fish was prepared into *yukola*. Marine mammal meat was boiled or frozen. They especially valued marine mammal fat. They ate it with either meat or *yukola*. In addition to meat and fish, Koryak everywhere used edible plants, berries, and nuts. They used agaric mushroom as a stimulant and intoxicant. They chewed or inhaled tobacco. At the end of the nineteenth century purchased foods became more and more common: flour, grains, tea, and sugar.

Religion and spiritual culture

Koryak traditional beliefs consist of shamanism and hunting and fishing cults. According to their beliefs, the universe consisted of five worlds: the earth (populated by people), two underworlds, and two upper worlds. The lowest upper world is populated with cloud-people, and the uppermost world is the realm of the Superior Deity. *Kele* evil spirits inhabited the upper underworld, while ghosts of the dead live in the lowest world. All of these worlds were mutually accessible. Residents of the underworlds looked after their living relatives on the earth, sending them to hunt for animals and helping them in all ways. The living honored their dead relatives by sending gifts.

The Creator was the most important well-intentioned supernatural deity for the Koryak. Their myths represented him as an amorphous figure, inaccessible to humans, located in the heavens, and little interested in the events on earth. The Creator had two main functions: to ensure order on earth and care for the future of life. The Big Raven, *Kytkyuynnyaku*, was the intermediary between powerful deities and humans. He was believed to be the first human, an ancestor to the Koryak, and their protector. They also believed in the pre-determination of life's path and in human fate.

Kele spirits were considered evil personified in nature. Reindeer-herding Koryak called them *ningvit*. It was believed that these spirits, like humans, lived in families with wives and children and followed humans constantly, sometimes appearing as cannibals. The *kele* were invisible, and only shamans could see them. For this reason, one of a Koryak shaman's important jobs was to protect people from spirits bearing evil. Both familial and professional shamans existed. One could not become a shaman at will nor was it possible to decline the position. It was believed that spirits chose people for this role. Each shaman had his own spirits that helped him during ritual séances. The Koryak did not have special clothing for shamans. The primary shamanic attribute was the drum. Each family had a drum, and it was not permitted to carry it outside the home. The drum served a dual role: musical instrument and sacred object.

The Koryak system of protector-deities was another important aspect of their traditional belief system. Each Koryak settlement had its

own protector (a pole). The settlement's founder erected this pole at an elevated point. Similar pole-protectors were set up near each home in the settlement. After hunting, these poles were rubbed with the fat and blood of the animal, and people brought reindeer horn as a sacrificial offering. There were also *kalaki* family protectors, protectors for whale hunting, and each person had a personal protector. Offerings were made to all of these protectors. Coastal Koryak ritually killed dogs only, while reindeer-herding Chavchuven offered reindeer as well.

A multi-functional ritual system existed to regulate social interactions, human and nature interactions, and human and societal interactions. This system was an important means of ensuring a stable traditional Koryak society. Koryak life, from birth to death, was interspersed with numerous rituals, ceremonies, and taboos. Rituals conducted in the event of a successful hunt were based on the ancient myth of an animal's death and resurrection. This myth was especially clearly reflected in the holiday that followed a successful bear hunt. The Koryak considered bears to be cousins to humans. The central moment of the bear hunt ritual was "conveying" the bear home. Preparing the bear for travel, coastal Koryak prepared *tolkushka*, a powdered meat, and a ritual sausage, stuffing the animal's intestines with the mixture. They gave the animal objects that they themselves used: a bear sow received housekeeping implements, and a male bear received hunting gear. After several days, the bear's skull was placed at the *appapel'* sacred place.



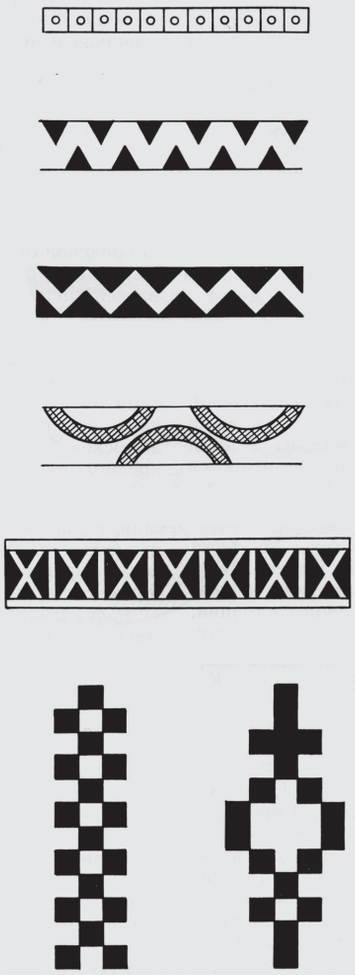
Settled and some reindeer-herding Koryak conducted similar rituals in celebration of the first caught fish. Only after the ritual was it permitted to use the fish in food. Whale was especially honored. Ritual ceremonies that accompanied its harvest were conducted by the Alyutor, Penzhinskiy Bay, and northwestern Okhotsk coastal Koryak. They also celebrated the *kalil'aangyt* seal holiday, the *mimyl'angyt* bearded seal holiday, and others.



Arts and crafts

Koryak decorative applied folk arts included artistic creations using soft materials (women's art) and creations made from stone, bone, wood, and metal (made by men). Koryak women were virtuosos of northern style fur mosaic work. They tastefully chose light and dark furs to combine. Fur mosaic strips were sewn onto *kukhlyanka* hems in the shape of a wide edging. Ornamentation was usually geometrical, but more rarely could include plant designs. They often added realistic animal figures and sometimes even entire scenes from life. Satin stitch was the predominant embroidery style. They especially richly decorated the backs of *gagaglya* shirts. Koryak women were also skilled in making fur rugs. These were decorated by combining pieces of light and dark fur and adding colored thread embroidery atop the fur.

Male wood carvers used complex designs in their work: curves, paired spirals on legs ("horns of the sheep"), which were both charac-



teristic of other Paleo-Asiatic peoples as well. They used walrus tusk and horn to carve miniature human and animal figures, bone earrings, necklaces, tobacco holders, and pipes, further embellishing them with ornamentation and designs. Parenskiy Koryak blacksmiths were praised for their metal creations.

Dance arts were a vital aspect of Koryak spiritual culture. Their dances were clearly divided into ritual and playful dances. Ritual dances were a required aspect of celebrations at the beginning and end of the hunting season, the return of herds from their summer pastures, reindeer slaughter, and other events. Ritual dances were set apart by their imitative nature and were related to an animistic view of nature. They imitated the movements of the animals in whose honor the dance was being performed. In a way, the Koryak animated them, enlisting their protection in everyday life. The *mlavytyn* dance was the most common popular dance. Its performance had a number of variations: single, paired, and group formats. Regional Koryak groups each had their own unique dances, and they could be performed without any particular reason. All dances shared a common orientation of the dancers: they always faced the east in recognition of their ritual function.

The main Koryak musical instrument is the drum. They are also known to use a *tellytal*, an instrument that emits a buzzing sound when stretched, a pipe made from bark or wood, a *eyngenin* whistle made from hogweed, a gallgyn lure made from a duck feather and which was used as a aerophone played by mouth, and a *gyugyn yak yanyn* seagull feather, etc.

Folklore

Koryak folklore included mythology, legends, and stories. Their mythological subject matter was similar to *bylina* and fairy tale motifs. The Raven was the central actor in Koryak mythology, while their everyday folklore told of master-worker relationships. Historical Koryak folklore united stories and legends about inter-tribal wars and conflicts with neighboring peoples. As opposed to mythology, their historical folklore has a vividly expressed local character. Each Koryak subgroup had their own legends that differed not just in terms of the names of their heroes but also in the events themselves.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Despite economic difficulties, contemporary Koryak ethno-cultural and socio-political life is quite varied and rich. The Koryak Autonomous Okrug (in 2007 it has officially become the Municipal District) is one of the few Russian regions were northern indigenous peoples constitute more

than a quarter of the local population. This factor gives them a relatively high status in socio-political life. The Okrug (District) Duma legislators are 60% Koryak. A significant number of Koryak work in district-level management agencies and lead rural and village administrations. Koryak self-governing agencies fulfill a variety of societal obligations. The most authoritative of these agencies is the Koryak Autonomous Okrug chapter of the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, which has chapters in each district, including ethnic subdivisions. There is an identical organization in Magadan Oblast, which includes the Koryak of Severo-Evenskiy District.

Infrastructure focused on addressing ethno-cultural indigenous issues now exists in the Okrug: the Palana Pedagogical College trains Koryak language teachers, and there are regional museums and art schools in district centers. Much of the Koryak's rich cultural heritage is being preserved, including applied decorative folk arts (art using soft materials). There are folk dance collectives operating in most villages, and the well-known "Mengo" dance ensemble still performs. An ethno-cultural center is being created in Palana.

According to the 1989 census, 52.4% of Koryak claim Koryak as their native language. 46.8% of Koryak claim Russian as their first language, but only 5.4% actually speak Russian fluently. Like other indigenous northern peoples, the Koryak language is losing its status, but the situation is not hopeless. Older and middle generations of Koryak speak Koryak. It is taught in elementary school. Koryak literature has been published since the 1950s. Regional radio broadcasts in Koryak occur, and Okrug and district newspapers publish pages in Koryak. Many families, especially reindeer herders, continue to speak Koryak in the home.

The fate of the Koryak language is not yet determined. It is being taught in a number of villages using the dialect spoken by the majority of the population, and dialects are included in Okrug-level radio broadcasts. A broader Koryak self-awareness is already prevalent over local language forms. The strengthening of their internal unity is accompanied by an active awareness of integrative elements of material and spiritual culture. Ethnically mixed marriages are a clear indicator of these integrative processes. There are significantly more mixed marriages than there are purely Koryak marriages. As a rule, children of such families self-identify as Koryak.



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KUMANDIN

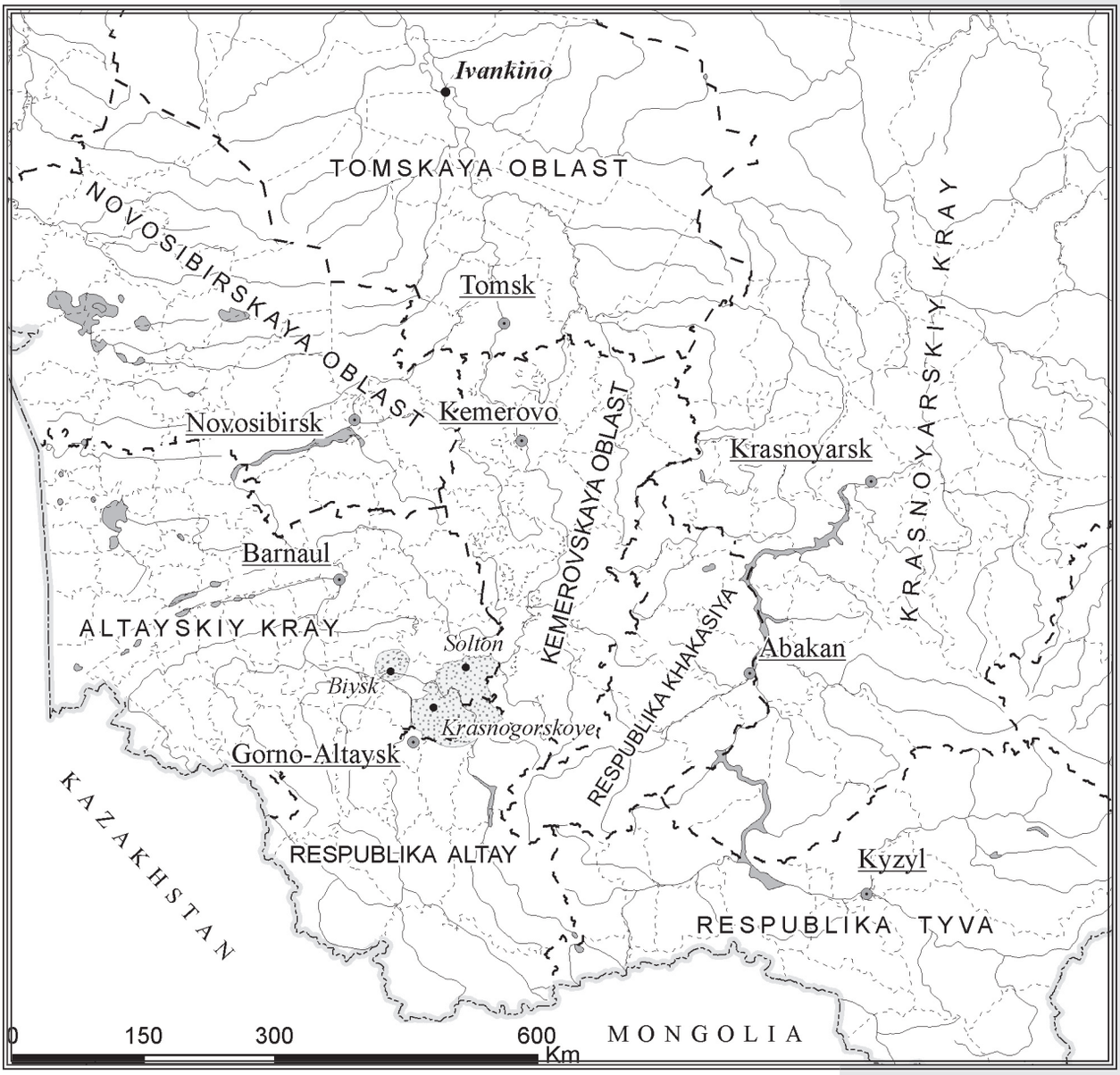
The Kumandin people live in southwestern Siberia. They call themselves *kumandy*, *kubandy*, and *kuvandy*. Prior to the Russian Revolution (1917), they were known as the "Black Tatars," a reference to black taiga (mixed coniferous and broadleaf forest), and under Russian influence, the Kumandin referred to themselves as *tatar kizhi*. The etymology of this term can be traced to the name of an ancient and multitudinous clan — the Kuban, part of the Kimako-Kypchaksiy union. Neighboring tribes called the Kumandin *kumandy*. The term *kuman* refers to *polovets* or *kypchak* Mongols. Indeed, medieval *kypchaks* (known in Russian texts as *polovets*) politically influenced great swaths of territory from Altay to the Danube River. The Kumandin also fell under this sphere of influence.



Until recent times, the Kumandin were perceived as one of several ethnographic groups of northern Altayan. By a decree of the Council for Ethnic Peoples of the Upper Council of the Russian Federation, they joined the official list of Minority Indigenous Peoples of the North in 1993. They were entered in the list of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the Russian Federation in 2000. They live in Soltonskiy, Krasnogorskiy, Kytmanovskiy, and Tselinniy Districts of Altay Kray, in Turochakskiy, Mayminskiy, and Choyskiy Districts of the Republic of Altay, and in the cities of Biysk, Tashtagol, and Gorno-Altaysk. They are dispersed in other regions of Altay Kray and Republic of Altay, as well as beyond the borders of those two regions. The Altay Kray and northern Republic of Altay are the historical homeland of the Kumandin.

Language

They speak Kumandin, which along with the languages spoken by Tobol' and Barabin Tatars, belong to the Kypchak group of Turkic languages in the Altayan language family. Many researchers believe Kumandin to be a dialect of Altayan. All modern-day Kumandin speak Russian. There is no reliable data to indicate what proportion of Kumandin actually speaks Kumandin.



Current territory of residence of the Kumandin in Russia

Population

The exact number of Kumandin is not known. Soviet censuses prior to 1989 did not track them as a distinct ethnos, grouping them instead with the Altayan. It is known, however, that in 1897 there were 4,092 Kumandin, and in 1926 6,334. In 1989, local data showed over 2,000 in Altay Kray and about 700 in the Republic of Altay. 1994 literature tells a different story: 404 in Soltonskiy District (Altay Kray), 337 in Krasnogorskiy District, and approximately 200 in the Turochakskiy District of the Republic of Altay. The Russian Federal Statistical Agency counted 685 Kumandin living in rural areas on November 15, 1999. Of these, more than 150 lived in the village of Solton in Altay Kray. As mentioned earlier, a significant number of Kumandin live in Biysk. It

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

can be presumed that more exact data about Kumandin populations will be obtained during the 2002 federal population census.

Ethnogenesis

For many years, Kumandin ethnogenesis was connected to the Turkic Samoyed and Yenisey peoples. V. Radlov and others defended this viewpoint. V. G. Bogoraz considered the Kumandin and other northern Altayans to be "Turkic proto-Asians." Researchers based these hypotheses on particular aspects of Kumandin cultural and subsistence traditions, which did indeed include many elements characteristic of those peoples, as well as on the fact that today northern Altayan speak Turkic languages and dialects. However, subsequent research has shown that a variety of ethnic components contributed to the formation of the Kumandin ethnos. Their distant ancestors include unmounted hunters of the mountain taiga (with their accompanying subsistence traditions) and groups of ancient nomadic herders, who appeared in the taiga for a variety of reasons and adopted their traditional subsistence activities over time. The Kumandin's ethnic substrate is highly diverse and included ancient Turkic, Ugric, Samoyedic, and Ket elements. Without a doubt, the ancient Turkic tribes of *tele* and *tugyu* played a vital role in Kumandin ethnogenesis. Some Kumandin clan ethnonyms trace their roots to even earlier periods, ranging back to the time of the ancient Syan'biysk Huns.

Anthropological materials also testify to the complexity of Kumandin ethnogenesis. The Kumandin have both Mongoloid and European anthropological attributes. Along with a list of Ugric and Samoyedic peoples, they belong to the Uralic anthropological type, a fact that can be seen especially clearly in their anthropological similarities to the Khanty and Mansi peoples.

History

The first mentions of the Kumandin in Russian written sources occurred in 1628. When the Russians arrived, the majority of Kumandin lived in the Charysh River lowlands, a tributary to the Ob' River. In an attempt to avoid paying the yasak fur tribute, the Kumandin resettled away from the mouth of the Charysh to the upper Ob' River, settling the lower Katun River and the mountain taiga regions around the upper Biya River. There were two geographic groups of Kumandin: the Upper Kumanda (along the upper branch of the Biya River) and the Lower Kumanda (along the lower branch). By the eighteenth century's end, two administrative volosts (districts) were created based on this division — Verkhne-Kumandinskaya and Nizhne-Kumandinskaya.

Social organization

Up to the time of the Russians' arrival, Kumandin clan organization had preserved its existence, although it was already beginning to disintegrate. Six clan unions (*seoks*) can be identified: So, Kubandy, Tastar, Chooty, Chabash (Chabat) and Ton. Administratively, they were united in the two *volosts*, each led by an elder (*starosta*). This person was responsible for collecting taxes and straightening out small dealings. The *volost* elder reported to a police chief who lived in the city of Biysk. The primary economic unit was a patriarchal family. Remnants of clan relationships can be seen in their main traditional activity — hunting. Hunting territories were considered the property of the clan. Members of a *seok* usually hunted animals along a particular river valley and did not permit non-clan members to trespass.

Subsistence activities

The Kumandin are traditionally engaged in livestock husbandry (horse-breeding), hunting, fishing, and gathering. In the past, the Kumandin were classic unmounted hunters for taiga animals. Their technology and techniques are characteristic of the north Asian taiga zone. They hunted on foot or on skis, pulling hand-drawn sleds of hunting gear. Trap pits were a widely used hunting technique. Their primary hunting weapon was the bow, although they also set traps along animal paths and used other gripping and snare traps. In addition to hunting upland fowl, they hunted for the fur of sable, fox, squirrels, and ermine.

In addition to hunting, the Kumandin engaged in fishing along taiga rivers (for taimen, northern pike, and eelpout), gathering, and hoe-mattock farming on small plots of cleared mountain taiga. They mainly cultivated barley, rye, hemp and tobacco. During the first half of the nineteenth century, gardens began to appear in Kumandin settlements. They began preparing large quantities of floury roots, such as fawn and day lilies to store for the winter. They unearthed the bulbs using an iron-tipped wooden shovel, and only women were engaged in this labor. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, they began gathering several wild plants for the purposes of trade. At the start of the twentieth century, only the fur trade exceeded the Siberian pine nut business in commercial value. The collection and preparation of bird cherries also became quite important, the end product being sold or exchanged for flour and other products. Under the influence of Russian peasants, they began to collect honey produced by wild bees and then began domestic beekeeping. Domestic activities such as blacksmithing, weaving (linen, coarse fabric), felting, and others developed over time. Some Kumandin worked as carriers by trade.

With the arrival of Soviet power, the majority of Kumandin began to work at local collective farms (*kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*) and other agricultural enterprises. They developed their own intelligentsia, comprised of teachers and doctors. Many Kumandin became laborers in local industry. In Biysk, they were mainly employed at the local timber mill.

Clothing

The ethnographic peculiarity of their material and spiritual culture can be traced to their traditional subsistence activities and has much in common with their northern neighbors — the Khanty, Mansi, Sel'kup, and Ket. In their material culture, this is especially clear in their style of clothing. Kumandin clothing with openings in the front is identical in cut and material to the outer clothing of the Surgut Khanty and Narym Sel'kup. Both men and women wore woven woolen buttonless robes, open at the neck, and secured with a belt. For men, the robe's collar was usually decorated with colorful stitching, while women's robes were additionally embroidered along the bottom hem and sleeves. In the winter, a short fur coat and a felt coat covered in linen and quilted served as outer layers. Men wore a hat. Women wore headscarves, with the ends tied in back. Men traditionally kept their hair long and rounded at the ends. Women braided their hair into two plaits, which were moved onto the chest when meeting a guest. Girls wore their hair in several braids. Inner clothing consisted of shirts and pants sewn from large pieces of homemade felt (*kendyr'*) and embroidered with coarse grey hemp, fur pants, and fur boots. At the start of the twentieth century, Russian peasant clothing was commonly worn.

Settlements and housing

The Kumandin led a settled way of life. Their small settlements usually consisted of five to ten houses. The majority of residents of these villages were either blood relatives or related by marriage. These villages were modeled on Russian Siberian villages, with buildings clumped in small groups and lacking streets. By the end of the nineteenth century, the number of buildings in villages had noticeably increased and an organizational scheme could be detected. Residential buildings varied in type and construction: flat-topped pyramid-shaped, four-walled rectangular building built from timbers and bark with a conical roof, rectangular and polygonal cabins with conical (bark) or four-sided roofs. They also built four-sided framed and woven lath semi-dugouts with A-frame or hipped roof. The Kumandin who lived in the steppe region built cob houses with a vaulted roof. A window made of interlaced branches and

a stretched animal membrane was engineered into the roof of semi-dugouts. As for the Khanty and Mansi, a home's interior was organized around a central hearth (chuval) to which a large chimney pipe made of clay-covered timbers was attached. Cob houses used a pipe-system for heating the home. Non-residential buildings resembled those of the Khanty, both in terms of form and construction — log storehouses for keeping meat and other foods. During the nineteenth century and under the influence of the Russians, the Kumandin began building log cabins with A-frame roofs in the Russian style, including the traditional "five-wall" (four exterior walls and one interior wall, resulting in a two-room building). According to tradition, these types of homes had a men's side (the right) and a women's side (the left). Harness and hunting gear were stored on the men's side, while domestic and kitchen implements were stored on the women's side. Homemade wooden and birch dishes were most commonly used.

Food

Kumandin nutrition consisted of the meat of wild and domesticated animals, fowl, fish, hoe-mattock cultivated vegetables, and edible wild plants. Non-animal products were prevalent. Noodles made from dried minnows were a widely eaten fish dish. Kumandin meat dishes included *kan* (blood sausage) and *shurget* (rolled and pressed thin entrails laced with abdominal fat) and doubtless retain elements of ancient animal husbandry culture. Livestock farmers also prepared dishes like *kyyma*, horse intestine stuffed with meat and fat, *mun* broth, *kocho* soup made from barley, and others. They made a unique drink, *braga*, from barley or fawn lily bulbs.

Transportation

In the winter they got from place to place on skis, while traveling on foot and horseback, as well as on rafts and boats along taiga rivers. During hunting season, hunters traversed snowy mountainsides by attaching metal spikes to their boots. Loads were carried on their backs, or using travois and hand-drawn sleds. Kumandin hand-drawn hunting sleds were identical to sleds used by the Khanty and Mansi. During the nineteenth century, it also became common to travel by cart, a vehicle concept borrowed from the Russians and renamed the *abra*.

Spiritual culture

Kumandin spiritual culture is an intricate combination of elements from taiga hunters and steppe livestock farmers. Their religious

views were shamanistic and included hunting cults and the worship of various deities and protectors. Of Kumandin deities, Taygam, Kagnym, Shalyg, and Sarygan were especially respected. Each family possessed anthropomorphized images of these gods. The cult of the bear was practiced. Ancestry cults were no less important and widely practiced among southern Altay livestock farmers. The Kumandin and their southern neighbors worshiped mountain spirits. They sacrificed horses to these spirits, horses that were either home-raised or acquired from a relative within the *seok*.

The shaman served as an intermediary between spirits and humans. Kumandin shamanism also clearly shows layering from other cultures. During shamanic séances, a participant dons a birch mask representing the erotic deity *Kocha-kan*. The person portraying this deity was also equipped with a wooden phallus. Identical birch masks and wooden phalli were used during a ceremony for a bear holiday practiced by the Khanty and Mansi. Kumandin shamans commonly painted these spirits in the form of winged people on their drums. Similar images are not found on the drums of southern Altayan or other livestock farming peoples of the Altay-Sayan range. Unlike Altayan shamans, Kumandin shamans did not have a specific cloak to wear as a part of their shamanic attributes.

The Kumandin term for a shaman's drum is also a convincing reflection of past livestock farms in their ancestry. All Altay-Sayan peoples conceived of the shaman's drum as an animal capable of being ridden and used by a shaman to visit various worlds. During rituals, the Kumandin call this type of drum an *ak-adan* (camel) and the shaman conducting the ritual *adanyg*, that is, a camel rider. L. P. Potapov connects this belief to the period during which Kumandin ancestors lived in the steppes of the Charysh and Irtysh Rivers, where camels played an important role in nomadic life. Clear parallels with the shamanism of livestock farmers testifies to another fact: when Kumandin shamans call upon their spirits they frequently refer to Lake Sutkhol' in Tuva, a place where shaman spirits-helpers are known to "rest." Tuvan and southern Altayan shamans use analogous requests.

Folklore, arts and crafts

Genres characterizing the lifestyle of unmounted taiga hunters are the mainstay of traditional Kumandin folklore — hunter tales and legends, animal stories, riddles, sayings, and proverbs. In addition, the heroic epic has a significant place in their folklore, a genre that reflects the particulars of a nomadic life.

Direct analogies with northern hunting cultures can be found when examining the ornamentation used by Kumandin and Ob Ugric. This is a rectilinear geometrical design that S. V. Ivanov considers common to southern Khanty, Mansi, Kumandin, and Shor. It is also noteworthy that

this decoration is only used on fabric or knitted pieces. Felted articles are dominated by vegetative and animal designs, characteristics of herder nomads.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Many remnants of Kumandin traditional material and spiritual culture were lost during the years of Soviet power. However, this small people did manage to preserve one important aspect — their ethnic self-awareness. This desire to preserve their ethnic independence became especially strong at the end of the 1980s. The formation of the Kumandin Indigenous Village Council in Altay Kray and the community-based organization Kumandin People's Renewal were both important stimuli to an indigenous Kumandin movement. In 1992, the Association of Northern Altayans was created in the Republic of Altay. The organization's goals are the renewal of traditional culture and recognition of the official status of northern Altayan dialects.

Legislation from recent years has recognized the legal status of the Kumandin and facilitated further progress in the movement for renewal. In June 1998, the Association of the Kumandin People was registered and is the legal successor of Kumandin People's Renewal. The Council, a managing agency that acts between congresses, is the highest level of organization. Its main goal is to preserve the ethnos, revive the Kumandin language, and defend the legal interests of the people.



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MANSI

The Mansi people live in western Siberia and are an indigenous population of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. They call themselves *man'si*, *men'dzi*, *moan's* (person). In scientific literature the Mansi are united with the Khanty under the joint term Ob Ugric. Prior to the twentieth century the Russians called the Mansi *voguls* and some Mansi groups *ostyaks*. Several ethnographic groups can be identified: northern, southern, eastern, and western. In anthropological terms, the Mansi are related to the sub-Ural and Ural types of the Uralic transitional race.

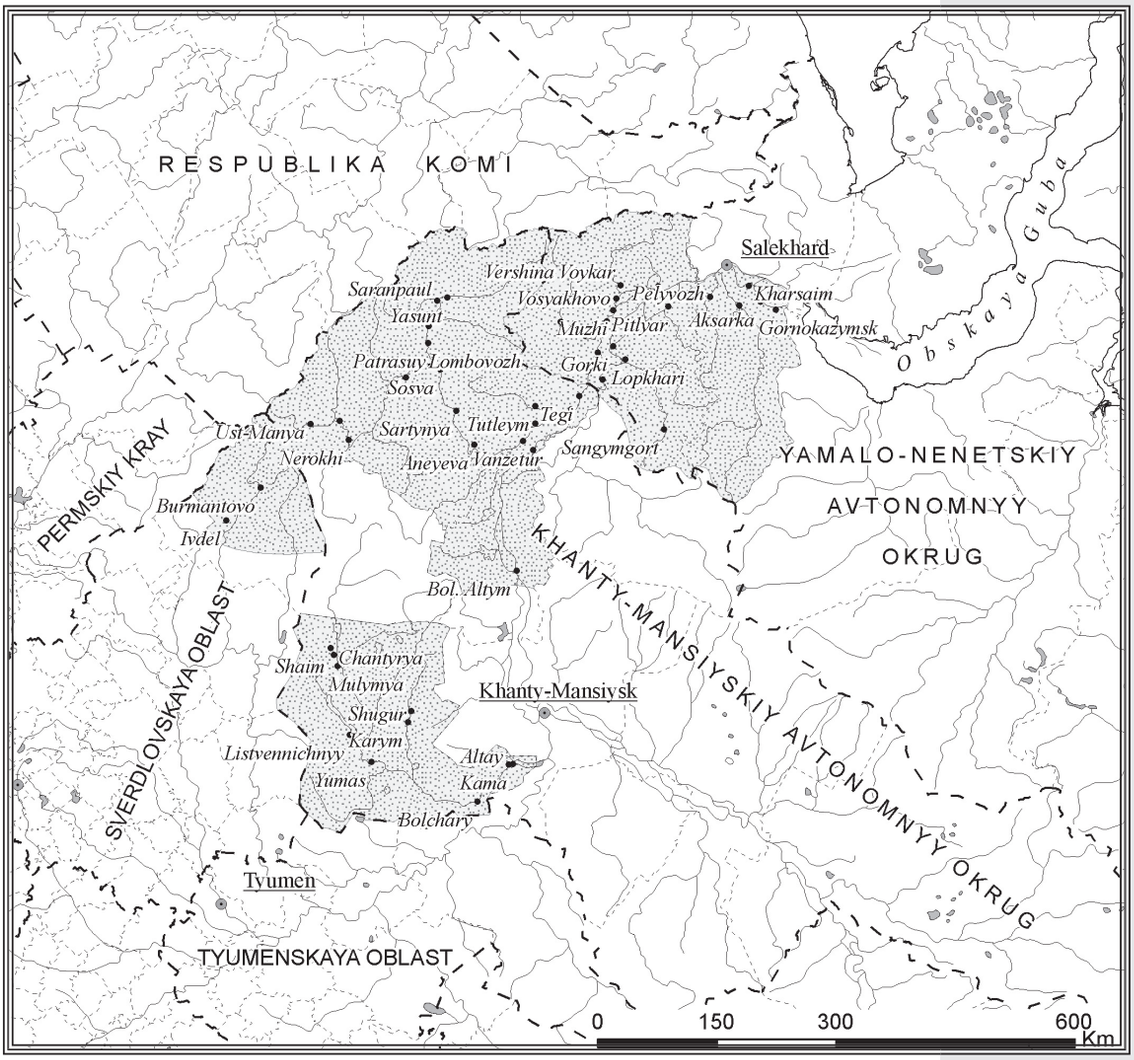
Language

They speak the Mansi language, which belongs to the Ugric subgroup of Finno-Ugric languages in the Uralic family. The language is phonetically, morphologically, and lexically similar to Khanty. There are seven dialects, between which the differences are so great that mutual intelligibility is limited. A writing system based on the mid-Sos'vinskiy dialect was developed in 1932. In 1936 this system transitioned to one based on the Russian alphabet.

Population and settlements

The Mansi initially settled in the southern Urals and the range's western slopes, around the Kama and Pechora Rivers, as well as along those rivers' tributaries (Vishera, Kolva, and others), along the Tavda and Tura Rivers. When the Komi and Russians began to colonize that region, the Mansi migrated beyond the Ural Mountains. During this resettlement process to the north and east, some Mansi were assimilated. Today, the Mansi mainly live along the left tributaries of the Ob' River — the Severnaya Sos'va and Lyapina. Isolated groups live along the Konda River as well as in Sverdlovsk Oblast on the Ivdel' River.

The 1989 Soviet census counted 8,474 individual Mansi in the Soviet Union, including 8,279 in the Russian Federation. 77% of all Mansi live in Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. They live for the most part in three Okrug districts — Beryozovskiy, Kondinskiy, and Oktyabrskiy. They number only a few dozen people in each of the other districts. Eight-six of 155 Mansi in Sverdlovsk Oblast live in forest settlements known as *yurts*. The most well known of these are Yurta Anyamova (village of Treskol'ye), Yurta Bakhtnyarova, Yurta Pakina (village of Poma), Yurta Samindalova (village of Suyevat), Yurta Kurikova (village of Paul'), and others. Remaining Ivdel' Mansi live in the villages



Current territory of residence of the Mansi in Russia

of Vizhiy, Burmantovo, Khorpiya, and within the boundaries of the city of Ivdel'. The exact numbers of Mansi living in those population centers are unknown.

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

Ethnogenesis. History. Social organization

The Mansi ethnos developed due to blending tribes of the Uralic Neolithic culture with Ugric or Indo-Iranian tribes. The latter group moved from south to north across the steppe and forest steppe of western Siberia and northern Kazakhstan during the second and first centuries BC. The cultural combination of taiga hunters and fishermen with steppe nomadic herders is preserved to this day in Mansi culture. This can be most clearly seen in the cult of the horse and heavenly rider — World of *Susne khuma*. All Mansi groups are mixed to a significant degree. Elements illustrating their cultural interactions with the Nenets, Komi, Tatar, Bashkir, and other peoples of the region can be seen in their culture. They had especially close contact with northern Khanty groups.

Contact between the Russians and the Mansi can be traced back to eleventh century written sources. Mansi society social organization was relatively complex when Siberia became part of the Russian state. The Mansi had a dual-phratrial social system (phratries of Por and Mos'). Alongside this, they had an additional social organization — military-potestary organization in the form of "princedoms," several of which conducted armed resistance against the Russians.

The princedoms were not large. They were centered on towns with defensive ramparts and palisades. A princedom's social structure consisted of the princely clan, free society members, and a few slaves. There were not yet any particular brotherhoods of professional warriors, although folklore refers to the presence of prince's troops numbering between fifty and 300 people. Small princedoms frequently united with larger princedoms, thus creating relatively powerful associations. Thus, for example, the smaller Kondinskoye and Tabarinskoye princedoms joined the Pelymskiy Mansi princedom, despite the fact that each had its own "prince" (to use Russian terminology).

After Siberian unification with Russia, the Tsar's administration spent some time making peace with the existence of Ugric princedoms. In the end, though, all of them were reformulated into volosts (Russian historical districts) whose leaders were called princelings, volost elders, and centurions. Moreover, the volost administration only sometimes consisted of previous princes, other times including new people more loyal to Moscow leadership.

As colonization increased, the ratio of Mansi to Russians changed over, and by the seventeenth century's close, Russians predominated across the region. The Mansi gradually resettled to the north and east and a portion were assimilated.

The Mansi were nominally converted to Christianity in the eighteenth century. Initially, the Russian administration did not rush to forced baptisms, although their attitude to this issue soon changed. The Siberian metropolitan at that time, Filofei Leshchinskiy, received an order from the tsar, commanding him to exterminate heathenism in any possible way. Indigenous cult locations began to be destroyed, and forced baptisms occurred. They also used other methods: the baptized were forgiven their debts, gifts were given, and attempts were made to adapt Orthodox beliefs to the Mansi's traditional faith. By 1771, missionaries had baptized almost all Mansi using any methods available to them. Nonetheless, as soon as the Orthodox Church relaxed its efforts, traces of Christianity very quickly disappeared for the Mansi and other peoples in the region.

Changes to Mansi culture that occurred from the seventeenth to early twentieth centuries were for the most part evolutionary in nature. They occurred mainly in terms of their homes' architecture, work tools, and to some extent in their clothing and food. Bilingualism appeared but

was not widespread. This situation changed drastically beginning in the mid-1930s, when regional changes occurred that countered the desires of the Mansi: new economic norms were implemented, indigenous traditional lifestyles began to break down, and their moral and ethical mores and worldly outlook changed. Boarding school education of children result in the separation of children from their families and native culture and this sped assimilative processes. It also facilitated youthful nihilism in relation to their own history and culture and the loss of their native language.

Subsistence activities

Traditional Mansi economic activities included hunting, fishing, and reindeer husbandry in varying combinations. Fishing dominated along the Ob' River and in the Severnaya Sos'va lowlands. Along river headwaters their main means of existence was hunting, although some Mansi descended the Ob' for seasonal fishing. Reindeer husbandry, acquired from the Nenets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was widely practiced only later — no earlier than the seventeenth century.

When it came to hunting, one of their primary sources of subsistence was hunting for reindeer and moose. They preferred pursuit hunting for hoofed mammals, but also used traps and trap pits. Based on reports by witnesses, hoofed mammal hunting played a determining role for eighteenth century Mansi. Upland and waterfowl hunting was also important. They hunted upland fowl in the fall using passive means — steel traps and hairline snares, etc. Waterfowl was harvested during their migration season using a *pereves* — a specialized net that stretched between tall trees in the path of the birds' flight. They used special wooden pulleys to quickly raise and lower the nets.

The Mansi have also been fur animal hunters for a long time. In the pre-Russian period, animal furs and skins, especially those of beaver and sable, were a trade item not just with local neighbors but also with the peoples of Central Asia and Iran. After western Siberia was annexed by Russia the fur trade grew even larger and resulted in a number of changes in other economic activities and their traditional culture. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the main target was sable. Later it became squirrel. They hunted beaver on the Konda River. Firearms came into use by the Mansi in the eighteenth century. In addition to those weapons, they used traditional means of hunting: arrows, deadfall traps, and various pressure traps.

Fishing, in addition to hunting, was the main source of Mansi subsistence. In many cases fish were a staple food and were also used to manufacture clothing. The Mansi fished year round. Men, women, and children engaged in fishing. The most common means of fishing was the blocking seine, even in winter months. The Mansi used these nets

in ways similar to other neighboring peoples: a barrier of poles crossed the river. Braided traps were set in the gaps of the fence. They used a *kamka*, a small purse seine, to catch large fish, and set up *veri* trap pots on smaller streams. In the winter, they dug out several ice holes at equal distances in order to erect the block net. In the fall and spring they set up trap nets with the openings going with the water flow.

They also widely used nets woven from nettle fiber, hook and line gear (fishing poles, trawl line), and bow and arrow. Fishing retained its traditional flavor long after the Mansi people were joined with Russia. Commercial fishing began to develop only in the nineteenth century. In recent decades, the Mansi have subsistence fished for their own needs in parallel with commercial fishing through fishing collectives (*obshchinas*) and industrial companies. Full-time fishing brigades turn their harvest over to the state in addition to keeping a portion for personal use. Each brigade has assigned fishing grounds, known as "sands." They use newer Capron gear as well as traditional means — *khulp* set nets and various blocking nets.

Reindeer husbandry served as a primary activity for only a minority of Mansi, mainly those living along the Loz'va, Severnaya Sos'va, and Lyapin River headwaters, where the conditions were right for keeping large herds. Overall, the Mansi had only small numbers of reindeer, animals that were mainly used for transportation. The fur trade developed in response to the increased use of reindeer for transportation. A hunter's productivity was significantly improved by the use of reindeer for transport.

Reindeer-herding Mansi acquired all of their husbandry and other related skills from the Nenets — gear, transportation means, housing, elements of clothing, and, to a significant degree, terminology. The Zyryan Komi also exerted a significant influence on reindeer husbandry (24-hour guarding of herds, sustainable pasture management, and others); their husbandry was primarily commercial. In the past, reindeer-herding families united their herds during the summer months. One family would serve as shepherd and herd the animals to higher elevation summer pastures. They received a portion of the fishing harvest in return, in the form of fish and fish products preserved by the families who fished during the summer months. In the last few decades, Mansi reindeer husbandry has grown within the framework of collective production. The Saranpaul'skiy collective farm has the largest herd (approximately 20,000 head) and pastures their animals on the eastern and western slopes of the Ural Mountains. Privately-owned reindeer kept by the Mansi are generally pastured in forested areas near population centers.

It is important also to mention gathering and horse husbandry as two other branches of Mansi activities. The first is a typically secondary activity that nonetheless played an important role in providing sustenance. Historically and today, the Mansi gather various berries and Siberian pine

nuts, keeping reserves of them in each family. In recent years, gathering has become a commercial activity. The Kondinskiy Mansi have developed Siberian pine nut gathering into one of their leading industries, and individual families can earn as much from pine nuts as from hunting.

Horse husbandry was a well-known practice for the Mansi's ancestors, the ancient Ugric. Archaeological materials and role of the horse in Mansi cult practices convincingly show this fact. The arrival of the Russians brought on a second wave of horse husbandry development. Horses harnessed to sleds were a convenient form of transportation and were also used in farming and vegetable gardening. The latter activities were not widely practiced. In recent years, cage-based animal farming has become more common (fox farming), but overall Mansi activities have retained a hunting and fishing flavor.

Traditional settlements and housing

Traditional Mansi settlements were known as *paul'* and consisted of one to ten homes. They were sited along a riverbank and were usually about one day's travel apart. Settlements were either permanent (wintertime) or temporary and seasonal. Mansi homes varied less in terms of form and construction than did those of the Khanty, although the two shared many identical housing styles. In the pre-Russian period, traditional housing consisted of a semi-dugout that used a variety of methods for attaching the roof. This type of house (a *ma-kol*, 'earthen home') dominated in the seventeenth century, but in later years underground and semi-dugout homes were only rarely found among the Mansi. Due to greater contact with the Tatar and Russians than with the Khanty, the Mansi lost these archaic housing types earlier, although such homes and storehouses could be found near fishing and hunting grounds as late as the nineteenth century. The Mansi did not use log-framed or post-framed buildings made from horizontally laid logs, nor did they build lightweight semi-spherical frames from poles and birchbark. In comparison with the Khanty, they built more homes with smoke slots on the roof ridge, including for framed houses.

The historical ethnographical atlas of Siberia documents eight types of housing among the Mansi: semi-spherical, dual pitched birchbark and board, rectangular birchbark with a dual or four-side pitched roof, *chums*, and log cabins. The three remaining types are the most common. Mansi log cabins are built better than those of the Khanty; their log sides generally meet the roof overhang. Moreover, the overhang reached the logs' butt-ends as well as the sides of the house. Usually such overhangs were left open, but sometimes they built them out with boards or logs, resulting in a porch. Mansi cabins characteristically had a smoke slot in place of the central girder in addition to a central hearth-fireplace. The lower Ob' Mansi also used summer board-style (sometimes on pilings)

homes made using log technology with additional wall supports in the form of special clamps and poles

Their main housing type is a log house with a dual pitched roof, frequently with no foundation — a *nor-kol*, or a "log home." Homes built in lowland areas near water were erected on a foundation of two to four logs or were set on posts. The roof was covered in poles, boards, or birchbark. Some buildings had roofs covered in earth or sod layers. Nineteenth century Mansi homes lacked a ceiling. Mansi homes gained ceilings at the start of the twentieth century and initially even then they did not entirely cover the living area. A home's entrance was usually located in the front wall and faced the river. A window was set in the sidewall opposite the hearth's chuval, a stove that served to both heat and light the home.

Mansi reindeer herders lived in Samoyedic *chums*. Mansi fishermen lived in such *chums* covered in birchbark during the summer in the Ob' River lowlands and along its left-hand tributaries. Kondinskiy Mansi preferred conical homes, simpler in construction and covered in sod.

Framed homes made from poles and bark were usually rectangular in shape, with a rounded single, dual or conical pitched roof. More rarely, they built dual or single pitched roof two-room buildings with a smoke slot in place of the main roof girder.

The Mansi used pole-built lean-tos and sheds for temporary housing. Non-residential buildings were generally built on or above ground and included shacks built on post pilings.

The Mansi also built common buildings to conduct holiday celebrations and various meetings. These buildings differed only in size from regular housing. Special buildings known as *man'-kol* ("small house") were erected for pregnant and newly delivered women

Clothing

Traditional Mansi women's clothing consisted of a yoked dress and a cotton or broadcloth robe, topped with a two-layered fur coat (*sakhi*) in the winter. Clothing was richly ornamented with beading and appliqué made from colored material and multi-colored fur. For head covering, women wore a large scarf with a wide hem and a fringe. This scarf was made from a folded uneven triangle and covered the head and shoulders. They also wore false braids for additional decoration, rings, and beaded necklaces.

Men dressed in shirts similar in cut to women's dresses, pants, and a belt to which hunting tools were attached. Men's outerwear consisted of the *gus'*, a pullover-style tunic made from broadcloth in dark colors or from reindeer skins. The *gus'* had a hood and reached down to the knees or just above. The sleeves were usually cut in one piece with the front and back of the tunic.

Traditional hunting clothing comprised a hooded *luzan* made of broadcloth, open sides, and no sleeves. Large pockets were sewn to the front, sides, and back. They carried food, ammunition, and animal skins in these pockets. The back of the *luzan* was longer than the front and sometimes had an added loop for holding an ax. Both men and women dressed such clothing for hunting.

Winter *nyara* boots were sewn from reindeer legskin with the fur on the outside and were worn over top of fur stockings. The boot top was always yellow in color because it was sewn from smoked legskins from moose or young horses. The leg was short with a side opening where one end tucked into the other. At the point of intersection between the bootleg and top, they sewed several loops for a braided tie-strap that fastened the boot to the wearer's leg. Summer footwear was made from reindeer suede. In the past, they decorated such boots with birch sap or a dye made from boiled larch bark. Men's and women's footwear differed in both cut and the method of attaching the tie-straps. Many aspects of traditional Mansi clothing are preserved in their modern dress, especially that of reindeer herders and hunters.

Transportation

In the winter, the Mansi moved about using *yesa* skis covered in legskins or pieces of young horse skin. The skis were made from spruce or aspen wood, and this wood was always cut in the spring, while snow was melting. They worked the wood using a knife. Mansi skis have a high platform for the feet and two or three loop-strap combinations for attaching them. Sometimes they used long flexible bird cherry branches in place of leather straps.

To transport cargo, hunting Mansi used hand-drawn straight-strutted sleds, which they drew behind them with the help of a strap over the right shoulder. When necessary, the hand sled could be pulled with the assistance of dogs. By the eighteenth century's end, the Mansi also practiced dogsledding. Mansi reindeer herders mainly traveled by reindeer-drawn sleds, also using them for cargo transport. These sleds were customized for use by men or women and usually had three pairs of straight stanchions and runners made from boards. Women's sleds differed in that they had high sides. Cargo sleds came in two types: with a box frame for moving loads and longer sleds for moving *chum* poles and firewood. Sleds were Nenets style in their construction, although Mansi sleds were usually larger than those of the Komi and Nenets. Moreover, they did not, as a rule, have a front brushbow. Mansi harness was fan-style. They harnessed two to five animals to the sled and mounted the sled from the left side. They used a long pole to drive the reindeer on. Mansi traveled by sled at any time of year.

During the summer period, all Mansi groups traveled mainly using a *kaldanka* boat. They built this boat from coniferous trees, usually Siberian pine or spruce, both of which are known for their good water resistance. The bottom of the *kaldanka* was either flat or oval in shape, and the prow and stern were equal in size. The sides included openings for cross braces, the number of which depended on the boat's size. Moreover, the sides were lengthened by a Siberian pine root specially prepared for this use in the spring or fall. The root was first split into two parts and then soaked in water. After the required work and drying, it became highly elastic. The prepared root was then inserted through the openings in the boat's sides and attached from within. The resulting sides of the boat were then coated in pine tar. The Mansi used these boats for fishing and cargo transport. For the latter use, boats were either larger or doubled up. The Mansi called these double boats *pora*. *Kaldankas* were propelled using a single-ended wooden oar.

Food

Fish and meat are traditional foods for the Mansi. Fish was eaten raw, frozen, boiled, cured, smoked, and dried. Northern Mansi especially valued tugun, a salmonid fish species. They rendered fat from fish innards and used it in its pure form as well as mixing it with berries. They ate meat in raw, boiled, frozen, dried, cured, and smoked forms. Fresh meat and blood from domesticated reindeer were used mainly for holidays. Berries were an important supplement to meat and fish dishes: bilberries, cranberries, lingonberries, bird cherries, and currants. Historically they did not eat mushrooms, although they are used today in food preparation. Their main beverage is strong tea. Of other borrowed foods, they widely use flour, baking bread with it and making a thick floury mash called *solomat*. They still prepare traditional foods today.

Religion and spiritual culture

The Mansi traditional belief system is based on a tripartite division of the world. It is divided into the upper (heavens), middle (earth), and lower (underground) worlds. The master of the upper world is *Torum*, a deity who controls people, determining their life spans, and is the origin of good. Humans live in the middle world and are protected by *Torum's* sons. The most important of these sons is his seventh son, *Mir-susne-khum* ("observer of the world"), who is the intermediary between the world of the gods and the world of humans. The Mansi envisaged him in the form of a rider on a white horse. During shamanic séances, shamans addressed him first and foremost. The master of the lower world, *Kul' Otyr*, is *Torum's* younger brother. His name is connected to all that is bad

for humans, and it is *Kul' Otry* that brings hardships to the Mansi. Each of these three worlds had additional levels. Some sources indicate the Mansi distinguished as many as fifteen different world levels and that each of these levels corresponded to a specific deity.

In addition to these vertical divisions in the surrounding world, some Ob Mansi groups who believed that rivers played a special role in terms of Mansi survival and religion had an additional horizontal model of spatial organization. Preserving the upper and lower world concepts, they reshaped them to have the lower world contained in the northern side and the lower world in the southern side. Water formed the border between the upper and lower worlds. For this reason, Mansi cemeteries were always located across or down river.

The Mansi believe that all these worlds are populated by spirits, each of which has a specific function. They believe that the earth, rivers, lakes, and their own hunting and fishing grounds are divided among various spirits who are also generally ancestor-spirits. The relative success of a specific territory or genealogical group depends on them. Representations of these spirits were made from wood, bone, metal, and rags are stored in sacred, hard-to-reach places. Images of family spirit-protectors were usually kept in homes. The Mansi had a special relationship with their sacred sites. It was forbidden to hunt or gather berries in these areas. Some sacred places limited access by women or members of other local groups. Women had their own sacred places. The Mansi considered caves in the Ural Mountains to be the oldest cult locations.

They maintained equilibrium between the worlds of humans and spirits and deities by means of ritual sacrifice. The main goal of sacrifices was to ensure hunting and fishing success or to protect oneself from the effects of evil powers. Sacrifices could involve animal slaughter or be bloodless (offerings of food, furs, money, bits of fabric, etc.). Domesticated animals such as horses, roosters, sheep, reindeer, and cows were used for blood sacrifice. Blood sacrifices were required to ensure successful fishing, an activity that played a determining role in Mansi survival. Blood sacrifices took place in sacred or sacrificial locations. The latter were usually not related to sanctuaries and could even be located within the village. Sacrifices could be made periodically (at the beginning and end of the fishing season, for regular holidays), sporadically, or on a mandatory basis. Over the course of a Mansi's life, he was expected to sacrifice seven heads of livestock to one of the main gods. Specific animals had to be sacrificed to particular deities. The Kondinskiy Mansi believed that domesticated animals should never be sacrificed to forest spirits. Instead, those animals were sacrificed only to ancestor-spirits of the village and to deities belonging to the general Mansi pantheon. Mandatory (personal) sacrifices were related to an impending marriage, the birth of a child, illness, death, etc.



The primary sacrificial animal was the horse. Horses were sacrificed in honor of *Torum* and *Mir-susne-khum*. Different Mansi groups conducted the horse sacrifice ceremony in different ways. The rooster was another preferred sacrificial target for some Mansi groups. The Mansi did not keep roosters among their domesticated birds. It was instead kept inside the home in a cage and was always isolated from hens, a fact that surprised the uninitiated. Some Mansi purchased roosters for sacrifice from the Komi. Roosters were mainly sacrificed to ensure success and health for a family and its close relatives. Horned livestock were sacrificed in those regions where it was kept domestically. Sheep played a more important sacrificial role than did the cow.

The entire list of sacrificial animals, aside from reindeer, is clearly comprised of non-local animals for the Mansi. These animals are not related to taiga hunters or fishermen. The sacrifice of horses and horned livestock is characteristic of livestock-oriented peoples, like the ancient Ugric. This cultural layer is, of course, an important component of Mansi culture. The practice of rooster sacrifice no doubt traces back to southern cultural traditions. The Iranians were known to sacrifice roosters, dedicating them to *Mitra*, a deity considered to be the prototype for the Mansi's *Mir-susne-khum*.

Shamanism is another traditional aspect of the Mansi belief system. Mansi shamanism was primarily family-based and reflected the ideology of an ancient Uralic population as well as a complex of totemic beliefs. As with the Khanty, the bear was most highly worshiped. Bear holidays were periodically conducted in honor of the animal itself or in celebration of a successful bear hunt. The holiday involved a complicated set of ceremonies related to bear hunting and the consumption of the animal's meat. The event itself included mythological and everyday interludes, performances using masks, folk theater, and doll performances. Today, the bear holiday is preserved and is a very popular activity.

Mansi calendar holidays are tied to the Orthodox calendar. Crow's Day is observed on April 7 (Annunciation) and is related to aspirations to reproduction of life and family prosperity. At the end of May and beginning of June, they have holidays to celebrate the beginning of the fishing season. They are accompanied by boat races and shamanic rituals. The beginning of hunting season is marked by another holiday, usually during the Orthodox Festival of Protection. St. Elijah's day is when the reindeer-herding holiday occurs. Today, the celebration of traditional holidays is seen as a means of cultural renewal.

Folklore

The Mansi had rich folklore, including mythology, legends, songs, tales, and other genres. A Mansi body of literature arose with the appearance of a written language. Mansi writers such as Yu. Shestalov, M. Vakhrusheva, A. Tarkhanov, N. Evrin-Cheymatov, and others are widely known in the Russian Federation and beyond.

They had several types of traditional musical instruments: *tumran* (mouth harp), stringed plucked instruments (*sangul'tap*, in the shape of a bird or boat), and a stringed bowed instrument resembling the violin. Today, the *tumran* and *sangul'tap* are most widely used.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Like other Siberian and Far Eastern peoples, the Mansi are today experiencing difficult and contradictory times. "Involuntary borrowing," a process characteristic of cultural transformation during the Soviet period, significantly changed the ethnic appearance of the Mansi. Today, their language and traditional culture are mostly preserved among the northern (Sos'vinskiy and Lyapinskiy Mansi) and the eastern (Kondinskiy). 3,100 Mansi (49.5%) claim the Mansi language as native, but only Mansi over the age of fifty can speak the language. Those slightly younger are only capable of understanding the language when spoken. There are media publications in Mansi (*Yugra* magazine and the biweekly *Luima seripos* are published), radio broadcasts, and a special television program airs weekly. In 1980, the Mansi writing system was reformed, adding new symbols for long vowels to the alphabet. Specialists believe that the partial reform of Mansi spelling has been one of the most successful. The reform has allowed Mansi speakers the opportunity to continue to use past publications and does not require teacher re-education or the republication of literature. Today, Mansi is taught in elementary schools and at the Khanty-Mansi Pedagogical College.

Recent democratization in social life has allowed for the growth of ethnic self-awareness, while at the same time a variety of new community organizations have been created and are active. These groups are pursuing Mansi cultural and linguistic renewal. Several of these are well-known: *Saving Yugra* regional association created jointly with the Khanty, the Scientific Folklore Fund for the Mansi People, and the *Sorni Esh Union* for Traditional Folk Art Masters. Seventeen of those artisans have been recognized as "Folk Masters of Russia." Museums have opened in native villages and in Khanty-Mansiysk. Various conferences, festivals, exhibitions, and traditional holidays occur. The Institute for the Renewal of Ob-Ugric Peoples studies Mansi culture, issues of linguistic renewal, and traditional holidays. In its efforts for the renewal of traditional culture, the creative intelligentsia focuses mainly on the cultural heritage of the Northern Mansi because it is the best preserved.

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NANAI

The Nanai people belong to the Manchu-Tungus linguistic group and live in the Amur River basin. They call themselves *nanai*, or *nani* (local person from here). Some geographic groups used other names — *kile*, *akani*, *khedenay*, and others. Their old name is *Gol'dy.* Some older Nanai continue to refer to themselves as *Gol'dy*, especially in regions of Primorskiy Kray. Several ethnographic groups can be identified: Gorinskiy, Kururmiyskiy, Ussuriyskiy, and others.

Language

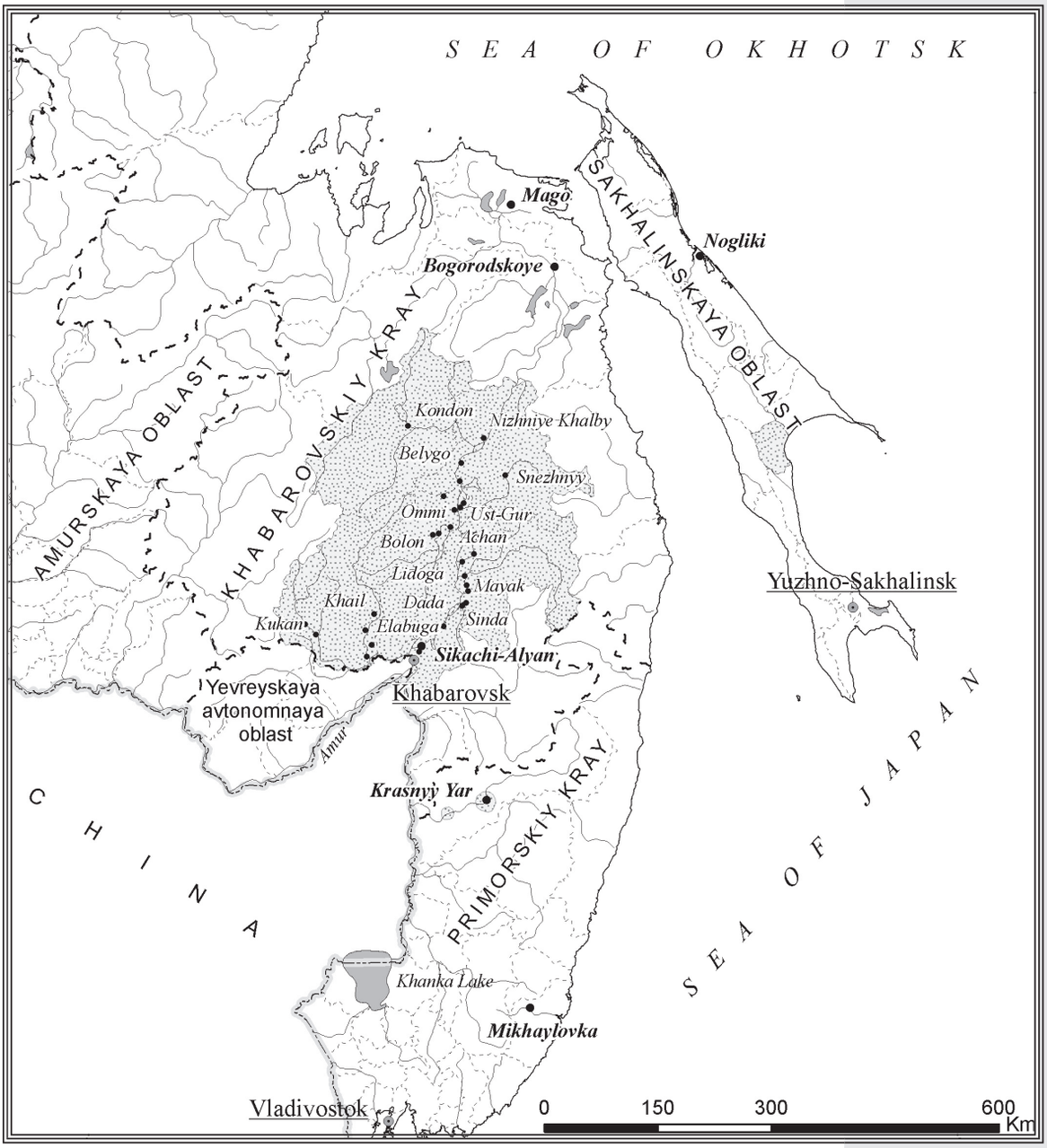
They speak the Nanai language, which has three dialects (Gorinskiy, Kururmiyskiy, Bikinskiy) and two vernaculars. Some specialists believe the Kururmiyskiy dialect to be a distinct language. The Naykhinskiy variant of the middle-Amur vernacular is the basis of the Nanai literary language. In 1931, a written language was developed using the Latin alphabet. In 1963, it was converted to the Russian alphabet. In 1989, 44% of the Nanai claimed Nanai as their native language. Russian was widely spoken.



Population

In the mid-nineteenth century, Nanai settlements were to be found along the Amur River above Khabarovsk to the village of Sofiyskiy. In 1860, 5,345 Nanai were counted by the Russian administration during the population census. Moreover, some Nanai lived in the Ussuri River basin and along its tributaries. Active Russian colonization of the Amur and the development of steamship transportation resulted in territorial movements of the Nanai within their larger territory. They emigrated away from the Amur's tributaries to the main river, where trade operations were developing.

88% of Nanai live in Khabarovsk Kray (in Nanaiskiy, Amurskiy, Komsomol'skiy, Solnechniy, and Khabarovskiy Districts). Small groups live in the Pozharskiy and Ol'ginskiy Districts of Primorskiy (Primorye) Kray (425 individuals) and in Poronayskiy District of Sakhalin Oblast (173 individuals). The Nanai moved from Amur to Sakhalin Island in 1946, when the southern part of the island joined the



Current territory of residence of the Nanai in Russia

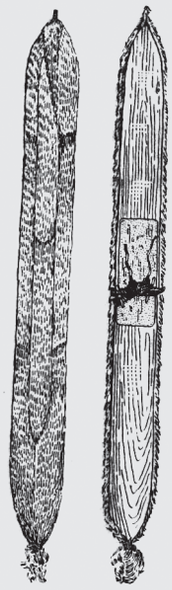
Soviet Union. Some Nanai (the Khedzhe) live in northeastern China in the Sungari and Ussuri River basins — more than 4,000 people. The total number of Nanai in the Soviet Union reached 12,023 in 1989, including 11,883 in Russia.

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

History and ethnogenesis

Genetically speaking, the modern Nanai present a complex historical community. A number of researchers (L. Shrenk, I. Lopatin, and others) believe that the Nanai homeland is in Manchuria, at the foot of the Chan-Bay-Shan Mountains, from whence they descended into the Ussuri River basin and reached the lower Amur River. Another per-



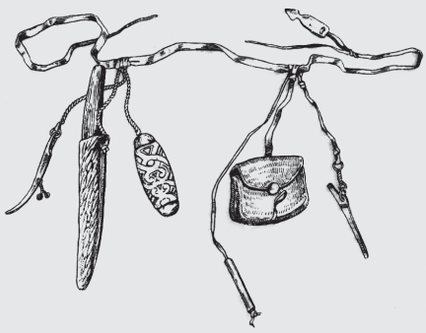
spective supported by L. Ya. Shternberg proposed that the Nanai were a conglomeration of clans from a variety of backgrounds. The lower Amur, settled in the Neolithic Era, was already settled by small groups of Tungus, Turks, Mongols, and Manchu who mixed with the local indigenous population to create a number of ethnic communities, one of whom who became the modern Nanai. There is no doubt that the Nanai clans of Kile, Samar, Digor, Gayer, and Khaytanin have Evenk (Tungus) roots. The Nanai Bel'dy has Ainu subgroups whose members, like the Ainu, call themselves *kuya* and believe their historical homeland to be the islands from which they emigrated to the mainland. Other Nanai clans were formed from Chinese, Manchu, Solon, Dyuchery, and many other peoples. Peripheral groups broke away from the main developing body of the Nanai ethnicity and were assimilated by neighboring peoples — the Ul'chi, Nivkh, and others.



Subsistence activities

Nanai activities were varied, and fishing was first in importance. Russian land explorers, observing the lives of the Nanai's ancestors (the Natki, Achan, and Gol'dik) in the seventeenth century, wrote that "all they eat is fish." The Nanai folk calendar named five of their months after fish, a testament to the importance of their fishing industry. The end of August and beginning of September were an especially crucial period when they caught great masses of chum salmon. It was during these months that they were able to provide for their life's needs for the entire year in advance.

Their highly specialized fishing gear was a particular aspect of Nanai fishing. The Nanai were unsurpassable specialists in fish, their habitats, and migration routes. They had different types of gear that depended on the species of fish, their habitat, and fishing styles.



The simplest gear were fishing hooks — *umu*, *umeken*. They came in two types: with or without a spike at the end. The hook consisted of a leaden conical head (*todya dilini*) and the hook itself, soldered to the head. They fished using these hooks on fishing poles, usually for under-ice fishing. They also used hook-and-line trawl lines to fish for kaluga (*kiutel orgi*). The base of the hook was inserted in a chunk of wood, which was then attached to a trawl line (*golin*). In order to position the hook correctly, they hung a stone weight from each wooden piece. The hooks were tied to the line with the hook upwards, and the floats gave them the correct heading. Trawl line hooks were not baited.

Nanai piercing-style gear were represented by various types of spears: *chakpan*, a two-pointed spear used to catch small and mid-sized fish, *khosoli*, an arrow-tipped spear used to catch especially larger fish and whose shaft reached 20–30 meters in length, the *dyogbo* spear, a three-pointed tip which easily came off the shaft and hung from a strap

and was used to catch large Amur carp, sturgeon, taimen, and Atka mackerel; and the *elgu*, a spear with a hook-shaped tip whose tip faced into the shaft. The latter spear could be lowered into the water and target a passing fish, hooking it.

Trap-style fishing gear was most commonly bag-shaped trap nets known as *uki*. They wove these from willow branches into the shape of a basket with a narrow cone-shaped neck. *Uki* sizes depended on the type of fish targeted.

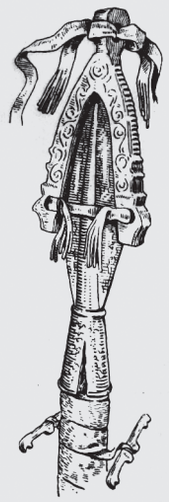
Fishing weirs represented the Nanai's trap net fishing technology. They were of various types. They built fishing *mengen* weirs on the Amur River in the form of two barriers that met at one corner. One barrier was up to 300 meters long and reached from the riverbank to the middle of the river. The other barrier was parallel to the shore. Fish, bumping into the barrier, traveled its length and ended up in the trap. They built *mengen* along the migration routes of salmon and other fish. Building fishing weirs required significant effort, and the weirs were used for more than just one season. They erected temporary *nalba* fishing weirs in the summer and *khermu* weirs in the winter in river channels: during low water periods they inserted a stake in the river bottom and attached an interwoven set of branches. They set up a fyke net or trap pots in the gaps of the branches.

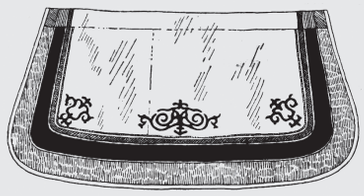
Their most advanced fishing gear was set nets and driftnets. They used them to catch for most of their fishing harvest. One of the most common nets was a single-walled set net (*chidyan*) with 50–60 millimeter wide mesh and floats made of cork bark. The lower part of the net was stretched with rock or clay weights. They also set up such nets on two poles in narrow river channels, backwaters, river meadows, and quiet pools. The nets were erected in the evening and then checked in the morning. They also used analogous set nets — *ero adolini* and *yarkho adolini*.

Driftnets were more specialized. To catch smaller fish during the spring ice breakup, they used a small driftnet (*khadoriko*), and to catch salmon at a great depth they used a davamagda net. Small fish were caught with a *bayamagda*, sturgeon with *enyuku* nets and *dyakhariko*, and kaluga with a *yarako* net. They used an *anga* net for under-ice fishing and had still other specialized nets.

In addition to all adult men and women (who processed fish into *yukola*), children also helped with fishing. At the beginning of the season the entire family moved to their fishing grounds. When on the move, the men steered the boat, and the women rowed. The eldest, most experienced member of the family directed fishing operations.

Hunting played a larger role in Nanai life in the distant past than it did in the nineteenth century. A great deal of Nanai folklore, especially stories and heroic tales, has hunter-heroes. Hunting is also reflected in their work calendar. September was called *potkanko bia* or "month when













animals are caught with snares" by the Nanai. An extensive lexicon for hunting is also a testament to its importance.

The Nanai hunted for furs and for meat. They killed bears using a *gida* spear. The spear tip was made from a rhomboid-shaped iron tip with a channel for blood down the middle of the oak staff. Two wooden cylinders were hung on straps from the lower end of the spearhead. Their purpose was to prevent the spear from passing entirely through the animal. The spear could be heavy or light in weight.



They hunted hoofed animals with the help of trap pits and abatis. The Nanai of Ussuriyskiy Kray specialized in abatis techniques. The abatis resembled a barrier made of stakes, poles, or inter-meshed grid work and that stretched for several kilometers and ended in a trap pit or some other sort of trap.

They caught large hoofed animals and bears using snares made from thick moose or reindeer skins. A snare was set knee-high along a path leading to a watering hole. The end of the snare of attached to a log or tree. Any animal caught in the snare would find itself leashed, and the more it fought the tighter the snare's loop became. Such snares were also set for smaller animals: rabbit, musk deer, lynx, and others. They also used snares attached to a board to catch hazel grouse, which stared fixedly at the snare until it tightened around the bird's neck.

During the years of Soviet power (until the 1950s), the Nanai worked mainly for fishing *kolkhozes*. The occasional Nanai worked as a professional hunter. With the enlargement and reorganization of *kolkhozes*, employment in traditional activity areas dropped drastically. Many Nanai were forced to work in industry and agriculture. A significant contingent of Nanai intelligentsia arose — scholars, writers, artists, teachers, doctors, etc.

This separation from traditional activities is a painful problem for the Nanai people. In the early 1990s, a possible solution was seen in reorganizing economic structures: creation of indigenous corporations and clan and community-based activities. By the mid-1990s the Nanai of Khabarovsk Kray had created more than forty entities, oriented mostly toward fishing. From their first days of operation they encountered significant challenges. The difficulty is that the Amur River fishing industry is strictly limited today. Allocated fishing quotas do not allow for the economic development of indigenous corporations. Additionally, over the years of Soviet power Nanai fishing became a strictly commercial activity, and indigenous corporations and fishing societies (*obshchinas*) with limited capital and equipment are unable to compete in market conditions. Ill-planned tax policies also had a negative influence, especially during the startup period for these corporations.

The ethno-social situation in Nanai-inhabited regions was worsened by the crisis in traditional work activities and remaining transition process to a market economy. One of the bigger problems for the indigenous population is the growth of unemployment. In 1999, 42% of Nanai did not have work. Rural residents suffer from this in particular, and Nanai are almost 64% rural. Production and social infrastructure in indigenous villages is in a shambles. Many village production enterprises are closed — fish processing facilities, consumer service companies, and others.









Settlements and housing

Nanai villages came in two varieties: permanent and seasonal. Seasonal camps were known as *irga*. Some of these were built on islands, a rich part of the Amur River ecosystem. Permanent villages endured for many centuries or even millennia. The most ancient camps are Kondon, Sikachi-Alyan, Dolin, Sargu, May, and others.

Permanent settlements were sited at the mouths of small creeks, on Amur River tributaries, on islands, and around lakes. This placement is explained by the importance of fishing in Nanai life. There was no organization within settlements. Buildings were arranged to allow free access to the river or lake. The majority of settlements had two exits — one to the river and another to the taiga. Undeveloped green areas, water channels, or streams separated Nanai homesteads and residential and work structures from one another. The main home was in the center of the homestead. A homestead was called *tulie* (space around the house) and had a number of zones. Drying racks for nets and seines and for airing clothing were placed five to eight meters from the water. Behind these were racks for drying *yukola*, storehouses, summer shelters on pilings, and work and everyday structures. The shore itself was for boat











storage, and the river was a universal road, connecting the homestead to other settlements.

Nanai settlements in Manchuria are unusual. Here, they are generally surrounded by earthen or clay walls, or sometimes with wooden walls. Sungariyskiy Nanai settlements sometimes had roads, but unlike the Chinese, there were always openings to the south, and settlements were not placed in pairs along the street, but checkerboard-style.

The most ancient homes, as archaeological research shows, were *seroma* dugouts and *khurbu* semi-dugouts. Dugouts were sited in the sloping riverbank and in terrace walls. These were straight-sided or four-cornered and resembled dugouts built by the Chzhurchzhen. Walls were framed and hung with woven mats.

Semi-dugouts (*khulbu*) were reminiscent of dugouts by design. The roof was two-sided and pitched. Two posts supported the roof's ridge. The lower ends of the roof timbers were in the ground, and the upper ends met at the ridge. The dugout's entrance was located on the home's narrow side, and the opposite wall contained two windows, with a third window by the door. Semi-dugouts had earthen benches along the sides. The hearth was in the center. There was no specialized smoke ventilation; it simply passed out through an opening in the roof. Small walls were made from a grid of willow branches that were then covered in clay and a mixture of finely chopped grass.

The Nanai also had *khagdun*, homes that were built directly on the ground. Such homes had only one room and no partitions. There were ten to sixteen central posts that bore the weight of the girders and roof. Two exterior posts (*gusi torani*) and two internal (*davuy baksa*) were the largest of them and supported the girder. The posts were four to five meters high. Girders that stretched to the exterior wall were placed on the corner posts. Each window and door opening had an extra post. The Nanai specially honored these posts. It was believed that the spirit of the home lived inside them. Posts were embellished with ornamentation and figures of animals, reptiles, and birds.Особый тип представляют нанайские поселения в Манчжурии. Здесь они, как правило, были окружены земляными или глиняными валами, реже деревянными стенами. Селения сунгарийских нанайцев могли иметь улицы, но, в отличии от китайских, имели выход всегда на юг и располагались не попарно вдоль улицы, а как бы в шахматном порядке.

The walls of winter homes were made from woven reed facades, poles, or willow branches and then covered in clay mixed with grass or wool. In mountainous regions they made walls from thin logs and poles. Such homes were characteristic of the upper Amur and Ussuriyskiy Nanai, but could also be found among the Manchu and Daur Nanai. On the Amur River near Bolon' and Ommi, walls were built in panels: timbers or boards were inserted between the gaps in the posts. These homes were called *korima dyo*.

Nanai roofs were two-sided and pitched, then covered in two or three layers of birchbark or spruce bark. There were no ceilings in such homes. They had a mixture of various timbers and poles used as hanging racks overhead. A well-prepared fish skin or bladder was used as a window covering. The home's walls were hung with reed rugs.

The *nakan* heating system was the primary structure in the house and determined its size. Smoke and heat was piped from the stove to a pipe that rose up over the building. The width of the *nakan* could be up to two meters. Depending on the size of the home, the number of *nakans* varied from one to six. A two-roomed house with six heated benches might, for example, be home to up to forty people. *Nakans* were the main place that people spent time in the home: they slept, ate, and worked here. It seems likely that the *nakan* system arose in the Amur-Ussuri-Sungariyskiy region, as supported by archaeological excavations. It probably was created during the Neolithic era.





Work buildings and structures surrounded Nanai residences. Storehouses (*takto*) were indispensable elements of each homestead. These structures belong to an ancient culture of hunters and fishermen in the Far East. Small *takto* had four pilings, and larger ones had six to eight. They laid lengthwise timbers on the pilings to make a scaffold upon which the structure was built. A *takto* could also serve as a summer shelter. Two-sided pitched roofs were covered in straw or bark. The entrance to a storehouse was a notched log.



Other important elements of Nanai homesteads are drying and hanging racks. There were so many of them that the home was barely visible. The racks had a variety of purposes. *Peulen* racks had two levels: the lower level stored implements and the upper level was used to dry-cure chum salmon. *Dapsi* racks were for drying *yukola* for dogs and consisted of three sets of uprights and three poles with intersecting slats. The *san* system of poles in one or two layers was used for drying nets. Some Nanai groups used dried trees for this purpose.



While at work, the Nanai built temporary structures as shelter during bad weather. The upland Nanai called them *angko*, and lowland Nanai called them *khomoran*. The frames of such shelters were made from flexible branches bent into an arch. This arch was then covered with woven mats, clumps of grass, or birchbark sheets. The covering was fastened on with ties. Frequently the sides of such structures were strengthened with poles. From the outside, these structures were reminiscent of Mongol and Central Asian yurts. Sometimes the structure took the shape of a half-cylinder, which allowed them to increase the internal area of the building.



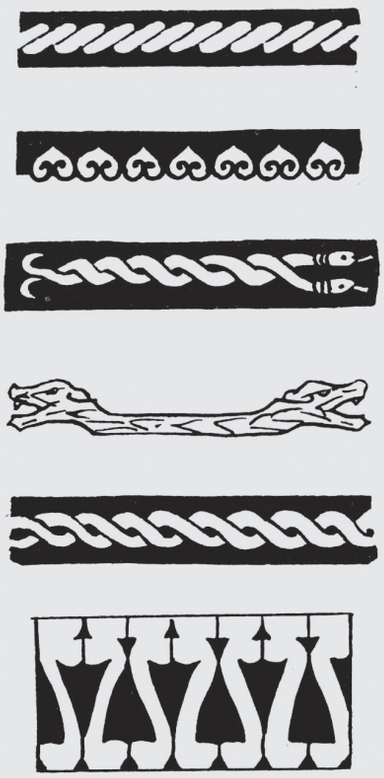
The Nanai also had specialized ritual buildings called *itoan.* These were built for the purposes of large funeral banquets. The structure's frame had a half-cylinder shape. Inside, it was divided along an imaginary line

into two parts: for the living and for the dead. Unusual structures were also built on graves in cemeteries. They were exact copies of homes.

Food

Fish had an extremely important role in Nanai nutrition. During the enormous chum salmon spawning migration, they preserved it in large quantities for future consumption. The gutted fish was dry-cured in well-ventilated areas resulting in a number of kinds of *yukola*. Together with the head, fish bones became dog food. In the winter they froze fish.

Identical conservation methods were used while hunting. They would frequently boil the meat first and then dry or dry-cure it. They killed geese, ducks, hazel grouse, pheasants, and black grouse in large quantities. Plants were also used in large quantities: berries, nuts, tree mushrooms, and edible grasses.



The majority of their dishes were made from fish. A favorite was *tala*. Fresh raw fish, usually kaluga or sturgeon, was cut into thin ribbons, salted, and then seasoned with wild garlic, wild onion, and pepper. In the winter tala was made from frozen fish and was called *piarma*. They ate the cartilaginous parts of chum salmon heads raw, calling it *kimbo*.

Fish fat (*simkse*) was widely used in food. It was made from fish guts and was stored in a prepared kaluga stomach. The Nanai ate their *yukola* with fish fat. The fattiest pieces of *yukola* were grilled lightly on coals first, or boiled in salted water.

They made *cholon* soup from fresh fish or *yukola* with vegetable seasoning. If grains were added it became *sogdata choloni* soup. At their fishing grounds they made ukha fish soup called *kholto*. *Ukha* broth was boiled from orca and it was seasoned with carp. Fish soups were seasoned with water lily bulbs (*kalchokta choloni*), goosefoot (*kulukte choloni*), and young wormwood leaves (soakta choloni), nettle (*pikte choloni*), and laminaria seaweed (*kanyoy choloni*). They also made soup from tree mushrooms and Siberian elm. The Nanai did not use ground mushrooms in food.

Main dishes were also made from fish. *Sitemi* consisted of *yukola* soaked in water. Fish powder (*puruen*) was made from boiled fish and eaten with fish fat and herbs. They made fish pate (*taksan*) in large quantities. To make pate, they boiled fish until the meat was falling off the bones. The bones were removed and they continued to boil the fish until it disintegrated. That was made into flour and then put in a pot to which fish fat was added and the mixture was fried into one mass. It was eaten with berries. *Taksan* was carried by hunters heading out to hunt.

Meat dishes were more common along the Amur River tributaries: the Kur, Urmi, Gorin, Bikin, and Sungari Rivers. They ate many things raw: reindeer leg tendons, bone marrow, nostrils, liver, kidneys, spleen,

eye jelly, and blood. The best pieces of meat were boiled or salted. Meat was prepared in ways similar to that of fish.

They made juice and ate berries fresh. Bird cherry berries were made into dough for flatbreads. The outsides of the flatbreads were decorated and dried in the sun or over the fire. To preserve them, the breads were covered in fish fat. In the spring, they ate edible plants in salads or as seasoning. In the past, the Nanai did not use salt, using ash, white clay, or fresh blood in its place. They made a narcotic drink from wild rosemary and young black birch branches.







Clothing

Prior to Russian contact, the Nanai made clothing and footwear from fish skin, animal skins, and fabric made from hemp or nettle. Men's everyday clothing consisted of inner and outer upper clothing (*peru* pants, *garo* leggings, and *engeregde* shirt), footwear, and headwear. Underwear was made from fish skin. Shirts were kimono-style with cuts in the sides and reached down to the knees. The left panel was larger. In hot weather, they wore their shirts open. Pants were made from skins, folded into four layers into a triangle. They left a semi-circular opening for excretions. They wore kneepads on their legs, or leggings, which protected the legs from injuries.

Outerwear consisted of a kimono-style robe. There were several variations on this: unlined robes (*pokto*), lined robes (*kapchima*), winter robes (*khuktu*), and others. The most ancient robe was the amiri, a single robe made from fish skin. Robe sleeves were short and narrow. The left panel crossed over the right panel. Men's everyday robes ended above the knee so as not to interfere with walking. In the summer, men sometimes wore a short sleeveless *kandyal* in place of a robe. The *kandyal's* design could resemble a right-wrapping robe or robe with the opening in the middle.

They wore birchbark conical hats in the summer. These were made from pieces of steamed birchbark. Hats were fastened on to the head using two laces. This headwear was characteristic of the entire Pacific Culture. In good weather, men preferred to go with their head uncovered. In the winter they wore earmuffs (*siaptun*), and overtop those a warm fur hat (*eldumepse*), trimmed with sable or squirrel fur. A hat's edges were trimmed in sable or lynx. The Nanai were also known to wear hood-type hats. The exterior was made from fish skin and the interior from fox fur, resulting in fur-trimmed edges.

Nanai footwear made from fish skin (*sobgoma ota*) was unusually lightweight and good insulation properties. They used scaly fish skin for additional durability. Footwear made from the skins of wild animals was, of course, more durable, but it was heavier and grew wet more quickly. Winter boots were lined with sedge grass. Nanai footwear designs could









be divided into two groups: Amur and Tungus styles. Amur-style boots usually had a tall front point, which was cut out together with the sole and sewn to the base of the boot. Bootlegs had a vent on the right side to allow the bootleg to be wrapped around the leg and be tied at the top with a strap. On the Kur, Urmi, and Gorin Rivers, Tungus-style boots were more common: the bootleg was made from three strips of legskins (a straight front piece and trapezoidal sides). The upper part of the leg was trimmed in lynx fur.

Women's everyday clothing resembled that of the men's, but with a few differences. Women's robes were longer, and they had two kinds of pants for married and unmarried women. Unmarried women's pants were cut together with a bib that was tied to the belt with a string. The bib covered the chest. Married women's bibs covered only the lower part of the torso to allow for easier breastfeeding.

Celebratory clothing differed from that of everyday in quality of workmanship and decoration. Several types of celebratory robes are known. The *achato* was a robe that opened in the middle front. The groom wore it on his wedding day and for large holidays. *Galada* robes were used during marriage ceremonies. This kimono-style robe had sleeves and a side opening. The robe closed from right to left and was fastened with buttons. Men's celebratory clothing always included an *omol* belt that was ten to fifteen centimeters wide and three or four meters long. It was wrapped around the torso two to three times, and the embroidered ends were allowed to dangle freely.

During celebrations, Nanai women wore ornamented holiday boots and robes. Their main distinguishing feature was the presence of an attached or removable collar. Attachable collars were standing-style and frequently had squirrel or Siberian weasel fur trim. Women's marriage robes (*sike*) were especially interesting. These were made from Amur carp skin, and were richly embellished. The upper part of the back of the robe was covered in a fish scale design. Each scale in turn was richly decorated with images of animals, birds, amphibians, and other creatures. The lower part of the robe was set off by vertical stripes. Each stripe contained the image of the clan tree.

Burial clothing was almost indistinguishable from that of everyday. The only difference was the use of a special seam, "with a living hand," so that the deceased could not return to the land of the living. Sometimes the dead were dressed up in marriage clothing, but the robe was belted with a white strap. Burial costumes always included a bib; for women, this was trapezoidal and for men, polygonal. A bead was attached to the center of the bib through which the deceased was believed to breathe and eat.

Work clothing differed from everyday clothes. A robe made from fish skin or well-prepared moose skin opened on the right and had an angled cut along the outer flap, which fastened at the side with the help

of three buttons. They donned a short coat made from red deer or elk when hunting. Over clothing, the hunter wore an apron with a rounded lower edge. In the summer, hunting clothing consisted of light everyday men's clothing with a few additional elements. In rainy weather they wore a raincoat-style robe made from catfish skin and cloak that covered the head and shoulders and protected the neck and face from mosquitoes and gnats.



Transportation

The Nanai's primary transportation in the summer months included several types of boats: dugouts, birch, board, and framed boats. The oldest of these were those made from hollowed out tree trunks (*onnimagda* and *utungu*). The *utungu* boat was used by various Nanai subgroups in two designs: one-person with a pointed bow and stern or with a flat stern for two. The *utungu* was used as a light boat for hunting. They rowed on alternate sides using a two-ended paddle over the left and right sides of the boat. When going against the current they used a pole. *Onnimagda* boats transported people and family property. While the *utungu's* prow was pointed and cut through the water when moving, the prow of the *onnimagda* was shovel-shaped and rose up over the surface of the water. When under way, the boat was able to come down upon waves, flattening them. Russians called similar boats on the Amur River *batami*.



Of assembled boats, flat-bottomed Amur-style boats (*ogdo, temchien*) were widely used. The pointy-nosed *ogdo* was made from three boards and had a flat stern made of poles and could in some instances have a prow made from boards that floated over the water. The sides were reinforced with wooden pegs at the blunt end toward the bottom. Joints were stuffed with moss or nettle fiber and covered from the inside with planks. Flat-bottomed boats and dugouts could be steered with the help of a staff, large or small paddles with broad wings that had a round hole passing through. According to their division of labor, Nanai women or youth usually were at the oars. Men directed the boat in the required direction and fished. *Ogdo* boats had one or more oars depending on the intended use. Some boats had twelve pairs of rowers. In a typical boat

the rowers' seats were set closer to the prow, sometimes to the crossbars. Behind the first crossbar that was an adapter for a mast and sail, and the remainder of the boat was used for cargo and passengers. *Ogdo* boats were used as a means of transportation on large rivers. They were well adapted to swell and waves. During long trips they built a cylindrical shelter at the stern or in the middle of the boat.





Nanai framed boats were called *dyayi*. Among Russians they were known as *omorochki*. They were quite simple. Strong light strips of wood comprised the main framework. The ends were pointed and curved upward. Sometimes the prow and stern were enclosed with birchbark sheets in order to keep water out. The boat was propelled with a pole or one or two small oars. When necessary, a fisherman could carry a dyayi on his shoulder and portage to another river system.



During the winter, the Nanai used skis and sleds for transportation. There were two types of skis: *soksilta* and *kungilte* (Russian *golitsy*). *Golitsy* were made from birch, alder, fir, or larch, and they were used to travel the ice-covered spring snow. The front end of the ski was tipped slightly upward and had pointed or rounded tips. A piece of birch was attached to middle section of the ski, for placement of the foot. Two loops served to attach the foot to the ski.



Soksilta skis were made from larch, oak, elm, birch, or fir. The slippery part of the ski was covered, in a specific order, with pieces of fur from various animals. They moved about on these skis without poles, using a bow as a staff (*tunepun*). One end was forked and could serve as a prop for shooting from a rifle, while the other end was shovel-shaped and could be used to clean snow away from skis.

They used hand sleds, reindeer sleds, or dog sleds to move cargo. Hand-drawn sleds differed from dog sleds in only minor details — it had a handle (*irapun*) that the hunter used for steering. A dog pulled the sled. Nanai also used straight stanchion sleds of two types: with one (front) or two (front and back) arches. Riders sat head-on on such sleds, dangling legs on skis over the sides. A woman's cargo sled had the same design, but differed in width and height.

The Nanai along the Gorin, Kur, and Urmi Rivers had only a few reindeer, which they used as draft animals. They also had reindeer sleds (*oron tokini*), with either straight stanchions and a front brushbow or a double stanchion sled that was similar in design to those of the Aldan-

Zeya-Amgun Evenk. The Ussuri and Sungari Nanai used horses under saddle as well as for pack animals.

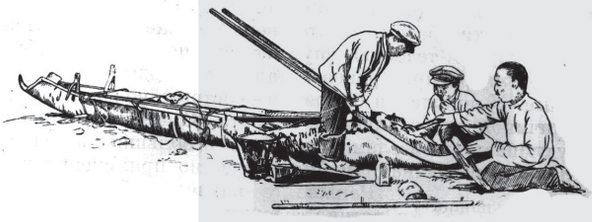


Religion and spiritual culture

Nanai religious beliefs were based on animism: the sky, earth, mountains, water, and taiga were filled with all sorts of imaginable spirits who influenced the lives and fates of people. The Nanai saw the material form and spirit of each object, attributing human characteristics to it. In order to improve relations with spirits, the Nanai made images of them, giving them animal and human shapes. These images played an important role in religious rituals.



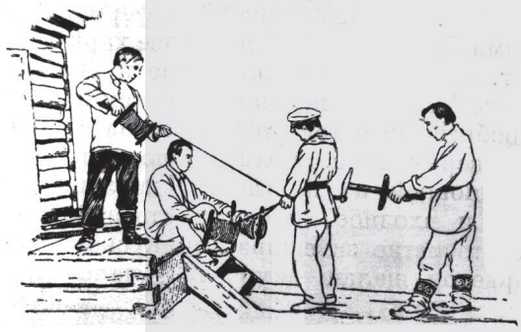
The Nanai believed that the heavens, filled with spirits, influenced human lives. The heavens could be divided into spheres, each of which was associated with specific constellations. Each sphere had its own god. For example, the sphere closest to the earth belonged to *Khutu Enduri*. The second sphere was ruled by *Erkha Enduri*. The third "heavenly earth" was under the authority of *San'si Enduri*, and so forth. There were eleven of these spheres, of which the seventh and eighth spheres were female. Once a year, each Nanai family prayed to the heavens; men from a single clan participated in these prayers as well. During prayers with requests for health, wellbeing, and hunting and fishing success, they addressed the main deity, *Boa Enduri*, who lived in the seventh heaven.





The cult of heavenly spirit deities was related to the cult of earthly spirit masters. The master of the earth, *Na Endurni*, was worshiped most of all for hunting, but during hunting season, the most important deity was the master of fire, *Podya*. They prayed to him collectively and individually before and after hunting. Out in the taiga they observed a number of taboos. The Nanai connected success in fishing with the chief water spirit, *Temu*, and other water spirits. Offerings made to them during prayer were placed in special small boats braided from grasses or in boats carved from wood in the shape of a little fish.





Hunting cults played an important role in the Nanai traditional belief system: tigers for the Ussuri Nanai, bears along the lower branch of the Amur, as well as burial and funeral feast cults, and a belief in the immortal soul. The spirit of a child, from the moment of birth through the first year, took the form of a bird (*omya-gasa*). This bird lived in the branches of a large tree ("tree of the soul") until the moment it entered a woman. Each clan had such a tree.



The Nanai had several approaches to burials: aerial, in ground, and, as an exception, cremation. Aerial burials were in trees, on *desiun* platforms, or in carved log structures (*keren*). More infrequently, they laid children to rest in hollows of trees. Underground burials came later. They conducted a number of funeral feasts for the deceased. The first took place immediately after the person's death, the second on the seventh day following the burial. After this they had monthly rituals, even large ones, although they did not have an anniversary. At large funeral feasts, a shaman "carried" the soul of the deceased into the *buni* afterworld. The Nanai believed that this world closely resembled the world of the living with only one difference — everything in it was opposite. If it was summer in the land of the living, then it was winter in *buni*, and so forth.

Shamans served as intermediaries between the spirit world and people. A shaman's main duties included treating the sick, foretelling the future, and delivering dead souls to *buni*. Shamans were divided into three categories: *siurinku-saman*, shaman healers, *nigmantey-saman*, who, in addition to healing, also conducted rituals during the first few funeral feasts, and *kasa-saman*, who conducted dead souls to the afterworld. Shamans in the first two categories could be male or female, but only men could become *kasa-saman*.

Nanai shaman outfits consisted of a skirt, top, belt (with metallic pendants), mittens with figures of snakes, lizards and frogs, and a hat with branched iron horns. A shaman's attributes also included a shaman's staff, *toli* metal disks, a drum and mallet, and a large quantity of *seven* — shamanic spirit-helper figures. The shaman also had *tavogda* pebbles in his gear, used to "enliven" the soul of the deceased in order that it might interact with loved ones before its final journey to the afterworld.

Arts and crafts

Nanai decorative arts reflect the unusually striking and rich world of Lower Amur's natural environment. The palette of the Far-Eastern taiga was as varied and lush as the richly colorful scale and ornamentation of the Nanai. Nanai artisans skillfully used a variety of technical and artistic techniques to work fish skin, birchbark, fur, and other materials. There were three main techniques for embellishments: etching, carving, and appliqué. Etchings were made with the dull side of an iron or bone knife tip, an awl, or simply the fingernail of the thumb on the right hand. Artisans carved birchbark freehand with a special knife. They also cut birchbark with stencil templates that served as designs for embroidery and appliqué.

First and foremost, Nanai artisans invested creativity, talent, and enormous patience in the decoration of clothing. Marriage robes were especially elaborate. They were sewn from fish skin and decorated with scales, each of which contained stylized images of birds, animals, and

amphibians. Images of eagles are some of the most loved elements of Nanai ornamentation. All other elements of the marriage costume were also distinguished by their rich, expressive décor — oversleeves, kneepads, boot legs, headwear, belts, as well as bed linens and household objects.



Nanai ornamentation on birchbark items had four styles: zoomorphic, plant, cloud-shaped, and geometric. All of its elements were stylized and conventional, and all images were naturally drawn into a complicated system of curves that covered the entire surface of the object being decorated. Overall, Nanai women's arts had symmetrically arranged ornamental motifs, a variety of compositional methods, and graphic exactitude in each design and element.

Woodcarving was also common. Men practiced this form of decorative art. Carvings covered windows and doors of homes, the outer ends of pediment boards, the main posts of communal houses, and various wooden items. Carved Nanai spoons, especially those used for rituals and weddings, tobacco holders, and various dishes are pure examples of this art form.

Boat decorations are a notable example of Nanai art. Their prows were decorated inside and out with designs made with black paint and applied using special templates. The insides of the boat's sides were decorated, while the horizontal stern board (upon which the steersman sat) was covered with carvings of large circular rosettes. In addition to ornamentation, some boats also had sculpted bird figures, whose images had ritual and magical meaning.

Contemporary culture and self-government

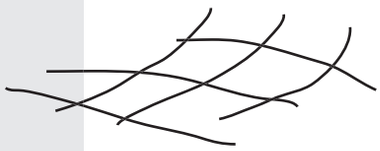


The Nanai's desire to preserve their cultural milieu in the face of economic degradation and a worsening of all social problems is impressive. There are more than ten folk ensembles operating in Nanai villages, including *Givana, Mangbo, Siun, Tasima, Ilga dyarini, Kekuke, Amtaka*, and others. The work of Nanai folk artists in the decorative and applied arts is known far beyond Russia's borders. The work of Nanai poets and writers is known across Russia: G. P. Khodzher, A. A. Passar, P. A. Kile, the artist A. Geyker, and still others. An ethno-cultural center is being prepared in the ancient Neolithic-era village of Sikachi-Alyan in Khabarovskiy District.

They are attempting to solve the most important ethno-cultural issue facing the Nanai people — the preservation and renewal of the Nanai language, which is today spoken only by the older generation. Nanai language instruction is provided in elementary schools as well as in a few dozen pre-schools. Nikolayevsk On Amur

Pedagogical College, Khabarovsk Pedagogical University, and Herzen State Pedagogical University are all training Nanai language instructors. There are Nanai television broadcasts in Komsomol'sk-On-Amur, as well as local radio broadcasts. District-level newspapers publish pages in Nanai, and children's literature is also published.

The Khabarovsk chapter of the Association of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North has been in operation since 1990. It has territorial and ethnic subdivisions in the districts. The Association works closely with government agencies and local governments to set fishing allocations and limits, to prepare legal documents that serve the rights of the indigenous, to provide assistance to indigenous corporations and societies, and to develop contacts with international organizations that address the challenges faced by the indigenous population.



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NEGIDAL



The Negidal people belong to the Manchu-Tungus language group and live in the Russian Far East. They call themselves *ilkan beyyenin*, *na beyyenin* (local) and *amgun beyyenin* (Amgun' people). In the past, the Russians called them orochan, grouping them with many other Tungus, or, confusing them with the Nivkh, *gilyak*. The Negidal ethnonym is based on the Evenk *nge* (low, edge) and *gida* (side) and means "those who live on the low side." The ethnonym was first used by A. F. Middendorf in the mid-nineteenth century.

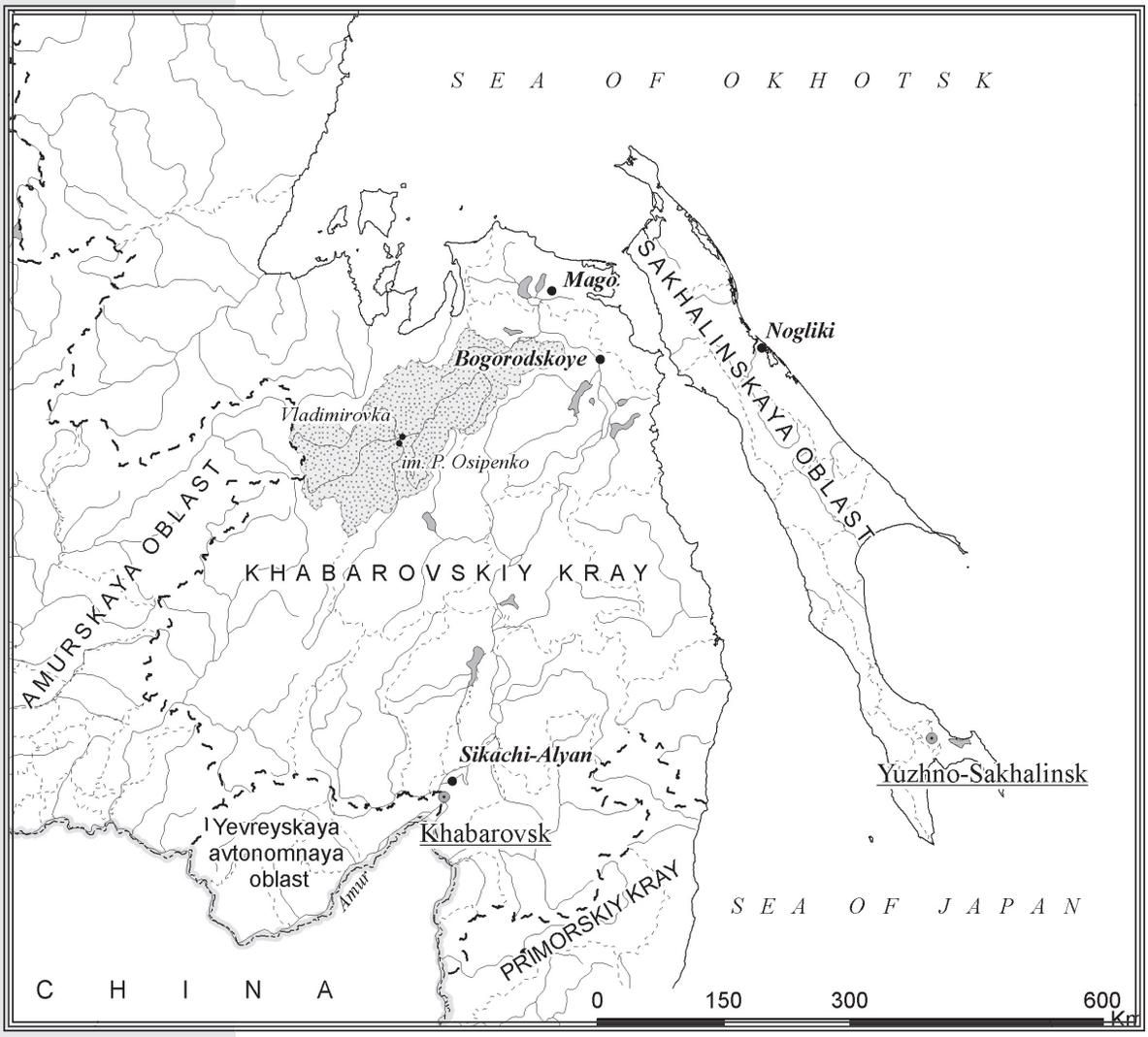
Language

They speak Negidal, a language in the Tungus branch of the Manchu-Tungus language group. There are specific differences between vernaculars (which some researchers consider dialects) of the Amgun' River lowlands and the middle Amgun' River. These differences are created by the influence of Ul'chi language in the lowlands and the Evenk language in general. Overall, Negidal is linguistically close to Evenk. Until recently, Negidal lacked a written form and was only used for everyday life. The 1989 census indicated that 26.6% of Negidal (156 individuals) claimed it as their native language. Youth and middle-aged Negidal basically do not speak the language. Russian is quite common. Some Negidal speak Evenk and/or Nivkh. The Institute for Philology (Russian Academy of Sciences, Siberian Branch) has developed a written language for Negidal that is undergoing the approval process.

Ethnogenesis and History

The Negidal are descended from Evenk who intermingled with Nivkh, Ul'chi, and Nanai peoples. Many characteristics of the Evenk taiga hunting culture are to be found among the Negidal: hunting for fur and meat animals, conical homes, wide Evenk-type skis covered in legskin leather, chest cloths, leather and fur clothing with central openings, footwear, birchbark canoes, the shape of cradles, and others. The Negidal who live along the upper Amgun' River still practice Evenk style mounted reindeer husbandry. Other elements testify to the significant influence of lower Amur River cultures: dog breeding, sled type, harness, flat-bottomed board boats, hunting for marine mammals, clothing made from fish skin as well as the skills to prepare it, and other elements.

The Amgun' Negidal are first mentioned in Russian documents in the 1780s. In reports made by Cossacks, only unmounted and mounted



Current territory of residence of the Negidal in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

(reindeer) Tungus clans and Gilyak (Nivkh) of the lower Amgun' River are mentioned. The term "Negidal" is missing in these reports, however, the seventeenth century clan structure of the Amgun' Tungus partially overlaps with the modern clan structure of the Negidal. The Negidal structure also includes isolated Ainu clans.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Negidal lived along the Amgun' River and its tributaries, on the Tugur River, and near Chlya, Orel', and Udyl' Lakes. Near the Amur River, they lived in the villages of Tyr and Mkhyl'. At the nineteenth century's end, there were Amur River settlements called Khok, Dle, Kal'ma, Machala, Pachi, and Yali. Some Negidal families moved to Sakhalin Island at the start of the twentieth century. Three clans known as the Chukchagir lived in the Amgun' River highlands and along the middle Amgun'. Four more clans lived in the Amgun' lowlands. The majority of Negidal clans are of Tungus descent. A.V. Smolyak believes that the Mekegir and Khegingkegir clans may have pre-Tungus roots. Some Negidal clans merged with Ul'chi, Nivkh, Nanai, and possibly the Oroch and Udeghe peoples.

This opens the possibility that the Negidal were a more numerous ethnos in the past. The 1989 Russian Federal Census counted 587 Negidal.

Population and settlements

Many researchers believe that the total population of Negidal counted by the census is elevated and that there are no more than 350 individuals. Today, they live mainly in the Ul'chskiy (163 ind.), Osipenko (131 ind.), and Nikolayevskiy (86 ind.) Districts of Khabarovsk Kray. Dense populations of Negidal can be found in only two villages: approximately 80 individuals in Vladimirovka (in Osipenko District) and 90 individuals in Beloglinka (Ul'chskiy District), where they form a majority. The Negidal population living in Ul'chskiy District is steadily decreasing due to assimilatory and migratory processes (from 288 in 1959 to 163 in 1989).

Social organization

The Negidal social structure has both clan-related and geographic connections. The clan regulated marriage norms, brought its members together for the purposes of religious and family ceremonies, and strictly observed customs of mutual assistance. Because of the small size of clans, they united into larger unions known as *dokha*. There was much ethnic inter-marriage with neighboring peoples. As with the clan, rural Negidal society did not maintain a fixed territory. The society's beliefs exerted great influence on the life and behavior of each family member.

Subsistence activities

The Negidal are native fishermen and hunters. Fishing played a leading role in the lives of the Negidal living in the Amgun' lowlands and along the Amur River. Headwaters Negidal practiced reindeer husbandry for transportation in addition to fishing and hunting. Fishing activity focused on migrating salmon: pink and summer and autumn chum. Local fish species were also important: sturgeon, Amur carp, and silver carp. They began fishing as early as April. The main salmon migration arrived in August and September. They mainly caught pink and chum salmon using fish weirs, although net fishing was common as well. In the past, they made nets from nettle and wild hemp fibers, dying them using larch bark. In addition to basic nets, the Negidal also widely used purse seines called *tamty* and acquired from the Ul'chi. Other common fishing gear included a trident-tipped spear with a long shaft (used to catch fish from the river bank) and a single-pointed spear with a short shaft to catch fish from a canoe. In the winter, they fished using hook-and-line fishing poles.

Some Negidal hunted for marine mammals in the Amur estuary and along the Sea of Okhotsk coastline. Seal hunting was conducted in small groups using flat-bottomed board boats known as *ogda*. They used an iron harpoon to hunt seal. Harvested seals were processed into clothing and footwear and the seal meat and fat used in food. Fishermen used birchbark canoes (*omo chin*) and dugout canoes (*ogdama*) to navigate rivers.

The Negidal hunted year round. Wild reindeer and moose were hunted for subsistence purposes. They used hunting techniques for ungulates that were identical to those of the Evenk. Bird hunting also played an important role in providing sustenance for the Negidal. They hunted wood grouse, partridge, and hazel grouse in large numbers. Sometimes, they conducted hunting expeditions to the Okhotsk coast, where large colonies of geese and ducks nest. Sable was the most important target when it came to fur hunting. They generally hunted fur animals from the back of a reindeer, except in the Amgun' River lowlands, where they preferred to hunt on foot with a hand-drawn sled or on skis. They used two types of skis — basic skis and legskin-covered *sokhsila*. They searched for sable along the Amur Estuary, on Sakhalin, and in the Gorina and Khungari watersheds. Fur hunting was mainly a commercial activity for them. By the end of the nineteenth century, the sable fur industry fell into decline.

Reindeer husbandry was mainly practiced by the upriver Negidal, although they had few reindeer. They rode their reindeer in *neme* saddles and harnessed them to Evenk-style sleds. Lowland Amur Negidal kept sled dogs that they harnessed to special driving sleds. They used dog transport mainly on frozen rivers. At the start of the twentieth century, winter cargo transport by dog sled or reindeer became widespread.

During the Soviet period, the Negidal worked mainly in fishing collectives in Khabarovsk Kray — "Memory of Lenin" and others. At the start of the 1990s, several commercial societies were created in response to economic reorganization: Mevan, Luch (Vladimirovka village), Dal'zha (Beloglinka village) and others. These groups engaged in fishing, hunting, and commercial production of decorative folk arts. Not long after, the majority of these enterprises closed their doors. Overfishing of resources in the Amur and Amgun' Rivers led to depressed Amur chum salmon levels. The fishing crisis is worsened by forest fires, which have significantly reduced commercial stocks.

Settlements and housing

The Negidal had two types of villages: permanent winter homes and seasonal summer locations. They had four types of residential structures: conical, two-side pitched roof, flat-topped cylindrical, and rectangular with a two-sided pitched roof. A framed one-room four-cornered home

(*khagdu*) served as winter housing in the Amgun' lowlands for two to three families. This home was built identically to those homes built by the Ul'chi and Nivkh. It was made from thick logs inserted into grooves and had a two-sided pitched roof. The structure was heated using two or three hearths, with exhaust pipes that traveled underneath wide, clay-built bunks on which family members slept.

Along the upper Amgun River, the Negidal lived in two-side pitched roof or pyramidal homes built from half timbers and covered with earth, in small semi-dugouts with a low log exterior three or four layers high and a two-sided pitched roof, or in conical *chums* (*dzhokcha*). The Negidal built Tungus-style *chums*. Prior to Russian contact, homes were heated by fire, but by the end of the nineteenth century iron stoves came into use.

With the arrival of spring, Negidal families moved their households to summer settlements along tributaries, lakes, and streams. They lived there in small families in *dyukcha* — framed buildings built from poles and covered with larch or birch bark, sometimes hay, and in a variety of shapes covered by a two-side pitched roof. Each home had two doors, and the interior contained a ceiling-level wooden grid for smoking fish.

Temporary housing for hunters was made from willow branches bent into a flattened cylinder and covered in bark. These structures never exceeded a meter and a half in height. They built tall log storehouses on pilings with two-sided pitched roofs (*taktu*) nearby their winter dwellings. These resembled those of the Nivkh and Ul'chi. Summer housing was always accompanied by hanging racks for drying nets and fish.

Food

The Negidal diet was historically based on fish. The Nizovskiy Negidal varied their diet by adding wild reindeer, moose, and the meat from several other animals. Meat was more important to the Negidal living along the Verkhne-Anyuy. Fish and meat were both eaten prepared raw, boiled, grilled, or dried. Meat was also preserved for future consumption. Meat cut into long thin slices was dried in the sun and smoked. Salmon meat was dried into *yukola* for winter, as was salmon roe, which was made into winter soups. After extensive boiling and drying, fish could be made into a fish flour (*barcha*), which they stored in sacks for winter. They rendered fat from fish heads.

Wild plants were an important aspect of Negidal nutrition: wild garlic, wild onion, day lily bulbs, and various grasses, roots, and berries. They gathered blueberries and lingonberries for the winter, storing them in birchbark boxes near the berry grounds and carrying them home in the winter. Honeysuckle berries and black currants were boiled with chum salmon roe and then stored as a thick mass. They ate this in the winter with fish fat. They pounded bird cherries, mixing it with fish fat and then

drying it in the form of flat breads that could be stored for a long time. Grasses and roots were added as seasoning to soups. They also mixed them with fish to make salads that were then liberally doused with fish fat. A well-known and common dish was *mosin* aspic, made from boiled fish skin, fish fat, wild garlic, and onion. This dish was always served during bear celebrations.

By the nineteenth century's end, the Negidal's diet included increasing amounts of imported products: rice, millet, tea, flour (baked into unleavened flatbreads over a fire), sugar, potatoes, and vegetables. Initially, they traded for these products with fish and animal furs with the Russians and Chinese, but later the Negidal began to garden vegetables and keep domestic livestock.

Clothing

Right up to the close of the nineteenth century, the Negidal used a variety of materials to make clothing and footwear: fish skin, salmon skin, sealskin, and reindeer and dog pelts. They also used acquired fabrics mainly produced by the Chinese. Fish skin was used to make men's and women's robes, leggings, oversleeves, and footwear. Negidal clothing had a number of historical sources. The cut of men's and women's robes in the Amgun' lowlands was similar to that of the peoples of the lower Amur River. Nivkh influence was visible in men's short skirts that were worn during travel. Again similar to the Nivkh, men setting to hunt or fish wore short aprons (*balgafun*). Along the upper Amgun', clothing was more similar to that worn by the Evenk. All women wore ornamental breast cloths in the Evenk style. Negidal footwear came in two forms: Amur (*olochi, pondoki*) and Tungus (*lobdirma, tergemi*). Women's robes were either worn every day or brought out only on special occasions. Women's special robes made from fish skin and reindeer sued were richly decorated with embroidery and appliqué. Winter robes were insulated with a lining of batting. Winter outerwear included fur coats and parkas — *kengge, nayami*.

Religion and spiritual culture

Negidal religious beliefs reflect an animistic relationship between humans and their surrounding environment. They believe in spirit-masters and share many common religious beliefs with the Ul'chi. According to their religion, the universe consists of three worlds stacked one atop the other. The uppermost — a blue firmament — consisted of nine spheres. The middle world (*tuy*) was on the earth's surface and contained only

one layer. The lower layer was underground — *buni* — and was home to the dead. The sky was considered an important power, and its spirit-masters represented the sun and the moon and had great powers. The sun spirit (*teygani*) took the form of a man, while the moon spirit was female (*omnainkan*). The Negidal believed that residents of the upper world — *Bog'a beyenin* — used to descend to the earth and mix with humans in the past. Other spirit-masters worshiped by the Negidal included *sinken* (spirit of the taiga and all animals), *uyguli* (bear spirit), *tamun* (water spirit), *podya* (spirit-master of fire). These master-spirits were represented by flat anthropomorphic figures made from larch wood and kept in the clan's chosen location for prayer and ritual sacrifice. Natural phenomena such as wind and thunder also played important roles in their religious belief system.

The Negidal possess a number of beliefs about bears related to various ethnic traditions. According to one belief borrowed from the Nivkh, the bear is a mountain person (*uey beyenin*), the master of the mountain taiga. A second set of concepts asserts that bears are the spirit-masters of the taiga (*duente*), a belief that is characteristic of all Manchu-Tungus peoples in Amur and Sakhalin. Each successful Negidal bear hunt was accompanied by a celebration. In order to avoid offending the killed animal, all of the taiga clan members participating in the celebration observed numerous ancient rules and procedures. The bear's skull and bones were carefully buried. The Negidal also buried tigers in a similar fashion. Negidal beliefs about the role of tigers and bears are reflected in the shamanic pantheon. Images on shamanic clothing and shaman's drums also reflect this set of beliefs.

The increased role of fur animal hunting in Negidal life contributed to the development of special fur hunting spirit-masters. *Kalgama* was one of those spirits watching over fur hunting activities and took a female form, according to the Negidal. *Kalgama's* anthropomorphic figure had no arms or legs and had a pointed head and body covered in moose skins.

Folklore and Arts

Negidal folklore includes legends, tales, songs, sayings, and proverbs. Many researchers are delighted by Negidal applied decorative arts. Skilled seamstresses used brown reindeer fur, moose suede, colored fabrics, and bright silk threads to create high-quality artistic pieces: robes, breast cloths, rugs, fur boots, mittens, and other pieces. Birch boxes and other everyday objects are also noteworthy for their high degree of artistic taste.

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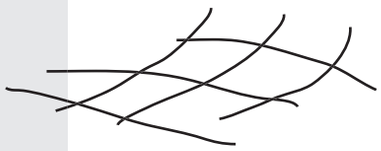
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Contemporary culture

During the Soviet period, Negidal material and spiritual culture experienced great changes. Their housing, clothing, transportation, and economic activities are no different than that of surrounding peoples. Only a few older Negidal still adhere to traditions in clothing and the practice of rituals. Ethnically mixed families predominate. Today, almost 40 % of Negidal live in cities. In the 1980s, urbanization increased rapidly. Between 1979 and 1989, urban Negidal populations increased by almost 30 %, while rural populations increased by just six individuals. This tendency is still being seen today. Over the period 1995–1999, the Negidal population in rural settlements decreased from 405 to 381 people. More likely than not, this is related to increased Negidal migration to cities, which is, in turn, a response to massive unemployment in native villages.

Prospects for preserving the Negidal ethnos do not inspire a great deal of enthusiasm. They are undergoing increasing assimilation by Nivkh, Ul'chi, and Russian populations. The combination of their small numbers, scattered settlement pattern in large multi-ethnic villages, and worsening conditions for traditional activities could lead to the complete dissolution of the Negidal people in the next few decades. Despite this threat, many researchers are impressed by Negidal ethnic durability. Despite current conditions, they have preserved their ethnic self-awareness.



NENETS



The Nenets people are indigenous to the European North and northwestern Siberia. They call themselves *nenets', khasova, neshyang* (person). In the past, the Russians called the Nenets *samoyeds* (in the European and Ob River North) and *yuraks* (in the Yenisey River North). The term *Samoyed* can probably be traced back to the Sami *samae-ende* (land of the Sami), since in the distant past there were many Sami in region where the Nenets live. Two ethnographic groups of Nenets exist: tundra and forest. The two are distinguishable by their family/clan structure, dialect, and a few cultural features. The Kolvintsy Nenets arose later, developing as a result of marital mixing with *Komi Izhemtsy*. Kolvintsy consider themselves Nenets, but speak the Izhemskiy dialect of Komi.

Language

The Nenets language belongs to the northern branch of the Samoyed group of Uralic languages. In terms of dialects, the language is fairly homogenous, although two dialects can be distinguished — tundra Nenets and forest Nenets. The tundra Nenets can be further subdivided into vernaculars: Kaninskiy, Bol'shezemel'skiy, Malozemel'skiy, and Kolguyevskiy. The forest Nenets break down into Purovskiy, Lyaminskiy, and Nyalinskiy vernaculars. Despite a number of differences, all of these languages are mutually intelligible. A written Nenets language was developed in 1932 using the Latin alphabet. Since 1937, however, it has been written in Cyrillic.



Ethnogenesis and History

The Samoyedic peoples, including the Nenets, are believed to descend from the Kuloyskaya archaeological culture of the middle Ob River tributaries. In the third and second centuries BC, due to natural, geographic, and historical factors, the Kuloyskaya gradually left this area to head for the Ob lowlands and the middle Irtysh River. During the first centuries AD, under pressure from the Huns, some Irtysh Samoyeds departed for the forests of the European North, forming the basis of the European Nenets. During their gradual settlement of the north Eastern Europe and Western Siberia, the Nenets acquired certain aspects from populations along their path, including wild reindeer hunting. Later, a number of Enets clans and part of the Ugor merged into the Nenets people. As the Nenets moved



Current territory of residence of the Nenets in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

east into the Taz and Yenisey River watersheds, a process that began in the seventeenth century, they had a number of conflicts with Enets and Nganasan. At least three "larger wars" are known of in the historical record. The last battle took place in the mid-nineteenth century at Lake Turuchedo, along the right bank of the Yenisey River. The Nenets did not fare well in that conflict, and at that point they decided to discontinue their incursions to the east. This brought an end to the boundary disputes along the Yenisey River.

Population and settlements

The Nenets are settled across an enormous territory, stretching several thousand kilometers from west to east. In European Russia, there are

several tundra Nenets regions: Kaninsko-Timanskaya, Malozemel'skaya, and Bol'shezemel'skaya. Beyond the Ural Mountains, the Nenets live in the Ob and Yenisey River lowlands, on the Yamal'skiy, Tazovskiy, and Gydanskiy peninsulas. In terms of Russian political boundaries, this territory covers three autonomous okrugs — Nenets (Arkhangelsk Oblast), Yamal-Nenets (Tyumen Oblast) and Dolgan-Nenets (Krasnoyarsk Kray). Several small groups of Nenets live in northern Republic of Komi and Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, as well as on the Kola Peninsula. Finally, there are Nenets settlements on the islands of Kolguyev and Vaygach.

In 1989, the Soviet Union counted 34,665 Nenets, and including 34,190 in Russia. The tundra Nenets are the majority indigenous population of Nenets and Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrugs. In Taymyr, they are concentrated in Ust'-Yeniseyskiy District (Nosok village). Forest Nenets (about 2,000) live in the taiga zone of Yamal-Nenets Okrug along the Pur and Taz Rivers, in northern Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug (villages of Var'egan, Agan, Lempino, etc.), in southern and southwestern Taymyr (villages of Tukhard, Potapovo, and others). Here, as a rule, they do not possess significant numbers and live jointly with other indigenous peoples.

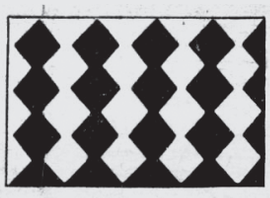






Social organization

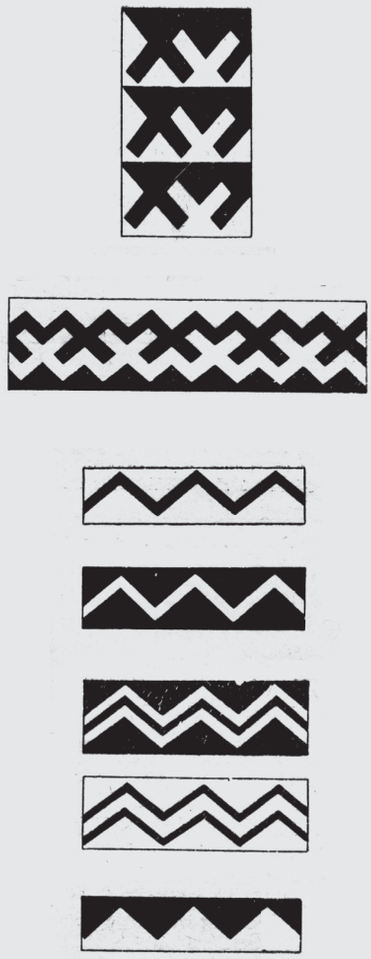
At the start of the twentieth century, the Nenets, especially those in Siberia, had preserved remnants of their clan structure. A clan consisted of groups of blood relatives tracing along the male line, had a clan burial ground and sites for sacrifices, and controlled a specific territory. Summer fishing grounds were the only lands held by individuals. Collective labor was quite common. Several neighboring camps consisting of an assortment of clans would join together for hunting in a specific area. The lands on which they hunted were nonetheless considered the property of clan members whose ancestors previously owned the land. Members of other clans could participate in collective hunting as "guests," but this was not an issue when they divided up the meat at the end of the hunt.





The Nenets practiced strict exogamy in marriage. The Yamal, Gydanskiy, and Tazovskiy Nenets clans were joined in two exogamous phratry, one of which (Kharyuchi) consisted of clans of Samoyed descent, while the second (Vanuita) had clans based on the aboriginal genetic substrate as well as Enets and Khanty descendants. Amongst the Nenets, families were generally small, although there were also large patriarchal families who pooled their subsistence and husbandry activities. Polygamy was practiced. Men married women either by paying a bride price or earning her hand through labor. Levirate, when a widow marries her husband's brother, was also widely practiced.





Subsistence activities

Large-scale Samoyedic reindeer husbandry was the leading activity for the Nenets in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Siberian huskies helped to herd reindeer. The Nenets did not milk their reindeer, nor did they mount them for riding. They watched over their herds from a sled to which reindeer were harnessed. Herds averaged 200–300 animals in size, although larger herds of 2,000–3,000 reindeers also existed. The reindeer grazed year round on whatever they could find underfoot.

Tundra Nenets experienced lengthy seasonal migrations. In the winter, they stayed closed to the tree line, spending the summers along the seacoast. Some of the Nenets living in the Bol'shezemel'skaya tundra summered on Vaygach Island, driving the reindeer across the ice in the spring. The herd returned to the mainland in August by swimming across Yugorskiy Shar Strait. The Yamal and Bol'shezemel'skiy Nenets migrated significant distances during their migration seasons, anywhere from 500 to 1,000 kilometers. On a given day, they traveled only short distances of ten to fifteen kilometers. Forest and taiga Nenets traveled in a circular route during their seasonal migrations. Some small herds stayed in the forest zone year round, moving a few dozen kilometers to the north for the winter. The Nenets slaughtered reindeer for meat year round, as the need arose. In the fall, there was a large slaughter of young reindeer and older reindeer marked for culling. They tried to avoid slaughtering domestic reindeer in areas where wild reindeer lived.

Reindeers were watched over by herders most of the time. In the winter, each family grazed their herd in isolation, uniting herds into larger ones in the summer for joint grazing. Families with few reindeer sometimes sent their reindeer to the north in the care of other herders, themselves staying near a river or lake to fish. They marked animals in order to distinguish ownership. They sheared tamga symbols into the reindeer's coat. They also cut the reindeers' ears in patterns to denote ownership. *Tamga* were passed down from father to the youngest son. When setting up their own household, other sons invented their own symbol. Reindeer received as part of a bride's dowry grazed in her husband's herd, but kept the marks of her father.

Their neighbors, the Komi-Izhemtsy, had noticeable influence on Nenets reindeer husbandry. Although the Komi-Izhemtsy originally acquired reindeer herding from the Nenets, they made significant changes in practices (24-hour herd oversight, delayed migration to summer pasture, earlier return to the forest-tundra) that not only decidedly increased herd sizes, but also made reindeer husbandry an economic activity. The Izhemtsy's huge herds and new migration schedule that ensured excellent grazing contributed to notable losses for Nenets reindeer husbandry.

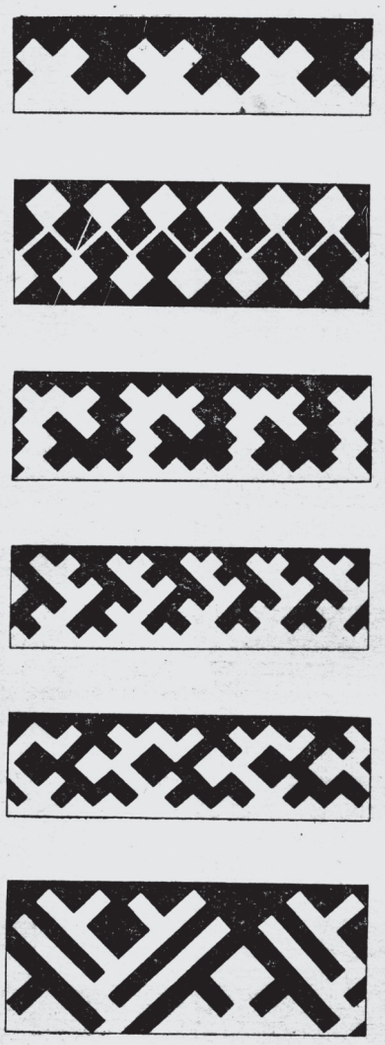
Today, in the Nenets Okrug the majority of reindeer herds (approximately 180,000) are concentrated in production cooperatives. Yamal

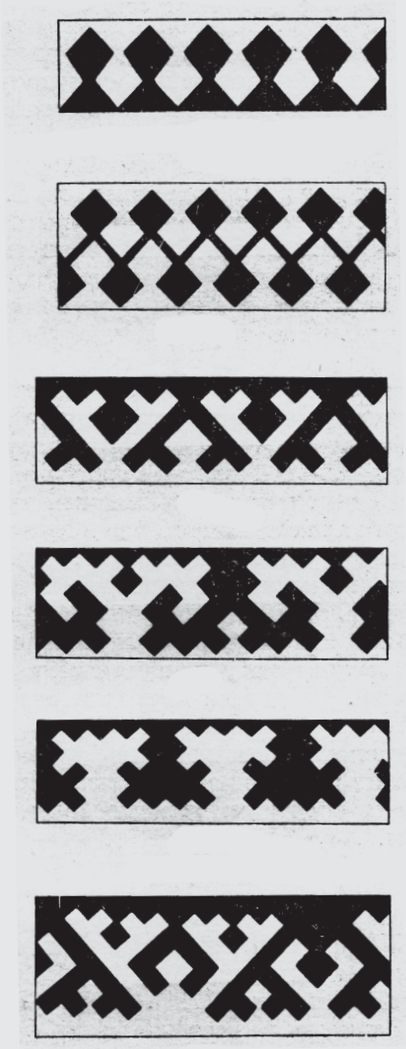
Nenets have over 200,000 animals in their farms. A number of reindeer collective farms (*kolkhozes*) operate here, although more than half of all reindeer are in private use. The rapid growth in herd sizes, especially in the private sector, is raising a real threat of pasture degradation. Many grazing areas have almost exceeded their reindeer carrying capacity. In Taymyr Autonomous Okrug, the Nenets herders work in the Zarya Taymyra and Tukhard *kolkhozes*, as well for the Numpan Association of Clan Farmers. Many have private reindeer farms. Reindeer belonging to the kolkhozes graze in farm herds, while privately owned reindeer live separately. At the beginning of summer, herders join together in groups of five to ten families and migrate together, separating again in the autumn. *Kolkhoz* salaries have lost their former significance, as most Nenets reindeer herders in all the regions make their living through private reindeer husbandry and other subsistence activities.

Prior to the reindeer husbandry period, the wild reindeer hunting was one of the Nenets' most important activities. It is no coincidence that the Nenets term for "wild reindeer" is *tsebts'*, which translates to "substance for life." With the development of reindeer husbandry, the importance of this activity diminished, especially in the European North, where wild reindeer were practically extinct by the beginning of the twentieth century. The Yamal and Yenisey forest Nenets continued to place great importance on reindeer hunting. This role continues today.

There were a variety of hunting techniques. They commonly herded wild animals into corridors created by poles hung with goose wings (*makhalki*). Once part of the wild herd was trapped in the corridor, hunters would stand guard over them. They shot them using crossbows and sometimes with the assistance of portable blinds and reindeer decoys. They sometimes used guided fence traps called *pokolki* at traditional reindeer river crossings. On the Yamal Peninsula and in the Taz River watershed, it was also common to pursue wild reindeer using domestic reindeer harnessed to sleds over the ice-covered snow. In the Yamal North, wild reindeer were hunted year-round, while in other regions hunting was dependent on reindeer migration.

In most regions, their primary fur-hunting target was Arctic fox, *nokho* in Nenets. They began hunting fox in December, when the foxes had white coats, and continued hunting until March. They trapped them using various break-back traps: *nya yango, kulem, ladorana*. They also hunted them from dog and reindeer sleds. At the start of the twentieth century, steel traps and firearms were widely used. At the southernmost end of the Nenets range, hunting for fox, wolverine, ermine, squirrel, and other furred animals was also an important part of their fur hunting, especially for the forest Nenets. While the Nenets did not specifically target wolves, the animals were bitter enemies for the reindeer herders. Wolves were only killed during attacks on domesticated reindeer. Along the Arctic coast, some Nenets hunted polar bears (*ser' vark*). They generally hunted polar





bears in March and April, usually for their fur and bear fat. Hunters set off alone with a rifle. If they only managed to wound the bear, the hunter escaped to safety on his dog- or reindeer-drawn sled. Brown bear (*vark*) were hunted less often, despite the Nenets having a number of taboos and rituals associated with the animal.

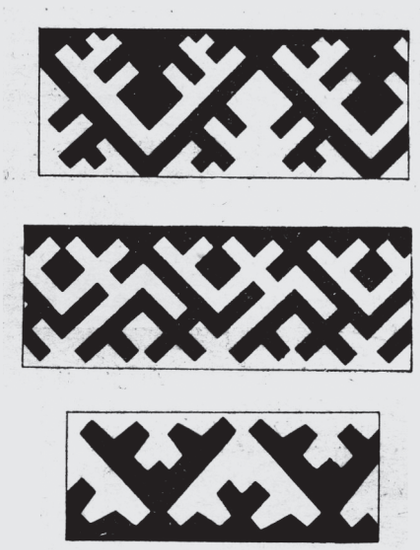
Bird hunting was another subsistence activity. During the summer months, when reindeer were rarely slaughtered, bird meat was a staple food. They also preserved small quantities of bird meat to be consumed later. The most common bird eaten was the goose, *yabto*, and they hunted it in groups. People in boats herded moulting birds into nets at the river's mouth. On a successful day, they could catch as many as 1,500–2,000 in their nets. They caught ducks the same way, as well as a few swans and loons. The Nenets sold the loon skins to Komi merchants, where they were in high demand.

Along the seacoast and on Arctic islands, seals, beluga whale, harp seal, and walrus were important hunting targets. In the eighteenth century, they hunted marine mammals using harpoons and bow and arrow. The Nenets caught seals by laying in wait at breathing holes. When the animal climbed out onto the ice, the hunter covered the hole using a board and then chased the animal to shallow waters, where it was killed with spears. Based on materials collected during overseas Arctic expeditions, the Nenets hunted whales in the seventeenth century in ways similar to other Arctic peoples. In the last century in Cheshkaya Gulf, a small dolphin hunting industry existed. Marine mammal hunting was both a subsistence activity and a commercial activity. The meat and fat was used in food products, the marine mammal skins were made into reindeer harness, and the walrus' tusks were sold.

Fishing was and is an important ethno-economic activity for the Nenets. Tundra rivers and lakes are rich in fish stocks. In European Russia, their main fisheries included Atlantic salmon (*nar"yana khalya*), white salmon (*syavta*), a number of Coregonus whitefish (*omul'/yav'khalya*, *sig/palkur* in Russian and Nenets respectively) and beyond the Urals other Coregonus whitefish — *muksun/syumbak*, peled/paykha, broad whitefish (*chir/idyurtsya*) and sturgeon (*yekhana* in Nenets). At the start of the twentieth century, fish were caught using set nets, set lines, and blocking seines. The Nenets fished mainly in the summer months, although they sometimes ice-fished.

During the Soviet years, the Nenets added new skills to their arsenal of traditional subsistence activities. These included raising animals in cages and domestic livestock husbandry. In villages along the Pechora, Usa, and Kolva Rivers, where the Nenets have long lived side-by-side with Russians and Komi, they cultivate vegetables in the soil and in hot houses. Today, a significant number of the Nenets work in commercial enterprises.

Transportation



Harnessed reindeer were the primary form of transportation for the Nenets. They traveled this way year round. The harnesses consist of straps that fan out. During summer months, they harness together five to six reindeer, requiring only one or two in winter months. The leftmost reindeer was highly trained and led the team. Drivers mounted the sled from the left and then steered the team with the help of a staff (*tyur*) and a single rein. About ten different types of sleds were used, each with a specific design. They used sleds for moving between camps, guarding reindeer, and traveling out to hunting grounds. Then Nenets simply stood upon their sled to make a river crossing. The Nenets curved-runner sled was Samoyedic. Other than the Nenets, the Enets, Nganasan, reindeer-herding Sel'kup, Khanty and Mansi, and a few other peoples used this type of sled. The forest Nenets used a slightly different sled and reindeer harness and also preserved elements of saddling and riding reindeer.

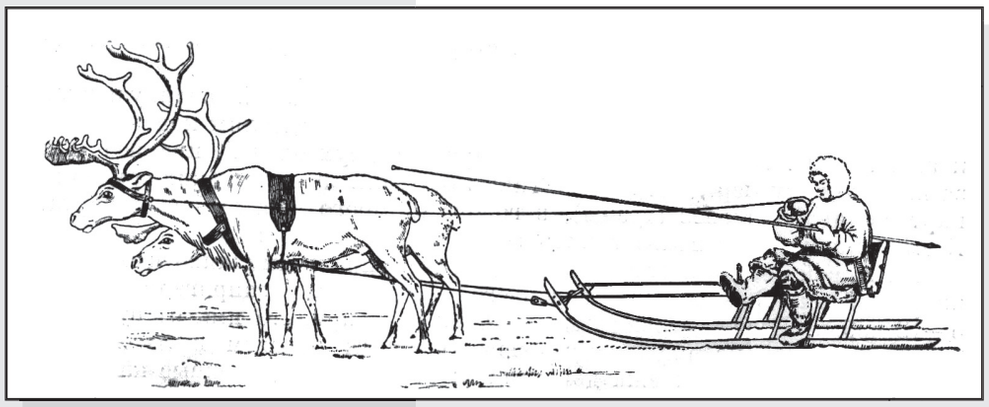
On Novaya Zemlya Islands, the coastal islands, and along the seacoast proper, the Nenets used dogs to pull their sleds. Three to twelve dogs could be harnessed in a fan shape to small reindeer-type sleds. These Nenets acquired dogsledding from the Russians. Mainly non-reindeer herding people used dogsleds — hunters and fishermen. They used dog sleds to distribute Arctic fox lures, travel their trap lines, reach marine mammal hunting grounds, and to move cargo between locations. Dogs were fed dried fish and marine mammal parts.

During the summer, they traveled along rivers in two types of boats: *nano*, assembled from planks, and *khoy nano*, a dugout log canoe. The Nenets borrowed the plank-type boat design from the Khanty and the Russians. They could either row or sail the boats. The canoes were propelled using two-ended paddles. The Nenets mainly used skis while hunting in the forest tundra. They had three ski designs: simple skis (*pyay*), those covered with reindeer leg skin (*pena lamba*) and those covered with reindeer or otter skin (*khaba lamba*). The Nenets did not use ski poles while skiing.

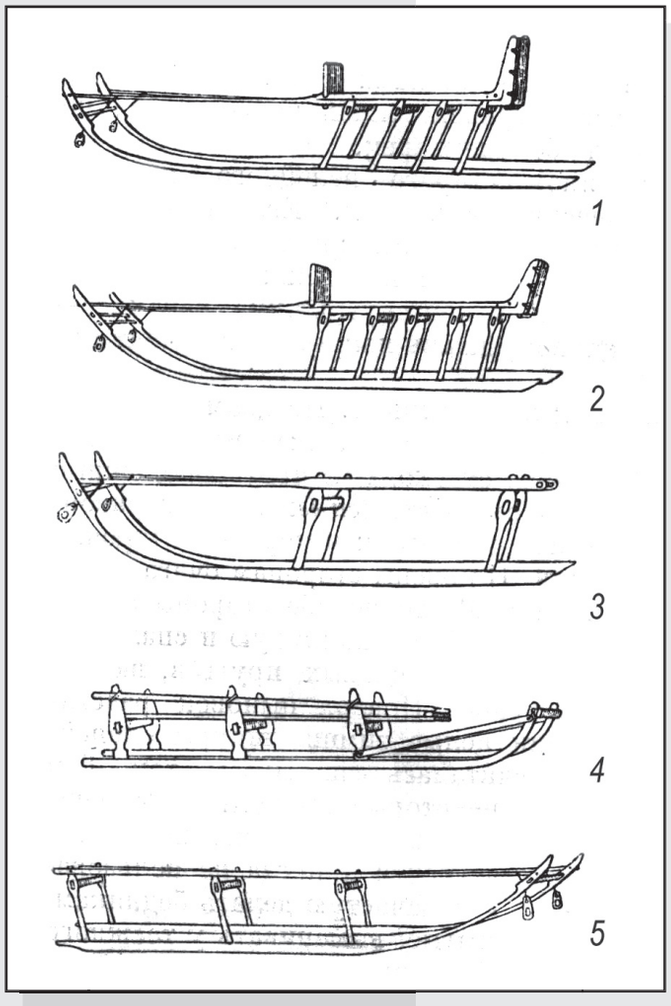
Settlements and housing

The main type of settlement for the Nenets is the camp, consisting of one to three *chums*, belonged to related families. In the summer months, greater numbers of families lived in one camp. Fishing camps had greater numbers of people, sometime consisting of twenty to thirty or more homes. With the appearance of social stratification and the disintegration of clan structure, clan-based camp structure transitioned to neighbor-to-neighbor relations.

The Nenets *chum* (*mya*) is of the Samoyed type. Two poles were the primary weight-bearing pieces, the tops of which were connected by



a thong or a fork-intersection. Other poles were leaned against the first pair, thirty to fifty of them, depending on the size of the *chum*. There were minor variations in the way the two weight-bearing poles were connected and other details amongst the Nenets of various regions. In the summer, the *chum* was covered with layers of boiled birchbark, while winter weather demanded a double layer of reindeer skins. The hearth was at the center of the *chum*, built upon a sheet of iron. Board covered in dried grass or willow branch matting were place on either side of the hearth. Reindeer skins lay atop the boards. The side of the *chum* opposite the entrance was considered sacred. They kept images of their spirit-protectors in this location. The *chum* was lit with fat-burning lamps.



All elements of the *chum* were moved from campsite to campsite. Forest Nenets left the *chum* poles at each campsite. Women were responsible for packing, unpacking, and assembling the *chum*. The Nenets also used more temporary structures when they camped at hunting or fishing grounds. These included small tents and lean-tos made from branches, skins, or *chum* coverings. Yenisey Nenets sometimes lived in *baloks* (moveable huts on runners), a technology borrowed from the Nganasan and Dolgan, but this fashion never became popular. At the end of the nineteenth century, in areas where the Nenets associated frequently with Russians, they began to build wooden cottages.

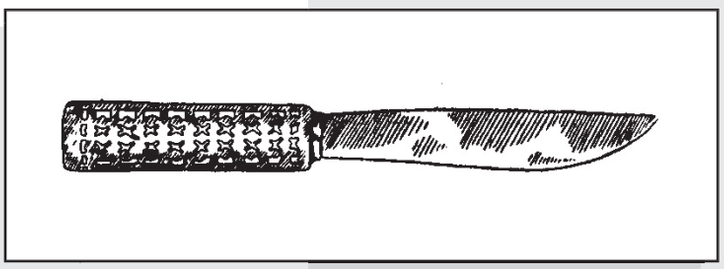
The Nenets did not commonly build storage structures. Items that were not immediately of use, including household implements, were simply stored on sleds and left on the tundra. In the forest tundra, and occasionally along tundra migration routes, the Nenets built storage structures of logs and poles in which they stored winter clothing, furs, and food. At winter camps they built plank platforms on stilts or trestles for storage. Meat and fish harvested in the fall were generally stored in holes dug in the ground.

Clothing



In terms of traditional clothing, Nenets men wore a *malitsa* and *sovik*, while women dressed in a *yagushka*. The *malitsa* (from Nenets *mal'tsya*) is a long pullover piece of clothing made from reindeer furs, sewn with the fur on the inside, with a hood and sleeves. In the Kaninskiy and Timanskiy tundra, the *malitsa* had a tall rounded collar, with a tall fur cap with earflaps in place of the hood. The *malitsa* was generally worn with a belt made from tanned leather. The *malitsa* was protected from dirt and moisture by a thick fabric outer layer, and in extreme cold men wore an additional fur *sovik* hooded parka (*sovak* in Nenets). In the Yenisey North, this type of parka is known as a *sokuy*. If necessary, the *sovik* could double as a sleeping bag laid directly onto the snow. In poor summer weather, a fabric *sovik* was worn over the *malitsa*. The Yamal Nenets made their *soviks* out of sturgeon skin, an excellent defense against rain. The Nenets malitsa, well adapted to local climate conditions, was adopted by many neighboring peoples.

Women's *yagushkas*, known in Nenets as *pany*, differed from men's *malitsas* in that they had a front opening and had two fur layers, one facing in and the other facing out. It resembled a fur coat with a small collar made of arctic fox fur. In the winter women wore fur bonnets. During the summer months, women's clothing was of the same cut, but made from fabric. Both men and women wore fur pants in the winter and reindeer suede in the summer. During the second half of the nineteenth century, reindeer suede pants became rare, replaced by purchased fabric pants. Both sexes wore *pima* boots (*piva* in Nenets) — tall fur boots made from reindeer leg skins and lined with dry grasses instead of insoles. They wore fur stockings in addition. Women's *pimas* differed from the men's only in minor variations in the pattern. Nenets babies and toddlers wore fur snowsuits similar to the *malitsa* in design. Beginning at the age of five, they wore regular clothing. Clothes for holidays, especially for women, was much more decorative, including fur appliqué and colorful embroidery.



Men traditionally wore their hair in a bowl cut style. Some Nenets, mainly beyond the Urals, braided their hair. Women typically parted their hair evenly and braided it into two braids. For jewelry, many wore fabric headbands (*sudor*), richly decorated with beads and metal chains. In the past, Nenets from the Yenisey North and

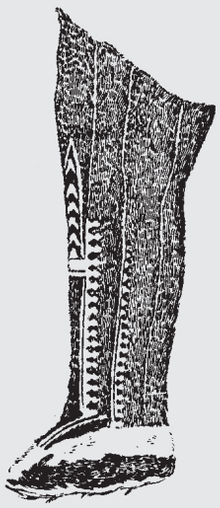
on Novaya Zemlya Islands had tattoos, likely a relic of the pre-Samoyed period in the North.



Food

During the winter, European Nenets lived mainly on domestic reindeer meat, while the Yenisey, Tazovskiy, and some Yamal Nenets preferred wild reindeer meat. In the summer, Nenets owning few reindeer ate fish year round. Plant-based foods (mainly berries) were an insignificant portion of their diet. Fresh and frozen fish was generally eaten raw. They also prepared a dried fish (*pekhe*), storing it for future months in either fermented or pickled styles. The Nenets rarely had salt. Serving fish in thinly sliced strips was tasty, and a mixture of rendered fish fat, fish pieces and flatbreads was also popular. They ate fish roe (*terebya*) raw, mixed with fish fat or berries. Lake fish roe was especially prized.

Of the meat dishes, raw meat from freshly killed reindeer was considered very tasty, as were the buds of newly grown reindeer horn cleaned of skin and cuticle. The Nenets stewed meat soups, thick with flour, after which they removed the meat from the pot. Sometimes, they smoked the meat prior to boiling it. The meat and the soup were then consumed separately. When hunting was successful, they preserved reindeer meat for future consumption. More often than not, it would be buried in the permafrost, although it could also be smoked or dried. Bird meat was also commonly eaten — partridge in the winter and geese, ducks, and loons in the spring (among others). The only birds they did not eat were seagulls, which the Nenets considered sacred. During the period when geese were moulting, this meat was their main food source, which they sometimes preserved as well. Bird meat was generally eaten boiled. They also ate meat fat and marine mammal meat, as well as bear, although some bear parts were taboo for women.



Historically, the Nenets incorporated flour into their diets early. They purchased it from the Russians, baked it into pancakes and unleavened breads (*reska*). They added wild onion to breads for additional taste. Bread was also using a mixture of reindeer blood and a little flour. Other "imported" products bought by the Nenets included small quantities of sugar, grains, and vegetable oil. Brick tea was another necessity. Tea was brewed in a pot or teapot and was drunk several times daily.

Religion and spiritual culture

Animism was the predominant religious belief amongst the Nenets. They believed that the surrounding world was filled with spirits. Their spirit-masters possessed rivers, lakes, individual stands of forest, and natural phenomena. People's lives and successful hunting were dependent

on the spirits. Spirits could be good, helping people in their affairs, and bad, inflicting illnesses and other woes. *Num* was considered the creator of all living things on earth. This spirit lived in the heavens, while *Ya-minyu* was a goddess who ruled the earth and protected women. *Ilibem-pertya* was the deity for wild reindeer. Poor beginnings were attributed to *Nga*, rulers of the underground world, where souls of the deceased were sent.



Spirit and deity worship was conducted with the help of ritual sacrifice. They made sacrifices to *Num* in the springtime and at the start of winter. Offerings included pieces of bread, fabric, money, etc. They also made blood sacrifices (*khan*), using dogs or reindeer. One form of ritual sacrifice involved "feeding" images of spirits, which could be found in each home as well as in special sacred places. Anthropomorphic representations of spirits were made from wood or stone and were often dressed in miniaturized clothing. The sacrificial locations where these figures were erected were usually located near a large and unusually shaped stone, at the top of a rise, or on the shore of a lake.

Shamans known as *tadebya* played the role of intermediary between spirits and people. They usually determined the location of sacred places for ritual sacrifice, and Nenets turned to them in the case of sickness or poor hunting or husbandry. For the Nenets, shamanism was passed down the generations, the gift passing from father to son. A variety of shaman categories existed, each with its own responsibilities. *Vydutana* shamans healed the sick and foretold the future. *Sambana* shamans were responsible for burial ceremonies. Other shaman specializations existed as well — searching for lost reindeer, aiding women in childbirth, etc. The shaman's main tool was the drum, *penzer*. By the start of the twentieth century, the complete shaman's outfit was preserved only amongst eastern Nenets. In their European territory, shamans only used a special shamanic hat.



Shamanic séances always took place inside a *chum* and could occur at any time of day, although some types of shamans only worked at night or by firelight. Nenets shamans usually had helpers who sat alongside them and repeated everything said, including chants. Specific rituals accompanied Nenets birth and death. The dead were buried above ground in a special wooden casket, the *nemb*. One or several reindeer were sacrificed at the burial site, and a broken sled was left to mark the site. Over the next several years, the name of the deceased was never

uttered, although numerous compliments were made in his name. They visited the burial site each year. After the passage of several years, the shaman who buried the individual accompanied the soul of the deceased to the afterworld.

Widespread baptism of the Nenets did not affect their religious beliefs. They simply added another deity to their panoply of deities — Saint Nikolay, especially revered by Russians in the North. They sacrificed reindeer to him and smeared his icons with reindeer fat and blood. The Nenets celebrated several Christian holidays — Easter, Saint Elijah's Day and others.

Folklore

Nenets folk oral traditions included two types of epics — hero songs known as *syudbabts* and stories sung in the form of song-laments, *yarabts*. Legends, tales, riddles also exist. The Nenets frequently improvised lyric songs, *khynbats*. The realistic nature of Nenets epics makes them valuable historical sources; they eloquently describe everyday life, subsistence activities, and human relationships. These epics have unusual melodies, and their performance is recitative in nature. It took many hours to perform one, sometimes over the course of several evenings. Nenets folktales tell of animals and magic, some of which feature adaptations of Russian stories. The subject matter of their riddles is generally related to everyday activities, their nomadic lifestyle, nature, and animals of the tundra.

Arts and crafts

Nenets art can be divided into several types: wood and bone carving, metal inlay, cult sculpture, and mosaic-type embroidery using fur and fabric. Nenets carvings decorated smoking pipes, clubs designed to beat snow out of furs, bone parts for reindeer harness, and other everyday items. Tin or lead inlaid work was done mainly on knife shafts and tobacco purses. First, a sketched drawing was made on an item, over which shallow channels were cut. Using a special tool, the artist then poured the liquid tin or lead over the grooves. Waste metal was trimmed away with a knife, and further smoothed with a file. At the very end, wooden parts of the piece were blackened using soot.

Nenets women decorated clothing, footwear, hats, sewing bags, and other household items with bits of black and white fur and colored fabric. With the help of a birchbark template, they cut ornamental shapes of fur. They sewed strips of fur such that a white fur design complimented the black background or vice versa. The design itself consisted of geometric figures, some fairly complex. They used this technique to embellish the hem of women's skirts, along hemlines, sleeves, and the

shoulders. Other decorative techniques were also used, including appliqué, beading, etc.

Contemporary culture and self-government

The ethnic intelligentsia plays an important role in the modern ethno-cultural development of the Nenets. A number of professional Nenets poets are well known — L. V. Laptsuy, I. A. Yuganpelik, A. I. Pichkov, P. I. Yavtysyy — as are novelists V. N. Ledkov and A. F. Kanyukov, the artists I. K. Vylko and K. Pankov, composer M. N. Nyaryy, and others.

In 1989, 77.1% of Nenets reported their native language as Nenets. Despite a general decrease in population with a fluent command of Nenets, the linguistic situation for the Nenets today is one of the best. The language is still spoken by all age groups. Their traditional practice of reindeer husbandry and relative isolation from population centers are both positive influences in this respect. Nenets literature and newspapers are published (in the two autonomous okrugs), and there is also radio programming. The language is taught in schools through the eighth grade, and a number of schools continue teaching Nenets as an elective in older grades. Initially, written Nenets was expressed using the Bol'shezemel'skiy vernacular of the tundra Nenets. Today, the literary language is being redirected toward the Yamal vernacular, which has a greater number of speakers and a more sustainable functional environment. Others are developing curriculum to meet the needs of forest Nenets. Nenets language teachers undergo training in Nar'yan-Mar and Salekhard, as well as at the Herzen Russian State Pedagogical University in Saint Petersburg.

The existing linguistic arena facilitates the successful functioning of many Nenets ethno-cultural institutions. Ethnic ensembles such as *Khayar*, *Maymbava*, *Numgykotsya* (Nenets Okrug), *Sarasev*, *Yamal* (Yamal-Nenets Okrug), *Kheyro*, *Buskan* (Taymyr) are successful, as are the experimental theater *Ilebts*, the applied arts club *Tukotsya* (Nenets Okrug), and the Center for Ethnic Culture in Yamal. A number of scientific research facilities have been created to study and facilitate the ongoing development of traditional Nenets language and culture — the Scientific Center of Humanitarian Studies in Salekhard and regional institutes for teacher preparation. Ethnographic museums have opened in all regional centers and in many villages. The growth of Nenets ethnic self-awareness encourages the revival of many elements of their traditional material and spiritual culture, including the Nenets language.

The Nenets possess their own official ethnic territorial regions covering their traditional lands: Nenets, Yamal-Nenets, and Dolgan-Nenets Autonomous Regions (Okrugs). Nenets community-based organizations are well respected and in many ways determine the direction of the indigenous rights for minority peoples of the North. A number of Nenets

groups are well known across the larger indigenous community in the North, including the *Yasavey* Association of Nenets People in Nenets Autonomous Okrug, and the *Yamal For Descendants* Association of Yamal Nenets. According to the bylaws of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the *Yasavey* Association has the right to introduce legislation, participate in regional election campaigns, put forth its own candidates, and nominate its own representatives (with the right to an advisory vote) for the Commission for the Nenets People at the Okrug's Congress of Deputies. Quota-based representation of the Nenets and other Northern peoples in legislative bodies is written into the bylaws of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. Three deputies are elected to the Okrug Duma (parliament) from amongst those representatives.

Relations with oil and gas companies largely determine the ethno-social situation of the Nenets in each region. The inception of each new oil and gas project removes a significant portion of grazing lands from the community commons. In the Yamal and Khanty-Mansi Okrugs alone, more than 11 million hectares (over 27 million acres) of grazing lands have already been permanently lost. In the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, steep decreases in Pechora salmon and whitefish fish stocks due to oil spills and pollution as well as contamination of water bodies with industrial waste have been recorded. Conflicts are frequently resolved against the interests of reindeer husbandry. With grazing rights, clear tensions have arisen between working collective farms and private reindeer herders, the latter of whom have succeeded not just in preserving their herds, but significantly increasing their numbers.



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NGANASAN



The Nganasan live at the northern end of the Taymyr Peninsula. They call themselves the *Nya*. The Nganasan translate that term with the Russian word for "comrade," *tovarishch*. In the past they were known as *Samoyed-navgiytsy*. The ethnonym Nganasan was developed by the well-known linguist and ethnographer, G. N. Prokof'yev, who based it on the Nganasan word *nganas*a (human, man). During the Soviet years, this term was accepted as the official term for the people. The Nganasan themselves do not use that name. Their words for 'man' are *nya-nganasa*, 'woman' *nya-ny*, and the entire Nganasan people *nya-tansa*.

There are several cultural and linguistic differences between the two geographic groups of Nganasan — the Avamskiy in the west and the Vadeyevskiy in the east. The Avamskiy Nganasan consist of two subgroups, one of which traditionally migrated within the Pyasina River watershed, while the other lived nomadically in the Dudypta, Boganida, and Taymyr River watersheds. The latter group is sometimes known as the Taymyr Nganasan. The Nganasan's neighbors to the west are the Enets and the Nenets and the Dolgan and Yakut to the east and southeast.

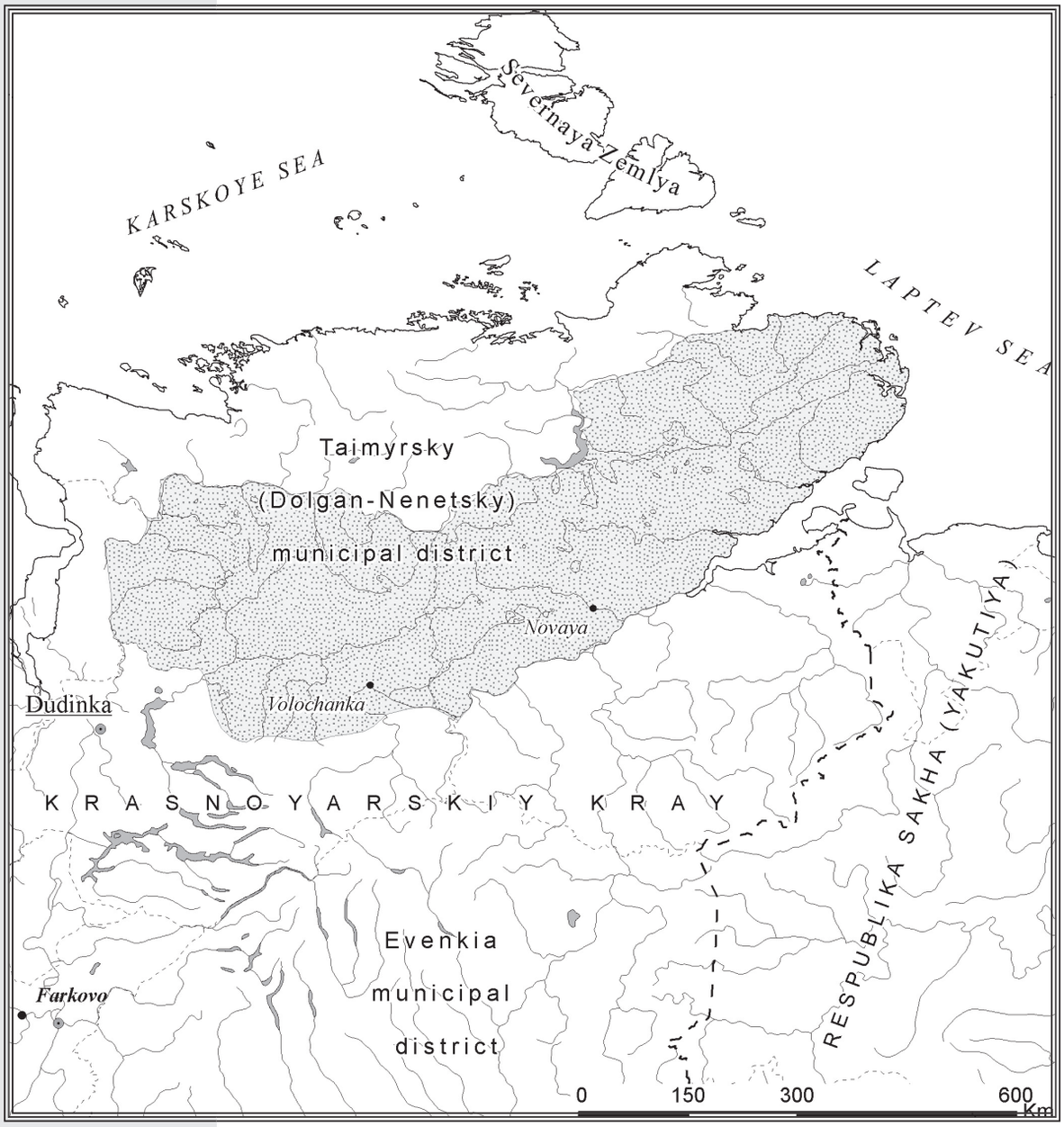
Language

Anthropologists distinguish the Nganasan from other Siberian peoples by their language and isolated population, among other reasons. Their anthropological appearance has preserved many more elements of the most ancient Siberian racial groups than those of other nearby populations. They speak Nganasan, a language belonging to the northern branch of the Samoyedic group of Uralic languages. The two vernaculars are Avamskiy and Vadeyevskiy. Vadeyevskiy Nganasan speak Dolgan. The Russian language is also widely spoken.



Ethnogenesis and History

Contemporary Nganasan descend from the most northern population of Eurasian tundra — Neolithic wild reindeer hunters. Originally, they lived in the lower and middle watersheds of the Lena River, setting out from there six thousand years ago to reach the Taymyr, where they settled in as a distinct ethnos by the seventeenth century. A variety of



Current territory of residence of the Nganasan in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

tribes (Tavgi, Pyasinskaya, Samoyad', Kurak) of Prayukaghir, Tungus, and Samoyedic descent contributed to the ethnos' development. Characteristics of ancient unmounted tundra hunters (such as persistence hunting and the hunting of reindeer from boats at river crossings) are more clearly preserved in Nganasan culture than in their closest relatives, the Enets. During the process of consolidating the Nganasan ethnos, unmounted tundra hunters acquired the Samoyed-style large-herd reindeer husbandry, and, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Nganasan were considered traditional reindeer herders.

In the seventeenth century, the Nganasan territory encompassed the entire Taymyr Peninsula including the right coast of the Khatanga Inlet. Eighteenth century ethnic incursions in Taymyr resulted in a substantial decrease in their territory. The Nganasan were pushed deep into

the peninsula's interior by the Nenets in the west and the Dolgan in the south and southeast. From that time onward, their nomadic range was limited to central Taymyr, mainly in the tundra zone above the Arctic Circle, reaching north to 77º latitude. The Nganasan are the northernmost people living on the Eurasian continent.

Population and settlements

The 1989 Soviet census counted 1,278 Nganasan. Of these, about 900 live in the Taymyr Autonomous Okrug, while the remaining people live in other parts of the Russian federation. The majority of Nganasan are concentrated in the central and southeastern Taymyr Peninsula, living within the borders of Dudinskiy and Khatangskiy Districts. Today, the western (Avamskiy) Nganasan live mainly in the Dudinskiy District villages of Ust'-Avam and Volochanka, while the western (Vadeyevskiy) Nganasan live in Novaya village in Khatangskiy District. All of these Nganasan live in mixed communities, primarily amongst Dolgan, Evenk, Enets, and Russians.

Social organization

At the start of the twentieth century, the Nganasan had preserved many aspects of their patriarchal clan structure. There were twelve clans, each of which represented an exogamous unit. Marriages along the father's and mother's lines were forbidden for three generations. Marriages took place when children reached their majority at seventeen or eighteen years of age. For boys, this took place when they killed their first wild reindeer, while girls were considered women at the start of menstruation. Pre-marital sex was acceptable, and children born out of wedlock did not pose a problem for marriage later, sometimes joining the family of the bride's father. Levirate was practiced, and sisters often moved between marriages. Polygamy was also practiced, paying a bride's price. Labor was strictly divided within a family, and the father was considered the ultimate authority.



Because of their far-flung communities, the Nganasan clans did not have territorial or economic unity. Neighborly ties formed the basis of community relations. Reindeer hunting and hunting and fishing grounds were considered community property. During collective hunts for reindeer and geese, each family received a proportional share based on the number of family members of each hunter. Certain elements of collective consumption were observed — hunters divided the spoils amongst all camp neighbors. By the start of the twentieth century, property-based differentiation came clearly into play, a fact determined by the numbers of reindeer each family owned.

Subsistence activities



The Nganasan hunted, practiced reindeer husbandry, and fished, while focusing most of their time on hunting wild reindeer. In the spring, they followed wild reindeer herds, migrating from the tree line deep into the peninsula. When autumn arrived, they herded their domesticated reindeer to the river crossing hunts, from whence they departed for the tree line once again in early winter.

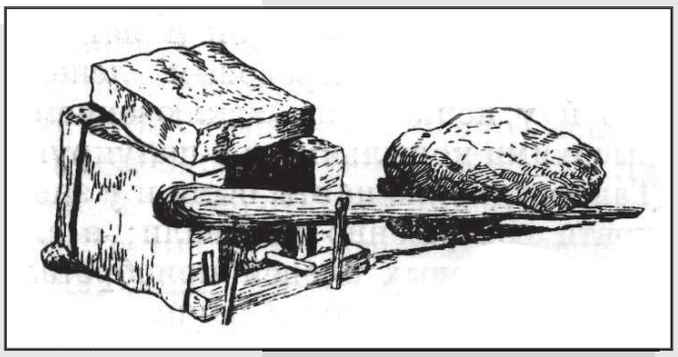
Before the appearance of firearms during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the primary tools of the hunt for wild reindeer were the bow and arrow and spear. Nganasan arrows were homemade, assembled from bits of wood. Later, they used Sel'kup, Ket and Yakut arrows. The Nganasan hunted geese and ducks using the same technology into the 1920s. In the summer, they hunted reindeer on foot, either alone or in groups. Successful hunters continued on, usually leaving it to the women to bring the kill back into camp.

River crossing traps and pursuit hunting were the most often used and the most productive hunting techniques. After selecting a reindeer herd, the Nganasan steered it (using dogs) toward a fenced-off channel marked with wooden stakes from which bird wings were hung. The channel led the reindeer into a river or lake, where the hunters could catch the animals. In the winter months, they pursued the reindeer from the back of a reindeer-drawn sled. Winter techniques roping off areas into which reindeer were herded were quite similar to the summertime. Other methods involved using a decoy reindeer or with a portable hunting blind on runners.

Ducks were caught in nets stretched out over smaller lakes; moulting geese could be caught either using dogs or with nets. Nesting birds could be trapped with snares.

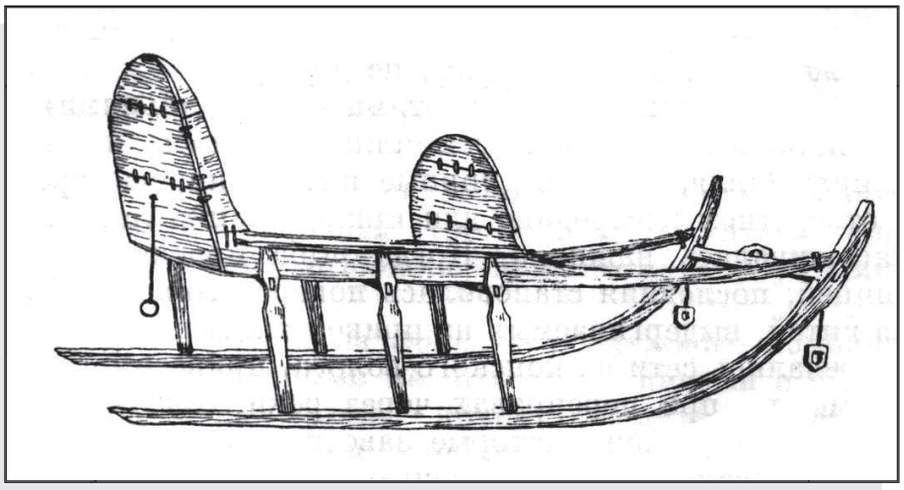
Historically, fur hunting was not widely practiced by the Nganasan. From time to time they caught arctic fox using crossbows and stone break-back traps. As the commercial value of fur hunting increased, they hunted using traps for the most part. In addition to arctic fox, they began to target wolverine, wolf, and other fur-bearing animals as well.

They used nets called *pushchal'ni*, made from threads or horsetail hairs using bone needles in place of hooks. The needles were sharpened at both ends, with an opening in the middle to which the lines were attached. The bait was connected at one end. When a fish swallowed the bait and hook, the latter wedged itself into the fish's stomach. Central Taymyr rivers are rich with valuable commercial fish species. The Nganasan caught whitefish, broad whitefish, and muksun for regular use, as well as the occasional peled, eelpout, and brooktrout. The Nganasan rarely fished underneath the ice.



For a long time, reindeer husbandry did not play a large role amongst Nganasan subsistence activities. A number of researchers report that they only began farming domesticated reindeer in the mid-eighteenth century. The Nganasan acquired this skill later than their neighbors, but by the mid-nineteenth century, they were the largest reindeer herding people of the Taymyr. Despite this fact, until recently, they have maintained an unusual attitude toward their domesticated reindeer. The animals were seen as an untouchable food reserve, a status symbol, and bartering tool. For the most part, the Nganasan met all of their life requirements through wild reindeer hunting.

The Nganasan practice the Samoyed tundra style of reindeer husbandry. They graze their herds with round-the-clock protection by herders. On dark nights, they hang bells from the reindeers' horns. Herding Siberian huskies were used both to herd and to protect the herd from wolves. They did not milk or use reindeer as mounts. The Nganasan used a unique technique to improve their herd's bloodlines. During northern migration periods, they allowed their female reindeer to mix with pregnant wild reindeer. They timed the mixing to allow calving to occur while the female wild reindeer were mixed into the female domesticated animals. "Wild" calves born and raised in the domestic herd not only increased their herd numbers and reproduced, but also improved the herd's overall bloodlines.



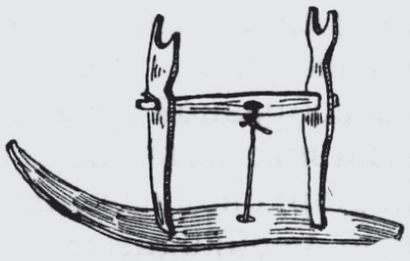


During the years of Soviet collectivization, the largest Nganasan reindeer herders in the region were repressed, and all of their reindeer nationalized. Reindeer husbandry was the primary and most profitable branch of Nganasan *kolkhozes* at the end of the 1950s. These farms focused on producing reindeer trained to pull sleds also became common. Each of the three *kolkhozes* had several hundred transport reindeer. These reindeer were used to move state cargo and passenger transport.

At the start of the 1960s, Nganasan reindeer husbandry fell upon hardship. Growing numbers of wild reindeer in western and central Taymyr negatively impacted grazing lands. Wild reindeer lured away domesticated animals, and the collective farms were unable to effectively intervene. As a result, the Avamskiy Nganasan had basically stopped practicing reindeer husbandry by the 1980s. It was also greatly reduced amongst the Vadeyevskiy Nganasan. From that point forward, their primary subsistence activities included the fall wild reindeer hunt, hunting for fur animals, and fishing.

Those activities continue today. Men work in hunting brigades associated with the Taymyrskiy State Collective Farm, Volochanskiy Collective Farm, and Ary-Mas Collective Farm, while women work in village cottage industries manufacturing fur clothing and souvenirs or employed by a blue fox fur farm. The 1990s brought economic reforms, and, as a result, Nganasan economics encountered significant new challenges. In point of fact, government deliveries of fuel and other petroleum products as well as other needed equipment to these communities came to a halt. Hunting became a serious problem. Hunters' lives underwent significant changes. Prior to this, fishermen and hunters spent much of the year out in their hunting and fishing grounds. This became impossible due to delivery interruptions and the extreme cost of fuel. Hunting grounds are only occupied during the height of the season. People spend the rest of their time in villages, where there is no work.

Transportation



The Nganasan generally used reindeer-drawn sleds for transportation. Reindeer were harnessed to sleds in the summer and winter. They used the same harnesses as the Nenets and the Enets, with the leading reindeer on the left. Sleds were the same as well, with the exception of women's sleds, which had very high runners and small semi-circular shields in the front and read of the seat. Skis were not practical due to sastrugi, wind-blown packed snow and ice ridges along the tundra. Small boats were only used during reindeer hunts at river crossings.

Settlements and housing

At the start of the nineteenth century, the Nganasan lived primarily in nomadic camps. As a rule, each camp had three to four *chums* of the Samoyed type. This *chum* was built using two poles ("male" and "female"). The female pole was considered sacred. The shaman's tent contained a mask or figure of a bird. The poles were connected by means of a slot in one of them. A pole could have several such slots. Connections using the topmost slot reduced the *chum's* size, but made it taller. Coverings were sewn from a double layer of reindeer furs, with the fur facing out on the outside face. The hearth fire was built upon a piece of iron. Boards covered with matting lined the hearth's sides. The *chum's* door opened to the south or southeast.

The Nganasan also had a more permanent type of home known as the *golomo* (Tungus in style). Its base was made of four poles leaning against each other and against which other poles, boards, or planks leaned. This entire framework was then covered with sod. Nganasan folklore speaks of semi-underground conical buildings made of wood and earth. In the 1930s, many Taymyr peoples began using a type of mobile housing, the *balok*. This was a small shack or wagon built upon runners. During migrations, they could harness four to five reindeer to it for easy relocation. The *balok's* frame is covered with reindeer furs and tarps on the exterior and lined with fabric on the inside. *Baloks* were heated with iron stoves. After the mid-twentieth century, this became the primary winter home for the Nganasan. They preferred to live in a *chum* during summer months and spent the fall in tents. When the *chum* or *balok's* owner passed away, it was customary in the past to abandon that person's tent. In modern settlements, the Nganasan live in buildings containing two to four apartments, an architectural design common across the entire Russian North.

The Nganasan did not build complex residential structures. At their hunting and fishing grounds, they erected temporary wooden lean-tos to provide shelter from rain and wind. During the winter, they built shelters of snow bricks. Their belongings were stored on sleds near each home. At the fishing grounds they erected tripods with multiple crossbars, from which they hung nets, fish, and meat to dry.



Clothing

In terms of design, Nganasan clothing differed significantly from that of the Nenets. It was shorter and more lightweight, more adapted to travel on foot than by riding. Men's outer clothing (*lu*) was a one-piece pullover made in two layers. The inner layer had no hood and was made with fur facing in. The outer layer of the *lu* had a hood and a fur-trimmed edge of white dog or arctic fox fur along the bottom. The back of the coat

was embroidered with ribbons of black and red strips of fabric or skin and tassels or ochre-dyed reindeer suede. When traveling, they wore another hooded parka (sokuy-style *fia*) atop both of these layers. The front of the *fia* was decorated with a white tassel made from reindeer tail, a fact that made them readily recognizable as Nganasan. The Enets wore a similar outer parka, while the reindeer tail tassel decorated the hood instead.



A slit in the front of women's winter clothing (*lifariye*) distinguishes it from men's clothing styles. It also had a small collar made of white dog fur. In place of a hood, women wore a two-layered hat trimmed with long black dog fur around the edge, omitting the men's tassel. They did, however, use a *songuku* tassel on hats they wore during ceremonial events. Women's formal clothing was richly decorated with fur and skin mosaics. The back was embroidered with long decorative leather strips. Inner clothing for women consisted of a one-piece reindeer suede jumpsuit known as a *foniye*. A strap fastened just below each knee stretched the foniye to reach the top of her boots. In the winter, and especially while traveling, they wore a fur parka over the jumper. Men wore two loincloths (*ningka*) — the inner one was made with suede, while the outer layer was sewn from reindeer skin. Small children were sewn a special "onsie" known as a *minar*. The Nganasan sewed footwear without a fitted ankle using white reindeer leg skins with piping made of black and red fabric. Men's shoes differed from women's only in their greater length. In the springtime, the Nganasan wore "snow glasses" (*seymi-kundi*) made from metal disks with a narrow slit through the middle. Historically, all of their winter and summer clothing was made exclusively using reindeer skins and furs. Purchased fabric was used only for decorate appliqué.

In the past, the Nganasan also had specific clothing for marriage or death. Some researchers also call it dance clothing. It differed significantly from everyday clothing, in both design and the character of the embroidery. Dance parkas were sewn from suede or colored fabric. It lacked the customary *moli* embroidery used by the Nganasan to indicate an individual's place in society. The Nganasan attribute the absence of ornamentation to a desire to wash away differences in family status for participants in the ritual holiday — "as if people, in donning these parkas, became entirely different." These parkas were richly decorated with stamped copper disc pendants and were only sewn by mature individuals.

Food

In both the past and present, the Nganasan's favorite food is meat — wild reindeer in the fall and winter, birds (mainly geese) in the summer months. Fish was also an important source of nutrition during the summer. Meat was preserved in large quantities. First, they dry cured it in long strips draped over sleds set up side by side, then cut it into small pieces, mixed it with fat, and again set it out to dry on skins spread on the ground. Meat and fish stores were frequently kept in ice holes in the tundra along traditional nomadic migration routes. Fat could be stored in reindeer stomachs, fish bladders, and inflated goose leg skins. They ate fish and meat in raw, frozen, and boiled form. Historically, the Nganasan almost never ate baked bread. They did bake unleavened breads from flour. These were considered special treats. With the development of state and cooperative trade, flour and baked goods, tea, and leaf tobacco came into widespread use. The Nganasan especially love ring-shaped crackers and donuts.



Religion and spiritual culture

A mixture of animist-based beliefs forms the basis of the Nganasan's traditional belief system. The Nganasan believed that even human-made items possessed a living spirit capable of understanding human speech. When leaving behind winter belongings for the summer migration, people promised to bring them back fat and meat upon their return.

The Nganasan believe that everything on Earth began with birth. Birth especially refers to the Earth-Mother, the Sun-Mother, and the Moon-Mother, the last two of whose functions are closely intertwined. The Earth-Mother was thought of as the progenitor of everything on earth, although the Sun is actually in charge of all life on Earth. Sometimes, the Earth-Mother took the form of a she-deer, upon whose back the Nganasan lived. In the winter and summer, she sheds her coat just like the reindeer, with her head turned to the west, following after the sun, in order to ask it for human prosperity. Other important progenitors include the Fire-Mother, the Water-Mother, and the Tree Mother. Human life also depends on these. Rivers represented the Earth's veins, through which her blood flowed. Water is the mother of fish. Tree-Mother is the daughter of the Earth, and she is food for the Fire-Mother. The Nganasan believed that fire was first received from the birch tree.

In addition to the Earth, the sun is considered the mother or all living things and is the major defender of the people against the cold and illness. The sun never "takes" people away, instead giving life. The Nganasan connected the reappearance of the sun after the long polar night to the start of a new year and created a holiday to celebrate that time. The Avamskiy Nganasan presented the Sun with the pelt, head, and





inner organs of a reindeer, hanging it from a tree, accompanied by the words "Sun-Mother, your share." The Nganasan spread their relationship with the Sun to its relation, the Moon. They believed that the Moon determined the timing of approaching childbirth.

According to their existing belief system, supernatural spirit beings could be divided into three categories: *nguo (ngo*), or the masters of nature; *barusi*, anthropomorphic beings capable of doing harm to people, and *dyamada*, special zoomorphic spirits who perform the will of a shaman. The Nganasan identified protectors of the home (*kuoyka*) in various forms – stones, reindeer horns, freestanding peaks, cliffs, unusually-shaped trees, and animal and human-shaped figures made of metal or wood. The latter were moved on special sleds to which sacred reindeer with special markings were harnessed. These domestic *kuoyka* were regularly smudged with fat smoke and "fed" after each successful hunt. Peaks, cliffs, and trees received sacrifices of reindeer and were also offered scraps of material and money.

The Nganasan's belief system was also reflected in their shamanism, which also included several Christian images. In comparison to other peoples of the North, the Nganasan were the least influenced by shamanism. A Nganasan shaman's *(mnya*) main function was to convey information from the spirit world (*ngo*) into the world of everyday people. He was required to compel any capable spirit to act in the interests of people. Shamanic costumes consisted of a hat, a coat with a separate apron, and sometimes a jumpsuit, similar to that worn by women, but covered by a multitude of pendants. Many shamans had a number of uniforms and drums for a variety of shamanic séances. Shamans also sometimes carried other attributes, including bird and animal skins, an iron cane, and images of shamanic spirits and helpers.

Powerful shamans commanded high status in Nganasan society. They frequently served as the head of clans or territorial alliances. Both men and women could become shamans. Each nomadic group had its own shaman who was expected to defend their interests (river crossing hunting sites, pasture lands, etc.), frequently to the detriment of other nomadic groups. For this reason, relations between shamans were frequently quite hostile. Frequent shaman "battles" took place — ritualized conflicts. Defeat in this type of contest not infrequently resulted in the death of the losing shaman.

Shamans organized large social holidays and ceremonies, thus playing an important role in the Nganasan's spiritual culture. The Nganasan holiday of the "*clean chum*" is the most well known. It took place irregularly and in a variety of ways. The shaman usually determined the holiday's format, and a shamanic ritual formed the heart of the holiday itself. The holiday's duration also depended on the shaman, usually lasting three, five, seven, or nine days — numbers considered to be sacred by the Nganasan. The "*clean chum*" holiday was highlighted by the religious

and magical functions of Nganasan shamanism. Alongside this fact, the holiday also included a number of rituals connected to the Mother Nature, included ritual sacrifice to trees.

The holiday of *Anny'o-dyaly* (Big Day) was of a different nature. It was timed to occur at the time snow began to melt, when the first islands of earth appeared beneath the melting tundra's snow. This usually occurred in the first half of June. The holiday occurred regularly and lasted one day. Shamans figured in them only in the role of regular participant. The oldest women of the camp served as the organizers and mistresses of ceremonies. It was considered unpropitious for non-Nganasan to attend, and participants were required to undergo "cleansing" before being allowed to participate. This required an individual to walk across a smoldering clump of dog fur. The holiday required that a reindeer be sacrificed to the Earth-Mother. The participants ate the animal's meat, while the head, skin and interior organs were tied to the top of a tree. Sacrifices were also made to other life-givers — Water-Mother and Moon-Mother. After the sacrifices occurred, they began to dance. Men and women followed in the steps of a round dance, connected to each other not by hands, but by holding the ends of smoking pipes. The holiday was accompanied by initiation-games for youth, competitive archery and fighting, and performance of improvised songs.



Folklore

Nganasan folklore is distinguished by its relatively rich and varied subject matter and genres. The main types are *bylinas*, fairy tales, historical legends, songs, and riddles. *Bylinas*, or epic tales, were generally told over the course of several evenings. Within a *bylina*, descriptions are spoken, while heroes' dialog is sung. The storylines generally tell of Bogatyr battles with good and evil spirits. Nganasan historical legends reflect real events from the past: inter-clan conflicts and wars with the Nenets, Evenk, and Dolgan. The main actors in fairy tales included all sorts of clever folk and rogues, as well as a variety of animals. These tales usually explain the origin of their characters, their main character traits and habits. Tales of cannibals known as *sigiye* and Russian tales adapted to local conditions were also popular. Short tales (*vesti*) told of mythological personages in various situations associated with their traditional subsistence activities, adventures, and trickery. The Nganasan greatly respected their skilful storytellers, and frequent storytelling "duels" took place.

Musical arts were also quite varied for the Nganasan. Historically, individuals had their own songs. It could either be given to that person by a fellow clan member or composed by the person. Such songs were known for a sustained melody accompanied by improvised lyrics. In addition to drums, the Nganasan had a "singing bow" instrument, whistles made from goose feathers, and wooden and reed kazoo-type

instruments. Even today, music and song still have sacred meaning for the Nganasan.

Arts and crafts

Nganasan graphic arts exhibit great artistic taste — mammoth bone engraving, metal inlaid work and stamping, leather dying, and ornamental embroidery using reindeer hair. Their ornamentation was of a strictly geometrical nature. Living beings were represented only on cult objects: shaman drum covers, bags for transporting home protectors, and support poles for shamans' *chums*. Reindeer halters were remarkable for their trimming with unusual engraved discs of mammoth bone. The carved grooves were stained with black and red color. A single disc, decorated with a variety of colored designs, could be especially colorful. Leatherwork was also decorated with traditional Nganasan colors: black from graphite, red from ochre. Paints were mixed with water, and colored lines were always sketched with tools made from reindeer hair. Leather could also be decorated using wooden stamps. They inlaid iron with copper and silver. Ritual sculptures took both anthropomorphic and animal shapes of spirit-protectors and were made from wood, bone, and metal.

Contemporary culture and self-government

For many years, the Nganasan's settlement pattern and traditional activities facilitated the preservation of their traditional, material, and spiritual culture. Many elements (food, special clothing, transport equipment, traditional beliefs, ritual calendar, family rituals, etc.) still exist today, although they have taken on new forms. For example, the traditional Nganasan *"Clean Chum"* holiday has today become a spring folklore event. Fire-feeding and family relics have been preserved not just among old people, but also among younger people. Children are raised with images from traditional folklore. Some aspects of family shamanism also remain, and young people are interested in these subjects today. For example, Leonid Kosterkin, son of the well-known Taymyr shaman Tubyaku, is working to preserve the Kosterkin family shaman dynasty.

According to the 1989 All-Soviet Census, over 90 % of Nganasan claimed Nganasan as their native language. This fact is one of the highest indicators among all indigenous minority peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East. That said, researchers working amongst the Nganasan look at this number with some skepticism. Field researcher linguistics cite data showing that no more than 50 % of Nganasan speak Nganasan at a native level, and those people are mainly in older age groups. Most younger people and children understand and speak the language, but do

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not use it regularly. In the 1930s, Nganasan was believed to be a Nenets dialect. For this reason, a written language was never developed. The alphabet was only developed in 1986. Today, the first Nganasan primer is being prepared for publication. Information about the study of Nganasan in schools is contradictory. Some data show that it is taught in elementary school classes, while other data indicates that all classes (one through eleven) study the language. In those ethnically mixed villages, where Russian is the every day language, any renewal of their native language is made more difficult, despite its being taught in the schools.

Forced changes to Nganasan lifestyle seriously complicate the moral and psychological climate in the villages. People attempt to return to their traditional tundra life, but economic reasons make this impossible. For the most part, the Nganasan are strangers to market economics. Nonetheless, market reforms are making themselves known. Social stratification is on the rise amongst the Nganasan, and a small layer of affluent field men now exists. Relations with the Dolgan have become strained. The Nganasan explain the situation, "Blood varies. We keep to ourselves."

Despite their small numbers, difficult socio-economic situation, and growing contact with outsiders and neighbors (who, as a rule, are larger in numbers), the Nganasan are almost entirely unaffected by assimilation, their language is broadly spoken, their ethnic consciousness exists stably, and traditional activities and many aspects of their material and spiritual culture persist.



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NIVKH



The Nivkh are a Paleo-Asiatic people who live in the Amur River lowlands and on Sakhalin Island. They call themselves *nivkhgu, nivukh, nivakh,* and *nibakh* (person). Neighboring peoples call them *gilyakha*, *gilemi*, and *gileke*. This name was borrowed in turn by the Russians, in the form of Gilyak. That ethnonym persisted widely until the 1930s. Some old Nivkh call themselves Gilyak even today. The Nivkh can be divided into several geographical groups: Amur, eastern Sakhalin, western Sakhalin, Tymovsko-Aleksandrovskaya, and left- and right-shore Limanskaya. The differences between these groups can be seen in their language, cultural differences, and clan structures.

Language

They can be grouped with the Central Asian type of the Mongoloid race. Along with the Chukchi, Koryak, and other northeastern peoples, they belong to the Paleo-Asiatic group. They speak the Nivkh language, which has two dialects: Amur and Sakhalin. Some researchers further distinguish northern and eastern Sakhalin dialects. The Nivkh language, like Ket, is a language isolate. Russian is commonly spoken. In 1989, only 23.3% of Nivkh claimed Nivkh as their native language. A written language was developed in 1932 using the Latin alphabet, but was later reworked to use the Russian alphabet.

Ethnogenesis

The Nivkh are direct descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Sakhalin and the Amur River lowlands. There is a theory that the ancestors of the modern Nivkh, northeastern Paleo-Asiatic, Siberian Yupik, and North American natives are links in one ethnic chain reaching in the distant past to the northwestern shores of the Pacific Ocean. Ethno-cultural contacts with Manchu-Tungus, Ainu, and Japanese peoples have had a large influence on the modern ethnic appearance of the Nivkh.

Population and settlements

In the past, the Nivkh covered a large territorial range. On the mainland, they settled in an area reaching from the Amur to the Uda River,



Current territory of residence of the Nivkh in Russia

where they shared a border with the Koryak. The 1897 census found 4,642 Nivkh, including 2,673 on the mainland and 1,969 on Sakhalin. On Sakhalin the Nivkh lived across the entire western and eastern coastline as well as in the Tym' River watershed (2,008 individuals). On the mainland, they are concentrated in two districts in Khabarovsk Kray — Nikolayevskiy (1,235 ind.) and Ul'chskiy (631 ind.). The Nivkh population totaled 4,673 during the 1989 Soviet census. Between 1979 and 1989 the mainland Nivkh population grew by 218 individuals (10%), while it decreased by 128 (6%) on Sakhalin. In recent decades, Nivkh population demographics have been unstable. Periods of noticeable population growth are followed by no less noticeable population loss. Such strong fluctuations are interpreted as being indicative of a poor age and gender balance for the population, as well as the influence of assimilative processes. Today, the Nivkh are experiencing a mainly negative demographic cycle further complicated by difficult socio-economic conditions.

In 1926, the Nivkh lived in small settlements, sometimes consisting of only two or three houses. More than one hundred such settlements are known to exist, including sixty on Sakhalin. Construction on collective farms and the subsequent consolidation of kolkhoz lands led to the elimination of the majority of these settlements. On Sakhalin today, almost two thirds of Nivkh are concentrated in two settlements — Nekrasovka village in Okhinskiy District and the district center Nogliki. On the mainland, they live mainly in small villages. All Nivkh villages are multi-ethnic in composition. In addition to Russians, the Orok and Evenk live with them on Sakhalin, while in Khabarovsk Kray they reside with the Ul'chi and Negidal. Nivkh settlements in Nikolayevskiy District in Khabarovsk Kray are more ethnically homogenous. In recent years, ethnic Nivkh societies have formed in Khabarovsk (179 individuals), Komsomol'sk on Amur (90) and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (74).

History

The first Russian land explorers (I. Moskvitin and others) met the Nivkh in the early seventeenth century. During V. Poyarkov's Amur River navigation, he imposed the yasak fur tribute on the Amur Nivkh. During the seventeenth century, the Russians estimated the Nivkh population at 5,700. During the latter half of that same century, direct contacts between Russians and the Nivkh ended and were only renewed in the mid-nineteenth century, when G. Nevel'skiy's Amur expedition annexed Sakhalin for Russia.

Social organization

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Nivkh had preserved remnants of their original clan structure and divisions. They had an Iroquois kinship system. Members of each clan had a common clan name. The clan fulfilled a self-government function and consisted of large family societies and individual families. Clans were exogamous. A typical marriage consisted of a man marrying the daughter of his mother's brother. Each clan commanded a particular territory. Today, all Nivkh families remember their clan names and the territories that belonged to the clan clearly.

The large patriarchal family is the main social organization unit. Numerically, this family could reach forty or more members in size. Such families included parents, their children (including sons and their families), older clan members, and children orphaned from relatives. All family members lived together in one house, conducted a joint household, and held joint property. During the first third of the twentieth century, Nivkh families grew smaller as a result of disintegrating clan structures.

More often than not, although such families lived apart from their parents, they still maintained a joint household.

Until the 1930s the Nivkh did not use surnames. Each Nivkh knew the name of its clan and had a first name (nickname). A newborn's nickname was given to them not by their parents (they believed this could lead to the child's death) nor by fellow clan members, but by neighbors. Children's names-nicknames frequently reflected the habits, activities, and personalities of their parents. When passports began to be issued, the Nivkh gave their own names as surnames, allowing the passport agent to provide them with an additional name. This resulted in parents and their adult children having differing surnames. The tradition of using the father's name to determine the surname arose later.

Russian colonization of Sakhalin and the Amur lowlands exerted a serious influence on the socio-economic and cultural life of the Nivkh. An intense phase of clan structure disintegration began. Some Nivkh were drawn into trade and financial contact and new types of economic activities arose — domestic livestock husbandry, farming, commercial fishing, and migrant labor. Many elements of Russian culture found widespread acceptance. Russian Orthodox missionaries worked actively in the region. By the nineteenth century's end, all Amur Nivkh had been baptized, although Christian ideas did not have a significant influence on their consciousness.

Subsistence activities

The main branches of Nivkh economic activities are fish and marine mammal hunting. Dry-land hunting and gather were secondary in importance. According to the words of L. I. Shrenk, for the Nivkh fishing was a "required condition of their existence." Migrating salmon (from which they prepared *yukola*) were an especially important fishery. They prepared *yukola* over the course of the entire summer, initially using pink and then chum salmon in the summer and fall. They primarily used throw nets, as well as trap nets (*myr*) on spawning rivers. Trap nets were built by several related families, who then used them in turn to fish. The preparation of as much *yukola* as possible was the most important activity of the summer. The fish was dried on *chan* hangers and then as it dried, it was connected together in clumps (*ar*) and stored in storehouses on pilings. At the same time, they prepared fish fat for the winter months ahead — this they rendered from internal organs. Fish bones went to the dogs, and fish skin was worked into leather for clothing and footwear.

They fished year round. In the fall they caught taimen and wolffish. In the winter, they fished for redfin, Atka mackerel, carp, kaluga, and sturgeon, while targeting Eulachon smelt and Amur carp in the early spring. Aside from net-based fishing gear, they also widely used hook-and-line gear and various traps. In the winter they fished under the ice using

set nets and fishing poles through holes in the ice. Until the nineteenth century's end, Nivkh fishing was exclusively naturalistic. As commercial fishing developed on the Amur and around Sakhalin, their fish harvests began to acquire a commercial character. At the start of the twentieth century, up to half of Nivkh catches were sold to seafood buyers.

Marine mammal hunting was also an important activity for the Nivkh. As with fishing, this industry provided fat and meat, food for dogs, and skins for clothing and. Seals were the most important targets, although the Nivkh also hunted beluga whales. They did not hunt for whales. In fact, they considered the sperm whale to be a sacred animal. Marine mammals were hunted at haulouts, each of which was considered the property of a particular clan, on open water, and on the sea ice. Their main gear consisted of nets made from skins and various traps.

They also used a unique tool called the *tla*, a drifting harpoon. It consisted of a long pole and a shaped plate (*lykh*) with an iron point at the end. When a hunter spotted a seal, he launched the pointed plate at the creature with the help of the pole. When it pierced the seal, the end of the spear fell away. The harpoon and the animal were then reeled in using a long lash. They used this harpoon not just on open water and among breaks in the winter icepack, but also on the ice itself. In this case, the *lykh* served as deadly skis. When firearms arrived on the scene, the floating harpoon began to be used as a gaff to haul the kill in.

Near settlements, marine mammal hunting was an individual activity. Collective hunting was preferred when setting out to sea, traveling to distant islands, and hunting at haulouts. It is known that Nivkh set out with these goals on long expeditions to the Shantar Islands. When conducting a joint hunt, the catch was divided evenly between the representatives of the families participating.

Hunting for fur and meat animals on the taiga was an individual activity. Sometimes, when hunting for a bear in its den, several hunters would set out together. Forest animals were caught using a variety of traps and snares. They set crossbow traps for river otter, fox, ungulates, and bears. They also hunted bear using a spear. They caught sable in nets. Bird hunting was also common — duck, geese, and upland fowl. During moulting seasons, they caught birds using nets in small bays and harbors. Along the seacoast, they used special hooks (*epy*) to catch seagulls.

Women, children, and teenagers engaged in gathering activities. In addition to berries, nuts, and edible plants, they also gathered seaweeds, especially laminaria, and mollusks. They usually preserved wild garlic, acorns, day lily roots, nuts and some berries for the winter too. Mollusks and shellfish were gathered not just in the tidal zone, but also from the seafloor. For this, they used long poles mounted with a bunch of sharply pointed sticks at the end.

Dogs were raised. They kept animals in cages. They grew key plants in family gardens — day lilies and others.

At the start of the 1930s, the Nivkh were joined into *kolkhoz* collective farms. These farms were developed for one specific traditional activity — fishing. The consolidation of fishing grounds and the transition to commercial fishing led, in the end, to this traditional sphere of activity becoming inaccessible to the majority of the indigenous population. By the end of the 1980s, less than a third of work-ready Nivkh worked in *kolkhozes*. The majority, especially youth, worked in industry and at various organizations and institutions. All Nivkh families living in rural areas kept domestic livestock and grew produce gardens.

The Nivkh took poorly to their displacement from the sphere of their own traditional work activities, and the onset of market reforms became the main factor for their social movement seeking new economic relations. By the early 1990s new clan-based activities were cropping up everywhere. As of today, there are more than eighty of them on Sakhalin and nineteen different production unions in Nikolayevskiy District (Khabarovsk Kray). For the most part, these production unions are engaged in fishing, marine mammal hunting, and land hunting.

In addition to their traditional activities, agriculture is developing. The majority of their hunting and fishing is focused not on Nivkh subsistence but on the external market. Fishing quota sizes based on their fishing rights further facilitates this trend. Imperfections related to market conditions lead to a portion of their commercially valuable production (salmon, salmon roe, fur) being sold at discounted prices to intermediary buyers. Overall it can be said that the creation of a new economic structure has not yet been able to solve the issue of Nivkh employment. This problem continues to exist alongside other social problems.

Transportation

The Nivkh used skis as transportation during the wintertime — skis (*lak*) and *en'* skis covered in legskin or sealskin. They also traveled by dog sled. Nivkh skis could reach two meters in length and even longer. Their curved ends ended in a narrow point or a rhomboid form. The ski lashings were made with seal or Steller's sea lion skins, while the skis themselves were made from birch. The Nivkh used simple skis to reach their fishing grounds, to travel between villages, and also to navigate the ice-crusted snow in the spring. They hunted on legskin-covered skis — these were convenient for crossing friable snow and did not make a lot of noise. When under way, they used a staff with a rectangular spatula at the lower tip. There was a second type of ski pole – one with a ring at the lower end and a spatula at the top. The spatula was used to remove any snow that stuck to the skis. It was also used when hunting to mask traps and snares.

The Nivkh practiced Gilyats-Amur style dog sledding. They use a sled specific to the Nivkh — four straight stanchions, runners bent at both

ends, and two horizontal shafts front and back. Sometimes sled runners consisted of three layers: whalebone at the bottom, followed by a layer of larch and a layer of black birch. Such sleds were used for travel on spring ice-crusted snow. Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, an eastern Siberian sled type came into use. The Nivkh also used two types of harness: a traditional Nivkh "herringbone" and a paired tandem style borrowed from the Russians. The herringbone style dog harness was used by the Nivkh to tow boats in water as well. They usually harnessed anywhere from five to thirteen dogs — the quantity depended on the amount of cargo and the goal of the trip. They sometimes used an ancient style of travel, where the sled operator rode atop the front end of the sled while wearing skis. This allowed the sled driver to prevent the sled from tipping over when it lost its balance. The sled could be braked and slowed with the help of braking poles (*kaur*) on sharp descents.

Dog sled harnesses were used by the Nivkh until the end of the 1950s, when *kolkhozes* began to provide animal and mechanical means of transport and fish harvests for dog fodder were severely restricted. Today, only a few hunters use dog sledding.

In the summertime, the Nivkh traveled by boat on water. They had two types of boats — flat-bottomed board boats (*mu*) and dugout canoes. Historically, a large board boat could hold up to forty people. This boat was propelled with the aid of single-ended oars set into oarlocks. Such boats were used for fishing, during hunts for marine mammals, and for both short and long distance travel. When the weather was windy, they traveled under sail in *mu* boats. Dugout boats were used by the Nivkh living along the east coast of Sakhalin as well as on the Tym' River. At sea, the dugouts were moved through the water using oars, while they used poles to propel such boats in rivers. Several boats could be fastened together with crossbars and used for transporting loads.

The Amur Nivkh had one additional type of boat — birch dugout canoes acquired from the Negidal. Hunters mainly used these boats. A double-ended paddle or two spatulas connected by a rope were used to move this boat through the water.

Settlements and housing

The Nivkh lived a settled lifestyle. They had winter and summer settlements. These were located along the high, forested banks of the Amur River, at the mouths of spawning rivers, along the seacoast, and close to hunting and fishing areas. Every April, the Nivkh moved to summer villages, where they lived deep into the fall. Their villages were not large, ranging from two to ten homes. By the start of the twentieth century, freestanding summer settlements had vanished, and instead

they were built side by side with their winter homes (winter and summer cottages).

The traditional home was a semi-dugout *to-ryv* in the form of a simple or flat-topped pyramid. Four weight bearing posts were inserted, one in each corner of the earthen depression (one to one and a half meters deep). These posts were connected on top with a frame, against which poles were placed. The exterior of the framework was covered in hay, reeds, and sod and then covered with earth. They left window and smoke vent openings, the latter of which was also used in the past as an entrance. The hearth was at the center, and bunks were located along the walls.

Another semi-underground home was the *tiv-tyv*. This earthen home had log walls or a post frame and was covered with a two-sided pitched roof. The post frame construction was built by slotting horizontal logs into grooves cut into the corner posts. The roof was supported on girders that lay with their ends on two front vertical posts. A hearth fire heated the house. A similar building built on the ground (*lochurla-dyv*) was heated by means of an iron stove.

From the mid-nineteenth century, they began to build winter housing in a different architectural style — *chadryv*. This rectangular building was constructed on the ground and used a post frame construction assembled using tongue-and-groove techniques. It had a two-sided pitched roof and a piped heating system. Heated bunks lined three or four walls. From the outside, walls were covered in clay. The door was built from boards, and the floor was earthen. There were window openings covered in chum salmon skin. At the home's center, they built a dais (*kangyl*) upon which they fed the dogs during the winter. The front wall included an opening for ventilation. There have also been examples of semi-dugout homes with two-sided pitched roofs built using the same technology.

The summer *ke-ryv* structure is another example of ancient construction techniques. This was built on pilings approximately one and a half meters in height, although it was also sometimes built directly on the ground. It consisted of two halves: one side was built from logs, was residential, and had a window in the roof, while the other (in the front), was made from boards and used for storing property. Bunks were laid out along the walls, and the hearth was placed in the center. The house was entered by climbing up steps notched into the logs.

They assembled temporary winter non-residential buildings using sloping half-timbers. Hunters in the taiga and along the seacoast lived in framed conical structures made from poles and covered in birchbark or fish skin. The Nivkh built hanging racks for drying fish and nets with weights. The racks took the form of a two-sided pitched roof. They also built shacks on pilings, platforms, and cone-shaped dog shelters.

Clothing

Men's and women's traditional clothing was sewn from fish leather, marine mammal skins, and reindeer and moose skins. It consisted of pants (*varsh*) and a robe that stretched down to the knees and was closed from the left to the right. Women's robes were made from fish leather or fabric and were longer and decorated along the hem with metal bits.

During the cold months, they wore warm robes belted with a sash. In the winter, a fur coat made from dog fur and sealskins was also worn in the winter; it had neither a collar nor a hood. When traveling by sled, they wore a sealskin skirt that protected clothing from wear and tear on top of that fur coat. In the winter they wore a fur hat with earflaps, switching that out for a birchbark or fabric cap in the summer. Footwear was sewn from sealskin and reindeer legskins, as well as using specially made leather from Amur carp, chum salmon, or northern pike. Oversleeves and leggings were an indispensable part of their clothing. Today, the majority of Nivkh wear European-style clothing with they embellish using traditional ornamentation.

Nivkh women often wore silver or copper wire earrings. On the top, they took the shape of a ring, while below they were spiral. Silver and copper bracelets were also worn on their wrists. Women styled their hair in two braids that trailed down their spines. Men braided their hair into one plait.

Food

The Nivkh are true fish eaters. Their main food is raw, boiled and smoked fish. The meat and fat of marine mammals was no less an important aspect of their nutrition. In recent years, that meat has become a delicacy. They also ate the meat of ungulates and birds and various roots and grasses. They loved dried eulachon (*ch arkay*), *yukola* (which served for many years as a bread replacement), and dried chum and pink salmon roe. *Yukola*, soaked in warm water and cut into small pieces, was mixed with wild garlic and pepper. This dish was called *khirma*. Pounded *yukola* mixed with seal fat and sprinkled with sugar was called *vykhma*. They also made assorted soups from *yukola*, adding rice, dried roe, and various grasses. Other tasty dishes included *talk* (thinly cut pieces of raw, fresh fish) and *mos'* (an aspic made with fish skin, berries, and seal fat). They preferred their marine mammal meats boiled and only ate the heart, flippers and kidneys raw. They made sausage from entrails and other internal organs. Seal fat was a required ingredient in almost every Nivkh dish. They made tea from tea bricks, lingonberry leaves, or wild rosemary.

Religion and spiritual culture

Spiritually speaking, the Nivkh were animists. They saw a living essence and human characteristics in every item. The cult of nature was widely practiced, including worship of water, the taiga, and the earth. In order to preserve good relations with their spirit-masters, the Nivkh practiced ritual sacrifices — "feedings". They strictly observed all rituals related to fire and conducted complex ceremonies related to their consumption of beluga whale meat. They also observed rituals for the hunting of bears and other animals. The dog also played an important role in Nivkh spiritual life and their spirituality. There was a special type of taboo dogs, which they used for sacrificial purposes.

Nivkh religious beliefs are connected to two large folk holidays — "water feeding" and a bear celebration. The "water feeding" holiday took place just before the river ice breakup. All residents of a settlement participated in the event, although the holiday was clan-focused. Members of each clan made a hole in the ice. The eldest clan member made the sacrifice, standing facing the hole. He uttered an incantation and dropped the tail of a dried chum salmon in the hole. The salmon was intended for the dog of the master of the water. Afterwards, they threw in pieces of food and clumps of thin willow branches as sacrifices intended for the water spirit itself. If the branches sank, it meant that the water spirit had accepted the sacrifice and that the people could hope for successful hunting and fishing.

The bear holiday was a more complex ceremony related to the killing of a captive-grown bear. The ritual generally took place during the new moon phase in January and lasted for several days (sometimes as long as a month) and passed through several stages. In the beginning, they prepared ritual wood shavings, followed by the sacrifice of the animal and interment of its head on a platform. They then ate the bear meat and ritually sacrificed a dog. Each of these stages is accompanied by particular rituals, sport competitions, dance, and music played on musical instruments. The bear killed during the event served as an intermediary between humans and the master spirit of the taiga. Upon its resurrection after the holiday, the bear carries all of the items it received as ritual sacrifices to its master: dogs, fish, tobacco, straps, etc. The main concept behind the holiday involved the worship of the natural environment and its inhabitants. The Nivkh's neighbors — the Ainu, Ul'chi, and Negidal — conducted analogous bear holiday and it celebrated widely by other Siberian indigenous peoples.

Folklore

Nivkh folklore can be subdivided into twelve independent genres: tales, legends, lyric songs, and others. *Tylgund* legends tell about the distant past, real historical events (wars, inter-clan conflicts, everyday events, etc.). *Tylgund* are told in the form of a story. The Nivkh folkloric hero is nameless, fights with evil spirits, and defends those in need as a champion of good and justice. *Nastund* tales were most often told in a song format. The characters in many tales were animals — fox, bear, rabbit, wolf, frog, and others. Nivkh folklore is richly endowed with songs. They had especially varied lyric songs to explain man's internal world and worries.

Arts and crafts

Decorative arts mainly involved the ornamentation of clothing, footwear, headwear, and various household objects, sculpture, bone carving, and woodcarving. Women mainly engaged in ornamental arts. Common motifs included tree leaves, stylized bird images, double spirals, and leaf-shaped designs with symmetrically arranged curves. They used the ancient technique of stamping to decorate birch creations. Designs were applied using iron (with the dull side) and bone knives. The birchbark was first heated over fire after which it was easier to work.

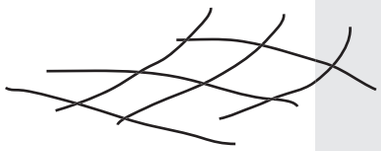
The Nivkh mainly practiced wood sculpture, although some examples of birch, fur, cloth, silver, and tin sculptured figures also occurred. The function of sculptural figures can be divided into cult and everyday forms, the latter of which mainly included children's toys. Sculptures representing twins and bears are especially important. The Nivkh carved stylized bear heads into the ends of the topmost logs in bear cages, adding them also to ladles and other items used during the bear holiday. Ritual spoons and dishes with ornamental carving were especially complex examples of these carvings. Wooden images of birds and the spirit-masters of water, fire, and other protectors were also important aspects of their sculptural works.

Contemporary culture and self-government

The many aspects of traditional spiritual culture that have been imbued with new content are an organic part of the daily life of the Nivkh. They regularly conduct indigenous holidays and traditional sport competitions. Folk ensembles (*Eri* and others), ethnographic museums, and centers for applied decorative arts all operate. The Nivkh intelligentsia maintains a high level of activity. In Nogliki an ethno-cultural center is being created to coordinate efforts around cultural renewal and preservation.

Among the vital ethno-cultural challenges facing the Nivkh, the issue of their native language is very important. Forced resettlement of the Nivkh out of their small coastal villages to larger multi-ethnic settlements destroyed their linguistic milieu. Boarding school style education of Nivkh children has also played a negative role. Nivkh language instruction in local schools is negatively impacted by the presence of the two Nivkh dialects that are far from mutually intelligible. The Nivkh writing system as it was created in the 1930s was based on the Amur dialect and was not used on Sakhalin. The eastern Sakhalin dialect was only developed in 1979 and resulted in a partial reform of the Amur dialect version of written Nivkh. At the start of the 1980s, primers were published for each dialect. In recent years, children's literature in Nivkh began to be published in the city of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. The *Nivkh dif* ("Nivkh word") newspaper is published monthly in Nivkh. Today, Nivkh language is taught in elementary school classes in native villages, but only 27% of Nivkh children have access to this instruction. None of these efforts are capable of cardinally changing the situation. Young people do not know Nivkh at all; only the oldest generation speaks Nivkh.

District-level Associations of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North are the primary Nivkh self-governing agencies. They are all geographic or ethnic subdivisions of the same Associations in Sakhalin Oblast and Khabarovsk Kray.



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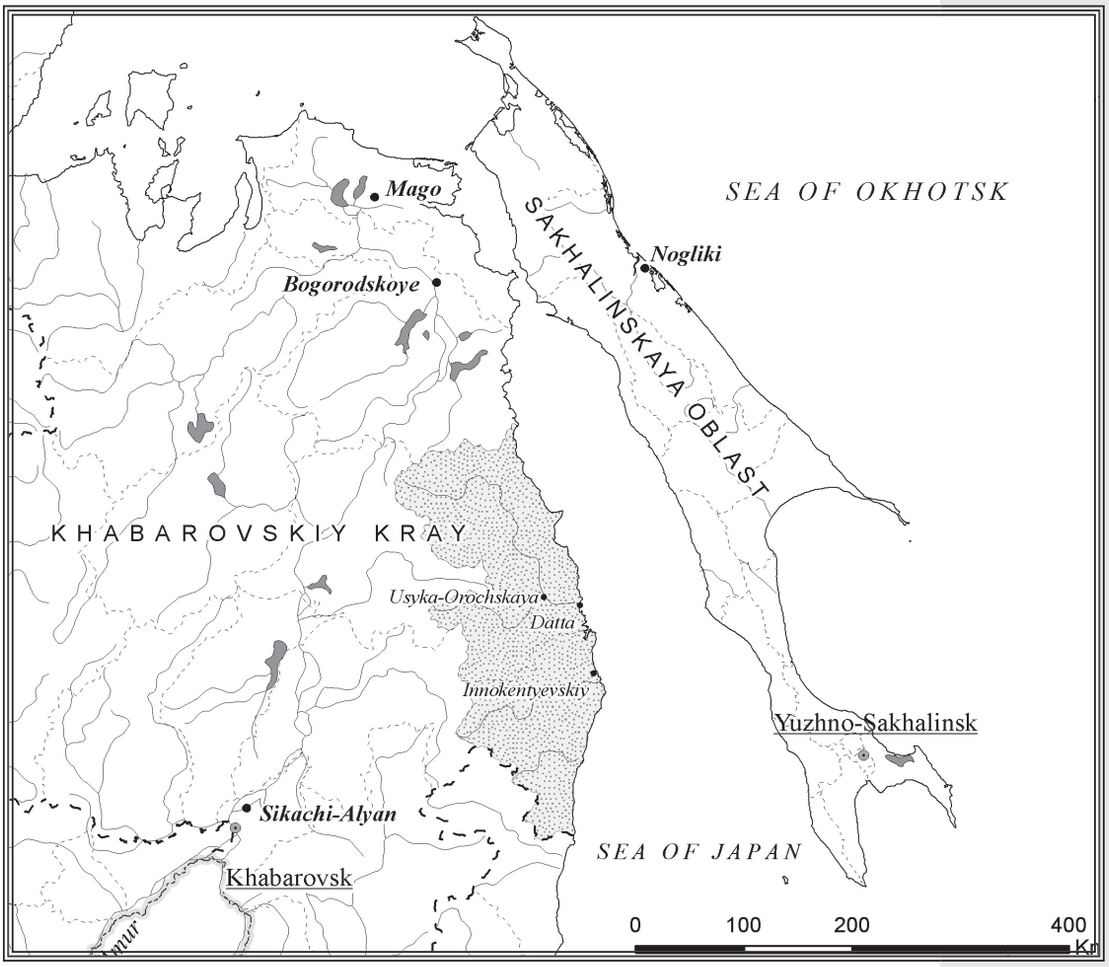
OROCH

The Oroch people belong to the Manchu-Tungus language group. They live in Khabarovsk Kray, mainly in the Sovgavanskiy and Vaninskiy Districts, and call themselves *orochisel*. Another term — *nani* — is sometimes encountered, borrowed from the Nanai people. In the past, the Oroch also described themselves according to clan membership and location. The local Russian population incorrectly called the Oroch *orochony*.

The modern ethnonym of Oroch was first used in print by the French explorer La Perouse, who met them in 1787 in De-Kastri Bay. The etymology of this term connects it to the Tungus word *oron*, meaning "reindeer". In combination with the suffix *chi*, indicating possession, *Oroch* can be translated as "of the reindeer" or "having reindeer." More recently, however, this term has been brought into question, due to the fact that the Oroch do not keep reindeer, and their word for "reindeer" is *ula*. These doubts are likely baseless as individual groups of Oroch did have reindeer at the start of the twentieth century and could have had them in the eighteenth century. It is also known that there are a number of Oroch clans of Tungus descent, tracing their lineage back to Even herders from the Sea of Okhotsk coast — herders who called themselves the Oroch and still do. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for a variety of reasons, these Even migrated to the lowlands on the right bank of the Amur River, where they merged with the Oroch. Many other reindeer-riding and unmounted Even participated in the formation of the Oroch, bringing with them to Amur the ethnonym Oroch, the term that eventually became the official name of the Oroch people.

Population

There are similar issues with counting the Oroch population. During the last Soviet censuses of 1970, 1979, and 1989 in Magadan Oblast, 103, 133, and thirty-eight Oroch were counted respectively, despite the fact that they were, in fact, Even. The situation is even murkier on Sakhalin Island. Here, the Orok people, which Russian-speakers also labeled Oroch, were not designated a distinct people until 1989, but were instead folded in to the Oroch. The similarity of the two ethnonyms increased the population of Oroch in the census data. In 1989, it was determined that there were 915 Oroch in the Russian Federation, but these numbers are clearly too high. Conservatively speaking, all those who refer to themselves Oroch and who live in Khabarovsk and Primorye Krays should be counted as such. Altogether that totaled 532 individuals. It goes without saying that



Current territory of residence of the Oroch in Russia

some Oroch live in other regions of Russia, as well as in other former Soviet Republics (in 1989, thirty-two Oroch were counted outside of the Russian Federation). Including individuals from all these categories, in 1989 the total population of Oroch was unlikely to exceed 700.

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

Language

They speak Oroch, a language attributed to the southern Manchu subgroup of Manchu-Tungus languages. That said, linguists have determined that, based on morphology, the language is closer to the Tungus subgroup. At the start of the twentieth century, Oroch could be divided into three dialects: Tumnin (spoken along the Tumnin River), Khadi (along the Khadi, Uy, Koppi, Samarga Rivers), and Khungari (along the Khungari River). The Khadi dialect is very similar to the Udeghe language, while Tumnin and especially Khungari are closer to Nanai. Today, only the Khungari dialect remains distinct. Former Khadi Oroch speakers now generally speak the Tumnin dialect, preserving just a few old nuances. The Oroch language has no writing system, and the younger generation speaks only Russian.

Ethnogenesis and History

Among modern-day Oroch there are representatives of various peoples whose ancestors appeared on along the Tatar Strait over a period of millennia from the south, north, east, and west. Many researchers believe that the Oroch formed as a result of interactions among indigenous coast tribes and Tungus arrivals. Indeed, anthropologically speaking, the Oroch, together with the Nivkh and the Ulchi, belong to an ancient Amur-Sakhalin type, although one can also observe a later Baikal type characteristic of some Tungus. Linguistic evidence also points to strong Tungus influence.

Archaeologists believe that at the end of the Neolithic and in the early Iron Age (end of the second and beginning of the first century BC), Siberian tribes of taiga hunters penetrated the Lower Amur watershed and northern Primorye region a number of times. During their cultural interaction with aboriginal tribes in that region, a new ethnic group dominated by Tungus speakers was formed. During this same period, Malaysian and Polynesian tribes entered the Amur region from the south. The scholar A. P. Okladnikov studied cultural contacts between lower Amur peoples and immigrants from Southeast Asia. Based on those studies, he concluded that the cultural mixing process flowed into the Amur valley and to the south, but never reached the northern taiga region.

Later Chinese sources show that in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Varka and Kurka tribes ranged from the Amur lowlands, the Tumyn'tszyan River watershed, and the Ussuri River headwaters all the way to the northeast seacoast. These two tribes shared broad cultural connections, and it is likely that these tribes are the direct ancestors of modern day Oroch and Udeghe, still considered to be one people in the nineteenth century. The Nivkh, Ainu, and other Mongol and Manchu tribes also played a role in Oroch development. Lengthy ethno-cultural contacts between the Oroch and their neighbors, both near and far, are reflected in their material and spiritual culture: beliefs, rituals, building architecture, identical transport, tools, dog-handling terminology, and many linguistic parallels.

The Oroch likely met with ethnic Russians in the seventeenth century, when the first Russian land explorers reached the Lower Amur. The Oroch called the Russians lucha. Russian influence on the Oroch became noticeable only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the Amur region and Primorye became part of Russia.

During the nineteenth century, the Oroch occupied a large territory along the Tatar Strait and the northern Sea of Japan, from De-Kastri Bay in the north to the Botchi River delta in the south. They settled in lowland and delta areas (Tumnin, Koppi, Uy, and other rivers), as well as upstream. In later years, their settlement pattern changed. At the end of the nineteenth century some Oroch from De-Kastri and the Tumnin

River headwaters migrated to the Amur and Khungari Rivers, a region richer in fish and game. Around the same time, Oroch living in Imperatorskaya (Sovetskaya) Gavan' moved north to Syurkuma District, and another small group moved to Sakhalin Island at the turn of the twentieth century. As a result, five culturally distinct regional Oroch groups arose — the Amur, Khundari, Tumnin, Primorye (Khadi), and Koppi. In 1897, there were 841 Oroch.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Russian priests made contact with the Oroch. While the Oroch nominally accepted baptism and Russian names, they only participated in Christian ceremonies when a priest was present. The Russian Orthodox mission opened a parish school for the local indigenous population in the Lower Amur region at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Oroch worked as guides and helpers to Russian researchers, were invariably friendly, helped those in need of aid, provided provisions, and even turned to the Russians for medical help. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, there were a number of Russian settlements on Oroch territory — Imperatorskaya Gavan', Datta, Koppi, Alekseyevka, and others. These settlements only increased interaction between the two peoples. The Oroch began setting up camps nearby and also quickly mastered the Russian language. In 1916, V. Solyarskiy reported that almost all Tumnin Oroch spoke Russian.

Social organization

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Oroch culture reflected elements of clan structure. Their society was divided into patrilineal clans, which, although they had lost their most important elements delineating territory and ancestry, still performed many other functions: defending fellow clan members, regulating marriages, and conducting religious ceremonies. They observed mutual assistance customs and agreed upon general justice norms as well. There is a distinct characteristic of Oroch clan structure — inter-clan councils called *dokha*. The participation of members of various ethnic groups in these councils testifies to the mixed nature of the Oroch, as well as the complexity of their ethnogenesis.

The Oroch practiced strict exogamy. Violations of this practice or marriages within the inter-clan council *dokha* occurred exceedingly rarely and were considered to be illicit and dangerous occurrences for the larger community. Polygamous families arose due to the custom of levirate, when a brother marries his brother's widow.

As Russian subjects, the Oroch paid no tribute. Their internal society was built on broad, *obshchina*-based self-government. Each *obshchina* was independent of others and managed by elected clan elders chosen from the most respected elders of the group. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian administration began appointing the clan

leader, presenting him with a certificate and a "village elder" metal. Their duties included *obshchina* leadership, resolving legal disputes as well as familial and societal questions.

In the twentieth century, Oroch territory grew smaller and smaller. Development of collective farms, growth of the fishing industry, and active efforts by the Soviets to fight the "nomadic life style" concentrated the population nearby the region's economic centers. In the early 1960s, the Oroch were mainly concentrated the region around the Us'kinskiy village council. The liquidation of "unpromising" villages in the 1960s, combined with increased migration in the 70s and 80s, resulted in a thorough mixing of the regional groups. During these years, the Khungari, Koppi, and Khadi groups effectively ceased to exist. Today, almost half of the Oroch in Khabarovsk Kray live in the ethnically mixed towns in Vaninskiy (44%), Komsomol'skiy (17%) and Sovgavanskiy (13%) Districts. The largest of these towns are Vanino, Sovetskaya Gavan', and Komsomol'sk on Amur. More recently, a large group of Oroch (9% of the total population) formally created an *obshchina* in Khabarovsk. The largest rural populations of Oroch live in the villages of Datta and Us'ka Orochskaya in Vaninskiy District.

Subsistence activities

Hunting was one of the Oroch's primary activities. They hunted musk deer (*beyuke*), red deer (*buchya*), wild reindeer (*igdake*), wild goat (*ima*), squirrel (*oloki*), wolverine (*lingapu*), sable (*noso*), river otter (*muudue*), wild boar (*nekte*), seals, Steller's sea lion, and other animals. Water and upland fowl had commercial value. Fur animal were sold or traded to local merchants for provisions or wares.

Fur game hunting began at the end of October and continued through the year's end, sometimes right into February-March. Sable hunting was conducted in a variety of ways. They tracked them, chasing sable into a lair, and then trapped them using a special net-sleeve (*adulika*). In the fall, when the taiga was covered in snow, but rivers not yet frozen over, they placed hair snares (*khukka*). After winter set in properly, they preferred traps (*langu*). They also used traps to hunt Siberian weasel, ermine, and other small animals at the first snowfall in October and November.

Crossbows were also widely used for hunting. All crossbows were of the same construction and varied only in size and the type of arrow used. Sable was hunted using a small crossbow or bow. A large crossbow and a lance-shaped arrow were used to shoot boar, moose, and other large animals, while a mid-sized crossbow with a tri-tip arrow was appropriate for river otters.

The Oroch also stalked large animals. In deep snow, a hunter on skis could overtake a tired animal and kill it using an arrow, spear, or

firearm. In the 1880s, the Oroch acquired guns and rifles, such as the Berdan and Winchester. The Oroch were not particularly involved in the antler harvesting industry of the end of the nineteenth century, but were active participants in the musk trade. Merchants enthusiastically purchased boar musk. The Namnuk Oroch clan hunted marine mammals, harvesting white and harbor seals and Steller's sea lions. Youth and older Oroch were the main bird hunters.

Fishing was no less important to the Oroch. They fished for pike *(guuche ommi*), taimen (*khoe*), pink salmon (*isima*), (*oko*) carp family sazan (*kechi*), grayling (*sagati*), (*pende*) chum salmon (*dava*). In the ocean they fished for smelt (*aaku*), goby (*bokho* and *bekhe*), flounder (*dentikhi*) and mackerel (*kemmui*). They fished year-round, but most heavily from August through October, when pink and chum salmon migrated upriver to spawn.

They fished day and night for fish using a fishing spear. At night they also used lighting. A burning torch was attached to the boat's prow as it floated downstream. One of the fishermen steered, while the other stood with the fish spear at the prow. Over the course of three to four hours, they could catch up to 150 fish. A spear was also used in the winter, when they created a hole in the ice and set a small hut over it. The fisherman covered the opening to prevent snow from accumulating and dropped a lure in the water. When the fish swam over to investigate, he speared the fish.

Atka mackerel, grayling, and other fish were caught using a fishing pole (*ume*) consisting of a hook (*umeke*), fishing line (*khuu*), and a pole (*ngusu*). Worms were used as bait. Special hooks baited with a fly (*kopcho*) or hooks wrapped in yellow or red thread were also used as lures. For under-ice fishing for flounder, a pole with a short butt and long fishing line was used.

The Oroch had two varieties of fishing nets — simple nets and seines. A seine has a purse-shaped end and four stretching lines, which attach to the corners of the net's wings. Two or three people were required to fish using seines.

Special enclosures at sandbars were used to catch pink and chum salmon as they descended down-river after spawning. These traps also required more than one person to operate. At the start of the twentieth century, commercial fishing began to develop along the Tatar Strait, and the Oroch harvested fish to sell.

Plant gathering was a secondary activity and continued all summer and fall. Women collected wild onion (*dasukta*), day lily (*gochigdi*), oxalis (*keemukta*), stalks of coltsfoot (*nagala*), wild garlic (*sodoyi*), wild lily roots (*nakki*), nettle (*sikte*), and assorted berries. In the spring, they used wild garlic to prevent scurvy. Dandelion juice was helpful for kidney and stomach ailments. They drank a tisane of red currant leaves to relieve stomach pain.

Transportation

The Oroch used river and sea-worthy boats for water transport. Large, multi-oared boats (*temtige*) were made from five large boards, all stretching lengthwise. The bottom board was bent from the bottom upwards, with a slight ledge, so that the boat's prow would not plunge into waves. The prow always had a wooden swan attached. The stern was formed using one perpendicular board. The entire boat was hammered together with wooden nails; chinks were packed with boiled moss and sealed with thin lath. Such boats moved lightly, had a shallow draft, and held up to a metric ton of cargo in addition to five people. Sails were often used with such boats.

Another type of boat was a dugout type of canoe, used for traveling in quiet waters. It was steered using a double-ended paddle. This boat was made of one large tree trunk, usually poplar, willow, or Siberian pine. Its shape is similar to a log boat.

In order to navigate rivers, the Oroch used a large riverboat — *ulimagda*. After finding an appropriately sized poplar, they felled it and inserted a small branch into the stump, symbolizing the tree's spirit. It was believed that a failure to insert a branch in the stump would result in the "death" of the wood and that any boat made from it would consequently harm its owner. The boat was made from the bottom up, removing the interior and the heartwood. At the same time, the stern was cut and a shovel-shaped prow was carved out. The wood from the inside of the boat was removed in large pieces using axes and chisels. The interior walls were finished using an adze with a concave blade. The stern and prow of properly manufactured *ulimagda* are slightly upturned. When afloat on the river, the prow does not slice the water; rather it "makes its way." A similar Russian boat is called a *bat*.

Oroch women and men are equally at home on the water. When a boat is traveling downstream, the woman is always located at the stern. When traveling upstream, they change positions. The *ulimagda* was used to transport cargo during moves between camps, while the dugout boat was usually used for hunting. Dugouts are still in use today for hunting, while the *ulimagda*, widely used up until the 1960s, are seen only rarely today. Factory-built boats with outboard motors have replaced them.

Individual transportation in the winter was accomplished with skis. There were two types of skis — basic skis and those with skins sewn to the bottoms. Basic skis were used in the spring, when the snow cover was hard and icy. The Oroch used a special staff when traveling on skis. The bottom of the staff had a tip made from red deer horn. The top end was carved into the shape of a shovel for digging in the snow. Fur-bottomed skis are still widely used today.

In the winter months, the Oroch used a low sled for transporting loads. The sled was made with runners, bent at both ends, an upper frame

with flooring made from strips of willow. The Oroch also made use of a transport sled of the eastern Siberian type. The Oroch harnessed dogs to this sled, and drove the harness dogs from a sitting position. Prior to a trip, the dogs were kept on leash, in order that they pull more energetically.

Settlements and housing

The character of villages and camps determined Oroch architecture. All settlements and camps were along rivers at significant distances from each other. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Oroch had forty-seven settlements. There were both temporary and permanent settlements. Temporary camps consisting of simple huts were sited near to where they were working at harvest, hunting, or fishing. Oroch could live on these sites from a few days to two to three months. In permanent settlements most buildings were half-dugouts supported with timbers.

The most common building was a hut with two sloping sides (*kava*) and vertical walls that could be used both in summer and winter. Winter huts were built with at least three thick poles. The roof and sidewalls were covered with pine bark, leaving an opening for smoke that could be covered in bad weather. The building's entrance was always on the leeward side and faced the river. Inside, the building had a two-tiered platform used for household activities. The area under the hearth was sprinkled with gravel and set off by wooden beams smeared in clay. Plank-beds were placed along the walls for sleeping. They slept with their heads to the wall, covered in a blanket made from dog or musk deer skins. Men usually slept across from the hearth, while women were located in the corner to the left of the door.

In the winter, the Oroch lived in semi-dugouts heated with a stove. The building had a roof with two sloping sides and stood directly on the ground. To build it, they dug a hole and then built a framework of three or four wooden posts over the hole. In the front and rear, they drove in vertical stakes upon which a joist was placed. Every 60–70 centimeters along that joist they placed poles. The resulting shape was boxlike with a skeletal roof and the hut itself. The roof timbers were covered in two layers of birch and pine bark. There were no windows on these semi-dugout huts. The entrance faced toward the river and was covered by a door made from several layers of birch bark or a skin-covered wooden frame. Timbers partitioned the front and back walls of the hut. The exterior framing of the house was covered in earth. A mudroom was built at the doorway. During the winter months, dogs and household equipment were kept here.

Inside the building, it was divided into three parts across its length by timbers. The sides were covered in earth. Bunks were arranged here, covered in birch bark and animal skins. In the center of the house stood the hearth, surrounded by stones. Women occupied the domestic

side of the winter cabin, while men were beyond the hearth across from the doorway. Summer buildings had the same interior layout as did winter huts.

A temporary building known as the *bolodzhe* was much simpler in its construction. Oroch fishermen used these during warmer months. A *bolodzhe* also had a two-sided slanted roof placed directly on the ground. The frame of the hut had two pairs of poles connected with a lengthwise beam to which other poles were connected at a slant, forming the walls of the building. On one of these facades there was an entryway with an attached small mudroom. This summer hut was covered with one layer of birch bark. There were other non-residential buildings, the most frequent of which were lean-tos (*okto*), providing shelter against the wind. In times of need, one could also quickly convert this type of building into a two-sided shelter hut. In places where the Oroch were regularly active, they built conical huts, similar in appearance to a tent.

Alongside domestic buildings, the Oroch also built structures for husbandry: storehouses on pilings, sheds, hanging racks for drying nets and other items. At the end of the nineteenth century, some Oroch began building homes in the Russian architectural style. Initially, they were built by Russian soldiers billeted in the area around Imperatorskaya Gavan'. Consequently, the Oroch themselves learned to build wooden buildings.

Clothing

Traditional clothing was maximally adapted to the life of taiga hunters and fishermen. In terms of both appearance and design, men's and women's clothing differed only in a few details and sizing. A woman's robe, for example, extended to her calves, while a man's reached to the knees and sometimes a little bit lower.

Men's and women's traditional outer robes belong to the Western type kimono design. Their front, rear, and the upper sleeves were cut from one piece of prepared fish skin (or animal fur or fabric) folded over at the shoulders.

The front piece was two equal parts, the left side including a flap that stretched out to cover the right side of the robe as well. The top of the left side had an opening leading from the neck hole to the right armpit. The side seams of the robe had artfully inserted gussets. The robe's left panel completely covered the right side and attached there with three to five buttons.

There were summer robes (unlined), spring-autumn robes (lined), and winter robes made from animal furs or thick fabric lined with batting. In addition to robes, the Oroch sewed skin coats from deer young elk, with the fur on the exterior. The clothes worn underneath robes were quite varied. They included leggings (*nogovitsy*) made from fish skin

or kid leather and dog skin, and pants women's tops made from deer or elk suede. Women's pants had a square set of underpants built in. In the winter, women wore a fitted shirt of the Evenk or Amur type.

Oroch hunting costumes were well adapted to the specific winter conditions of the taiga. A man wore short suede pants against his skin and atop that a wide leather belt with rings to which leggings could be buttoned. Men's leggings were made of grayling fish skin and were long and tapered in appearance, covering the entire leg down to the ankles. A robe of elk suede ends just above the knee, with the left flap reaching over and buttoning at the far edge of the right flap. The robe is tied with a narrow leather belt wrapped twice around the waist and trimmed on one end with an ornamental bone buckle.

On top of the robe, hunters wore a fur sleeveless waistcoat of two furs made from the head of a moose, seamed at the shoulders. One fur covered the chest and the other — the back. Along the sides, they had three sets of ties on each side. Winter hunting costumes were rounded out with a fur scarf, made from squirrel, ferret, or Siberian weasel tails. Sleeves were made from dog furs or a thick fabric lined with batting. For autumn hunting, they made special sleeves of fish skin.

Oroch male headwear was very similar to that of the Nanai. In the summer, they wore conical, richly ornaments hats of birch bark, soft felted hats with a tall crown and narrow sides. Winter hats were round caps. Traditional women's headwear closely resembled Ul'chi men's hats, in both form and design.

Traditional Oroch footwear precisely reflects elements characteristic of taiga hunting culture: socks for winter hunting footwear with a pointier, turned-up toe unlike that worn by settled fishermen. This type of footwear is more comfortable for traveling with skis. In this respect, Oroch footwear is very similar to that of Evenk, Nanai, and Ul'chi.

Footwear called *unta* made from taimen fish skin was especially prized. This was an Amur-type boot, resembling a slipper, with turned-up, pointy toes and wide, low boot tops that open in the front. The boot tops wrapped around the legs, crossing over each other two-three times and then tied with suede ties. Over this, leggings stretched down to the ankles, neatly protecting the boots from snow getting in. When heading out for a hunt, they also wore stockings made from dog, roe deer or reindeer skin, with the fur on the inside. Hunters slept and rested in these stockings, drying them by the fire.

As with other peoples in the Amur region, the Oroch used a variety of decorative arts, making their outer clothes bright and expressive. Women liked to wear silver earrings. Small simple earrings were ring-shaped and made of silver wire. Complex earrings were made of rings from which small semi-transparent stone disks hung. Right up until the 1920s, both women and men wore spiral silver rings in their noses.

Today, most Oroch wear clothing of European design. Some families still wear traditional clothing for holidays and funeral ceremonies.

Food

Oroch cuisine did not have a great deal of variety. Breakfast consisted of a thick porridge or fish. The latter was a liquid pudding made of fish heads, mixed with reindeer or seal fat. For lunch, fried meat was served, drunk with a fish broth. Dinner was usually boiled meat or boiled cured fish. They always drank hot tea before and after a meal.

All these traditional dishes, made from fish, meat, wild plants, and roots were prepared without the use of salt. Their main food staple was river and ocean fish. They used almost all types of fish. The main method of conservation was curing. Pink and chum salmon were preserved for future use by first browning the meat and then curing it. To accomplish this, fish were strung on skewers and placed at a slant near the fire. From time to time, the skewers were turned. After they were cooked through, the skewers were left to dry in the sun. Finally, they were stored in a birch box and kept in storage long periods. The Udeghe, Ul'chi, and Nanai also used this type of fish preparation. Cured fish was used in a variety of ways — soaked, steamed, fried, and boiled. One favorite dish was cured fish with berries, served with seal fat. Fish was also used raw, frozen, and boiled. Dishes made from raw meat or fish were called *tala*.

They made a fish soup known as *okto*. Fish soups followed very specific rules for preparation. It was ready when all foam had dissipated and was usually made from two to four types of fish. Fish soup from pink salmon or chum salmon were exceptions to this rule. They also added finely chopped seaweed to hot fish soup, after which the broth thickened. It was eaten with chopsticks.

The wide use of "ready-made" foods was a distinct characteristic of Oroch fish cuisine. These prepared foods kept for long periods despite their nomadic lifestyle. A fish pate known as *taksa takhti* was widespread. A large fish was lightly salted and braised until the meat was just falling off the bones. Fried meat was stored in tightly closed birchbark containers. Before eating, it was mixed with bear or boar fat and reheated, served with dried berries or bird cherry pancakes. The Udeghe, Nanai, and Ul'chi have a similar dish.

For meat, the Oroch ate most wild animals and birds, as well as seals, Steller's sea lion, and dog. Fowl were baked unplucked and coated in clay on coals. Meat was eaten boiled, fried, cured, baked, and raw. Moose and red deer meat was considered tastiest underdone. Bear and boar meat was always thoroughly boiled. Fresh meat from the legs, liver, kidneys, eyes, moose head, red deer, and roe deer was eaten raw, as was frozen meat from the hindquarters (*oukta*). Hunters drank fresh moose blood while they worked at slaughter, and at home moose blood was made into sausages (*tampu*).

Plants and other vegetation played an important role in Oroch nutrition. In addition to berries, wild strawberries, and other fruit, they also

used tree bark and buds. In the spring, they drank sap from poplars, birch, maple, and aspen. A variety of medicinal preparations were made from dog rose, hawthorn, and shelf fungus. Teas were made from lingonberry leaves and the stems and berries of the Chinese lemon (*Schisandra chinensis*), the latter of which had energizing properties. Wild ginger and onions were used fresh, dry, and lightly fermented as seasoning for meat dishes. They ate both fresh and dried berried. Bird cherry fruit was made into flatbreads. First they were sun-dried and then further dried over the fire. In the winter, they pounded the pancakes and ate them with seal, bear, or badger fat, as well as dried fish roe or fish pate.

The Oroch received grains, tea, tobacco, sugar, vodka, and flour from the Russians and Chinese. Later, they began to use potatoes, vegetables, cow milk, *braga* (a beer), and *kvas*. Nonetheless, these foodstuffs were not widely used.

The Oroch had special dishware for the preparation, storage, and transport of food. They made dishes, cups, bowls, and boxes of birchbark for storage of food, dishes, and other things. Birchbark implements were decorated, possessed sophisticated forms, and exuded practicality. A significant amount of their dishes were made from wood. They washed dishes using bird cherry wood shavings. The Oroch also used metal implements. They made grills for frying fish and graters for roe from iron. Metal cauldrons appeared much later, but were highly valued. They acquired teakettles from Manchu merchants and frying pans from Russian merchants. They did not make dishware from clay or porcelain.

Religion and spiritual culture

When it came to ideology, the Oroch were animists. The basis for this worldview comes from a sense that the surrounding world is a living organism, and that all of its numerous residents (people, animals, birds, fish, etc.) are filled with spirit. The spirit of a living being may be in the tip of its nose, or perhaps in its fur or toenails. It was for this reason that hunters, having killed and skinned their prey, would cut off the tip of the animal's nose and kept it as a talisman for luck. Trees have spirits as well, located in their roots. Household implements were not to be made from spiritless trees (i.e., dried out, worm-eaten, etc.), since the resulting tools would also lack a spirit and could harm the owner. Mountaintops, cliffs, mountain streams, and rivers also have spirits. In the Oroch belief system, there is also a category of clan spirits. Those who perish by drowning, fire, or are killed by a bear or a tiger can be turned into spirits. It is their job to help fellow clan-members.

For the Oroch, the world consists of the heavens (*bu-a*), the earth (*na-a*) and the underworld (*buni*). Deities and good spirits populate the heavens ruled over by a supreme deity named *Enduri*. *Enduri* usually appears as a tall old man with a long gray beard. *Enduri* lives in the sky

with his wife *Enduri mamacha*. As supreme deity, *Enduri* oversees life in all three worlds, relying on his helper *edzeni* — local masters, natural occurrences, animals, bird, fish, etc. Thunder (*agdy*) is considered to be an important helper and appears as a large snake with paws and wings, breathing fire from its jaws.

The master spirit of the earth, *naa edzeni*, was much honored. According to Oroch beliefs, it was forbidden to dig using a sharp implement, for fear of hurting him. Before pouring a hot liquid onto the earth, it was important to warn the spirit to move his legs out of harm's way. The Oroch always prayed to the earth's spirit before hunting or fishing, asking for success.

The spirit *Temu* was considered to be master of the seas. He resembled an enormous grey-bearded old man, living somewhere to the north in the sea and providing the Oroch with fish. When setting out to hunt marine mammals, the Oroch always made an offering of tobacco to *Temu*. The Oroch believed that each spirit-master possessed an earthly form. For example, *Toni*, spirit of the moose was a gigantic moose. The sable spirit was *Noso edzeni*, and the grass snake's spirit was *Ugguma edzeni*.

The master fire spirit, *Pudzya*, was especially important to the Oroch. Many taboos are associated with fire worship. While camping overnight in the taiga, it was forbidden to lay with one's head at the end of a log, if the other end was in the fire. It was also taboo to cut such a log with an axe or a knife, nor was it permissible to chop meat on it. Playing with embers or moving coals with a stick was also forbidden. Earlier, each clan maintained its fire, carefully protected. Persons from outside the clan were not allowed to leave the building without extinguishing pipes lit from the hearth.

In addition to spirit-masters and spirit-protectors who provided help, there are also evil spirits, capable of inflicting all sorts of ill on a person: taking away good hunting luck, sending illness, ruining a good mood, or simply laughing at him or her. The Oroch tried to ward off evil spirits through the use of amulets — generally known as *seveki*.

Tiger and bear worship was also common among the Oroch, as was the worship of cliffs. In honor of the latter, they conducted rituals connecting the cliffs with their ancestry. For example, the Akunka clan of Oroch believe that they are descendants of the Sidaki Cliffs at the mouth of the Akur River. Descendants of the Mulinka clan assert that their ancestors were born from cliffs along the Mulin River. Even today, some Oroch worships at cliffs along the riverbank near the village of Datta.

Since the Oroch considered the bear to be an ancestor, they tried to please and placate bears in any way possible. If a bear were killed, then they would ask forgiveness of the dead animal. This was done to prevent the bear's spirit from taking offense at the hunter. People were convinced that such spirits would, after some period, find another bear

to inhabit and live on as it had before. Belief in the rebirth of bears led to a special ritual — the bear's holiday. At first, this celebration only occurred with a bear was successfully killed. Later, the ritual took place when a hand-raised bear was sacrificed. Only men participated in this celebratory ritual, while women were relegated to playing a drum.

The cults of the bear and tiger are closely related to the cult of twins for the Oroch. They believed that animal spirits participate in the birth of twins, and more often than not those participating are animal-ancestors. Twins were considered to be a gift of fate, bringing joy to the entire clan, because their birth signified another successful intermarriage with a sacred animal.

At death, the Oroch believed that a person's spirit entered the afterworld. It was important that a spirit travel there with clothing and domestic and hunting implements. Pre-made burial clothing was stored in a special pit and tied to the nearest arm at death. If the deceased were buried in everyday clothing, then it would spoil. The same was done with footwear and all other articles.

The Oroch practiced several types of burial: aerially in tree branches, ground level on high tree stumps or on a scaffold, underground burial, and cremation. Dead infants were buried in coffins carved into the shape of a bird, usually a duck, and placed in the crook of a tree. Twins under the age of one year who died at the same time were also laid to rest in that way. In early times, a coffin could be made of an old boat. At the end of the turn of the twentieth century, coffins were made of boards hammered together in the shape of a rectangular box. The deceased was usually buried with his head to the west, although coastal Oroch were buried with their heads to the sea. Today, all burials are underground. Tombs have headstones and fences. The Oroch, as do Russians, regularly visit the cemetery.

Shamans played an important role in Oroch life. Not only were they folk healers, but they also served as the keepers of clan law and tradition. There were powerful shamans and apprentices. Apprentices treated simple illnesses. With time, the apprentice learned all the nuances of shamanic ritual and séances, learned the secrets of interaction with spirits and became a powerful shaman, whom the Oroch call *Sagdy Samani*. Each large settlement had a powerful shaman. Apprentice shamans had only a ceremonial drum and drumstick. Rituals and séances were conducted in their everyday clothing, with apprentices only occasional wearing a shamanic belt. Full-fledged shamans had more extensive equipment — a multitude of spirit images (*seveki*), places for shamanic sacrifices, a special structure for rituals consisting of wooden posts or trees with forked major branches. Wooden birds were placed amongst the branches or framework. Along with this structure, there were tools for burning ledum (also called Labrador Tea). The shaman's most important function was to conduct spirits of the deceased to the afterworld.

The traditional worldview of the Oroch has changed significantly in modern times. The veneration of bears and tigers as ancestors is only found amongst the oldest Oroch, and they no longer conduct bear holidays — the last such event took place more than fifty years ago. Although they still worship spirits — fire spirits, cliff ancestors, and fish spirits — these practices have changed significantly over time. Burial ceremonies are completely transformed under the influence of Russian culture and natural change in the lives of the Oroch themselves.

Folklore

Oroch oral folk traditions represent a variety of genres: myth, historical legend, magical tales, riddles, etc. Musical folklore is a particularly fine example of traditional spiritual Oroch culture. A number of kinds of songs are known: everyday, lyrical, ceremonial, shamanic, and others. Musical instruments sometimes accompanied songs. The Oroch had a fairly developed culture in terms of musical instruments. They had wind instruments (whistles, reed pipes) and stringed instruments. In addition, they used drums and other percussion instruments (idiophones). Musical instruments accompanied important events within the family, during shamanic rituals, and large-scale holiday events.

The bear holiday used an idiophone instrument known as the *uzazinku* (musical log) — a long round beam of dried timber. This was hung horizontal to the ground and women beat on it using thin sticks in accompaniment, producing a sound meant to resemble birds pecking. Another idiophonic instrument was the shaman's belt, hung with dangling bits, sound-makers, copper bells, flat metallic pieces, and animal and bird bones, each piece possessing a magical use — scaring away evil spirits.

The *vargan*, or mouth harp, was made of metal or laminate (bamboo, yew, or rushes). In the past, this instrument was connected to the burial ritual, but in recent years, it is played solo, for brief improvisational tunes. With stringed instruments, the Oroch were known to play a bowed instrument called the *dydumanki* — a hollow cylinder made from birchbark with one horsehair string. The upper end of the cylinder was covered with a fish skin membrane. Today, almost all traditional Oroch musical instruments have fallen out of use.

Arts and crafts

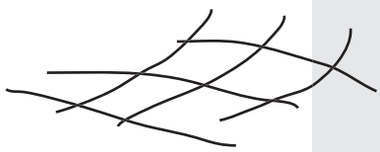
As with other Amur peoples, the Oroch decorative arts can be divided amongst men and women. The men were known for wood and bone carving, while women decorated birchbark implements, clothing, and footwear. The Oroch were no less masters of artistic fur prepara-

tion than were the Evenk and Even. Oroch decorative arts used simple geometric ornamentation with curving lines ("Amur spiral") as well as animal motifs. That said, the Oroch color spectrum was quite meager. Although they used only two or three colors (yellow and brown or yellow and black), they used them to great effect, with contrasting tones creating the impression of multiple colors.

The Oroch's actual methods and ornamental arts possessed a number of distinctions. Their technique of applying ornamentation by painting in black or brownish-red on suede is quite unusual. Another popular technique was the use of mosaic patterns consisting of square or rectangular pieces of colored fabric. The Oroch also embroidered moose suede with silk thread. Overall in comparison to the Udeghe, Oroch decorative arts attest to the relatively large influence of Tungus elements on Oroch artistic culture.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Ethnic leadership — teachers, doctors, and cultural outreach workers — plays a significant role in the cultural life of modern-day Oroch. Population distribution patterns in recent years, including a large urban population (41% in Khabarovsk Kray), and the small number living in villages, underline an undeniable and lamentable fact for the Oroch — the basis for traditional cultural life is utterly destroyed. The same is true for the Oroch language. In 1989, only 17.8% of Oroch claimed it as their native language. This statistic is the lowest amongst all indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East. Assimilation has been the determining factor in Oroch ethnic processes since the 1960s. Today, more than 90% of all children born to Oroch mothers have fathers of a different ethnicity, mainly Russian. Ethnic mixing has reached such proportions that it is likely that within several years there will no longer be any "pure" Oroch. Despite theses assimilative processes, Oroch ethnic consciousness is growing, aided in no small part by the democratization of community life that took place in the late 1980s. Oroch social organizations with the goal of resurrecting traditional culture and lifestyles have been established in the village of Snezhniy (Komsomol'skiy District), as well as in other villages in Vaninskiy and Sovgavanskiy Districts, including Usk'ye-Orochskaya and Datta.



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OROK

The Orok people are indigenous inhabitants of Sakhalin Island in the Russian Federation. They call themselves *ul'ta*, *ol'cha*, *ul'cha* (of the reindeer, from ula meaning "reindeer"). Neighboring peoples, the Oroch and Ul'chi, called them by this name, and the Orok themselves took it as a self-name. The ethnonym Orok is of Ainu origin. Subsequent to the Ainu, the Japanese and Sakhalin Nivkh began calling them Orok as well. During his Amur expedition, G. N. Nevel'skiy first described the Orok as *tozung*, as the Orok were called by the Amur Nivkh. Local Russians called the Orok *Orochony*. The ethnonym Orok was introduced to scientific literature by L. I. Shrenk.

Language

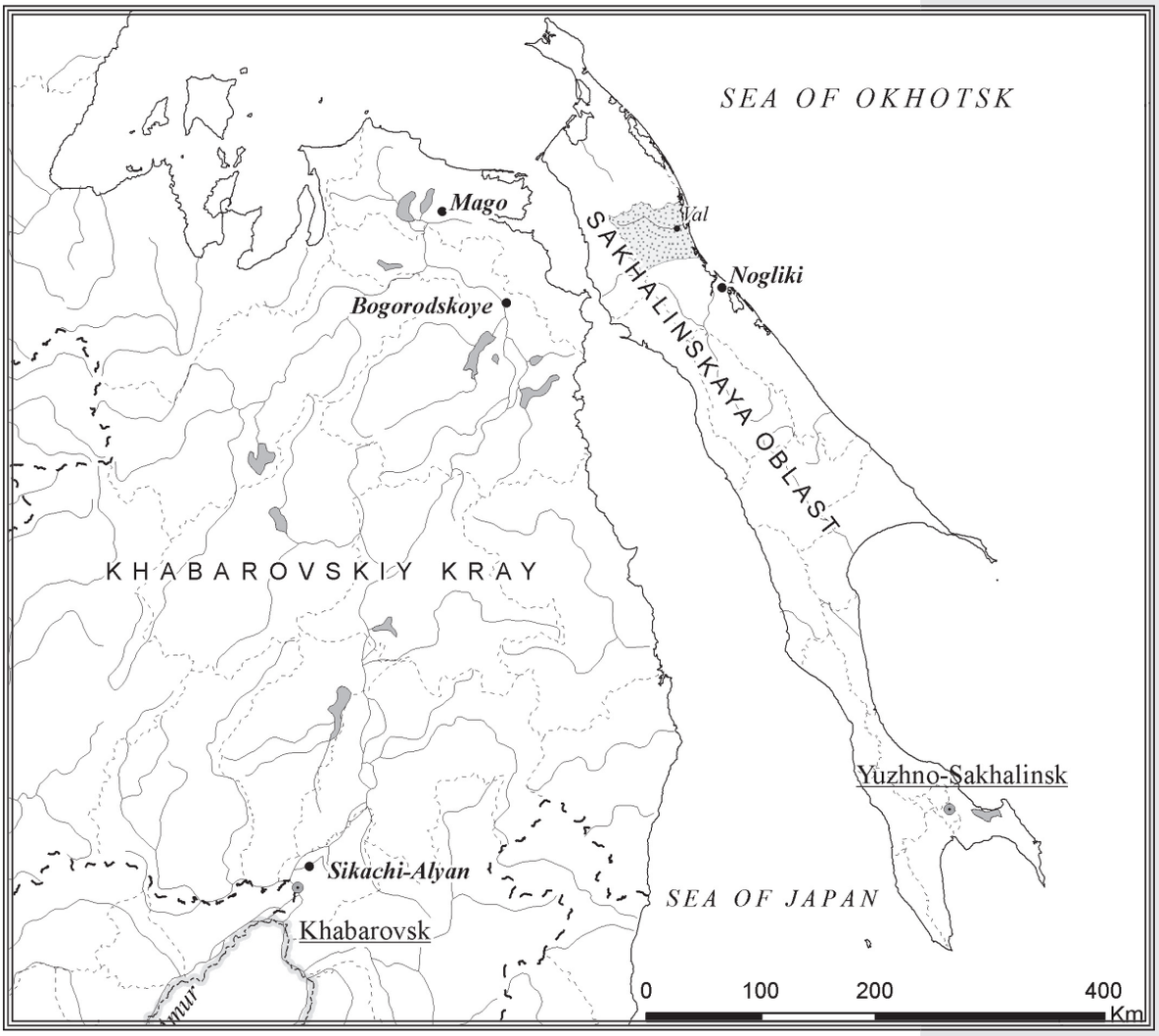
They speak Orok, a language that belongs to the Amur subgroup of the Manchu-Tungus language family. The Orok language has two dialects (vernaculars) — northern and southern. The southern dialect has similarities to the Nanai, Ul'chi, Oroch, and Udeghe languages, while Evenk and Negidal influence the northern dialect. The Orok language has no writing system. 44.7% of all Orok claimed it as their native language in 1989.

Ethnogenesis

There are two perspectives regarding the origins of the Orok people. In accordance with L. I. Shrenk's hypothesis, the Orok and Ul'chi were at one time a single reindeer-herding people that lived nomadically along the Stanovoy Ridge (in southern Yakutiya). Reaching the Amur River lowlands, they separated into two groups: the Orok went to Sakhalin and continued their reindeer husbandry, while the Ul'chi remained in the Amur region and changed activities. A number of nineteenth century researchers assumed that the Orok were Tungus (Evenk) that resettled on Sakhalin from the mainland. However, Orok ethnographic and cultural particulars, their specific clan structure, and linguistic relics permit the assumption that the Orok are ancient settlers of Sakhalin.

Population, settlements, and Ethnic self-awareness

Researchers have not determined the Orok's boundaries between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. They settled as far north



Current territory of residence of the Orok in Russia

as the Shmidt Peninsula, reaching Aniva Bay in the south. Overall, the Orok settled significant mountain taiga and coastal regions on Sakhalin without intruding on Nivkh or Ainu lands. The twentieth century fate of the Orok is closely intertwined with the history of Sakhalin Island. After 1905, when South Sakhalin became part of Japan, the Orok began to divide into two isolated ethnographic groups. In the Karafuto Province (Southern Sakhalin), the majority of Orok settled on Severniy Island at the mouth of the Poronay River and became fishermen. After Southern Sakhalin was liberated, a few southern Orok migrated with the repatriated Japanese population to Japan. They still live in the small settlement of Abassiri on Hokkaido. Northern Russian Orok continued their traditional activities, gradually settling in the village of Val in Noglikskiy District. They also live in Nogliki, Viakhtu village in Aleksandrovskiy District, Smirniye, in settlements in Okhinskiy and Poronayskiy Districts, in the cities of Poronaysk and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, as well as beyond the borders of Sakhalin Oblast.

Today, almost half of all Orok (144 people) live in the village of Val. This is a large multi-ethnic settlement, where the majority of

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

inhabitants are immigrants. In recent years, the village's numbers have significantly decreased (from 3,000 in 1989 to 1,000 in 1995), but even so the Orok still constitute barely 15% of the total. Of other indigenous Northern peoples, sixty-one Evenk and forty-two Nivkh also live here. Contemporary Val consists of several micro-regions in which inhabitants are grouped by professional attributes. Together with the Evenk, the Orok live in an old section of the village in wooden single-story gas-heated buildings built in the *kolkhoz* era.

The exact population of the Orok is unknown. The Orok were not identified in Soviet census materials prior to 1989. Instead, Oroch (an entirely different people) were counted on Sakhalin. For example, in 1979, 317 Oroch were counted in Sakhalin Oblast. The similarity of the two ethnonyms led to extreme confusion in statistics, as a result of which the Orok were not identified as a separate people, but instead the number of Oroch was baselessly increased with Orok data. 1989 census data identified Orok on a separate line, counting 212 individuals and 123 Oroch on Sakhalin. Comparison of this data with 1979 data shows that the same ethnic people are being discussed — the Orok, who were counted under two names during the last census. The accuracy of this conclusion is affirmed by the results of special research conducted in 1990, when 320 Orok were counted in Sakhalin settlements.

It is worth noting that the Orok themselves do not use the term Orok, nor does it appear in their passports. For most of them, the corresponding line in their passport states "Orochon" (male) or "Orochonka" (female). Attempts in the late 1980s by the state to correct this were met with resistance by the Orok. There was also minimal success when organizers of the 1989 census attempted to record as Orok those calling themselves Orochon. Since the *Dictionary of Ethnic Nationalities*, prepared specially for this census, did not recognize such a nationality, all Orochon were recorded as Oroch. Persistent attempts to assign these people a label not theirs led to a new effort to return to their original ethnic self-name — *ul'ta*. A corresponding request was made to the Upper Soviet (Council) of the Soviet Union, but no official decision was made. In the meantime, in recent years this term can be found more and more often in scientific literature.

Social organization

Historically, the Orok were divided into exogamous patrilineal clans. They have fifteen clan associations: Getta, Torsya, Boyausa, Namissa, Valetta, and others. Some of these were found only in the north, while others were only in the south. Orok clan organization, as with other Amur indigenous peoples, had the institution of *dokha*. Relicts of clan organization persevered for a long time, including during the Soviet years: meat of a slaughtered seal was divided among all members of a

camp, bear holidays were organized on clan basis, etc. Clans played an important role in regulating marriages and in matters relating to inheritance of property. By the start of the twentieth century, individual families were the predominant position in their community structure. Marriages included paying the bride price, which was required to be equal in value to the bride's dowry. Another option was working off the cost of marriage, and there were instances of kidnapping the bride.

Subsistence activities

The Orok combined a number of economic activities, including taiga hunting, marine mammal hunting, fishing, gathering, and reindeer husbandry. In the taiga, they hunted from the backs of reindeer (in the winter). Their primary hunting targets were brown bear (*boye*), wild northern reindeer (*siro*), and sometimes musk deer. They set snares for bears when adult males left their dens at the start of winter. In this case, they usually hunted in pairs or threes. Two hunters rousted the bear with long sticks, while the third waited at the den's entrance with a spear. Each successful bear hunt was marked with a celebration and ritual ceremonies. In the past, they killed wild reindeer with a bow (*burikhe*) or crossbow (*dengure*). At the turn of the twentieth century, firearms replaced these traditional methods, and all hunters had threaded carbines and hunting rifles. They also had an unusual hunting method using decoys. Domesticated reindeer were stationed near wild reindeer. The wild males, distracted by fights for the attention of females, dropped their caution and allowed hunters to get close.

Fur hunting was an ancient tradition among the Orok. Harvested furs were used not just within their households but also for commercial trade. They hunted sable (*sepe*), fox (*suli*), wolverine (*ayle*), and squirrel (*kholo*). For hunting gear, they used snares (*puta*) and crossbow traps (*dengure*). Orok snare traps were similar to those used by Amur peoples and the Sakhalin Nivkh and Ainu. Snares were set on logs laid across small streams. To prevent the animal from going around the baited trap, they set traps in narrow corridors made with stakes on either side of the log. They also used a variety of deadfall traps. Fox were caught using an unusual trap also used by the Ul'chi. They hung a fish as bait in a narrow forked branch of a small tree. The animal, trying to reach the bait, jumped onto the tree and trapped a paw in the forked branch. Some hunters made their own such traps from wood.

Bird hunting was an important activity for the Orok. They hunted upland fowl with snares: wood grouse (*poro*), partridge (*kabela*), etc. Women and children also engaged in this subsistence activity. In the spring and fall they hunted geese (*nunna*), ducks, loons, and other waterfowl on numerous lakes and bays on the eastern coastline. As a rule, they hunted from boats using bows and, later, firearms.

Marine mammal hunting was another vital activity for the Orok. Ritual offerings made at the beginning of that hunting season are a testament to its importance. Folklore materials also give an indication of the ancient nature of this practice. Usually, the marine mammal hunting season began at winter's end on the fast ice or on drifting ice. Two to three people set out to hunt. Larger expeditions set out on longer trips in boats across the open water. They caught a variety of seal species. They laid in wait for animals at holes in the ice. When an animal came up for air, they harpooned it using a *dargi* harpoon. During hunting over water from boats, they used harpoons with a float (*lakhu*). At the nineteenth century's end, they began using firearms. They used the meat and fat of marine mammals for food and made clothing and footwear from the skins.

Fishing and marine mammal hunting were the main summer occupations of the Orok. They mainly fished for pink, chum, coho, and masu (cherry) salmon and caught them using nets set in the mouths of rivers or even in the sea as the fish approached rivers. Fish caught at sea was considered tastier. Nets were set when the tide began to flood. When the tide began to ebb, they collected them again. During the first decades of the twentieth century, they still used some traditional fishing techniques: wooden fish weirs (in the form of a stake weir), toggle-headed fishing spears with a hook-shaped tip, and braided *sipsi* "mouth" traps. Most of these fell out of use by the end of the 1940s.

Gathering was another important summer activity. Women and children were responsible for this task. The majority of the gathered items were preserved for use over the winter. They went out into the taiga at the beginning of June and stayed there until the salmon began to spawn. They prepared wild garlic (*sidoli*), day lily roots (*karka*), and various berries (*bori*) at the end of summer: salmonberry, bilberry, cranberry, and others.

Reindeer husbandry had a dual role in Orok activities: it assisted and facilitated other activities as well as being an independent activity unto itself. In the winter, the Orok moved together with their reindeer to the headwaters of rivers in mountain valleys, where they were protected from winter winds by the forest. They also hunted during this period. With the approach of spring, the nomadic herders moved closer to the coast to spring and then summer pastures. Overall, reindeer husbandry's main function was to provide the Orok with transportation. They allowed their herds to graze semi-freely and milked lactating females. Under the influence of Sakhalin Evenk, they built fences to contain their animals, but this practice was not widespread.

During the Soviet period reindeer husbandry, although it was not a defining activity in Orok life, was selected as the basis for their new economic structure. By the end of the 1930s all reindeer had become the property of the Val *Kolkhoz* collective farm. Later this *kolkhoz* was

reorganized as a branch of a *sovkhoz* collective farm. A strict work schedule in reindeer brigades left many herders without their customary work, and they were forced to seek other employment in the village. Orok domesticated reindeer quickly became feral in the *sovkhoz* herds, and losses grew. The planned annual herd cull and slaughter was curtailed, and pastures were removed from the commons and instead used for other economic uses. In 1982 only 676 reindeer remained in the Val *Kolkhoz* from the original herd of nearly 5,000 animals. By the 1990s, herds began to increase again as a result of special measures, but this branch of the economy basically became an "elite" sphere employing only 10% of the population. Only a single brigade of herders (ten to thirteen people) cared for the herd. The remaining Orok were forced to work in businesses, organizations, and institutions, where they worked as unqualified and poorly paid workers. Employed Orok could depend only on their paycheck, household gardens, and recreational fishing. The southern Orok living in Poronaysk and other settlements in that district were also largely unconnected to their traditional activities. The *Druzhba* Fishing Collective employed only a few people as hands-on fishermen, and the rest worked as laborers and loaders.

The crisis that took place in the Orok survival system over the Soviet years has prompted many to return to a traditional lifestyle. Many would like to reclaim the property of their ancestors, and a question has arisen about possible privatization of the reindeer belonging to the Val *sovkhoz*. There are a number of complexities regarding that particular question. People are afraid to own semi-feral reindeer as private property, and there is a great deficit in available pastures. The principle of generational succession in relation to reindeer herding has also fallen by the wayside. As of today, there is not a single clan-based reindeer-herding business.

Today's industrial extraction of oil and gas, an industry that has expanded greatly since the late 1950s in Noglikskiy District where the majority of Orok live, is a severe environmental problem for the entire district. It is a particular challenge for the reindeer herding Orok. Over 70% of reindeer pasture has been removed from circulation to be used instead for drilling wells, pipelines, roads, and other industrial infrastructure. The only remaining summer pastures today are located between Pil'tun and Chayvo Bays. In recent years, companies have begun to develop oil and gas deposits along the Okhotsk continental shelf in areas that were traditionally dedicated to marine mammal hunting. Environmental problems related to the development of the oil-bearing shelf impact the interests of the Nivkh population in the region as well. Understanding that the multi-million dollar oil and gas profits are of greater interest to the local government and oil companies than any ecological danger or the preservation of traditional subsistence activities, some Nivkh, especially leaders, are trying to at least ensure some financial benefit,

requiring significant hard-currency "buy-outs." The Orok do not find this approach appealing. Oil extraction near Pil'tun Bay will eliminate their last remaining pastures and along with them their hope of any ethnic renewal. Over recent years, conflicts have arisen between the Nivkh and Orok around the issue of who owns these lands.

Transportation

The Orok's main means of transportation were reindeer. Most of the year they used reindeer for riding and as pack animals, and in the winter they hitched them to sleds. Orok pack harness and riding saddles are Siberian style, without spurs. Riding saddles were customized for men, women, or children. Packs and riding saddles were fastened to the animal at its shoulderblades. Cargo was loaded into wrap around saddlebags, and one reindeer could carry up to fifty kilograms.

The Orok called their reindeer sleds *okso*. Ethnographically, these sleds were the Aldan-Yakut variety of straight stanchioned sleds. Two reindeer pulled cargo sleds, while passenger sleds required only one. They rode driving sleds astride, and sat to one side on cargo sleds, guiding them with a whip and long rein. During winter migrations through deep snow, the driver traveled ahead of the reindeer on skis, laying a path for the caravan. The Orok used two types of skis: simple wooden skis or those covered in legskins. Leather skis were covered in reindeer or seal fur. They used poles to assist their skiing.

Dugout boats were their main forms of transportation over water. Based on their name (*ugda*), they were Nivkh boats. Their construction shows that they are a Sakhalin variation with two projections at the prow and stern. The Sakhalin Ainu had analogous boats. Each family owned one or two of these dugout boats, using them for fishing, marine mammal hunting, and moving household items.

Settlements and housing

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Orok had two settlement categories: seasonally permanent winter and summer (*gasa*) settlements and temporary settlements. Permanent settlements were sited in one and the same location for a long period: at the mouths of rivers, along the seacoast, and near pastures rich in reindeer moss. They generally consisted of one to five homes located at some distance from one another. Their main summer shelter was the *kaura*. This framed structure, built directly on the earth, resembled a hut. The shelter's entrance was on the eastern side and always faced the sea. The frame consisted of six weight-bearing posts arranged in two triangles. Poles and lathe were attached to the central girder and then covered in bark. Small cracks were filled with moss. The center of the shelter contained the hearth, over which

drying racks were hung. If the *kaura* was home to two or three families, they had two hearths. Orok shelters did not have any special place for women. The place opposite the door, *malu*, was considered sacred. The work area adjoining the home was called *tule*. Here, they set up racks for fish, tie posts for dogs, and a *paule* platform or dalu storehouse where they stored household items.

Many Orok lived in *bala* semi-dugout homes in the winter months. They often built these into hillsides. This type of shelter endured into the late 1930s. Ruins of *balas* can still be found at Sakhalin rivers' sources, where the Orok wintered with their reindeer. Up to half a *bala's* height was underground. The exterior was made from several layers of logs and then covered in earth. In general, the semi-dugout resembled a gently sloping hill. It was heated with an iron stove. Inside, benches were arranged along the walls, and the floor was earthen.

Conical *chums* (*aundau*) reminiscent of Siberian Evenk *chums* were used as temporary nomadic housing. The *chum's* frame consisted of three weight-bearing poles connected at the top by a pounded leather strap. Another six poles were leaned against those three. Reindeer or sealskins, fish skin, birchbark, and later canvas were used to cover the frame. Inside, the *chum's* layout was no different that that of the *kaura*. Work structures were located behind the *chum*. In good weather, they cooked over an outdoor fire.

In the winter the southern Orok used a framed *serin buyu duku* shelter with a two-sided pitched roof and thin pole walls connected by a horizontal ridge and upper wall girders. The shelter had two doors and two smoke openings. Inside, the layout was identical to that of similar summer homes used by the northern Orok. Two or three related families lived in such shelters.

At the turn of the twentieth century the Orok began to use another type of shelter — a fabric tent, borrowed from Russian laborers and gold prospectors. By the mid-twentieth century it had replaced all other traditional Orok shelters, becoming the primary housing of reindeer herders. As a rule, they did not buy these tents but made them. The tent was heated with an iron stove, the floor covered with larch branches and reindeer skins, and packsaddles were stored along the walls. They lived summer and winter in tents.

Clothing

Traditional Orok clothing, like their homes and work structures, has much in common with the Amur peoples — the Nanai, Ul'chi, Oroch, and Udeghe. The collective Orok term for clothing is *tetue*. They mainly used fabric to make clothes. In terms of outer clothing, men and women wore robes with a wide left front panel. Women's robes differed from men in that the silhouette was longer and fabrics and decorations were

brighter. They also made a *dokhu* sleeveless undershirt from fabric. Atop the *dokhu* they wore an *ul'bakhu* shirt with a rounded neck hole and turned-down collar. This underclothing was complemented with *peru* short pants (underpants) and long leggings made with a layer of garu calico, which were attached to the pants with a special belts and ties. In the summer, women preferred to wear a long dress, named identically to the shirt, and a robe with a front opening made from fabric over a paper fabric. The Orok usually purchased this clothing from Yakut traders who came to the island.

They generally wore dresses in combination with an elegant bib (*nellu*) and a broadcloth *metaku* hat. The bib was Tungus-style and could be short or long. If long, then usually only married women wore them. They never wore bibs with any other type of clothing, although it was a mandatory element of the bride's marriage clothing and women's burial clothing. Men's clothing also could also include a bib. Bibs were sewn from reindeer skin and worn underneath clothing with the fur facing inward. In the summer, women wore headscarves, and it was not permissible to appear in public without one. There were several ways to wear a scarf. Older women tied them around their heads and twisted it over their foreheads.

Children's clothing differed little from that of adults. It was sewn with openings, turned-down collar and long sleeves. Children's clothing always included a bib, which was tied around the neck and then again lower down around the back.

Clothing and footwear made from animal skins was mainly used for work activities during the colder months. Men's and women's winter clothing included fur coats, fur leggings, suede pants, and fur boots and headwear. The su fur coat was made from reindeer skins with the fur on the exterior. Short work coats (*petegi*) were made from sealskin. They made men's *khosse* skirts from spotted sealskins. This skirt protected the outer clothing from moisture and premature wear. The skirt was also a piece of shaman ritual clothing. The Ul'chi, Negidal, and other Near Amur peoples wore similar skirts.

The most common winter headwear was the *metaka* hat. It was made from three pieces: two in rounded lengthened earflaps and the third covered the brow and back of the head. They also had hood-style headwear, also commonly worn by the Ul'chi and other peoples in the region. Its outer layer was sewn from sealskin and had a lining of fox fur and trim around the face from dog fur. In the past, the Orok made hats from bird feathers. Women's feather hats used loon (*kakkaldaru*) feathers and were worn at particularly important events. Other elements of winter clothing included oversleeves, scarves (including a sort of boa), earmuffs, and mittens with a horizontal vent that allowed the hunter to quickly free his fingers.

Footwear was known for its great variety, many examples of which can still be found today. The collective term for footwear is *utta*. During winter hunting, men were long *muru* boots sewn from reindeer legskins with the fur on the outside. The sole was cut in a separate piece. The inside of the boot was lined with dried *naukta* grass. Shoes were worn with fur socks where the fur was shortened. *Mondoki* were another type of men's winter boot and were made from sealskin with short bootlegs. This type of boot had gathers in the socks and the bootleg was sometimes made from fabric. They also wore these with fur socks. The Orok also had sewn clothing and footwear made from fish skin. Overall, Orok clothing and footwear showed evidence of two cultural layers: Tungus and Amur.

Religion and spiritual culture

Three historically different systems have contributed to the Orok traditional belief system. The oldest of these is the cult of nature spirits and elements of the animal cult. The Orok believe in water, earth, sky, taiga, and fire spirits. They made bloodless ritual sacrifices to all of these spirits. The master spirit of the sea, *Teumu*, received offerings of aspic made with fish skins and served in a special ritual dish in the spring and fall. Women did not participate in these rituals. Ritual offerings to the ocean resembled those of the Nivkh. It was taboo to eat the meat of some animals.

Similar to many Amur peoples, the Orok believed the bear to be a sacred animal. The Orok bear holiday lasted for many days and concluded with the slaughter of a captive-raised bear, ritual consumption of its meat, and burial of its bones. While the Nivkh, Oroch, and Ul'chi organized dogsled races for the bear holiday, the Orok replaced those races with reindeer races. They also ritually killed seals and used the meat for food. During the hunting season, they observed special norms regulating their behavior in relation to the spirit masters of the area in which they worked.

The second religious arena was the shaman cult. Shamanism changed the ancient animal cult somewhat, giving it specific forms. Orok shamanism was similar to that of the Amur region, and mythical personages figured in the shamanic pantheon. The Nanai and Oroch also knew these personages, and their shamanic attributes were also virtually indistinguishable. Their drum had a narrow oval rim. The cult of rituals using wood shavings played a large role in the religious ritual practice. Christianity was a later religious layer — the Orok came into contact with its ritual side in the nineteenth century.

An ancient burial technique involved laying the deceased to rest in a wooden board casket set upon a platform in the tundra. Children were

buried in small troughs, which were hung from two posts. To accompany him to the afterworld (*buni*), the deceased was buried with a spear, reindeer saddle and other necessary objects. As orthodox Christianity spread, burial rituals changed to reflect Christian tradition.

Folklore

Cosmogenic mythology is particularly distinct in Orok folklore. These myths tell of their creator and cultural hero, *Khadau*, about the creation of man and bear, the earth, and the heavenly constellations. *Khadau* is said to have destroyed two extra suns in the heavens and created mountains, rivers, the Milky Way, and others. Legends telling of various historical events to which the Orok were participants and witnesses are another aspect of their folklore. Legends tell of aboriginal Sakhalin Ainu, semi-legendary *tondzyakh*, military conflicts with the Ainu, and domestication of the wild reindeer, etc.

Arts and crafts

Orok representational art had much in common with the art of other peoples in the Amur River basin. Orok ornamentation focused on spirals. It richly embellished clothing and footwear, especially women's clothing, packsaddles, storage bags for handmade items, headrests, reindeer saddles, birchbark items, and other household objects. Woodcarving was also common. Realistic images of people and animals dominated drawings on wooden items.

Contemporary culture and self-government

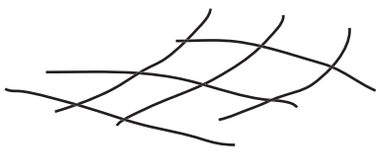
Contemporary cultural life in the villages where Orok live has no distinctly expressed ethnic character. Cultural outreach facilities (houses of culture, clubs, libraries, music schools, etc.) typical in such villages organize their work to accommodate the entire population. For example, in the village of Val, the only mention of its indigenous "flavoring" is the amateur *Sarode* Ensemble, which performs in concert two or three times annually for fellow villagers. 44% of Orok marriages are ethnically mixed, and half of those marriages are with Russians. Orok marriages with the Evenk are not perceived as inter-ethnic. Orok-Nivkh marriages are relatively rare. Differences in economic activities and traditional material and spiritual culture influence marriages.

Reindeer brigades clearly illustrate their ethno-cultural distinctions. Herders spend the majority of each year in the taiga. In the summer, their families travel to them to spend two or three months together. During this time, many elements of their traditional culture can be observed: preparation

of things required for their nomadic lifestyle (saddles, sleds, saddle bags, lassos), preparation of skins and sewing notions for traditional clothing and footwear, training of riding reindeer, food, etc. During these short months, the Orok language can be heard, even if it is no longer spoken in villages. In recent years, efforts are underway to bring it back into use. They are mainly connected to the work of D. Ikegami, a linguist, who has developed an alphabet and writing system. The kindergarten in Val is conducting experimental language instruction on this basis.

A small population and the almost complete loss of native language and many aspects of traditional culture do not, on the face of it, give a lot of hope for the ethnic future of the Orok. The transition of the Orok to become Russian speakers and acquire new activities and a new lifestyle do not, in and of itself, lead to assimilation. There is still a strong ethnic self-awareness. Assimilation is challenged by the variety of anthropological types, not just Russian, but also Nivkh, who are the main indigenous population of Sakhalin. In these conditions it is more accurate to speak not of Orok assimilation but of acculturation. The Orok are not taking on the culture of another ethnos but an urbanizing culture, which has no distinctly expressed ethnic aspects. At the same time, in places where they live in contact with the Evenk, who share many common cultural characteristics, the merging of these two communities is entirely possible. It is difficult to predict which ethnonym would disappear in that instance.

The Orok do not have any self-governing agencies. The Sakhalin Oblast chapter of the Association of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North is responsible for those functions. The Association unites all indigenous minority peoples residing in Noglikskiy, Okhinskiy, Poronayskiy, Smirnykhovskiy, and Tymovskiy Districts of the Oblast and has territorial and ethnic subdivisions in each one of these districts.



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SAMI

The Sami people live in the Russian Federation, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. Those living in Russia constitute the eastern branch of the population and are known as the Kola Sami. They call themselves *saam"*, same, and by the older name *lopari*. Linguistics trace *lopar* to the Finnish 'Iare' and 'Iarea' (meaning 'side' or 'place'). Russian sources cite the ethnonym *lop'* and *lopari* beginning at the end of the fourteenth century and it was probably borrowed from the Scandinavians. *Sami* living in Sweden and Norway refer to themselves as the *samer*, while the Finnish Sami prefer *sammit*.



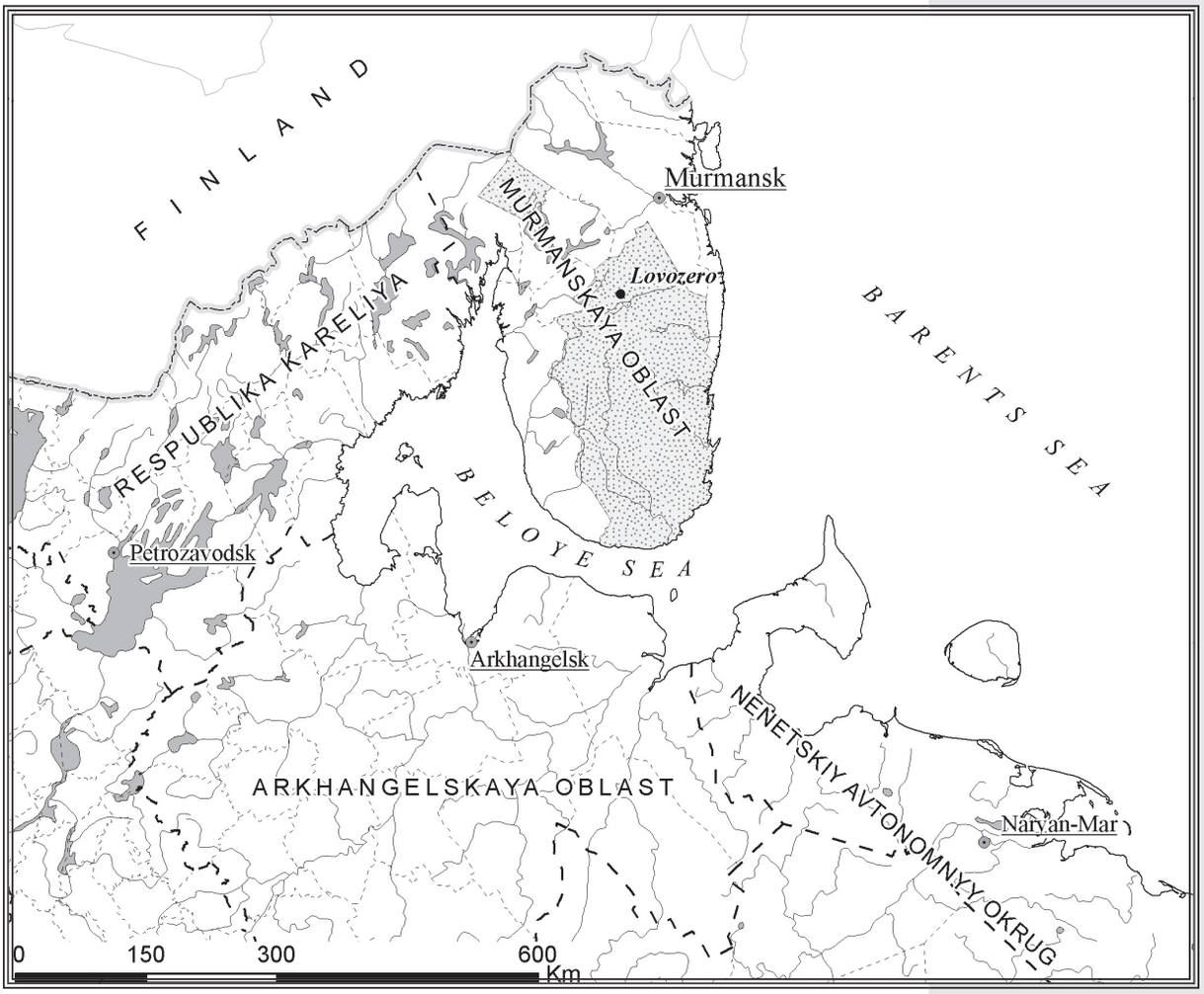
Language

Anthropologically speaking, they are a varied people. Their basic anthropological appearance has Laponoid (Alpine) racial elements, part of the large Europoid racial group. They speak the Sami language, the primary language in the Finno-Ugric language group. It is most closely related to Baltic Finno-Ugric languages. The Kola Sami language has four dialects (Iokangskiy, Kildinskiy, Notozerskiy, Babenskiy) and a number of vernaculars. Their writing system is based on the Russian alphabet.

Ethnogenesis

The Sami descend from an ancient population in northern Europe. The Sami ethnos formed from two main components: descendants of the aboriginal Sperrings culture (a pre-Finno-Ugric language substrate with several specific cultural characteristics, anthropological types) and migrants from the lands lying between the Volga and Oka Rivers. As a result, by the first millennium BC, a relatively homogenous ethnic population had arisen in northern Europe. The Sami are considered descendants of this population.

The eastern branch of the Sami lives on the Kola Peninsula in Murmansk Oblast. A small group of eastern Sami (Skolt-Sami) lives in Neiden (northeastern Norway) and in Sevettijärvi (northeastern Finland). Their ancestors left the Pechenga region when it became part of Russia after World War II.



Current territory of residence of the Sami in Russia

Territory and Population

In the past the Sami inhabited a large territory reaching to the south and east of their current range, but they were gradually pushed northward by other peoples and partly assimilated.

Seventeenth century Russian sources distinguished between four tribal groups (*lop'*) of Kola Sami: Terskaya lop' (near the Ponoy and Iokanga Rivers), Leshaya (forest) lop' (near Kanda River and Kovdozero Lake), Verkhnyaya Zemlya lop' (around Notozero Lake), and Konchanskaya lop' (Kil'din, Motka, Pechenga). These groups had significant linguistic and lifestyle differences. There were fifteen Sami unions (*pogosts*) on the Kola Peninsula. By the twentieth century's start, there were seventeen. Each of these *pogosts* had its own territory upon which Sami from other *pogosts* were not permitted to hunt or fish.

Various sources assess the Sami population at 50,000 to 60,000 people. There are approximately 30,000 in Norway, 15,000 in Sweden,

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

and 5,000 in Finland. The 1989 Soviet census found that there were 1,890 Sami in the Soviet Union, with 1,835 living in the Russian Federation. 88% of Russian Sami (1,615 individuals) live in Murmansk Oblast. They are concentrated in eleven villages, where they live with Russians, Komi-Izhemtsy, Nenets, and other peoples. They do not constitute a majority in any location. The largest Sami community lives in the village of Lovozero, which is today's cultural center of Kola Sami. About half of the Sami population lives there.

Social organization

By the start of the twentieth century, the Sami were divided into seventeen territorial unions (communities), each of which had its own designated hunting territories, grazing lands, and fishing grounds. Clan structure no longer existed by that time, although the Sami were known to have three groupings in the seventeenth century that corresponded to clan divisions. The main social unit was the small family. Families commonly separated. After marriage, a son would leave his father's family and start his own farm. In order to avoid marriage between close relatives, the bridge and groom were required to be from different *pogosts*. Weddings usually took place in the winter. People usually married when they were older than twenty years of age, and the bride was not infrequently older than the groom.

The man was considered the head of the family, but women had a free position in the family. Sami society did not make strict distinctions in men's and women's labor, although some types of work were considered to be man's work (cutting firewood, providing care for reindeer, etc.) or woman's work (housekeeping, sewing clothing, etc.). Women and men both fished and cared for reindeer equally.

Subsistence activities

The Sami traditionally engaged in reindeer husbandry combined with hunting, fishing, and gathering. Sami reindeer husbandry was semi-nomadic between seasonal camps in summer (along the shores of tundra lakes and rivers or on the seacoast) and winter pastures (in the forest tundra). Their particular style saw small herds of reindeer grazing freely in the summer months and used fencing, smoke fires, and reindeer-herding huskies. Based on these characteristics, Sami reindeer husbandry is generally categorized as a separate category among other reindeer-herding peoples of the North.

During the winter, reindeer grazed in the central, forested part of the peninsular. At the end of March, they migrated to spring pastures in the tundra and gradually moved toward the seacoast, where they spent

the entire summer. Reindeer grazed unsupervised throughout the summer months, because at that time, the Sami were fishing. In order to protect the animals from mosquitoes, they set up smoke fires and built fences around the pasture's borders. Pastures were sited between rivers. During the summer period, reindeer of mixed ownership grazed together in common herds, and in the fall, their owners located their animals according to special markings. Some Sami milked their reindeer, but that practice was not common for the Kola Sami. In the past, reindeer herding was not a primary activity for the Sami people. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, it became a primary activity as a result of Russian colonization of the Kola Peninsula, an event that significantly cut commercial fish stocks and greatly reduced the number of hoofed animals.

Today, reindeer husbandry is the basis of the Sami economics. At the end of the 1980s almost half of all work-ready Sami worked in agricultural production, mainly engaged in reindeer husbandry. There were approximately 70,000 domesticated reindeer owned mainly by two large collective farms on the Kola Peninsula. Today, these farms have been reformulated as shareholder groups. Private reindeer farms also exist. Individual Sami families own small numbers of reindeer for personal use.

Fishing was an equally meaningful activity for the Sami. They mainly fished for Atlantic salmon and lake salmon, known as "blackfish." Along the seacoast, the Sami engaged in coastal fishing for cod. They fished almost year round. In the winter, they mainly ice-fished on lakes. They fished using set nets, fishing spears, and hook-and-line gear, all of which were widely used by Russians and Karelian. They fished mainly using set nets (*gavry*) and seines on spawning rivers. Other less common techniques were also used: "by road," using a long line with a metal hook or lure at the end or "by trains," using a floating net placed in the river's current and held in place with two boats. The salmon fishery began immediately after river ice breakup and continued into the beginning of September. It was the main income source for the Sami. Even today, salmon fishing in large river lowlands remains an important activity. They mainly fished for salmon using "walls" — a long set net that blocked the entire river's width.

Historically, the most common fishing technique involved using a fishing gaff (*luvn*). The Sami used this extremely simple gear to catch the majority of the fish they needed for subsistence use. As a fishing tool, the gaff had a shaft long enough to reach the river or lake bottom. A baited metal hook was attached to the shaft using twine. Any fish taking a bite of the bait would find itself attached as if by leash. Several such gaffs were set up at once. The Sami did not typically use any other hook gear, including fishing poles. In the past, fishing, especially on lakes, was mainly a women's activity.

Dry-land hunting for hoofed animals and birds as well as marine mammal hunting were the Sami's most ancient activities, alongside fishing. All Kola Sami practiced all of these activities. In later years, fur animal hunting for Arctic fox, fox, and marten developed. Historically, they usually hunted wild reindeer by pursuit hunting with the assistance of fences and trap pits. When firearms became available, they began to hunt reindeer using reindeer decoys, first tracking them by skis on the ice-covered spring snow. At the nineteenth century's end, they hunted using leather and rope snares. Fur animals were generally caught in various traps. Mainly youth and elders hunted birds (black grouse and wood grouse). They hunted geese, ducks, and loons only coincidentally, although they commonly hunted partridge in the winter using snares. At the end of the nineteenth century, reindeer and fur animal hunting lost importance as animal stocks fell, and today this type of hunting is purely an auxiliary activity.

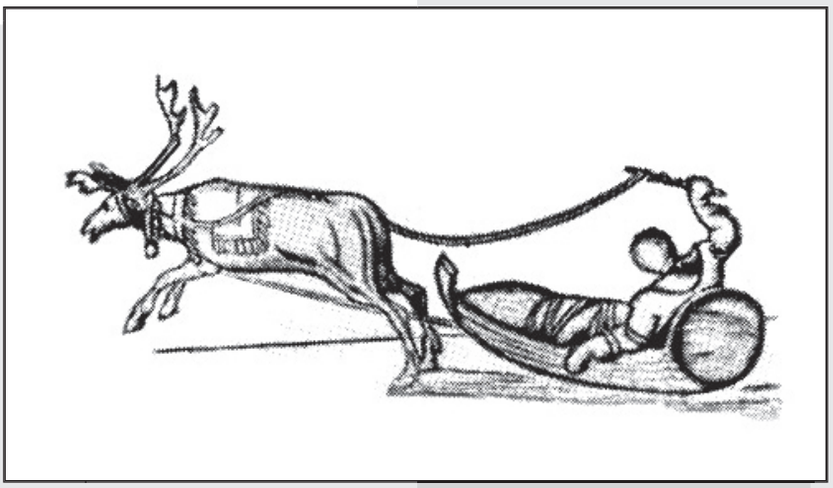
The Sami living along the coast valued marine mammal hunting (mainly for the ringed seal). They generally hunted using nets set along the shore in such a way that the net formed a deadfall trap from which the animal could not extract itself. They also shot seals from boats or the shoreline and occasionally caught them using a trawl line. The Russians hunted seals in the same way. Seal hunting was mainly a commercial activity. Seal furs and fat were popular items bought by Russian merchants. They also used seals for their own household needs. Today, marine mammal hunting on the Barents Sea coast happens only episodically because the Sami live in permanent settlements at some distance from the seacoast.

During the Soviet period, the Sami developed some degree of dairy farming, vegetable gardening, and cage-raised animal breeding. Nonetheless, the Sami were only minimally engaged in those activities. Health care, education, culture, trade, and community housekeeping were more important recipients of their efforts. The development of tourism and contacts with their Scandinavian neighbors facilitated the development of traditional arts and crafts.

Transportation

The Sami used reindeer for transportation, either as pack animals or for pulling a sled. Reindeer harness techniques used by the Sami had a number of special characteristics. They usually harnessed one reindeer only. Sami sleds (*kerezha*) were unusual in that they lacked stanchions. They had a single runner in the shape of a boat, with a blunt stern and steeply angled and lifted nose. Sometimes the *kerezha* had a covered front end and high covered top. One sat on the kerezha with legs spread, although sometimes the left leg was draped over the side. They steered the harnessed animals using reins that stretched from the reindeer's headstall

along its left side. Some larger *kerezha* were used for cargo transport, as were travois-style sleds made from reindeer skins to which a single reindeer could be harnessed. At the nineteenth century's end, the Sami acquired tall angled post sleds of the Samoyed type from the Izhemtsy. Three to five reindeer could be harnesses to these sleds.



Sami packsaddles do not resemble the packsaddles of other reindeer herding peoples. The saddle consisted of two bent boards. Their upper ends were joined using wooden inter-locking openings. The lower ends were connected by a strap passing around the animal's barrel. Packs were then hung from the upper ends of the boards. They laid a piece of tarp, canvas or reindeer skin underneath the saddle on the reindeer's back. Reindeer herders moving across the tundra use similar saddles today.

The Sami used skis to move around in the winter, especially for hunting. The most common types were narrow skis. They aided movement with a single wooden pole with a ring at the lower end. They also made wide *kalgi* skis, covered in reindeer legskin or sealskin. They used these without the help of ski poles. Sometimes they harnessed a single reindeer to the skier. That technique was mainly used by Sami traveling through forest. There is one more known type of skis, where the left ski was a long simple ski and the right ski was short and skin covered. They used the right ski to push off. Similar skis were used by the Karelian, the Sami's neighbors. Such skis were used for hunting.

During the summer, the Sami generally traveled the tundra on foot and navigated rivers and lakes by boat. The Sami people built keeled boats. The bottom of the boat was carved from a pine trunk into a keel form. On either side, three thin boards were attached the bottom piece. Seams and openings were filled with moss and then tarred. The boat was moved through the water using two oars set into oarlocks and steered using a rudder at the stern. The *karbas* boat was acquired from their Russian neighbors. By its construction the *karbas* was almost indistinguishable from a Sami boat, but was larger and able to carry cargo. *Karbases* were generally used on lakes. Even larger boats identical to the *karbas* were used along the seacoast. Sometimes these were moved under sail. During marine mammal hunting season in the White Sea, the Sami used small two-sailed *ledyanka* boats that, in addition to the usual keel, had narrow runners on each side, thanks to which the boat was easily moved along the ice. Sami *ledyanka* boats were no different than a *kerezh* sled in construction.

Settlements and housing

The Sami led a semi-nomadic lifestyle. Their main winter and summer settlements were known as *pogosts*.

In addition, each Sami union had spring and summer camps for hunting and fishing. Winter *pogosts* were usually sited along the border of the forest close to reindeer pastures, while summer camps stood along riverbanks, lakes, and the seacoast where the Sami fished. At the start of the twentieth century, approximately twenty households could be found in a given *pogost*.

The Sami had three types of housing. The most common traditional home was a *vezha*. It was built from poles in the shape of a flat-topped rectangular pyramid. The exterior was covered in soil, the roof in bark. A vezha had two doors — an entry, which was sometimes frame by a short corridor to shelter from snow, and second, small, ritual door (*poass*) located in the wall opposite the front door. Hunters departed for their hunting grounds through the latter door. Women were forbidden to pass through the *poass*. *Vezhas* were heated by a hearth fire, to either side of which the residential parts of the home were located. The front half of the home directly in front of the fire was considered sacred.

At the start of the twentieth century, *vezhas* were built mainly on hunting and fishing grounds. Winter settlements consisted of small log cabin buildings known as *pyrt.* These had flat, slightly angled roofs and were covered in soil and heated with from a small fireplace. By this time, winter *pogosts* also commonly had Russian-style cabins with a plank roof and an oven stove.

The Sami lived in a portable *chum*-like structure built from poles (*kuvaksa*)) when reindeer were out in tundra pastures, when hunting, and during long trips. The structure consisted of two or three weight-bearing poles connected at the top using slots or by tying them together. Additional poles were leaned about the main poles, and the exterior was then covered with pieces of tarpaulin, canvas, or animal skins. A *kuvaksa's* interior layout was no different than that of the *vezha*. Sami fishermen use similar types of portable tents today. Non-residential structures included various storehouses used to keep food and hunting and fishing gear. These could be built either directly on the ground or on posts, sometimes even just on one stump reinforced with two X-shaped timbers.

Clothing

Seventeenth and eighteenth century sources indicated that the Sami had two types of clothing: those with frontal openings and those without that had to be pulled on over the head. By the nineteenth century, however, clothing with frontal openings was no longer in use. Reindeer

skins were the primary material used to make clothing, although clothing made from fabric was common as well.

In the nineteenth century, the *pechok* was the main type of outerwear. It was a fur pullover parka with a low standing collar and wide sleeves. Men's *pechoks* reached just below the knees, while women's ones stretched all the way to the ankles. Women's *pechoks* were also decorated with beading, mother of pearl buttons, and narrow strips of colored fabric. In the winter, the *pechok* was worn over a fabric shirt (*yupoy*). It had a straight cut, with a small vent in front, and a standing collar with rounded corners. In the summer it was worn as outer clothing for hunting and fishing. Both men and women work a *nayd* shirt in place of underclothing. Men wore fabric or leather pants over the shirt, while women wore a sarafan and tunic. They sometimes wore a shirt underneath the sarafan.

Men and women could also wear a *torka*, a shorter pullover parka with the fur on the inside. It was worn indoors or underneath the *pechok* during especially cold outdoor weather. A *torka* was trimmed with rabbit or arctic fox fur and served sometimes as outerwear during celebrations. By the nineteenth century's end it had fallen mostly out of use.

The *tasma* belt was a mandatory item of clothing for Sami men and women. Hunting knives, pouches with fire-making tools, sewing notions, and other necessary items were hung from the belt. Men wore a leather belt, and women's belts were braided from wool. Winter footwear consisted of *yary*, boots made with long legs stretching to the heel and sharply pointed and curved toes. Both men and women wore *yary*. *Kan'gi* boots reached only to the ankle and were mainly worn within the village-*pogosts*. Summer *kan'gi* were sewn from tanned reindeer or sealskin. They lined footwear with hay for warmth.

Men's headwear commonly involved a fur hat with a fabric top and earflaps or a knitted pointy cap made from wool, with or without pompoms. Women's hats were similar, but had a rounded crown instead of the rectangular shape of the men's version. They only wore these hats during the winter months. During the summer, married women wore a *shamshura*, which resembled the Russian women's *kokoshnik*. Girls wore a *perevyazka*, an open-ended birchbark cylinder tied with a beaded red piece of fabric. Women and girls also frequently wore a scarf atop their summer headwear, with the ends tied under the chin.

When the Komi-Izhemtsy and Nenets appeared on the Kola Peninsula, the Sami acquired the Nenets *malitsa* (hooded fur parka), *pimy* boots, and fur stockings. By the start of the twentieth century, the *malitsa* had totally replaced traditional Sami clothing in some Sami *pogosts*. Today, they are mainly worn as hunting and fishing clothing and footwear, as well as everyday winter clothing in villages.

Food

During the winter, the Sami mainly ate domesticated reindeer meat. In the summer, they generally ate fish. The Sami tradition of eating raw meat and fish began to disappear in the seventeenth century. Witnesses reported that their favorite food was lightly grilled meat. The Sami drank the resulting meat juice with great enthusiasm. Meat was also boiled, cured, and frozen. Reindeer fat, tongue, and bone marrow were also tasty dishes. They made soup using reindeer blood and rye flour. They also ate partially boiled fish, adding cloudberries, lingonberry, blueberry, and other berries. To prepare a fish fry, they first cut the flesh into pieces, lightly salted it, skewered it, and then put it into the ground by the fire, turning it from time to time. At the turn of the twentieth century, their favorite dish became fish baked in a dough wrapper.

At the end of the nineteenth century, rye flour baked into flatbreads began to play an important role in Sami cuisine. Angelica was a widely eaten traditional plant. It was fried on coals or boiled in a pan of reindeer milk. They ate a variety of berries and pine sapwood — the innermost layer of bark. They gathered the latter at the summer's start, drying and powdering it, then mixing it with rye flour. This mixture was used as a seasoning for meat and fish and could also be baked into bread. Some berries were preserved for future consumption. For example, they boiled salmonberries in their own juice and a bit of salt over a low flame. Afterwards, they put the mixture into a birchbark dish and buried it underground. It could keep this way until spring. They did not eat mushrooms.

Common drinks included a tisane made from shelf fungus and tea. In the past, they liked to drink tea with onion, adding thinly sliced bits of it to the cup.

Religion and spiritual culture

Sami traditional beliefs include the worship of heavenly bodies (especially the sun and the moon) and deification of various natural phenomena. They held the deity-protectors of hunting and fishing in especially high regard: *Luot-khozik*, master of the reindeer herds and *Raziayke* , female protector of grasses and reindeer. They worshiped multitudinous spirits, who lived in the water, air, and under the earth, as well as sacred *seydy* — anthropomorphic rocks nearby fishing and hunting grounds. They conducted ritual sacrifices in their honor, smearing them with the blood of killed animals and fish fat. Christianization of the Sami, a process that began in the sixteenth century, was a mainly token process. Nonetheless, many of the Sami's pre-Christian cults were closely interwoven with Christianity by the end of the nineteenth century.

Folklore and Art

Sami folklore encompasses improvisational songs (*yoykas*), myths, tales, and historical stories. Their folk art includes crafts made from horn, wood, fur, and leather, as well as decorative clothing and footwear arts, various household objects, and beaded embroidery. Sami ornamentation is generally geometrical in style.

Contemporary culture and self-government

In the recent decade, Sami spiritual culture has been experiencing a unique renaissance. The basis for any indigenous people's spiritual life is their language. The Sami language has, of course, experienced significant losses in past years. In 1989, only 42% of Sami spoke their native language. Today, great efforts are being expended to bring about the language's renewal. Sami community organizations play an important role in this respect. Sami radio programs are broadcast. Sami language is taught in elementary schools in Murmansk Oblast, and it is also taught in pedagogical training institutes in Murmansk and St. Petersburg. Several Sami dictionaries have been published, as well as approximately thirty school textbooks. Differences of opinion among specialists about how to describe the Sami language's phonological system complicate a more successful resolution of this challenge. Methods for graphically representing various Sami sounds are another problem. Today, for all practical purposes, there are two Sami alphabets.

Applied arts are expanding, and many traditional crafts are re-emerging. A number of dance and vocal collectives have been created. An ethno-cultural center and a Sami culture museum both operate in the village of Lovozero. The museum is one of not just the best in the country but around the world. The International Sami Union provides significant support to cultural renewal efforts, and the Norwegian city of Karashok maintains a sister city relationship with the village of Lovozero.

The creation of self-governance agencies is a fundamentally new occurrence in the social life of the Sami. In 1989, the Association of Kola Sami was created for the purposes of the preservation and development of cultural and spiritual heritage of the Sami people. Regional chapters of this association operate in Murmansk Oblast districts. The Association supports close contacts with fellow tribe members in Scandinavian countries and is a collective member of the International Sami Union. In addition to the Association, several Sami community-based organizations operate: The *Chepes'* Social Union for Sami Masters and Artists, the Murmansk Oblast Sami Union, the Sami Community Organization of Murmansk Oblast, and the Y*okan'gskaya Obshchina* Community Organization.

The majority of Kola Sami are rural residents (66.3%). In addition to the Sami, the Nenets (approximately 200 individuals) and the Komi-Izhemtsy

(2,167 ind.) also engage in reindeer husbandry. This activity appeared on the Kola Peninsula at the end of the nineteenth century. Competition for reindeer grazing pastures led to complex inter-ethnic relations for a long time. The Komi-Izhemtsy quickly became culturally and socially dominant and exerted a great influence on reindeer husbandry and the material culture of the Sami. During the Soviet collectivization process of reindeer husbandry in the 1930s, social and cultural distinctions between the Komi-Izhemtsy and the Sami were significantly smoothed over. Despite this fact, the social status of the Komi-Izhemtsy is significantly higher than that of the Sami.



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SEL'KUP



The Sel'kup people belong to the Samoyed language group and live on lands between the Ob and Yenisey Rivers. Historically, they can be divided into two geographically isolated groups – northern and southern. The northern Sel'kup call themselves *sol'kup* and *shol'kup*, meaning "person of the taiga." Prior to the Revolution in 1917, ethnographic literature described them as *ostyaks* or *ostyaks-samoyeds*. The southern Sel'kup, which includes several ethno-territorial subgroups, had other names. The Sel'kup living in the watersheds of the Tym and Parabel' Rivers called themselves *chumyl' kup* (earthly human), while those living near the Ket' River were known as the *susse kum* or *shosh kum* (person of the taiga). The contemporary term came into use in the 1930s and was at first used only to describe the northern Sel'kup. It has also been used to describe the southern Sel'kup in the last two decades.

Language

The Sel'kup language belongs to the Samoyed branch of the Uralic language family. In addition to the Sel'kup, the Nenets, Enets, and Nganasan speak Samoyedic languages. Sel'kup can be divided into six dialects and two transitional vernaculars. Morphologically, Sel'kup differs most strongly from Nenets in its large number of cases. It is also much richer in terms of the formation of new verb roots. Sel'kup, the forest Nenets dialect, and the Kondinskiy vernacular of Khanty all share a similar phonetic system. There have been a number of unsuccessful attempts to create a unified written language based on the northern dialect of Sel'kup. The 1989 census documents that 50.6% of Sel'kup claim Russian as their native language.

Ethnogenesis

The ethnogenesis of modern Sel'kup is complex. All contemporary Samoyedic peoples formed as a result of lengthy contacts between the original northern aboriginal population and the Samoyedic tribes who came to this area from the Sayan highlands.

The southern Sel'kup are direct descendants of the Kuloyskaya archaeological culture of the Middle Ob (fifth century BC to fifth century AD). Researchers believe that all of the Samoyedic speaking peoples descended from this historical and cultural society. Archaeologists specifically believe that the people who created the Relkinskaya archaeological culture (sixth to eighth centuries AD) are direct descendants of the Kuloy of the Middle Ob River. Evidence of their dwellings — remnants



Current territory of residence of the Sel'kup in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

of ancient earthen *karamo* — can be seen at many sites along the Tym, Ket', Parabel', and Narym Rivers. The Narym Sel'kup consider these earthen homes to be the abodes of their ancestors. Indeed, many elements of the Relkinskaya way of life and implements are identical to Sel'kup ethnographic materials.

The northern Sel'kup developed in the seventeenth century as a result of migration by a part of the Samoyed population from the Middle Ob into the lands of the upper Taz and Turukhan Rivers, as well as western tributaries to the Yenisey River. The group's ethnic formation stabilized during the nineteenth century. In addition to the Sel'kup themselves, the Enets, Ket, and Khanty contributed elements to the northern Sel'kup.

Territory

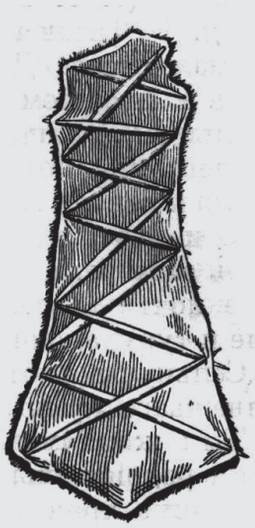
Today, the Sel'kup live in Krasnosel'kupskiy District in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (Tyumen' Oblast) and in Kargasokskiy, Parabel'skiy, and Verkhneketskiy Districts and outside of the city of Kolpashevo in Tomsk Oblast. Small groups of Sel'kup can be found in Turukhanskiy District of Krasnoyarsk Kray. The total population of Sel'kup according to the 1989 census is 3,564. The southern Sel'kup are concentrated in several rural villages in Tomsk Oblast. This includes Ivankino and Toskino near the city of Kolpashevo; Tyukhterevo and Nel'mach in Parabel'skiy District; Napas, Naunak, Aypolovo, Ust'-Chizhapka, and Novo-Yugino in Kargasokskiy District; Ust'-Ozernoye and Maksimkin Yar in Verkhneketskiy District; and Novonikolayevskoye, Nazino, Lukashkin Yar, and Larino in Aleksandrovskiy District. In all of these villages, the Sel'kup live intermixed with other ethnicities and are in the minority in each place. There is a high degree of intermarriage. Data from the 1971–1984 Sel'kup research expedition conducted by the Institute of Ethnology (Russian Academy of Sciences) shows that of ninety-six Sel'kup marriages registered in Verkhneketskiy District, eighty-eight of them (or 91.6%) were to Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, or other ethnicities.

History

Russians came to the Middle Ob region at the end of the sixteenth century. By this time, a Sel'kup alliance known as the Pegay Horde existed under the leadership of a chieftain, Knyazets Vonya. With as many as 400 armed fighters at his command, Vonya refused to acknowledge the Russian tsar for a long time and made an alliance with the Tatar khan Kuchum. It was only with the establishment of the Narynsk Fort in 1596 that the Russians were able to subject the Sel'kup to tribute.

By the seventeenth century, the Sel'kup formed the primary indigenous populations of the Narym, Ket, Tomsk, and Surgut districts (known as *uyezds* in Russian). Overall, there were twenty-seven Sel'kup *volosts*, or administrative subdivisions. Each of these was ruled by a "*knyazets*", chosen from amongst former clan chieftains and their ancestors. These leaders collected the y*asak* fur tribute, resolved disputes related to inheritance, land, and debt, and performed other duties. Decisions were based on general justice, traditional ethics, and social morals.

At the start of the eighteenth century, the Tomsk Sel'kup were baptized and became Christians. Enthusiasm was such that the entire village of Novokreshchenovo, settled by Sel'kup, accepted Christianity and declared that they would live "like Russians." The Sel'kup continued to pay the *yasak* until the 1880s. In addition to *yasak*, they paid taxes



to the province, land taxes, and to the treasury, as well as performing compulsory labor in the *volost*.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the flow of Russian immigration increased to traditional Sel'kup lands. Under this influence, the Sel'kup began to settle in villages, engage in livestock husbandry, and plant gardens, although their traditional activities of hunting and fishing remained most important. These economic and cultural connections between the Sel'kup and the Russians began to be strengthened by inter-marriage. Krivosheyinskaya Spasskaya Church (Tomsk Oblast) records show that between 1890 and 1900, fifty-seven marriages between Sel'kup and Russians occurred — this is 79% of the total number of Sel'kup marriages blessed by the church during that period. By the twentieth century, the Ob Sel'kup (Narym) lifestyle differed significantly from that of the northern Sel'kup, still living deep in the taiga and having only infrequent contact with the Russian.

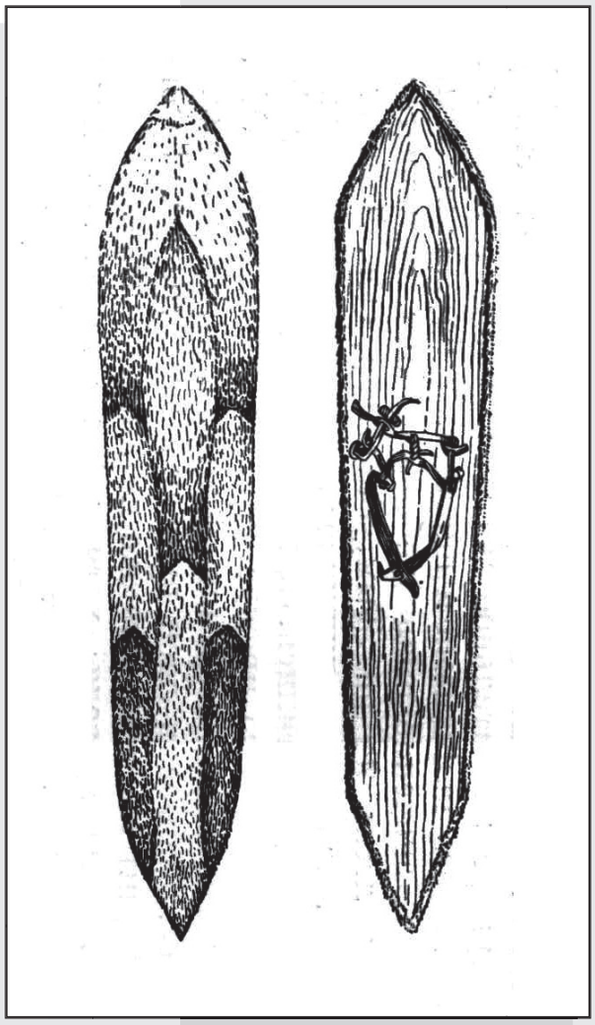
In the mid-nineteenth century, the northern Sel'kup were divided into two exogamous groups: the phratry "Eagle half clan" and "Nutcracker half clan." This division within the phratry was also characteristic of southern Sel'kup, who had several clans of blood relatives that used totemic names: Bear, Crow, Swan, etc. By the century's end, the basic societal unit had become the local community for all Sel'kup. This community included representatives of various ethno-territorial groups not related by blood. Members of these communities benefited from shared industries, provided assistance to families who might have lost a breadwinner, the elderly, and people without families.

Subsistence activities

The Sel'kup lived by various means, mainly fishing and hunting. Only the northern Sel'kup practiced reindeer husbandry, and that primarily for transportation. Research in recent years shows that the Sel'kup have not always lived this way. Pre-Sel'kup archaeology in Western Siberia reveals traces of hoe mattock farming, which, according to M. F. Kosarev, was brought to the Tomsk-Narym Ob Region by the Sel'kup's immediate ancestors. Pre-seventeenth century Sel'kup burial sites sometimes include farming implements and clay pots containing vegetable matter. There are fascinating Sel'kup linguistic materials containing references to agricultural terminology. The language has preserved such phrases as "to clear brush" (*kyrach' medy*), "to hoe the earth" (*vylyal' dotyty*), "cereal flat-cake" (*nyan*), and others.

In addition to crop farming, the southern Sel'kup have preserved some aspects of an ancient practice of reindeer husbandry that involved the use of reindeer for more than just transport — meat, milk, and hides. Sel'kup ancestors brought Sayan taiga-style reindeer husbandry here from more southern areas, using the animals as beast of burden. While

adapting to new conditions, the Sel'kup developed their own reindeer farming traditions, preserved in modern times by both northern and southern Sel'kup.

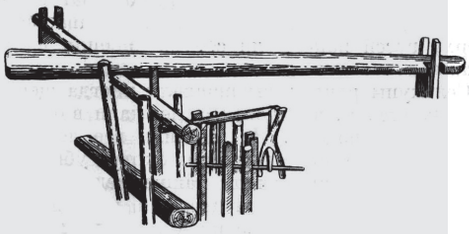


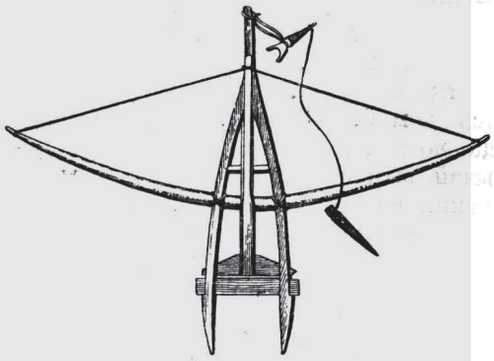
In the past, the Sel'kup were skilled in creating ceramics, weavings, and metal-working. Archaeological excavations show evidence that the Sel'kup made more than just a variety of dishes from clay; they also made cult objects, children's toys, net sinkers, crucibles, etc. Remnants of foundries have been found in Sel'kup-inhabited areas of the Near Ob River. Their oral traditions still tell of ancient masters capable of smelting metals from a special "rock" (*pokh*) and making weapons, coats of mail, helmets, and work implements.

Ceramics began to disappear from burial site inventories at Sel'kup burials in the sixteenth century. By the seventeenth century, ceramics production had completely disappeared in many Near Ob regions. The same process occurred with weaving. In fact, Sel'kup metallurgy, farming, and horse and reindeer husbandry were all in steep decline long before contact with Russians. Otherwise, these activities would have been documented by Russian written sources.

G. I. Pelikh connects Sel'kup economic regression at the start of the seventeenth century with the abundance of fur-bearing animals for which western Siberia was known. Siberian fur was greatly prized, and at that time the Near Ob region became one of the main trading centers for the fur traders from around the civilized world. The Sel'kup and other indigenous peoples of western Siberia were forced to become fur suppliers. This situation is not unique; in reality, it is characteristic of specific interactions between advanced civilizations and clan and tribal societies in other parts of the world. These changes had a severe impact on the Sel'kup's fate. This one-sided and extensive development of fur hunting resulted in the degradation of other activities (grain, dishware, fabrics, etc. could be obtained by bartering with furs). The only benefit derived from the fur industry was the preservation of traditional tools and traps for hunting. These implements readily allowed the small number of Sel'kup to capitalize upon the abundance of fur animals and thus meet their needs for other wares. When bottom of the fur trade market then dropped out, the Sel'kup were left with a depleted taiga, an inability to produce anything else, and degraded economics.

The Sel'kup only began using firearms to hunt during the second half of the nineteenth century. Prior to this they hunted using the bow and arrow and a variety of traps. The most common types of traps included jaw traps, large metal traps, pressure traps, deadfall traps, and snares. They







mainly hunted birds and squirrels using bow and arrow. The Sel'kup's compound bow was greatly praised for its qualities and was the object of trade with neighboring peoples. Arrows were fletched with eagle or swan feathers. Larger animals were caught in big traps (*postavushniy luk*) hung with special wooden tablets with figures of bears, moose, and other animals.

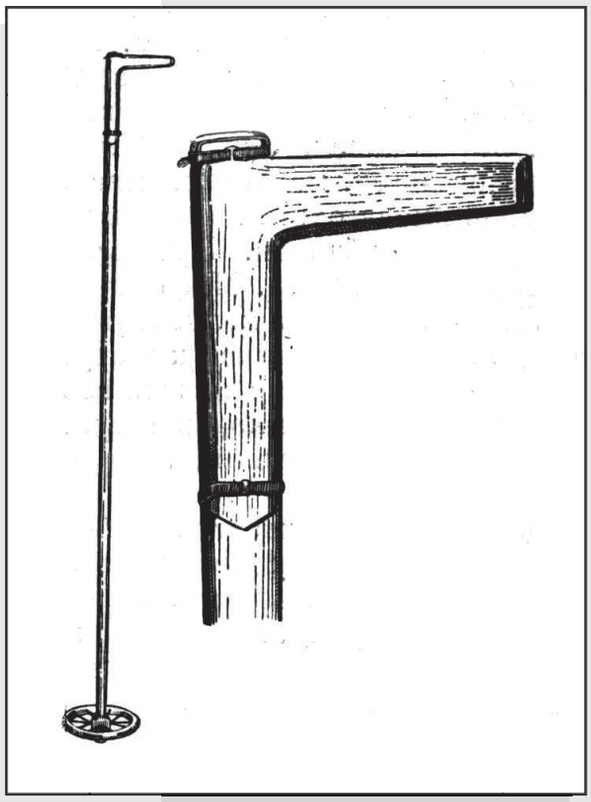
Sable had been wiped out in the Near Ob region by the end of the seventeenth century, forcing the Sel'kup to set their hunting targets on squirrel and ermine, although they also hunted fox, wolverine. The northern Sel'kup hunted Arctic fox. The presence of the term *sarum*, a specific trading unit consisting of ten squirrel skins, attests to the prevalence of Sel'kup squirrel hunting. This term went so far as to become a counting word for the Sel'kup. Counting words, beginning with the second set of tens, contained the word *sarum*: twenty is "two sets"; thirty is "three sets", etc.

The Narym Sel'kup placed great importance on upland fowl — wood grouse, black grouse, and hazel grouse, which were their main sources of meat. This meat was preserved. They caught partridges using snares made from horsetail hairs. Children were engaged in this type of hunting at a very early age — it was seen as a game or competition. In the summers, people joined together to hunt moulting geese. The geese were herded into a bay, and their exit was blocked with a net. The Sel'kup also frequently hand-raised Arctic fox, fox, and wild birds (ducklings and goslings). Geese were known for becoming so tame that when set free, they would immediately return home. In the fall, before the start of the fur season and after the first snowfall, they slaughtered the birds. In the past, the Sel'kup were also known to raise bear cubs. These were kept in special enclosures and called *man iyamy* (my son). These domestically raised bears fought wild bears upon sight, allowing the hunter to easily kill the wild bear.

Fishing was the second most important activity for the Sel'kup. It played a particularly important role for the Narym Sel'kup, more so than for those in the north. The primary target species included sturgeon, white salmon, whitefish, broad whitefish, muksun, sterlet, eelpout, northern pike, and carp, as well as other river and lake fish. Fishing started off with the "small season," beginning immediately after they had returned from squirrel hunting and lasting until the spring waters died back. After that, the "big season" began, and Sel'kup moved from their wintering settlements to their fisheries ("sands") and caught fish in large quantities, preserving it for future consumption. Their most common fishing net was the set net, but they also used dam fishing, basket pots, weirs, and other traps made from willow, bark, thin wooden strips, fly-fishing, and spear-fishing. Torch-fishing using a spear took place at night, under the light of birchbark torches and from two boats lashed together for

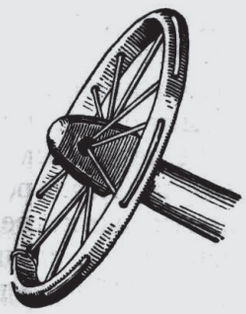
stability. They caught northern pike and other lake fish with the help of *zherlitsy* — bobber floats with hooks.

The northern Sel'kup practiced reindeer husbandry, mainly the Tazovskiy Sel'kup. The Turukhanskiy and Narym had almost no reindeer whatsoever. The Sel'kup practiced taiga-style husbandry. Herd sizes and seasonal migration routes were relatively small. As opposed to the Nenets, the Sel'kup did not use shepherd dogs to protect their herds. Reindeer were infrequently pastured, even in the winter. Rather, they were set free each evening, and they returned to the *chum* of their own will each morning. In order to stop the reindeer from wandering far a field, they hobbled them using wooden *mokta*. In the summer months, reindeer were totally free to roam, although some owners set up smoky fires near the barn to provide shelter from mosquitoes. In the fall, after fishing season was over, people set out to collect their reindeer. They were tracked like any wild animal, and by the start of winter each owner would manage to gather the majority of his herd. Ownership could be determined by marks on the reindeers' ears.



Settlements and housing

Sel'kup settlements, *yurt*y, were located along high riverbanks at the mouth of small tributaries and were generally small — from two to ten homes. Several housing types existed: *chums*, flat-topped pyramid shaped dugouts, half-timber half-earthen homes, log cabins with flat roofs, and others. Sel'kup reindeer herders live year round in a *chum* — a conical framework covered in birchbark or skins. The two main support poles were connected using a thong, a typical construction method for Samoyedic *chums*. hearth's hanging hook was attached to the top of the *chum*, and the remaining support poles (up to fifty, depending on the chum's size) were leaned against the main two. Coverings were placed atop the framework: two lower ones in a trapezoidal shape, and two smaller upper ones at a right angle. The doorway was covered using an end flap from one of the lower covers. The hearth was either built atop an iron sheet or a cast-iron stove with a stovepipe was used. Boards were sometimes placed to the left and the right of the hearth.



Usually, two families or married couples (parents with married children) lived in each *chum*, sleeping on either side of the hearth, with men further away from the entrance than the women. The place opposite the door and immediately behind the hearth was considered sacred and honored. They stored cult objects and firearms in this location, and guests were accommodated here as well. They slept on reindeer furs over grassy

mattresses. In the summer, netted curtains were put up to protect against mosquitoes. Reindeer-herding Sel'kup moved *chum* poles, coverings, the hearth, and floorboards by sled. In the taiga zone, the *chum* was left where it stood and mainly used as a summertime dwelling.

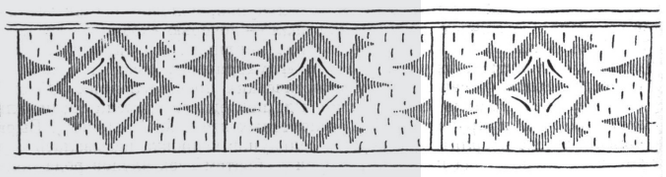


Winter residences in the taiga zone were partly underground and were of various construction and sizes. One of the oldest types was the dugout *karamo*. This two-roomed underground "house in a hill" was usually built into the side of a hill or a riverbank. The *karamo* was built with its door facing the river, and not infrequently it was only possible to access it from a boat. The first room (inner porch) did not have a front wall, and the boat was stored here. The second, residential room was larger and deeper, with walls lined with timbers laid into grooves cut into corner posts. The roof was made from one to two layers of boards and birchbark, covered with earth, and either lean-two or A-frame in construction. The *karamo* was heated using the fireplace or a *chuval* stove with a frame and pipe made of clay-covered timbers.



Another type of semi-dugout was a post-framed construction in the shape of a flat-topped pyramid known as the *tyay mat*. Its frame consisted of four weight-bearing corner posts connected at the top by a square frame that formed the roof. The walls and roof were enclosed with timbers or boards and then covered with earth. The entrance consisted of a submerged corridor made of vertical poles and posts with a flat roof. This house had one or two windows to the right of the entrance and was heated using a fireplace or *chuval*. Sel'kup living along the Ket' River built framed underground houses similar to the semi-dugout *tyay mat* — four posts with T-junctions on top are erected on cleared ground, against which poles are leaned, and then the entire structure is covered in grasses and earth.

Of timber buildings, the southern Sel'kup build a dugout called *madet-tam*. This home could be up to two meters deep and had two rooms connected by an underground corridor up to five meters long. The first room, an inner porch, had simple earthen walls with no timber supports or exterior wall. Its roof was flat, with rough-hewn timbers. One entered through the roof, through a specially cut opening. The second chamber was square and framed with timbers. It had a hipped, four-sided roof made from four timbers cut at the corners and connected in the center. During the nineteenth century many Sel'kup, especially the Ob Sel'kup, began building cabins in the Russian style. These homes had overhanging roofs, were made from more slender timbers with lightly framed corners, with an earthen floor in place of a foundation, and without a ceiling. They covered these frames with thatching, sod, or bark. A *chuval* was placed to the right of the entrance.



For the southern Sel'kup, summer housing consisted of small lean-tos (*balagans*), made from boards and covered in bark. These took a variety of forms: semi-spherical (made from bent branches and rods), square with an A-frame roof, conical and so forth. These types of structures required that the hearth be kept outside and be open to the skies. Special clay ovens covered with awnings were used to bake bread. The southern Sel'kup frequently summered near their fishing grounds, living in covered boats (*ilimkas*), as did the Ket, Khanty, and Mansi.

Today, Sel'kup families, with infrequent exceptions amongst the reindeer herders, live in villages in Russian-style homes made from square-sawed timbers, roofed with metal sheeting, slate or wooden shakes.

Transportation

Sel'kup hunters mainly used skis (*tangysh*) made from fir and covered with leg skins or river otter skins. These skins had a characteristic curve on the back end, resembling to some extent Khanty or Mansi skis, but shorter (150–160 cm) and wider. The front half of each ski was wider than the rear. They used wooden staffs in place of ski poles for cross-country skiing.

Sel'kup reindeer people used reindeers and dogs for transportation. The Narym Sel'kup used dogs and horses. They borrowed the skill of harnessing reindeer to sleds for transport from their neighbors, the Nenets. To the south, in the taiga, hunters (without reindeer) usually pulled their own hand-drawn sleds, to which they sometimes harnessed

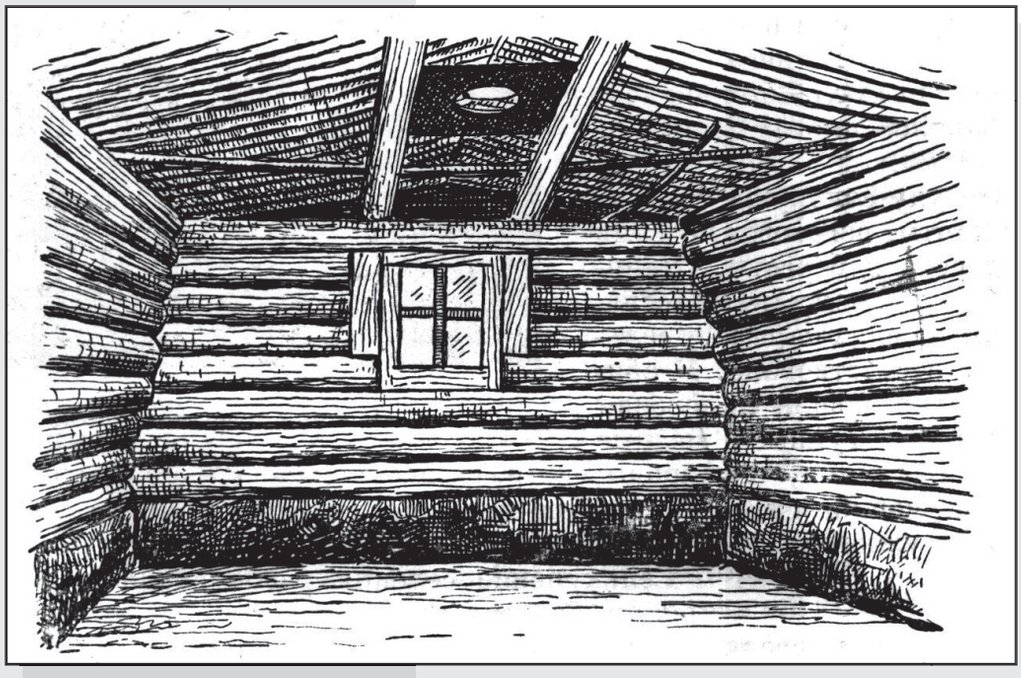


dogs. Hand-sleds differed from reindeer-drawn sleds in construction and resembled Ket sleds.

The most common form of water transport was the *oblasok* (*vetki* in Russian) — a dugout hewn from a solid trunk of Siberian pine or aspen with straight crossbars and a single-ended paddle. There were two sizes of dugout boats: the large *anta*, holding eight to ten people and the smaller *antoka* made for one or two people. Larger boats had a hewn-out interior and vertical sides. They were frequently equipped with an arched canopy, similar to those of the Khanty. The northern Sel'kup generally sat in their boats, while the Narym Sel'kup navigated from a standing position.

Clothing

The northern Sel'kup (both men and women) wore parkas during the winter months — an open coat made of reindeer skins with the fur on the outside. Underneath this, the men wore a shirt made of purchased fabric and pants of reindeer suede, while the women wore homespun dresses. During periods of extreme cold, a *sokuy* overcoat was worn over the parka. The *sokuy* is a hooded pullover coat made with reindeer skins, fur facing out. The Sel'kup borrowed this style from their northern neighbors, the Nenets. In the winter, they wore *pimy* boots, the tops of which were made from reindeer suede, and the legs from fabric. Instead of a wrapping the feet in a stocking, they used sedge grass, which had been prepared by drying, mashed, and then cut to size. In the winter they wore reindeer legskin shoes or Russian boots. Headwear was sewn from young deerskins, Arctic fox, or squirrel legs. In the summer, both men and women wore kerchiefs as head coverings, tied in the usual way or in a turban style. Sel'kup clothing was relatively lacking in ornamentation. It had no fur inlaid embroidery, no beading. The only decoration that men's clothing allowed was a leather belt with metallic disc pendants.



To the south, the Sel'kup frequently used Russian clothing. In the winter they wore a sheepskin coat or parka, covered with a fabric outer layer, Russian earflap fur hats or Evenk hoods.

Russian shirt, pants, dresses, and *sarafans* were widespread. Southern summer footwear and work sleeves were made from sturgeon or sterlet skin. Narym Sel'kup sewed amazing fur coats of carefully selected combinations of squirrel and sable leg skins. It took several years to complete each such coat.

Modern Narym Sel'kup wear only purchased clothing. Sel'kup reindeer herders still include *malitsas* (hooded reindeer fur parka), *sokuys* (fur coat worn atop the *malitsa*), and Nenets-type *bakars* clothing during winter months.

Sel'kup men and boys usually wore their hair in a bowl cut. Men sometimes wore one or two earrings. Girls and married women kept their hair in two braids. Girls braided colored ribbons into their hair, working in metal discs, small dells, and beads as well. Married women did not decorate their hair in any way.

Food

The southern Sel'kup traditionally relied on fish for nutrition. They lightly fermented it (in later years, salted), made *porsa* and *yukola* from it, ate it in raw, boiled, or frozen forms. Porsa was prepared by first dividing the fish into parts, frying it lightly, drying it, and lastly pounding it in a mortar. Leftover fish parts (head, bones, organs, etc.) resulting from the *porsa* and *yukola* making process were rendered into fish fat and bile. The latter was used to make leather and sued. Sturgeon bladders were boiled into glue used in arrow and ski production.

Fermented fish was the most common everyday dish consumed during the winter. They fermented it with berries (lingonberry, cranberry, salmonberry) in holes in the ground: a row of fish followed by a layer of berries. These were then covered in soil. Upland fowl, ducks, geese, and partridge were also put up for future consumption. Reindeer meat played a significant role in northern Sel'kup nutrition. Women used wild onion and day lily bulbs to season meat and fish dishes. In the past, the Ob Sel'kup were the main group to use bread, tea, and salt. Some drank a juniper tisane instead of black tea. Juniper could also be used in the preparation of an alcoholic drink to which immature fly agaric mushrooms were added. Purchased foodstuffs (flour, sugar, grains, butter, etc.) only entered the everyday Sel'kup diet at the end of the nineteenth century.

Religion and spiritual culture

Although the Sel'kup were nominally Christian, they had thoroughly preserved many of their ancient religious beliefs and ceremonies. They generally had an animistic outlook on the surrounding world. *Nom*, the form of the skies, was their good luck talisman, their demiurge, their creator. *Kyzy*, the master of evil, lived under the earth. With his spirit-

helpers' assistance, he kidnapped people's souls and sent them illnesses. The Sel'kup looked to shamans for helping fighting off illnesses. Their shamans could battle the evil spirits, and if he won, the person regained their health. Sexual motifs played a prominent role in Sel'kup shamanism. According to their belief system, the shaman had a sexual connection to the "master" of the forest's daughter.

One of the most unusual ceremonies in Sel'kup shamanism involved bringing the shaman's drum and other accessories "to life." The Sel'kup believes that the drum is actually a reindeer that the shaman uses to travel between worlds. It was necessary to bring the drum to life in order to make this travel possible. The ceremony usually began by the time of the fall bird migration and continued for ten days. Travel to the south was the central moment of the ceremony, to the land "where seven suns shine, and the rock reaches up to the heavens." This ceremony can be seen as ritual worship of the Sel'kup's ancestors who lived long ago to the south, in mountainous lands (the Sayan Mountains).

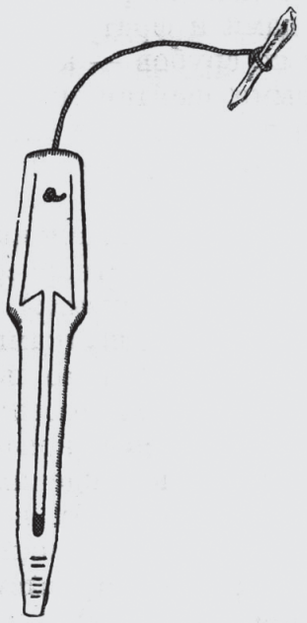
A Sel'kup drum was slightly oval in shape. Its size depended on the age of the shaman. The sidewall was made from birch, with resonators on the outside and drawings along the inside. Drawings also occurred on the exterior surface of the drum. Inside, the drum was strengthened using a vertical wooden handle. Both the construction and decoration of the Sel'kup drum reflected a belief in the drum as a symbol of eternity: drawings showed heaven and earth, the seven pegs inside the drum equal the seven eternal circles, the circular shape of the sidewall represented the ends of the earth, and the open bottom side is the entrance to the "lower world."

Each Sel'kup clan had sacrificial places (sanctuaries), its own shaman, and its own cemetery. The sanctuary took the form of a large container in which an image of the clan's protector was kept. If a clan member died outside of the clan's lands, fellow clan members were required to return the deceased home and bury him at the clan cemetery. Sel'kup were buried underground in wooden caskets, sometimes in traditional boats "*vetka*." A marker indicated the location of the grave. As with other Siberian and Far Eastern peoples, the dead were buried with their belongings, which had been rendered worthless. Legends tell of the Sel'kup burying their children in the branches of tall trees (Siberian pines).

Arts and crafts

Like other Samoyed peoples, Sel'kup art consists of decorative work on birchbark dishware, carved bone details on reindeer harness, scissors, doorways of summer chums, and a few other household implements and items. Despite its popularity among other Siberian peoples, Sel'kup clothing was not generally decorated. Each subgroup had its

own distinct ornamental style, founded on geometric shapes: triangles, squares, circles, polygons, and zigzags. The Narym Sel'kup have a greater variety of decoration, which they probably borrowed from the eastern Khanty.



Folklore

The Sel'kup poetry tradition is represented by legends (*tentyl'*), fairy tales, riddles, and joke sayings. Their folklore tells of all sorts of hero adventures and heroes battling with evil spirits — the heroes always win. Sel'kup legends recount wars between their ancestors and neighboring peoples (Nenets, Evenk, Tatar). Curiously, the Ket and Khanty are always portrayed as Sel'kup allies in their wars with neighbors. Their folklore also mentions ancient beliefs and the cults related to those beliefs. Modern Sel'kup perform much of this folklore in Russian.

The Sel'kup played several musical instruments: the mouth harp (played with the lips and made from reindeer horn with a vibrating tongue) and a seven-stringed harp called *lebed'* (a swan). Both of these instruments were common across much of the southern Sel'kup region. Female shamans claimed the mouth harp as a tool in place of a more typical drum. The northern Sel'kup's only musical instrument was the shaman's drum.



Contemporary culture and self-government

The Sel'kup's ethnic make-up was greatly changed by increasing ethno-cultural contact with Russians and other peoples, a contact that intensified following the Russian Revolution. Starting in the 1960s even greater and irreversible changes occurred, when oil deposits began to be developed in northern Tomsk Oblast and commercial forestry grew. Significant immigration over a brief period of time to this region from other Russian regions also resulted in changes to the ethno-cultural and economic situation. Local authorities shifted their attention to satisfying the interests of new arrivals, leaving the needs of the Sel'kup and other indigenous peoples in a secondary position.

Today, it can be established that Sel'kup families have mostly lost their traditional culture and native language. L. T. Shargorodskiy reports

that over 70 % of southern Sel'kup men between the ages of thirty and fifty years of age do not speak Sel'kup. Without exception, young men do not speak Sel'kup. The situation is slightly better amongst women. Aside from a few pieces of equipment necessary for traditional activities (hunting tools, cabins, boats, skis), most Sel'kup material culture has vanished. Sel'kup traditional subsistence activities no longer exist. Over the last decade they have lost the skills required for traditional large-scale fur-hunting and fishing and catch fish and hunt animals (moose and upland fowl, mainly) only to meet individual needs.

Modern Sel'kup work mainly in the service industry or perform work requiring few or no skills. Educated Sel'kup (high school or college-level education) work in public outreach, cultural and management. There are basically no Sel'kup working in engineering or technical industries. Their domestic activities emphasize trade activities (hunting, fishing). Few are engaged in gardening. Those that keep livestock prefer horses to horned livestock. The appearance of their home interiors and decorative aspects of their gardens is quite humble in comparison to Russians.

It would be incorrect to conclude that the Tomsk Sel'kup have been depopulated or that they have disappeared as an independent ethnic unit. While their language and traditional culture are quite important, those are not the only indicators of an ethnos. In this regard, ethnic awareness is much more important, and a factor that is growing amongst the Sel'kup. A wave of the formation and development of an ethnic renewal social movement has taken place for many Siberian and Far Eastern peoples, and the Sel'kup are no exception. A founding meeting of Tomsk Oblast Sel'kup took place in September 1989, a meeting that was attended by representatives of all administrative districts where Sel'kup groupings reside. This summit created the *Kolta Kup* (People of the Ob) Ethnic Society of Tomsk Sel'kup, officially establishing Sel'kup Societies in areas where they have traditionally lived. Each of these societies was allocated a Territory of Traditional Natural Resource Use, on which lands the Sel'kup have the primary right to exploit biological resources.

Work has begun to revitalize the Sel'kup language. Linguists from Tomsk Pedagogical University are developing study tools for Sel'kup schools: a grammar and textbook intended for first-graders, language textbooks, curricular recommendations, didactic materials, audio materials, etc.

The ethno-cultural situation for the northern Sel'kup is better. There has been less industrial development of the region, and there is less ethnic mixing. People are more likely to speak Sel'kup; there is less inter-marriage, and a significant portion of the population is still engaged in traditional activities. Many Sel'kup leaders, especially adherents of their ancestors' traditional laws and the olden days in general, believe that any future ethnic revival will be connected specifically to the northern Sel'kup.

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SHOR



The Shor people live in the Russian Federation, and their core population lives in Kemerovo Oblast. They were officially recognized as an indigenous minority people of the North, Siberia, and the Far East in 1989. They call themselves *shor*, *shor-kizhi*, *mras-kizhi* and other terms. V. V. Radlov introduced the ethnonym "Shor" to scientific literature at the end of the nineteenth century. The official term of Shor was approved during the Soviet years. Prior to this, the Shor did not have a commonly agreed upon self-name, calling themselves instead by the name of their clan (*seok*) or according to their place of residence. Today's ethnonym is based on one of the most numerous clans, the Shor, who lived along the Kondoma River. This *seok's* name was used to label all Shor and their neighbors, the Teleut, Khakas, and others. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Russians usually called the Shor "Blacksmith Tatars."

Language

Anthropologically speaking, the Shor are related to the Khanty and Mansi and are relatively lacking in Mongoloid characteristics. Two ethnographic groups of Shor can be identified: northern or forest steppe (Abinskiy) and southern mountain taiga (Shorskiy). They speak the Shor language, which belongs to the Khakas subgroup of Uighur-Oguz group of Turkic languages. Two dialects exist — Mrasskiy (spoken in the Mras-Su River and upper Tom' River watersheds) and Kondomskiy (adjoining the northern Altayan dialects). Both dialects separate out into numerous vernaculars. Orthodox missionaries first created a written language based on the Russian alphabet in the 1880s.

Ethnogenesis

The Ugric, Samoyedic, and Ket peoples participated in the formation of the Shor ethnos, joining the Uralic community in the sixth through fourth millennia BC. During the sixth through ninth centuries AD, their ancestors appeared in the Turkic, Uighur, and Yenisey Kaganates and were Turkic, partly mixed with Altayan, Mongol, and Yenisey-Kyrgyz tribes. Much later, in the eighteenth century, some Teleuts joined the Shor. At the same time, some Shor moved to the watersheds of left-hand tributaries of the Abakan River and participated in the formation of the Khakas ethnos, forming the Shor sub-ethnic group.



Current territory of residence of the Shor in Russia

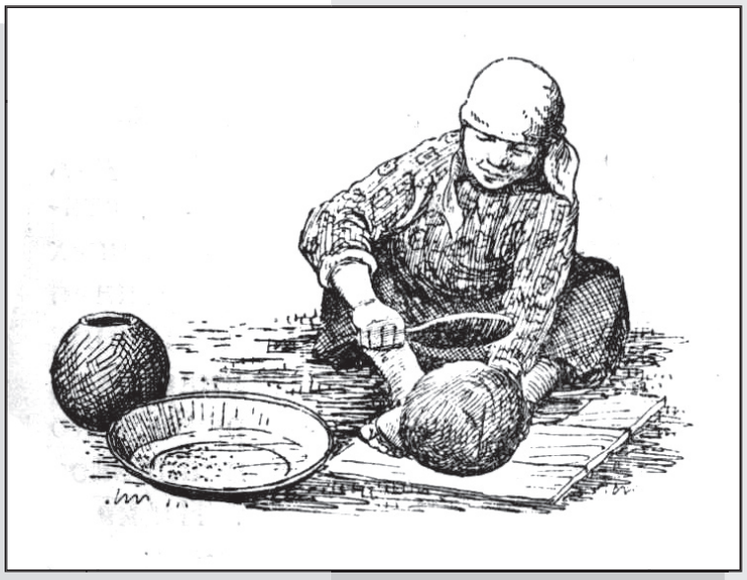
Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

Territory and Population

Gornaya Shoriya (Mountainous Shoriya) is the main area where Shor reside — in the watershed of the middle branch of the Tom's River and its tributaries. Administratively speaking, today this region is encompassed by the Tashtagol'skiy, Mezhdurechenskiy, and Novokuznetskiy Districts of Kemerovo Oblast. Some Shor (527 individuals) live in Askizskiy and Tashtypskiy Districts of Khakasiya. Over the last one hundred years, the geographic distribution of Shor has changed little. The only change that has occurred is the concentration of the population into larger settlements. As of January 1, 1998, the Shor lived in seventy-seven villages and town in the Oblast, as well as in the cities of Kemerovo, Novokuznetsk, Mezhdurechensk, Myski, and others. In the majority of these places, they live in mixed residential settings.

The vigorous industrialization of Kemerovo Oblast during the years of Soviet power and the establishment of new cities and worker villages stimulated processes of urbanization and migration for the Shor people. Today, only 56.3% of Shor still live on their historical clan lands. Representatives of the Keresh, Sebi, Tartkyn, and Aba clans were most heavily impacted by these changes, and over the last twenty years, many settlements have disappeared entirely — Akkol', Balbyn', Tutuyas, and others. There are settlements inhabited only by single Shor families or pensioners.



In 1989, there were 16,600 Shor. Of those, 12,585 lived in Kemerovo Oblast at the time of the census. Shor population dynamics in the twentieth century show that there was population growth until 1970. A drop occurred in the 1970s, especially in Kemerovo Oblast, due to increased migration and assimilation processes. This decrease in the number of Shor in Kemerovo Oblast can be partially explained by the fact that they were moved to live with relatives in Khakasiya. The most recent census again indicates significant growth in Shor population. As with other minority peoples, this is related to a growth in ethnic self-awareness that occurred at the end of the 1980s. Many Shor who formerly counted themselves as other ethnic nationalities returned to their ethnic roots.



Social organization

At the point at which the Shor joined the Russian state, their social interactions were based on a clan structure. Administrative *volosts* (districts) created in the Shor region reflecting actual clan boundaries. To the south, the majority of settlements consisted of members of a single clan. Elders were responsible for leading administrative *volosts*. Shor clan management was replaced by typical *volost* administration only in 1913.

Shor clans were exogamous and based on paternal rights, although traces of the maternal clan were also noticeable. The latter can be seen in wedding feasts that took place in the bride's home (and not the groom's), avuncular relations, a clan's classification system (fellow clan members called each other *karyndash*, , "half sibling"), the tradition of levirate, "avoidance" of the husband's eldest brother by the wife, and other traditions. Each clan commanded a specific territory belonging equally to all clan members. As clan structure broke down, hunting territories became the property of large families (*tol'*) whose members included two to three generations of close relatives. They lived together, conducted

joint activities, and had communal property. For the northern Shor, clan structure did not play a significant role in administrative management, settlement patterns, and land use, due to economic and cultural contacts with Russians further influenced the disintegration of clan structure. To the south, these clan beginnings were preserved until the end of the nineteenth century and were still noticeable even later.

Subsistence activities

At the start of the seventeenth century, most Shor primarily practiced blacksmithing. It was on this basis that Russian documents refer to the region in which the Shor lived as "Blacksmith Land" and called the Shor "Blacksmith People." It is also illustrative that the Shor sometimes even paid their *yasak* fur tribute not with furs but with metalwork. By the end of the eighteenth century, blacksmith arts had practically ended as a result of falling demand for metalwork by nomads. From this time onward, the Shor were mainly engaged in hunting for fur and hoofed animals, farming, and subsistence and commercial fishing. Each clan and later each large family commanded a specific territory, the memory of which persists even today.

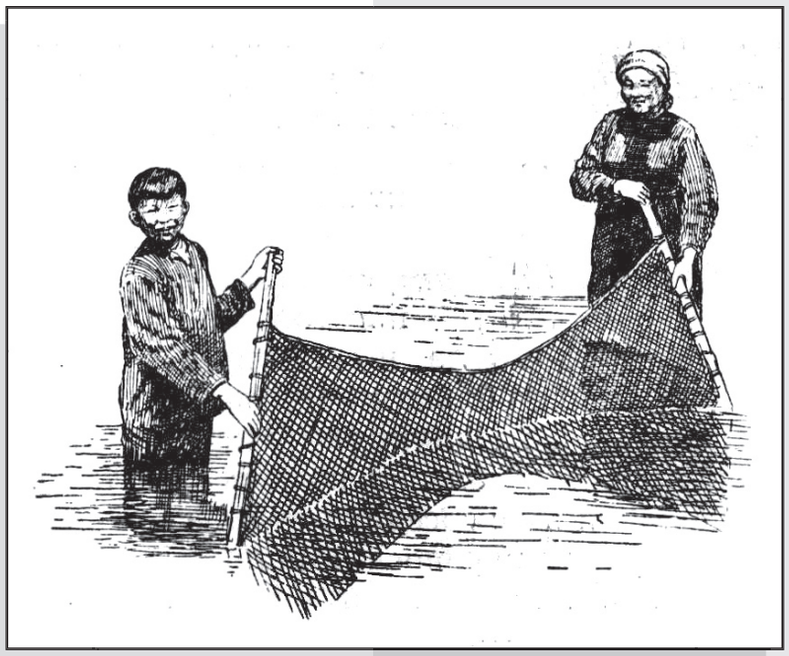


Initially, the Shor persistence hunted mainly for hoofed animals — moose, reindeer, red deer, and roe deer. They hunted with the aid of enclosures, traps, and trap pits. Fur hunting became more common in connection with the Russian state's *yasak* fur tribute politics. Their main fur targets were squirrel, sable, fox, Siberian weasel, ermine, and river otter. They hunted with bows and also used all sorts of traps. In the nineteenth century, firearms came into use. Hunting was their main source of income, and 75–90% of Shor were engaged in this activity. They hunted in cooperative groups consisting of relatives or neighbors, using skis *(shana*) whose bottoms were lined with foal leg skins. They also hiked over ice-crusted snow using snow shoe type skis. In the summer they traveled by boat, on horseback, or on foot. The main boat type was a dugout called the *kebe*; they used hand-drawn sleds called *shanak* to move loads, in addition to using a skin travois (*surtke*).

Fishing was an important means of supporting the Shor existence. The technique was especially well developed in river lowlands. They caught grayling, taimen, northern pike, eelpout and other fish. The Shor used seines, nets, boats, and various fish traps and pots to fish, in addition to shooting fish with a lance from a bow. Blocking nets were set up at river headwaters and along small tributaries.

Hunting and fishing were supplemented by gathering, a practice engaged in by women. They gathered and prepared large quantities of bulbs, roots, onions, and the stems of day lilies, fawn lilies, wild onion, wild garlic, and hogweed. They dug roots using a trowel called an *ozup*. Onions were dried for the winter, stems and roots were stored underground. In the nineteenth century, Siberian pine nut and berry gathering became commercial activities. Cooperatives and families set out to gather nuts and berries, remaining in the taiga for weeks at a time. The Shor gathered honey from wild bees, over time transforming that practice into beekeeping under Russian influence.

Shor farming was of two sorts: tilling in northern Gornaya Shoriya (virtually identical to Russian peasant farming techniques) and slash and burn agriculture to the south. Here, after clearing land of trees, the worked the land using a primitive hoe-mattock, the *abyl*. They planted barley, wheat, and hemp. After planting, they returned to their village, returning for harvest only in the fall. They pounded grain using canes and then stored it in birch tubs set on pilings, grinding the grain ultimately using hand-operated mills. As contacts with Russians increased, hoe-mattock farming was gradually replaced by tilling.



Livestock husbandry was only lightly developed among the Shor. In the south, many farms simply did not keep cows, did not drink milk, and had only a few horses. In northern Gornaya Shoriya, they acquired the Russian habit of stabling horses, horse-drawn transport, and harnessing. Even though the Shor were acquainted with domesticated livestock prior the arrival of Russians, they did not know milk production technology, a skill that is generally widespread among Turkic nomads.

The Shor also worked at weaving and leather making and produced household objects and implements made from wood and birchbark. Some regions were known to practice pottery-making. Women were responsible for much of this work. Men typically hunted and fished and worked wood, horn, and leather.

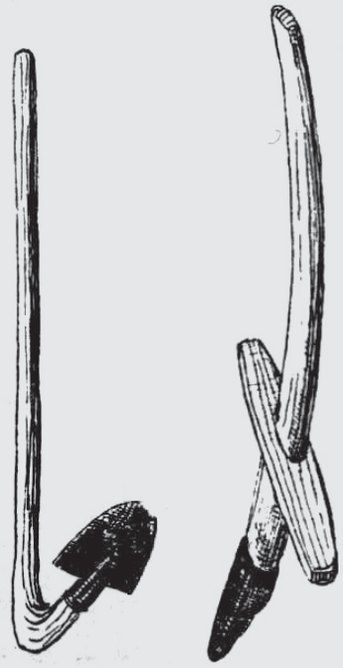
During the Soviet period, *kolkhozes* were created based on traditional Shor activities, although they were economically weak, and by the 1960s they had been eliminated. Intensive industrial development and timber processing seriously undermined traditional industries. Under such conditions, the Shor began working in industry and other economic areas. Today, most Shor families have gardens adjoining their homes

where they grow produce and barley. Many keep domesticated livestock, horses, and fowl.



During the market reform phase, employment became a very serious issue for the indigenous population. State collective industries where Shor hunters had been employed went bankrupt, small-scale gold mines were closed, and almost all timber processing and logging companies ceased to exist. The creation of a network of farms based on clan communities, begun in the Tashtagol'skiy District, was symbolically supported by local authorities. As a result, only a few of these farms still exist — *Palam* in Novokuznetskiy District, *Azass* in Mezhdurechenskiy District, and a community farm in Ust'-Anzas (Tashtagol'skiy District). Five corporations were created to collect and process medicinal and technical plant materials, and edible wild plants (nuts, fern, mushrooms, bird cherries, etc.). Business plans were developed for these corporations, but they cannot be implemented without state or some other form of financial support.

Settlements and housing



The Shor live a settled lifestyle. Temporary departures from the villages were connected either to traditional activities (hunting, fishing, etc.) or with work in the fields. Their small villages (from two or three to ten *yurts*) were scattered in the taiga at great distances from each other. Northern Shor settlements were almost indistinguishable from small Russian villages. Villages were named after the oldest relative (Nakpay Aal for Nakpaev ulus) or for a geographical site (Ak Kaya — White Cliff). As a rule, there were no planned streets in villages.

At the turn of the twentieth century, there were two types of home: a hut made from branches, boards and timbers (*odag*)) and a log rectangular *yurt*. The roof was made from wooden slabs or birch and heated with a clay hearth (*kebege*) with a chimney made from braided branches. Northern Shor lived in huts directly where they hunted, fished, or worked in the fields. In the south, these huts frequently served as winter housing. In that case, they were insulated with earth, and several layers of birch were used to make the roof. At the end of the nineteenth century, the *odag* began to be replaced by log cabins of various construction. A low cabin known as a *chaylyg* had six or seven layers of logs, a two-sided pitched roof of split timbers slotted into the topmost logs and then covered with earth. There was an opening in the roof to provide light. Other log homes known as *senek* were built with a two-sided or trapezoidal roof and wattled walls dug into the ground. This house resembled a Teleut semi-dugout or a Turkic *chum*. Primary sources also mention a vaulted

cupola style seasonal home (*puukh-na*) made from branches bent into the earth and braided together at the tops. At the nineteenth century's conclusion, timbered *yurts* of traditional construction began to be replaced by Russian cottages. Non-residential buildings included wooden storehouses built on four posts for food storage (*tastak*) and other storehouses on pilings with a floor, ceiling and door. They built lean-tos from poles — *chabilchak*. In the twentieth century, Shor gardens began to be fenced in, and a variety of buildings arose for keeping livestock and fowl, as well as bathhouses and barns for storing beehives and other items.



Clothing

Steppe and northern Shor dressed in Russian-style clothing. They made this clothing from homemade and purchased fabrics and sheepskin. To the south, clothes were more often sewn from a fabric woven from dogbane fiber because manufactured fabrics were inaccessible to hunters. Shor traditional clothing included a shirt (*kunek*)) with a straight or angled collar (sometimes this was decorated with colored material) and pants (*chembar*) with a tied belt. Outer clothing consisted of a short robe (*shabur*) connected with one button, closing from left to right, and belted with a sash. The collar, upper area, and sometimes the lower half were embroidered with braiding or taping. Hats were sewn from fabric or furs. They wore boots made with smoked leather or leggings made from dogbane fiber. These were fastened at the knees with ties. During the winter, footwear was stuffed with dried sedge grass. Footwear could also be made from reindeer leg skins. Women's clothing was virtually identical to men's clothing. The exception was a long, reaching almost to the ground, shirt-dress with an opening at the next. Women's pants were shorter, and the pants did not have an opening. Women's robes were always decorated with colorful thread embroidery or cowrie shells.



Food

The Shor's main foodstuffs included flour (*talkan*) and grain (*shirak*) made from toasted barley. *Talkan* was mixed with tea, milk, and if honey was added, then butter or sour cream was added as well. *They* also made a thick hot cereal from talkan called *salamat*. Soups were made with grain. *Tutpash* was a common dish made from small chunks of unleavened wheat dough boiled with meat or fish or boiled in milk. This unleavened dough was

also used to make flatbreads that were then boiled and eaten with soup or fish soup. They also ate the meat of wild animals and birds. Squirrels and horsemeat baked in ash were considered tasty delicacies. Lily and dogbane roots, bird cherries, and wild onion were used as seasoning for dishes. More often than not, these were eaten raw. Day lily and dogbane roots were boiled in water or milk. *Braga*, a thick homebrewed beer made from barley flour or dogbane, and tea were common drinks. In families that kept cows, milk products played an important nutritional role. They made fresh farmer-style cheese from milk; this cheese was used as a bread substitute.

Religion and spiritual culture

Although they were nominally Russian Orthodox, the Shor were shamanists. Their belief system was closely related to hunting. They worshiped the spirit-masters of the mountains and forests, upon whom they believed the success of their hunting depended. Various sacrifices were made in honor of these "masters". The most revered deities were *Ul'gen'* (good) and *Erlik* (evil). There were ceremonies related to hunting for bear. Shor shamanism was related to their clan structure. A shaman's talents were inherited. For the most part, they did not hunt, living from income made on ritual séances. A shaman's attributes included the drum (*tuur*) and mallet (*orby*), which were hung from a tree at the shaman's grave when he died. Shamans did not have special clothing. They conducted rituals in a traditional robe and hat with owl feathers. Sometimes they wore a calico headscarf. Rituals occurred in the instance of family illness and to ensure hunting success. In the springtime, they conducted ceremonies in a birch grove with all village residents present in honor of the mountain spirits. This spring ritual was called *shachil*.

Folklore and Art

Folklore played an important part in traditional Shor spiritual culture. Oral folk traditions comprise epic poems, songs, sayings, proverbs, folktales, legends, traditions, and riddles. Hero (epic) poems were recitative in nature, told in a low and guttural voice and accompanied by a two stringed instrument known as the *komys*. This genre is found mainly among the northern Shor.

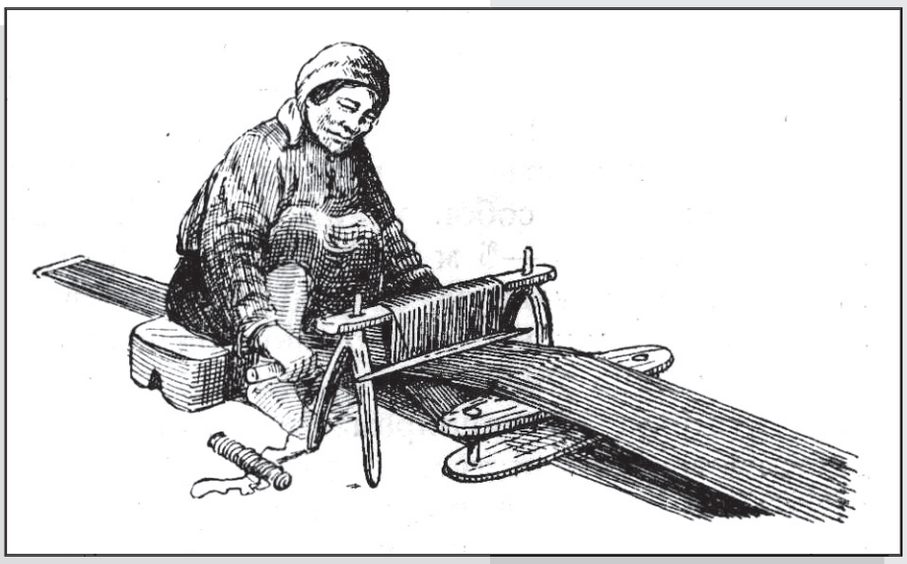
The Shor folk calendar was counted in months and days according to the lunar cycle. Month names reflected activities traditional to those months. They had their own measures for length and weight. Folk medicine used various medicinal plants extensively. Bone carving and burning and thread embroidery were their main art forms.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Shor traditional beliefs, mythology, and burial ceremonies have been preserved to a certain extent. Folk holidays are regularly celebrated in honor of their forebear *Ol'gudek* and the spring/summer holiday *Payram*, both of which accompanied by the performance of epics and songs and sport competitions. Their ethnic particulars in material culture are reflected in foods, means of transport, hunting footwear, etc.

The majority of modern Shor live in towns and cities (74%), while approximately 3,500 live in rural areas. Because urban Shor live in multi-ethnic environments it would seem that they would be more affected by assimilation processes than rural Shor. This has not been found to be true; it is the urban Shor who possess a distinct ethnic self-awareness. They are more likely to speak the Shor language and are more interested in ethno-cultural values.

Language is a timely issue in the lives of the Shor. The 1989 census showed that 56.7% of Shor consider Shor to be their native language. Today, Shor written literacy is experiencing a period of renewal. Shor is being taught in eight elementary schools in Kemerovo (in the villages of Klyuchevoy, Kabyrza, Senzas, and others), and textbooks exist for grades one through five. Approximately six hundred children are studying their native language. In the town of Osinniki, Shor is being taught in Sunday school, while in Tashtagol it is taught to youth tourists. Novokuznetsk Pedagogical University has offered teacher training in Shor since the 1980s. Local television broadcasts programming in Shor in Tashtagol. Shor community-based organizations print information bulletins in Shor. Despite these efforts, overall, the situation with Shor language is use omplex.

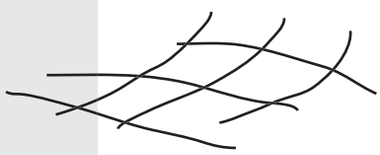


The destruction of their natural, cultural, and social environment that has occurred in recent decades elicits a negative reaction among the Shor people and unifies in them a desire to fight for their rights. In 1925, the Shor created an ethnic territory — the Gorno-Shorskiy Indigenous District — that is playing an important role in the ethnic consolidation of the Shor people as well as in the development of their economy and culture. The development of powerful industries in the nearby Kuzbass region, immigration of mainly Russian arrivals, and a decreasing proportion of indigenous residents resulting

in this district's liquidation in 1939. Since then, the Shor have not had any self-government agencies.

New attempts at self-government took place in the early 1990s. In 1992, the Chuvashinskiy Village Council (Novokuznetskiy District), located in an area of concentrated Shor population, was awarded the status of an indigenous territorial formation. The village council in Ust'-Anzas in Tashtagol'skiy District has also been awarded this status. Several community self-government organizations have been created as well: the Association for the Shor People (Mezhdurechensk), Altynshor Society (Mezhdurechensk), Shoriya Society (Osinniki and Myski), and Gornaya Shoriya (Tashtagol). The Palam Council of Shor Elders is active in Novokuznetsk.

Ecology is another serious problem the modern life of the Shor. There are almost no remaining lands appropriate for developing traditional subsistence activities. In Gornaya Shoriya, the lands surrounding the cities of Mezhdurechensk, Myski, and Osinniki, and the villages of Mundybash and Shergesh are especially damaged. Open pit coal mining in the region (one million metric tons) is accompanied by a complete destruction of the landscape. Approximately 200,000 hectares of lands have been destroyed, and only 20% recultivated. The Tom' River and its tributaries have been contaminated by sewage and industrial waste.



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SIBERIAN YUPIK

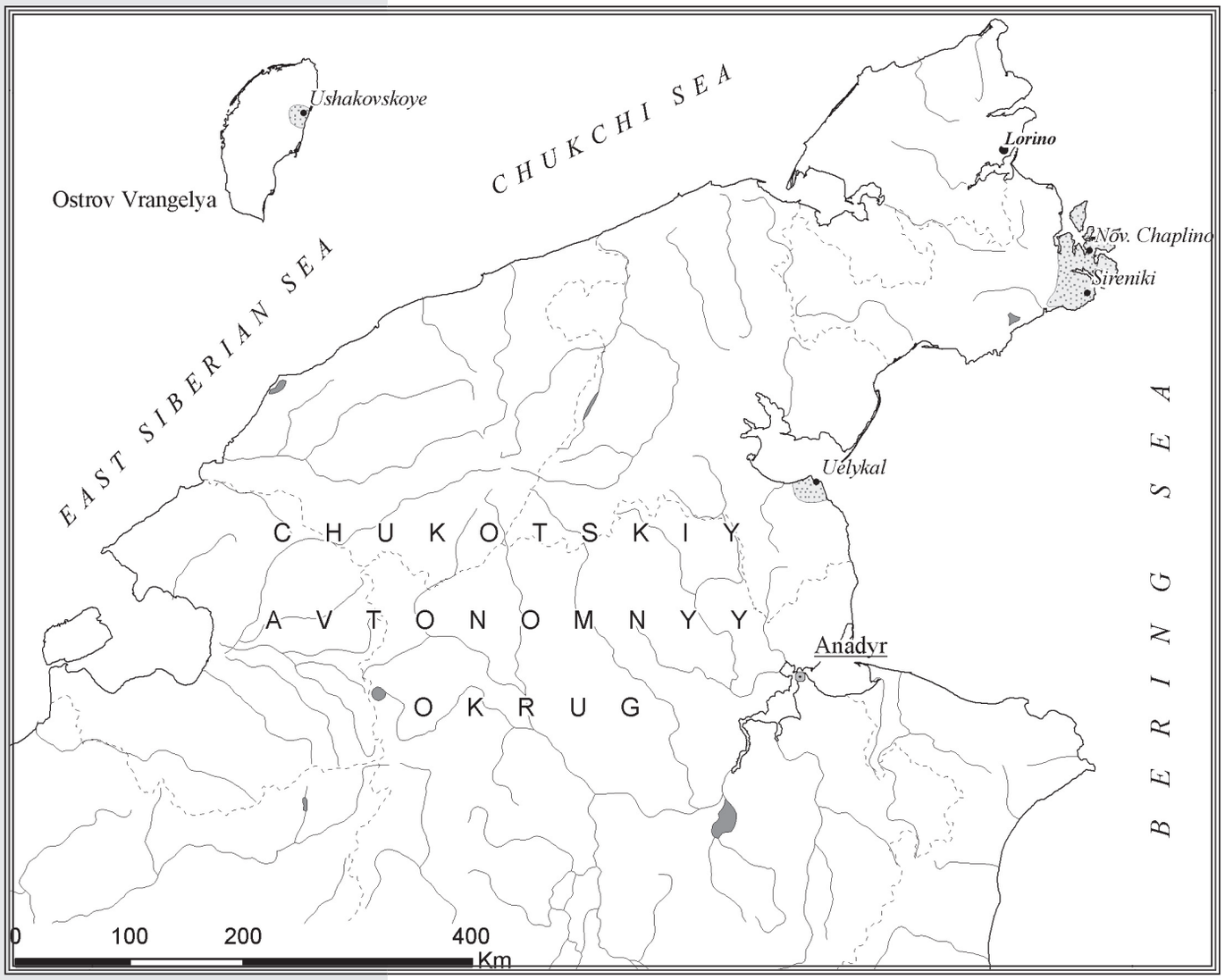


The Siberian Yupik are a Paleo-Asiatic people living in north-eastern Russia. Yupik (Eskimo, Inuit) also live in the USA (some 35,000 of them), as well as in Canada (26,000) and Greenland (45,000). In all there are fifteen ethno-cultural groupings of Yupik. The Siberian Yupik who live in Russia, and also those who live on both St. Lawrence Island and the Diomede Islands (in the USA) belong to the Siberian, or Asiatic ethno-cultural group. These people call themselves by the name of *Yunigyt*, or *Yupyt* (real people). The Canadian Siberian Yupik call themselves Inuit, and the Greenland Yupik call themselves *Kaladlit*. The Chukchi people use the name *Ankalyn* (coastal people) when referring to Siberian Yupik. They also call them *Aivanat* (people downwind to the east). The Koryak call them *Nymylgyn* (settlers). A number of regional names apply to different groups of Siberian Yupik, including the Un'azis'mit (in Russian pronounced Unasiktsy, and sometimes referred to as Chaplintsy); and the Nyvyk'akh'mit (in Russian, Naukantsy), etc. The etymology of the word "Eskimo" is probably connected with the Native American (Algonquian) word: *Eskimantsik*, meaning "the ones who eat raw meat." This ethnonym quickly spread among Europeans as well as among the Eskimo themselves. The Russians borrowed this name from foreign sources.



Language

Anthropologically the Siberian Yupik are related to an Arctic race of a larger Mongoloid race. In Russia there were three dialects of the Siberian Yupik language: the Chaplinskiy, Naukanskiy, and Sirenik dialects. A number of researchers considered these dialects to be closely related, but they also can stand as independent languages. The languages of the Asiatic Siberian Yupik along with the two Yupik languages found in Alaska, are parts of the group of Eskimo languages in the Eskimo-Aleut language family. The language of the Sirenik Siberian Yupik has now disappeared. In 1932 writing was introduced using the Chaplinskiy dialect as its basis. It utilized the Latin script;



Current territory of residence of the Siberian Yupik in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

but after five years this was replaced by the Russian alphabet, which, according to researchers, did a better job of rendering the peculiarities of the Siberian Yupik phonological system.

Ethnogenesis

Siberian Yupik origins are a complex issue, and their ethnogenesis among northern peoples is far from clear. There are several theories about this, but most researchers believe that the Yupik lived in the Bering Sea region in ancient times. They became a separate ethnos around five thousand years ago. Yupik origins were, most likely, in the extreme northeast of Asia, from whence the Yupik migrated across the Bering Strait into northwestern America. Two stages that marked the development of Siberian Yupik culture: the Paleo-Siberian Yupik and the modern Siberian Yupik cultures. The Paleo-Siberian Yupik culture had a continental flavor to it; and the culture's main trait was the hunting

of wild reindeer, walrus, and seals. Modern Siberian Yupik culture, as it formed in Bering Strait region, is characterized by marine mammal hunting (including whales).

Population and settlements

The population of Asiatic Siberian Yupik was placed at 1,750 individuals in 2002. A number of researchers believe that this number is a bit high. They live alongside the Chukchi people on the eastern shores of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The bulk of the Siberian Yupik population (almost 80%) is concentrated in Providenskiy and Chukotskiy Districts. All in all, there are 1,452 Siberian Yupik in Chukotka. The Siberian Yupik population in Asia has been growing steadily during the twentieth century. Between 1926 and 1989 this growth amounted to almost 32%. There were also a few changes in the settlement patterns of the main groups of Siberian Yupik.



By the beginning of the twentieth century the Naukanskiy Siberian Yupik were living on Ratmanov Island as well as in the village of Naukan at Point Peyek. The latter village was located on a steep slope not suitable for homebuilding and was closed down for this reason. After this the Naukanskiy Siberian Yupik were relocated to the Chukotka village of Nunyamo; but then some moved to Uelen, Lavrentiya, and several other small towns. As a result the Naukanskiy Siberian Yupik are distributed all over the eastern seaboard. The Chaplinskiy Siberian Yupik (in the villages of Chaplino, Ureliki, Plover, Uel'kal', and others) were able to preserve their own unity, even though their location changed also. The inhabitants of Chaplino were moved to Tkachen Bay, where a new village was built for them (Novoye Chaplino). The Siberian Yupik from Ureliki and Plover became residents of the village of Provideniya, which, over the course of its own development, would swallow up two smaller villages. A smaller group of Chaplinskiy Siberian Yupik moved to Wrangel Island in the 1930s, where the new village of Ushakovskoye emerged. Neither the Sirenik nor the Uel'kal'skiy Siberian Yupik were to experience the same changes of residence.

Today there are no villages in Chukotka that are exclusively Siberian Yupik. Everyone now lives alongside Russians, Chukchi, or other peoples. The Siberian Yupik are the majority population in only two villages: Novoye Chaplino and Sireniki. There are also rather large Siberian Yupik communities in the village of Provideniya, and in the villages of

Lavrentiya, Lorino, Uel'kal', and Uelen. Unfortunately there are no exact figures for the current population of Siberian Yupik in these and other villages on Chukotka. 1979 data provide the following picture of things: in Sireniki there were 258 Siberian Yupik, 226 in Novoye Chaplino, 167 in Uel'kal', 149 in Lavrentiya, 135 in Provideniya, seventy-seven in Uelen, and sixty-one in Lorino. Considering that the Siberian Yupik are not prone to inter-regional migration, there is reason to believe that the overall picture provided by this census has not changed significantly.

History

The first mention of the Siberian Yupik in Russian sources happens in the mid-seventeenth century. At that time Russian Cossacks were not able to distinguish them from the Chukchi people living on the shoreline here, calling them all Chukchi. Folklore tells that up until the middle of the eighteenth century, there were many wars with the Chukchi. During these Chukchi-Koryak wars there were many punitive attacks by the Russian military, with the aim of laying ruin to the villages along the shore. This war with the Russians brought between the coastal Chukchi and Siberian Yupik closer together, leading to increased mutual assimilation. From time to time the Siberian Yupik even united with the Chukchi to attack Yupik groups in North America. Both the Siberian Yupik and the Chukchi were amongst the last to enter into the administrative orbit of the Russian government. They did not have to pay the customary tribute to the Tsar and were otherwise considered to be "partially independent *inorodtsy*." By the middle of the nineteenth century, having interacted with Russians very little, they had experienced almost no cultural influence from that direction.

Social organization

Siberian Yupik social structure in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is not well known. Different people often interpret bits and pieces of historical evidence from that time in a variety of ways. There is no doubt, however, that matrilineal clans existed at that time, surviving right up to the twentieth century. This can be surmised from the important role played by women in the social life of the Siberian Yupik, especially in their religious rites. One of the more important institutions of clan society — exogamy — was not recorded among the Siberian Yupik. Nevertheless kinships terms characteristic of that institution illustrated the existence of both patrilineal and matrilineal clans. There are echoes of common names that once existed among Siberian Yupik clans, a fact which is possibly reflected in the common names used by families to distinguish themselves from other groups. We know that there are some

family groups that share the same common name, such as the Nynlyuvak, Sig'inig'mit, Imtug'mit, and others.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the Siberian Yupik had acquired a patrilineal kinship system. Marriages occurred along patrilineal lines, and kinship was traced through the father. All inheritances passed down from father to son. As for economic inter-relationships, *baidara* boat-ownership collectives played an important role. These consisted of unions of hunters generally closely related to each other. At one point, all families in a *baidara-collective* shared a common home, with each family having its own sleeping area. By the end of the nineteenth century those families in *baidara-collectives* were now working independently, coming together only during the hunting season. The meat from walrus hunts was distributed in equal parts to all members of the collectives, as well as to all those were present during the butchering process. *Baidara* owners enjoyed a certain advantage in their shares. At the same time, products of a whale harvest were distributed among all the inhabitants of a village. Seals belonged only to the hunter who caught it.

Subsistence activities

The primary traditional occupation of the Siberian Yupik was marine mammal hunting, mostly for walrus and seals. Marine mammal hunting produced everything needed to survive. Meat and fat was used as food and for feeding dogs. Skins were used to make clothes and footwear. Domestic utensils and other household items were produced from these sources, as was heat and lighting.

The most important hunting target was the walrus. Early in the spring they hunted walrus out on the floating ice, switching over to tracking them in water in the summer. Hunters used skin-covered *baidara* boats, and their harpoons had detachable hooks with one to two floats on them. These floating devices ensured that their kill did not sink to the bottom. The floats themselves were made of whole sealskins inflated with the help of a special tube. Walrus hunting in the beginning of June produced the best results, as this was the time when the animals migrated en masse from their winter feeding grounds. When the animals returned in September was another good time to hunt. At the end of the nineteenth century, harpoons fell out of use as walrus-hunting weapons. At that time they were replaced with Winchester rifles. When using a rifle, they tried to only wound the animals to prevent it from sinking. Wounded walrus were then impaled with floating harpoons and killed and towed to shore.

There were also other hunting methods. Sometimes they attempted to drive the animals onshore. When trying to drive the animal onshore, they used a special noisemaker, made from baleen. By beating the baleen on the water the noisemaker produced a sound reminiscent of the sound

of a killer whale — the walrus' main predator. Hunters in *baidaras* surrounded the frightened animals and drove them onto the shore. There they used spears to kill them. Other times they hunted at the animals' breeding grounds.

Seals were hunted in the winter, either at the edge of the ice or at breathing holes where the animals came up for air. Sometimes dogs were used to help search for these breathing holes. Waiting for the animal to come sometimes took hours, and all that time the hunter had to wait motionlessly so as to not frighten off the animal. When the seal did appeared and its breathing could be heard, it was stabbed with a short harpoon. In early winter, when the ice had not yet solidified, seals were hunted by placing nets made out of straps under the ice. In the spring, when the seals ventured out onto the ice to warm up in the sun, they used a different approach. The hunter dressed up in a masked hood resembling the snout of a walrus, and, imitating its movements, the Siberian Yupik would stealthily creep up to the resting animal, until he could get a clean shot with his harpoon. In the summer they hunted seals with guns, shooting from the shore or from a large *baidara*. The dead animals were dragged to the boat or shore using an iron gaff on a wooden handle. Toward the end of the nineteenth century most of the more traditional methods of seal hunting disappeared and animals were now hunted with the help of firearms.

Until the nineteenth century the Arctic right (or bowhead) whale was widely hunted. They could be spotted by searching for fountains of water that the animal characteristically spurted out. As a rule, they did not hunt other whale species. Whale hunting season in mid-November, when the whales began migrating south. Hunters in *baidaras* surrounded the whale, impaling it using harpoons with massive hooks at the end. These harpoons were attached to a long line with several float devices on it. At the end of the nineteenth century whale hunting decreased sharply due to the animals' annihilation by the industrial whaling flotillas. From that time in history only the Chaplinskiy Siberian Yupik and those Siberian Yupik on St Lawrence Island continued to whale hunt. Hunting technology had changed for good: the whales were now hunted from whaleboats using special whaling guns and harpoon cannons. Whale hunting once had tremendous significance for the Siberian Yupik. A whale provided meat and fat for a whole village for an entire year, offering them many other products as well. A successful hunt was always a good reason to celebrate.

The Siberian Yupik supplemented marine mammal hunting with both gathering and hunting for other meat- and fur-bearing animals and birds. They fished as well. They hunted wild reindeer and mountain sheep using a bow and arrow (and later, using firearms). For fur they would hunt Arctic fox and fox. They hunted the animals on ice, while the fox were hunting young seals, pursuing the fox by dog sled or simply with

a pack of dogs. They also often used traps to hunt, building the traps themselves with iron acquired from whalers. As for birds, the Siberian Yupik hunted them using snares or a thrown *bola*, also a well-known tool amongst the Chukchi people. The Siberian Yupik fished using basic hook-and-line gear and small nets made of baleen-fibers.

During Soviet times the traditional Siberian Yupik activities developed within the *kolkhoz* collective farming model. In many ways marine mammal hunting preserved the Siberian Yupik's traditional activities. At the same time, the actual number of hunters began to decline with the use of modern technical equipment. Ways in which the catch was utilized also changed substantially. A larger proportion of the meat and blubber ended up at fur farming facilities set up in Chukotkan coastal villages to address unemployment problems. Whale hunting was now mainly being conducted to provide for this new economic activity — cage-raised fur animal farming. At this point the Siberian Yupik essentially did not participate in the whale hunts. The animals were now chased in launches and seine boats. As whale stocks declined, so did whaling. Today the quota allocated by the International Whaling Commission (163 gray whales and 6 bowhead whales annually) are now all caught from whaling ships.

Despite living for years alongside the Chukchi people in the very same villages where the main economic activity was reindeer herding, the Siberian Yupik have staunchly preserved their own traditional activities. There were a number of unsuccessful attempts made during Soviet times to draw the Siberian Yupik into the reindeer herding brigades. Even modern Siberian Yupik youth are known for their dedication to traditional, open-ocean hunting.

Transportation

The Siberian Yupik's main form of transportation during the summer is by boat, either in the larger *baidara* or in a *kayak*. Whaleboats appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. The one-person *kayak* consisted of a lattice-framed hull covered tightly with the skin of a bearded seal. The hunter wore a waterproof coat (made of walrus intestine) and sat in the centered cockpit of the *kayak*, tying himself in with a belt made of sealskin. They used these kayaks for short trips near the settlement. From his kayak, the hunter could check fishing nets, hunt for sea birds, or collect dead seals floating on the surface. The *baidara* (or *an'yapik*) was an open, flat-bottomed boat made out of a wooden latticed frame and covered with walrus skin. The size of the *baidara* was an open, flat-bottomed boat made out of a wooden latticed frame and covered with walrus skin. The size of the *baidara* varied quite a bit, as did its cargo capacity and was propelled either by oars or under sail. The *baidara* was irreplaceable, especially in this icy climate. Its skin sides sprang back easily from any heavy blow, and it was exceptionally

lightweight: one could easily take it out of the water and carry it for a significant distance. During the Soviet years both the *baidara* and the kayak fell almost completely out of use, replaced by the modern motorboat. By the end of the 1980s the art of building a *baidara* was preserved only amongst the Sirenik Siberian Yupik.

Travel overland was accomplished with the help of dogsleds. Until the mid-nineteenth century sleds mainly had arches stanchions and used fan-shaped harnesses. This style was also characteristic of the sleds of the coastal Chukchi. It was only later that the eastern Siberian style of sled arrived in this region. A third type of sled known to be used was the *kanrak* sled. This was a very short sled without no stanchions and runners made from walrus tusks. It was used for portaging *baidaras* to the water or for transporting water and hunted food. Dogs were not used at to haul these kinds of sleds, as they were hand-drawn by the hunter himself.

The Siberian Yupik used snow skis ("little paws") analogous to the ones used by the Chukchi to move over snow. To travel on ice they had special footwear with bone-spiked soles.

Settlements and housing

The Siberian Yupik lived in settlements high atop ocean promontories, on shoreline terraces, or at the base of an ocean spit. These kinds of places were convenient for looking out onto the sea. The number of houses in a village could vary. Some larger settlements are known to have existed, totaling forty to fifty houses. The older winter houses amongst these were actually semi-dugout frame houses known as *nyn'lyu*. Their frame was made from bones, such as the jaw-bone or skull of a whale, as well as from rocks or wood. The central and side supports to these houses were made from whale jaw-bone, as were the foundation beams used for laying out the flooring and lashing the walls. The ceiling beams were made out of whale ribs, and the walls to the entry hall from whale vertebrae. The floor was laid using large animal skulls and shoulder blades. The houses' exteriors were covered with a layer of turf, also using turf, grass, and sand as a roofing material. The greatest variation to these houses was in how the entranceways were constructed: as an underground corridor, an above or slightly belowground entryway. Aboveground entrances were used in the summer, and the lower ones in the winter. Houses were heated with a hearth or with lamps using animal-fat as fuel.

Each summer the Siberian Yupik migrated to their summer homes. These were four-cornered house with framing made of whale fins, and a roof that slanted away to the back. The skeleton of the house was covered with walrus skins, or later with a tarpaulin. The interior contained a bed separated by a curtain, usually held up by some strapping. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Siberian Yupik still lived in community homes — large earthen homes accommodating several families.

These houses served as meeting places, or for religious ceremonies and holiday celebrations.

A second type of permanent winter home was the roundhouse, or *myn'tyg'ak'* (or *yaranga* in Russian), which first appeared in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This was a cylindrical/conical structure that in many ways resembled roundhouses built by the Chukchi. Its lower cylindrical half consisted of vertical posts made of wood or bone. On the exterior walrus skin was stretched as a covering, and then turf was piled on top. Poles were lashed to the support beam to form the conical roof. The support beam was not placed in the center of the roundhouse, but a little bit to the side. As a result the roof was asymmetrical, like an off-kilter cone. A small corridor attached to the roundhouse. A fur sleeping partition was placed at the back wall of the house. Unlike roundhouses built by the nomadic Chukchi, these were significantly larger and had fur skins stretched onto their square frames on the outside. The floors behind the bed curtain were covered with walrus skins. At the end of the nineteenth century summer homes made of wood planking appeared on the scene, complete with gabled roofing and windows. Well-to-do Siberian Yupik acquired the material for these homes from American traders. Snow-homes, or *igloos* — characteristic of the American Eskimos — were not used by the Asiatic Siberian Yupik.

In later Soviet times, transitional houses appeared, houses that mixed some styles borrowed from the Russians with the Siberian Yupik's own, everyday domestic structures. Those houses were built using boards or planks of packages. Siberian Yupik sealed the walls of their homes with slag and sand, covering the roof with tarpaper, roofing felt, or walrus skins. Houses had two parts: a non-residential area that occupied about two thirds of the space (used for kenneling their dogs and storing clothes and equipment) and the living quarters, heated with a cast-iron stove. Here the Siberian Yupik slept on the floor on walrus skins. They relied entirely on their own resources to build these homes.

Clothing

Siberian Yupik wore clothing made either from the marine mammal skins or from reindeer skins. Men's clothing consisted of short breeches made of seal skin (covering the pelvic area), shirt made of reindeer fur (*atkuk*), and fur overall pants and high boots (*kamgyk*). Summer pants and shirts were worn as a jumper, with the fur on the inside. Winter pants and shirts, on the other hand, were separate, with fur both inside and out. The bottom edge of the pants were tightly gathered and fastened to the bootlegs. The shirt was tied down with a *tafsi* belt made of sealskin and embroidered with reindeer hair. The bootlegs had varying heights and were worn with fur stockings underneath. During long winter trips they donned a long *kukhlyanka* parka with a hood made of reindeer skin. In

olden days this *kukhlyanka* was sewn from bird skins with the feathers on the inside. The outer side of the coat would be decorated with ochre, and a beaver skin collar was attached. They made bedding and bed curtains out of bird skins. Many different examples of this type of clothing existed right up to the end of the nineteenth century.

Women wore short pelvic breeches made of leather with a fur jumpsuit called a *k'alyvagyn*. Women's footwear did not differ at all from that worn by men. During the summer women and men often wore *kamleyka* overshirts made of seal intestines, later sewn together using purchased thread. Men and women only wore fur hats and mittens while traveling — at all other times they used no head coverings. Women all had identical hairstyles, with two braids and a part down the middle. Men usually cut their hair, leaving long strands of hair only at the crown. There were other hairstyles as well, for example, removing hair around the crown, leaving only a halo of hair around their heads. Tattoos were another distinctive way in which the men and women adorned themselves. Men drew small circles near the corners of their mouths, while the women's tattoos consisted of parallel lines drawn to cover a part of the forehead, nose, or chin. They applied more complicated geometric ornamentation on their cheeks, hands, and forearms.

Food

The Siberian Yupik's main food source was from hunting at sea. The meat from whales, walrus, and seals was eaten raw, dried, frozen, or boiled. Frozen meat was always mixed with seal or whale blubber as well as with leaves from the polar willow tree. Boiled meat was usually not salted. In addition, it was considered very nutritious to eat the frozen liver of walrus, seals, and bearded seals. Another particular delicacy was the black, rubbery skin of the whale with its pink layer of fat, always eaten raw. Reindeer meat was also valued, but the main source of food was walrus meat, the ingredient used to prepare the most common dish in Chukotka, called *kopalgyn*. A walrus intended to make this dish was cut into eight or nine equal pieces. The skin, meat, and blubber were cut into strips connected into one long piece with straps. In this way the *kopalgyn* could be stored in a cold place for a very long time, even lasting year-round in an ice-box. The meat could then be used either in a fresh or pickled state. To make the *kopalgyn* more succulent they sewed in a piece of walrus liver or kidneys. For added seasoning, they added edible seaweed, as well as other plants, such as common and mountain sorrel, willow leaves, cloudberries, bilberries, etc. They also frequently added shellfish to their diet, usually in raw form. Shellfish taken from a walrus's stomach was another delicacy. With the development of trade they began to use imported food products, such as tea, sugar, flour, and grains.

Religion and spiritual culture

Siberian Yupik religion had much in common with that of the Chukchi. They believed in good and evil spirits known as the *tug'nyg'at*. Various misfortunes and diseases were attributed to these spirits during their lives. To defend against evil spirits they used special amulets, or painted their faces with red ochre or black lead stripes. In the animal world they especially revered the killer whale, an animal they considered the protector of the sea hunt. The killer whale was depicted on most *baidaras*, and hunters had a picture of a whale on their belts as well. The Siberian Yupik also greatly honored the wolf and raven. *Koshkli* the Raven was the main personage in many cosmological legends of the Siberian Yupik.

Siberian Yupik ceremonial holidays centered on the various cults of the animals they hunted. Ceremonies included dramatic presentations and dances. "Holiday of the heads," dedicated to walrus hunting, was celebrated each summer, including action depicting a symbolic walrus hunt, and a ceremony led by the oldest woman in the family. Women also played vital roles in all other religious ceremonies. Women were responsible for keeping amulet-protectors as well as for preparing ceremonial meals. Women worked as tattoo artists, among their other tasks.

The "whale holiday," or *Pol'a*, was accompanied by various rituals granting magical significance to future, successful hunts. This special holiday closed with ritual sacrifices to the masters of the sea: they threw pieces of whale meat remaining from the ceremonial meal into the water. This was considered the best way to resurrect animals that had just been killed in order for them to again become the prey of Siberian Yupik hunters. Siberian Yupik games and dances were also related to marine mammal hunting and gathering.

Shamanism was also closely intertwined with hunting cults. Shamans were usually men, but there are instances of women shamans. Shamanism was generally practiced within the family, but each village had a chief shaman. Although Siberian Yupik shamans had no special attire, their outfits had extra pendants, fringes, and tassels. Being a shaman was not a profession, although the shaman often received remuneration for his or her work.

Arts and crafts

Traditional art forms amongst the Siberian Yupik were expressed in the decoration of clothing, footwear, and other domestic items. They also embroidered suede clothing with colorful sinew-threads, practiced bone carving, and made mosaics using fur. The Siberian Yupik most loved decorative art technique was weaving leather straps through holes cut in skins. The most frequent patterns were various rectangular shapes,

chevrons, zigzags, and triangles. Striped Siberian Yupik ornaments are especially noteworthy and are closely related to those of the Aleut, Chukchi, and Koryak peoples. Leather strips were sewn onto footwear, belts, and other domestic items. The Siberian Yupik also distinguished themselves with the quality of their rugs and balls. Balls were usually embellished with round rosettes. Their rugs made from animal skins are without peer in the indigenous arts world of northeastern Russia. Women were responsible for the decoration of skins and furs and other domestic items.

Men did all artwork with bone and other hard materials. Walrus tusks and teeth, mammoth tusks, and whalebone were the main source of raw materials for carving and engraving. Bones carved by the Siberian Yupik are striking in their amazing realistic miniature portrayals of walrus, seals, bird life, and humans. In addition to decorative bone sculptures, they also made other ornaments, including small chains, spears, pendants, etc. The tradition of making bone knives goes very far back in time.

Siberian Yupik carving and engraving developed even more during the Soviet era, becoming a true profession at that time. Many remarkable masters worked and still work at a bone-carving studio in Uelen, a studio whose masters who are well known around the world for their creativity. One of the early leaders of this professional art form was the time-honored artist of the USSR, Siberian Yupik Khukhutan. Other wonderful work was produced by the likes of Khotkhyrgin, Vasiliy Yempikayin, the engraver Vankateyin, and the carver Unuk, to mention but a few.

Folklore

Siberian Yupik folklore can be divided into the following genres: heroic legends, magic fairy tales and myths, everyday stories, and animal stories. Heroic legends tell of battles between the Siberian Yupik and other peoples, while everyday stories would recount ordinary situations and real events, which somehow made their mark on the collective minds of the people and were thus fixed in their oral tradition. Many of the fairy tales about animals hark back to ancient totemic and other myths about cultural heroes. Other special oral traditions included many dance-songs, improvised songs, and incantations.

Siberian Yupik folklore has much in common with the folklore of neighboring peoples. Moreover, some elements of their folklore go back to an era when the Asiatic Siberian Yupik were part of an inseparable whole living as a single Eskimo community. There are subjects common to all groups (e. g., men being reincarnated as or having their spirit imbued in animals, myths about giants and dwarves, stories about the Sun's and Moon's homes in the sky or about a girl who did not want to marry, etc.). All of these subjects can also be seen in the folklore of the Greenland Yupik.

Siberian Yupik folk songs are of particular interest. Many of these stand out, including ceremonial songs, songs about cult beliefs, hunting, tournaments, love, and other subjects. These songs were performed either solo or as part of a chorus, by men or women, or together. Drums accompanied the songs, and sometimes the audience clapped in time with the singer's melody. All the songs share one common trait, irrespective of their content: they all reflect the Siberian Yupik's mythic system. Along with the traditional songs performed by all Siberian Yupik, some songs that still exist that can be attributed to individual families, or even to specific family members. These songs were often passed along through the generations.

Contemporary culture and self-government

In 1989, the percentage of Siberian Yupik people within the overall population of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug was only 0.9%. Today this percentage has increased a bit — not because their numbers have grown, but because many non-native people have since left the area (the population of the Okrug had decreased by almost 39% in 1995). In the Providenskiy District, where the bulk of the Siberian Yupik live, their share of the population is substantially higher (at 8.2%); but even here they are second to the Chukchi people (at 14.7%). As mentioned earlier, the Siberian Yupik have been living side-by-side with the Chukchi and other peoples in the same villages for several decades now. There is now a single village lifestyle here and no major friction between the various communities. Marriage statistics are evidence of this fact. Mixed marriages (with either Russians or Chukchi) vary from village to village, ranging from 40% to 65% of marriages. There are a number of Siberian Yupik-Chukchi marriages (about one half of all the mixed ones), especially in those villages where Siberian Yupik live alongside the coastal Chukchi. In Novoye Chaplino, for instance, these kinds of mixed marriages are about two times more frequent than in Sireniki, where most of the population is reindeer-herders.

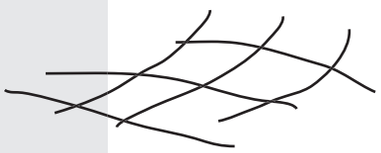
This transformation of the Siberian Yupik's ethno-economic situation and of their entire lifestyle cannot help but be reflected in the condition of their traditional spiritual culture. Many elements of spiritual culture have been irretrievably lost, while other elements continue only at a very local level. At the same time, Siberian Yupik self-awareness is again on the rise, as are their efforts to rekindle all that remains. Non-government groups have in no small way helped with these efforts. They help to broaden the Siberian Yupik network of contacts with related peoples living abroad and to aid locals in participating in international Inuit and Yupik organizations. Attempts are now underway to re-establish rituals related to hunting cults (such as the "whale holiday"), as well as those tied to personal holidays. The prospects are now good for the further

development of Siberian Yupik bone-carving crafts. There are still quite a few talented artists who are active, masters of carving walrus bone, or of engraving walrus tusk.

In contrast, it will be a more complex task to deal with the language issue. In Soviet days, the language of school instruction was limited to Russian; children were forbidden to use their native language in school. As a result, today Siberian Yupik is not the native language two thirds of living Siberian Yupik. All Siberian Yupik people speak Russian. Only the older generation is in any position to speak their native language. Some middle-aged Siberian Yupik are able to understand simplified Siberian Yupik speech. Still, in recent times there have been some efforts to resurrect the language. An Okrug radio station transmits two shows weekly in Siberian Yupik. From time to time thematic articles appear in the Okrug newspaper *Murgin Nutenut* (Our Land). Schools in Novoye Chaplino and Sireniki now teach Siberian Yupik language classes. Teachers of Siberian Yupik are being prepared at the Anadyr Pedagogical Institute, as well as at the Herzen State Pedagogical University in St. Petersburg.

The main functions today of self-government among the native population are the responsibility of the Association of Indigenous Minority Peoples in Chukotka, including the Siberian Yupik. An interregional community group, called *Yupik*, has also been created, as well as the Union of Marine Mammal Hunters. In populated areas there are branches of other associations at work, including *Avan* (in Provideniya) and *Etti* (in Lavrentiya), among others. These groups are mostly busy with problems related with renewing native culture, protecting the environment, or maintaining traditional hunting activities. The Siberian Yupik in Chukotka are also members in various international organizations (Inuit Circumpolar Conference and others).

Over many centuries the history of the Siberian Yupik testifies to their great tenacity. In Arctic conditions, truly extreme in nature, the Siberian Yupik were not only able to conquer all those seemingly lifeless expanses, they were also able to create an impressive, unique culture.



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SOYOT



The Soyot people are an indigenous Turkic-language speaking people of Siberia. They live in the Okinskiy (dense population) and Tunkinskiy Districts of the Republic of Buryatiya. The Tuvan-Todzhin, Tofalar, and reindeer-herding Tsaatan of Mongolia are all considered to be close relatives. The Soyot ethnonym traces back to one of their ancient clan names *soyon* (*soyan*, *soet*, *soyong*) as well as the Sayan Mountains ("Land of the Sayan" in Russian seventeenth and eighteenth century sources).

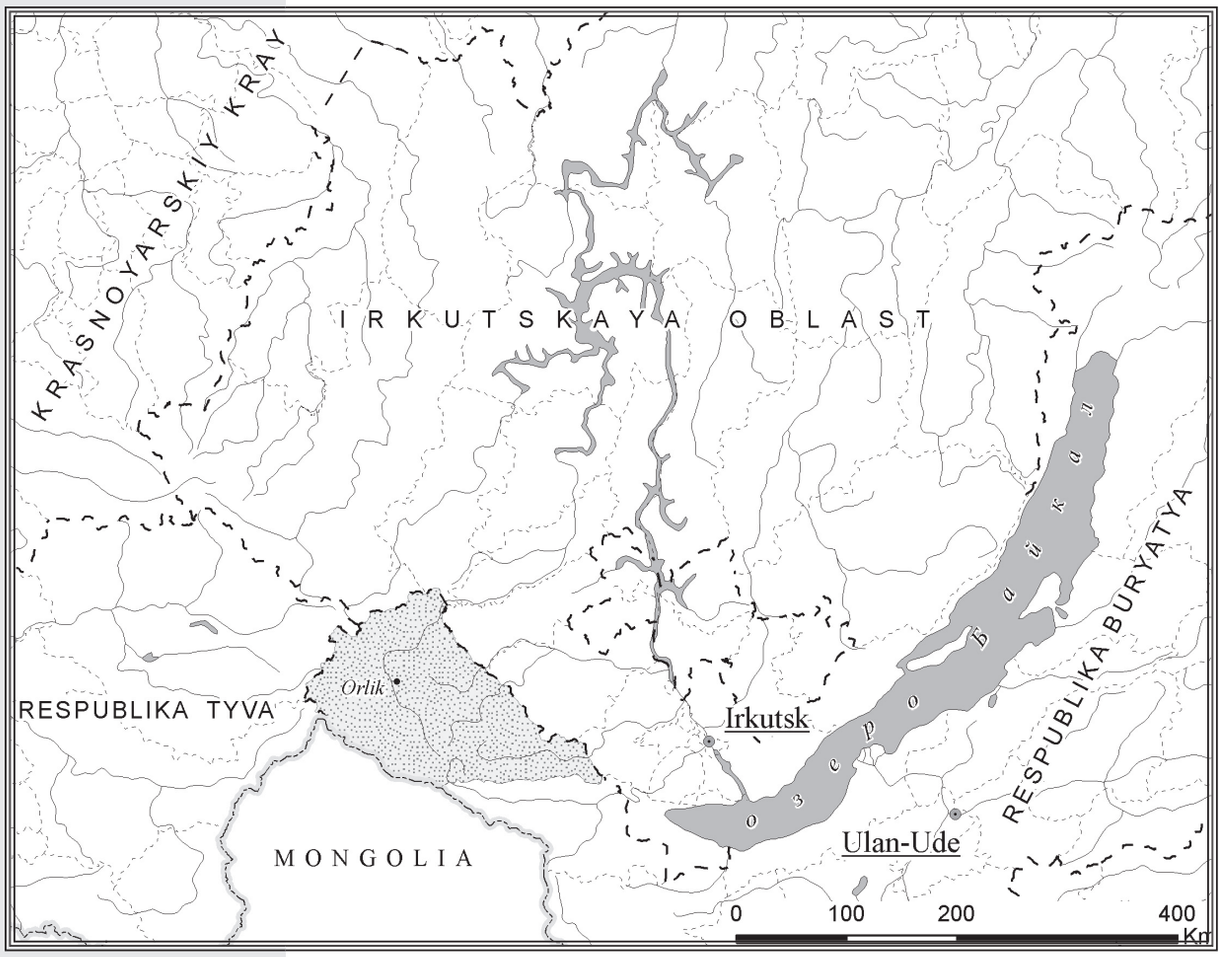
Language

All Soyot are bilingual, speaking Russian and a Buryat dialect. Their native Soyot language, almost completely unspoken today, belongs to the Uighur-Tukyuyskiy subgroup of the Uighur-Oguz group of Turkic languages. Soyot has no written language system and was significantly influenced during its development by Mongolian, Buryat, and, in recent years, Russian. Today, only a few members of the oldest generation connected to taiga reindeer husbandry still remember (but do not speak) the language. Reindeer husbandry was once the Soyot's main activity. With the language in such a condition, hopes for linguistic renewal are weak, although a significant number of the Okinskiy Soyot have not given up hope and even propose its instruction in schools.

Ethnogenesis and History

The first written sources to document the Soyot are from the seventeenth century. Scholars believe that the Soyot ethnos arose from an ancient Samoyedic aboriginal population in the Eastern Sayan Mountains whose descendants are the Enets, Nenets, Nganasan, and Sel'kup. During the Middle Ages, the Soyot were heavily influenced by Turkic peoples. The two remaining Soyot clans, Irkit and Kaysot, illustrate their complex ethnic origins. In addition to the Soyot, there is also an Irkit clan among the Tuvan. Kaysot is a variation on the Mongolian word *khaasuud* (singular *khaas*). This word, in turn, is Samoyedic in origin — in Nenets and Enets the word means "man." The Khakas and Tofalar have Khaas clans.

With the arrival of part of the multitudinous Buryat clan of Khongodor to Oka, the Soyot gradually mixed with the more numerous ethnos, and by the nineteenth century's end had lost their language. Although they lost their language, they preserved their ethnic self-awareness. As a



Current territory of residence of the Soyot in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

result of the interactions between the two cultures — the Soyot and the Buryat — a new harmonious culture arose. The Soyot acquired domestic livestock husbandry skills from the Buryat, as well as adopted some of their clothing and cuisine. In addition, they were influenced by Buryat Buddhism, while preserving their own traditional activities, material culture, and religious belief system.

Population

Data on Soyot population dynamics is contradictory and fragmentary. Some evaluations in the seventeenth century set their population at 1,500. By the end of the nineteenth century, the population had dropped to 1,000. The 1926 census, counted 229 Soyot. However, E. V. Petri of Irkutsk University, while commissioned to conduct ethnographic and anthropological research on the Soyot by the Committee of the North, revealed another 500 individuals. In subsequent Soviet censuses, the Soyot were not counted as a distinct ethnicity. The first local census was conducted in Okinskiy District in the Republic of Buryatiya in 1995. 1,973 Soyot were counted by that census. The 2002 census counted 2,769 individuals.

Subsistence activities

Historically, the Soyot's main activities were reindeer husbandry and hunting. Soyot reindeer husbandry was of the taiga type, and they both rode them and used them as pack animals. Their use of reindeer completely conformed to their hunting activities. Each hunter had three riding reindeer, two of which were always at rest. This allowed him to have a fresh animal for each day of hunting. The use of reindeer as transportation made it possible for them to master large hunting territories. Herds were not large, up to thirty animals. They milked lactating females once or twice daily and rarely killed the animals for their meat. At the end of the hunting season, they often passed their reindeer to an acquaintance to care for and pasture them. In the winter, reindeer herders lived in river valleys, pasturing the animals in the taiga in the fall and climbing into alpine tundra in the summer. Depending on the availability of grazing and the size of the herd, migrations took place four to ten times per year.

Their main source of subsistence was hunting. They hunted hoofed animals (elk, northern reindeer, wild boar, and others) and fur animals. Bird hunting was also widely practiced. Most of the entire adult male population hunted. Their main hunting equipment included various traps — pressure traps, snares, and crossbow traps. These were set in the summer and fall along paths to watering holes. They also used firearms, including *buu*. In the past, the *manza* bow was a compound style, with two layers (inner and outer) made from larch, with an inner layer of birch. There were horn disks at the ends, from which the tendon bowstring was stretched. The ends of leaf-shaped and chisel-shaped arrows (*godli*) were made from bone or iron. When musk deer hunting they often used whistles (*shelshuur*), and elk could be lured closer with a birch horn (*urum, amkhay*). Each hunter had several dogs trained to hunt fur animals, hoofed animals, and bear.

The Okinskiy Soyot did not practice ambush-style hunting, although they did hunt collectively. Usually a group of four or five men set out together, one from each family. Fur hunting was mainly a commercial activity. They paid the *yasak* fur tribute in furs and traded furs or sold them in exchange for flour, fabrics, work gear, and weapons. Almost 80% of their income came from fur hunting at the start of the twentieth century. Hunting was their primary activity until the start of the nineteenth century, after which they switched over en masse to livestock husbandry. Increasing poverty of the taiga was the main reason for their changed economic and cultural activities. Decreased hunting required them to seek a new means of existence. The cultural influence of the Buryat took its toll as well. In addition to large horned livestock (Mongolian cattle), the Soyot began to raise Mongolian yaks — *sarlyks* (yak/cow hybrids) and their hybrids (*khaynaks* and *ortoms*), as well as horses, sheep, and goats.

The Okinskiy Soyot did not fish in ancient times; indeed, it was considered a sin. It began as an activity with the arrival of Russian civil and military servants, and local residents gained tools and learned techniques from them.

At the onset of the twentieth century, the Soyot had four main activities: reindeer-facilitated hunting, reindeer and livestock husbandry and fur hunting, livestock husbandry (which was becoming the main activity for most Soyot), and agriculture, characteristic mainly for the Tunkinskiy Soyot.

At the twentieth century's start, the Soyot's traditional economy changed fundamentally. The elimination of reindeer husbandry and the transfer of hunting activities to a state agency in the early 1960s had especially severe consequences. As a result, variation in economic activities among the Soyot vanished along with the lifestyles that corresponded to them. Today, they are attempting to return to a mountain taiga reindeer-herding lifestyle. Approximately 100 reindeer were purchased in Tofalariya with this goal in mind, although many Soyot have already lost the skills needed for reindeer husbandry.

Settlements and housing

In the past, the Soyot's main type of shelter was a *chum* —— *ursa*, *uurs*. The *chum's* poles included three massive poles with forked ends. These were connected at the top with a hair rope, and the sharpened lower ends were inserted into the ground. They leaned other thin poles against the main poles, always in an uneven number. *Chums* were two and a half to three meters high. In the winter, they were covered in smoked skins. Inside, the floor was also covered in skin. The entrance always faced east. The left side of the *chum* was for men and the right for women. Food and household objects were stored in the women's half, while reindeer harness, firearms, and men's personal items were stored on the left. The area beyond the hearth opposite the entrance was honored — the master of the house and guests sat here. As the Soyot transitioned to domesticated livestock husbandry, their housing switched to fixed buildings — wooden *yurt*s.

Clothing

Soyot outerwear and footwear was initially made from animal skins and reindeer legskins. They especially valued dressed moose skin. These items were decorated with fur mosaics made from trimmed pieces of reindeer skins sewn into the hem and sleeves. Winter headwear consisted of a fur hat that covered the back of the head. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Soyot, who had learned the main Buryat activities, began to make Buryat clothing using purchased material. Traditional Soyot elements were better preserved in clothing worn for hunting.

Food

For the various Soyot groups, nutrition depended on their economic activities. Soyot reindeer herders mainly survived on products of hunting. They rarely slaughtered reindeer for meat, and then only old or weak animals, and for this reason reindeer meat, especially from the fall cull, was highly valued. Boiled or fried reindeer tongue and lips were a special treat. All of the reindeer's internal organs were used in food. They made blood sausage from their thin intestines, adding pieces of the stomach, kidneys, and lungs to the blood. Reindeer meat was also dried and eaten by boiling it, adding reindeer fat to the broth. Sometimes dry-cured meat was pounded into a powdery mass and taken with hunters while working. Their main foods became meat and milk from large horned livestock. Food production methods and the names of dishes were borrowed wholesale from the Buryat.

Religion and spiritual culture

Soyot traditional religious beliefs are a complicated combination of various animist and magical beliefs, superstitions, and taboos. Many of them are related to the mountains cult, which is based ultimately on earth worship. The images of mountains symbolize the center of the universe in the mytho-poetic world of most cultural traditions. Mountains are an intermediary between the heavens and the earth. The Soyot performed rituals worshiping the mountain spirits *obo takhilga* and *khada khangay takhikha* along their slopes and at their feet. During the ritual they built a fire and carried the flame from place to place with juniper (*arsa*) branches. The elder or shaman presenting the sacrifice named all thirteen supreme mountains. There is a *murgel* — a freestanding and unusual in some way tree — at the foot of each sacred mountain. Each traveler passing by was expected to leave an offering.

Hunting related cult rituals were an important part of the Soyot traditional belief system. While Mother Earth worship lay at the foundation of their mountain cult, their worship of animals was an acknowledgment of their kinship with them. Specifically, the Soyot Shonosogar clan was believed to have descended from wolves, and for this reason the Soyot did not historically hunt wolves. For the Okinskiy Soyot wolves were sacred dogs belonging to the taiga spirit Khangay. Supernatural abilities including the ability to understand human speech were attributed to some animals. They spoke of these animals only indirectly, as to their oldest relatives and ancestors. For example, bears were called *kakhatay baabay* (grandfather dressed in a fur coat). Traces of this cult's existence can also be seen in their connection to sable.

The Soyot believed that some body parts of forest animals possessed magical power. Bear's paws were often hung over the doorway to protect from the influence of evil spirits. During difficult births they

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used flying squirrel paws, and wearing rabbit skin hats was believed to improve vision.

Overall, the influence of other ethno-cultural traditions can be seen in Soyot hunting rituals, especially Buryat influence. The majority of mountains have Buryat names, and there are many Soyot pantheon spirits that are also characteristic of Buryat mythology (among others). This is doubtless related to specific ethnic processes that occurred in the region during the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. Despite a certain degree of Buddhist practice among the Soyot, they have preserved and maintain many of their own archaic cults.

Contemporary culture and self-government

At the start of the twentieth century, the Soyot ethnos still had its original cultural structure, and likely they had not yet completely lost their native language. E. B. Petri's research activated the Soyot ethnic self-awareness. Under its influence they were recognized an ethnic minority people of Siberia. They founded the Soyot Native Council, planned the creation of a Soyot Native Okrug, and discussed the possibility of uniting with the Tofalar and creating a single indigenous territory within Irkutsk Oblast. However, by the 1930s the question of Soyot self-determination had not yet been decided. After 1926, the Soyot were no longer considered an ethnic subgroup, but were instead counted in official documents as Buryat. In recent decades, the majority of Soyot considered themselves to be part of the Buryat ethnos, an idea facilitated by the common belief systems and folklore traditions.

Starting in the 1990s ethnic cultural renewal of Russian indigenous minorities touched the Soyot as well. In 1992, the Center for Soyot Culture was created and *Akhalar*, a community organization for the protection of the rights of the indigenous peoples of Okinskiy and Tunkinskiy Districts in Buryatiya was founded. In the summer of 1993, the Soyot Association of Okinskiy District was founded. Delegates of the People's Khural of Buryatiya approved the renaming of Okinskiy District as the Okinskiy Soyot Indigenous Region. The Republic of Buryatiya's government signed a decree "On the Condition and Problems of the Indigenous Cultural and Legal Development of the Soyot, a Minority Ethnicity Undergoing Renewal." The official recognition of the Soyot at the federal level took place in March 2002, when they were added to the List of Indigenous Minority Peoples of Russia. It is hoped that their official status as an indigenous minority people will facilitate the process of their ongoing ethno-cultural renewal.

TAZY



The Tazy people are a mixed ethnicity group in the Ol'ginskiy District of Primorskiy Kray. The ethnonym Tazy is a Russified version of the Chinese *tadzy, datszy*. The closest analogous meaning in Russian is the word *inorodtsy* (otherborn), but even that is not an entirely adequate translation. Neighboring peoples called the Tazy by a variety of names, which is in itself a testament to their complex ethnic composition. Names include *mongo madza* (otherborn-Mongols), *tan'zu tadza* (otherborn-Manchurians), *solon tadza* (otherborn-Solons), and others. The word *tazy* developed an ever more local character as assimilative processes developed in the southern part of the Ussuriysk Kray. In the end, it became the ethnonym for an ethnic community that arose as a result of mixing between some Ussuriysk Nanai and Udeghe with Manchu-Chinese emigrants.

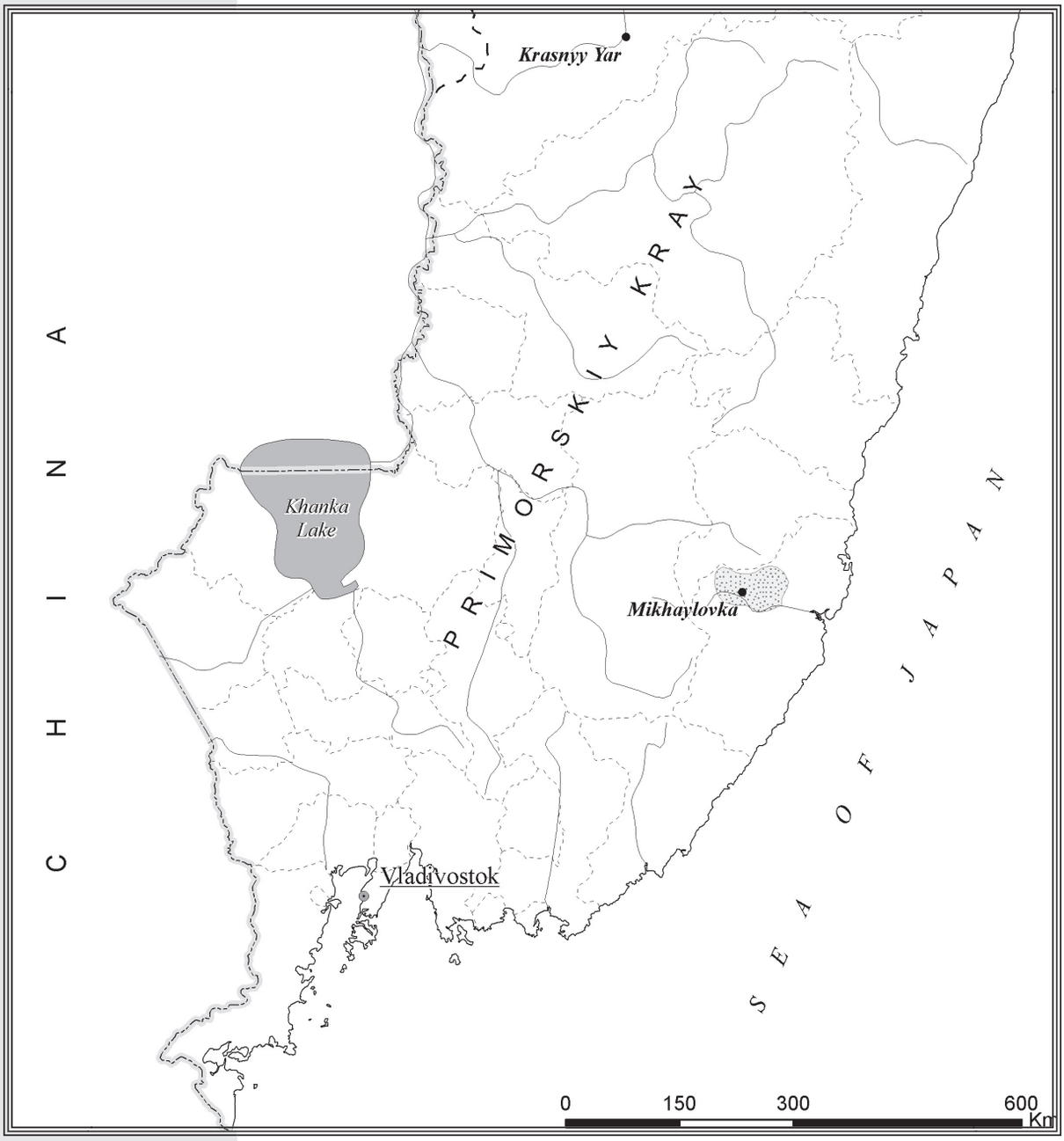
Language

The Tazy language is a vernacular of a northern Chinese dialect. It is similar to other northern Chinese vernaculars, but has more peculiarities due to its lengthy isolation from the main body of speakers as well as influence from other local languages. Today, almost no Tazy actually speak the language.

Population and settlements

The first reasonably accurate data concerning Tazy population numbers appeared in 1872. At that time 638 individuals were counted. Data from subsequent censuses and statistical counts draw a contradictory picture. On January 1, 1902, 782 Tazy were counted in Yuzhno-Ussuriyskiy Okrug, 554 in 1910, and 429 according to the 1915 census. It is likely that these numbers were inflated as Udeghe and Nanai were included in the Tazy count. An official for special activities in administration of the Near Amur General Governor V. V. Solyarskiy, counted 183 Tazy in 1915, when a special census was conducted in the area.

Soviet census materials did not track the Tazy as a distinct ethnic group before 1989. In 1959 they were listed as part of the Udeghe group, numbering 154 individuals. The 1970 census makes no mention of the Tazy; they were included in the section "Other Ethnicities." The following year Yu. A. Sem conducted a family-by-family Tazy census and calculated 172 individuals. The 1989 census in Primorskiy Kray indicated 203 Tazy. In 2002, the Russian Federal Census counted 271 Tazy.



Current territory of residence of the Tazy in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

Territory

At the start of the twentieth century the majority of Tazy lived in Ol'ginskiy District in the valleys of the Tadushi, Sudzukhe, Tetyukhe, Avvakumovka, and other rivers. In 1911, the Tazy lands began to be divided and the Tazy became a settled people. Until the mid-1930s they lived with other peoples in the villages of Rassypchataya Pad', Nikolayevka, Permskoye, Chuguyevka, Sadagou, Melovka, Bogopol', Petropavlovka, and others. Their numbers were small in these villages and if this settlement pattern had continued for two to three more decades, it is likely that the Tazy would no longer exist today as an ethnic group.

They would have dissolved into the surrounding population. Instead, their ethnic history proceeded along a different route.

In August 1937, a mass deportation of Koreans began in Primorskiy Kray. Dozens of Korean villages emptied. The Tazy began moving to one of these villages and settling there — Mikhaylovka in Ol'ginskiy District. This new concentration of formerly dispersed Tazy into one village created positive conditions for their ethnic consolidation. The Tazy had the opportunity for independent ethnic development. They were able to successfully preserve a variety of cultural elements acquired from the Manchu, Chinese, Udeghe, Nanai, and other peoples, the synthesis of which constituted Tazy ethnic uniqueness.

History and ethnogenesis

There are three main distinguishable cultural layers upon which this ethnic group are based: aboriginal (mainly Tungus, characteristic for the Nanai, Udeghe, Orochi, and several other southern Far Eastern peoples), Chinese, and Russian. Some Korean influence can be seen as well, from Korean migrants during their settlement of the Primorskiy territory.

The interactions of different cultural influences on the Tazy at different stages are readily distinguishable. Until the end of the nineteenth century, they were mainly borrowing cultural elements from the Chinese and Manchu. As a result, by that century's end the Tazy focused mainly on crop farming and domestic livestock instead on of hunting, fishing, and gathering. Terms for agriculture terminology, tools, farming equipment, and crop cultivation show significant evidence of Chinese agricultural culture.

Material culture was significantly changed. Overall, it carried open marks of multi-cultural influence. Homes, although they were typically Nanai or Udeghe in form, had many non-traditional elements in terms of construction and layout. Framed Tazy homes had doors in place of the matting more commonly used by others. Roofing resembled those of homes in the Achen district of the Chinese province of Heilongjiang. Framed wooden grids used by the Tazy nestled alongside doorframes consisting of three crossing sections. The Tazy used similar techniques borrowed from Chinese emigrants until the late 1950s, when standard government building began. After the Tazy had moved to Mikhaylovka, they began using Korean-style heating devices. Russian influence led them to add foundations to their homes.

Borrowings for their material culture and everyday life were no less interesting. In the Manchu-Tungus cultures, men traditionally kept their hair in a braid (*pyan'za*) to which was added a Chinese braid (*tkhinouday*), while a woman's traditional "accordion" braid was gradually replaced by a Chinese knot. Women decorated their hair with traditional

diadems (*petuchanza*) to which they added hair sticks. Manufactured Chinese bracelets were worn in addition to traditional hoop earrings from which dangled numerous bits. The Tazy stopped wearing jewelry in nose-piercings, but continued to pierce the septum. Chinese burial and celebratory robes (with right-closing flaps) were widely worn, and work clothing remained largely traditional. A hooded cloak first worn by the Udeghe and Nanai and used to defend against cold and mosquitoes was replaced by a Chinese neck scarf. Moreover, they wore this scarf over their headwear, instead of underneath it, as was originally done. Tazy clothing was rounded out with a Russian shirt with pockets, although its cut was either traditional Tazy or Manchu in style. At this stage, elements of Russian (Slavic) and Korean cultures played insignificant roles in Tazy culture. Logic would seem to indicate that assimilative and acculturative processes would have led to the complete dissolution of the Tazy into the Chinese population. By the start of the twentieth century, the culture of Chinese immigrants of Primorskiy Kray was no longer considered prestigious by the Tazy, and in some cases was dangerous. Russian officials began to speak of the "yellow danger" at this time. The Chinese numbered in the tens of thousands. They gradually began to be crowded out of Russian territory, including by administrative means, and the population of Chinese dropped drastically. The Tazy were able to develop independently. They lived in family groups along river valleys in areas only lightly settled by Russian farmers. The formation of their mixed language and culture as a result of those conditions came to be seen as "theirs" and even as their origin.

In the mid-1920s, the Tazy increased their interactions with Russian and the general Soviet culture. Their activities and everyday life were permeated by Russian weaponry, hunting gear, clothing, food processing and preparation techniques, and construction technology. They also began to master Russian language and acquired some aspects of Russian spiritual culture. These processes gathered steam in the late 1930s after the Tazy resettled in Mikhaylovka, creating a *kolkhoz* there. However, this small ethnic group was only incompletely assimilated by the surrounding more populous Russians. The concentration in one area of families who earlier lived more diffusely created good conditions for their ethnic and cultural consolidation. By the early 1950s, the Tazy had a small population speaking a distinct language with a stable self-awareness and specific work and lifestyle features.

By the late 1950s, the Tazy again experienced increased assimilative and acculturative processes. These were especially intensely felt around language. By the start of the 1960s almost all Tazy had become bilingual. Their native language was spoken in the family, during traditional work, and between friends in older generations. Russian became the language of education, mass communication, and *kolkhoz* economics. The loss of aspects of their traditional culture was accompanied by a growth in

the number of ethnically-mixed marriages. Between 1950 and 1965 this number grew from 8% of all marriages to 60%, with an absolute majority in the number of marriages between Tazy and Russians.

Subsistence activities

In the 1950s and 60s, the Tazy were engaged mainly in hunting, fishing, and gathering. In the summer they hunted moose and *izyubr* deer. During the winter, they pursued sable, squirrel, and other fur-bearing animals. They mainly targeted birds in the fall and winter. Hunting gear was highly specialized and could be divided into two types: active (bow and arrows, hand-thrown net) and traps (steel traps, jaw traps, pits traps, deadfall traps, snares, and cage-type traps).

The Tazy hunting arrow (*kungza*) could reach 1.5 meters in length. It was made from honeysuckle, birch, Amur lilac, or spruce. They braided bowstrings from nettle fiber, wild hemp, or softened leather straps. They used arrows for hunting hoofed mammals, bear, squirrel, and a few other animals. Depending on the animal being hunted they used a variety of arrowheads. Arrows were fletched using wing or tail feathers from eagles, kites, and more rarely eagle owls, black grouse, or pheasants.

The bow and arrow continued to be actively used as a hunting weapon into the 1870s and 80s, at which time it was gradually replaced by *chang* rifle. This weapon came in two types: smooth-bored and rifled. The Tazy completely mastered firearms. They frequently used a prop or skipole for support. The hand-thrown *syovan* and the *tyopkhivan* nets were both widely used to hunt fur animals.

Their most ancient trap hunting technique involved the use of trap pits known as *lu dyuan'*. Chinese trap pits were transformed into a method of predatory destruction of animals. The Russian government was forced to implement a number of protective measures. In 1880s, special teams destroyed all of these spiked trap pits and ambushes. Trap pits were completely eliminated with the creation of the Forest Protection institution.

They also used snare traps (*sya chogoyr*) to hunt fur animals and salyutanza for musk deer, in addition to pressure loop traps and deadfalls. Unlike the Nanai, the Tazy only used deadfall traps occasionally. They were mainly used in the winter months, between December and April. By the end of the nineteenth century, steel traps were in wide use.

The nineteenth century fishing industry was of only secondary importance to the Tazy. They used a variety of gear — three types of *pavangaza* fishing spears (bushed, branched, and pole spears), a thrown *tayukouza* net, and another net known as the *syavan*. They often blocked small rivers and streams using bundles made from willow branches, placing one or two fyke nets in the midst of this blockade. They widely practiced night fishing, lighting their work with torches fueled by tar or

birchbark. Today, the Tazy of Mikhaylovka have preserved fishing as a hobby.

Gathering was another important activity for the Tazy, especially the collection of ginseng and mushrooms. They mainly collected wood mushrooms (*khuam mue, yu mue, mue eir*). Mushrooms were used in food and sold to Chinese merchants. In terms of edible plants, the Tazy gathered fern fronds (*tyuetsay*), wild garlic (*kantsun*), hazel nuts (*tsenze*), Manchurian nuts (*khetou*), Siberian pine nuts (*syangze*), and the fruit of the hawthorn (*khaypompo*). They also preserved large quantities of seaweed, scallops (*kheza*), and trepang (a type of sea cucumber). The Tazy transitioned from conquering their landscape to using it for productive purposes at the turn of the twentieth century. They first began to garden and then transitioned to farming outright in the mid-twentieth century. Individual subsistence activities differed significantly from that of the surrounding Russian peasantry. The Tazy planted fewer potatoes and devoted large portions of their lands to beans and peas, which became their main crops by the 1920s. Poppies and corn could always be found planted in Tazy gardens. Their agricultural technology for crop cultivation in home gardens was quite different. They acquired almost all of their techniques from the Chinese and the Koreans, including the use of raised beds. They used manure for fertilizer, but not in unprocessed form like the Russian peasants. Instead they mixed it with ash and forest humus in special holes dug in the ground. Potatoes, corn, bean, and even wheat crops were cultivated in beds and recovered in earth at least three times over the course of the summer growing season. They used traditional farming implements for these purposes: three types of hoes, two types of plows, specialized hand hoes for weeding, and others. Despite multiple reports by nineteenth century researchers noting the lack of development and primitive nature of Tazy agriculture and small crop harvests, the passage of fifty years allowed the home gardens of Tazy *kolkhoz* workers to become the most productive in the entire region.

They also had noticeable differences in their livestock management techniques. The Tazy kept almost no dairy cattle, preferring to raise bulls as work animals. Their main farm animals were the pig and horned cattle, kept exclusively at free pasture.

Settlements and housing

The Tazy did not live in separate villages during the nineteenth century. They usually lived in villages among the Nanai and Udeghe or mixed in amongst Chinese immigrants. Their buildings were interwoven into the general layout of these villages. If a Tazy homestead was located in a Chinese or Korean village, then it was located at some

distance from the main group of buildings and had distinct boundaries. The demarcation of Tazy lands in the early twentieth century led to the formation of Tazy villages: Tadungou, Erldagou, Tazovskiy, and others. They were all situated in the valleys of small rivers or not far from the seacoast. Homesteads were generally laid out in a line, allowing free access to the river or sea.

Each family farm consisted of a complex of buildings enclosed by a tall fence (*tsangza*). The only entrance to the farm was through the large gateway and smaller gate. The larger *ta men* gate was only opened to allow the passage of a cart or pack animal. Tazy farms continued to be enclosed by such fencing until the 1920s and 1930s. Homes were mainly log cabins or framed homes (*fanza*) with heated benches (*kana*). They varied in size, construction, heating systems, and sometimes internal layout. Log cabins were usually assembled using dove-tailing, laying the logs closely against one another. From the outside, the house's walls (*chan*) were always covered with a mixture of clay and finely cut millet straw or other grain crops. The window openings were framed and covered in a variety of ways. Until the 1930s, they used oiled paper in place of glass. With the appearance of glass, on hot sunny days they began to cover windows with grass or suede mats. Home floors were made of rammed earth or smeared in clay, although later they began to cover the ground with boards. Tazy homes did not have ceilings or attics. Horizontal beams overhead were used to dry clothing and store items.

The most important part of the indoor home was the heated "stove-bench," upon which people spent a significant portion of their lives. The most honored place in the home was the first bench, which was the warmest location. Guests were seated here. As the heated pipe system fell out of use, the Tazy began to use Russian-style stoves (with an accompanying stove-bench) instead.

The Tazy also used buildings seasonally, including two-sided pitched roof huts for large families and lean-tos for several hunters. These shelters were called *supichan*. The entrance was always on the south side. The inside of the shelter was divided with a pole into two parts. Everyone slept on one side while the fire burned all night opposite them. The smoke from the fire drove away gnats. They slept with their feet to the fire. The *supichan* resembles the seasonal buildings used by the Udeghe (*chukdi, kava*), while their summer structures looked like the Oroch *bolodzhyo*. Tazy settlements had many non-residential structures: pig sties (*tsudyua*) which were exact copies of a two-sided pitched roof hut, stables for bulls and horses (*ma dyuan, nyu dyuan*), storehouses (*tsanza, yuan' vendy, nan' tsanza*) analogous to the conical-cylindrical post and frame structures of Manchuria, and storehouses built on pilings (*tsudyao*) which resembled those of other Manchu-Tungus peoples.

Transportation

The Tazy used both water and dry-land equipment to move about the landscape. Unlike the immigrant Chinese and Korean population, the Tazy were skilled masters of water transport. They used both rafts and boats to move on the water. The *mupa* raft was used to transport cargo across a river or to travel along relatively calm rivers. Boats were built in three styles: dugout, composite, and framed boats. The Amur *yamudeo* dugout boat was capable of carrying the most cargo, and had a shovel-shaped prow. Two people were required to steer the boat — one standing at prow, the other at the stern. They moved the boat against the current with the aid of poles (*teng tsuandy kanza)*. Descending the river and in deep water locations, they used oars (*tang*).

In the winter, they often used Amur-style skis (*panza*) which had an arch in the middle section. The front tip was also curved and had a rhomboid shape. The back of each ski ended in a blunted corner. When walking on ice, they used metal spikes or special shoes with spikes in the heel. The Tazy had two sled types: hand-drawn hunting sleds and cargo sleds which the hunter pulled himself with the help of one or two dogs. In addition to sled, they used *pali* or *ma pali* sleighs. In the summer, they used a two-wheeled cart (*ts, chkhue, chue*) similar to an araba cart. To this they harnessed one or two horses to transport people in the cart, while for the movement of heavy loads several bulls could be pressed into service, harnesses with a yoke. Heavy items could also be carried about using an adapted shoulder harness *peytyaza*.

Clothing

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Tazy everyday men's clothing consisted of a jacket and pants made from a cotton fabric (blue, white, or black), although some still dressed in clothing made from fish skins. They wore a robe over their inner clothing. In the fall and spring, this robe was made with a liner and then stuffed with batting in the winter. The robe's cut resembled a kimono or tunic, and had a bell-bottomed hem and a narrowed waist. In the summer, they went barefoot or wore light slippers. In the fall and spring, they covered their feet with Amur style leather boots (*sysaza*).). For the winter they sewed quilted, fur, or leather stockings (*ula*) in the Tungus or Amur style. They were also known to wear grass (reed, sedge) shoes in the style of Russian bast sandals. During the summer they covered their heads with a broad cone-shaped hat made from birchbark, and in the winter with quilted or fur hats with earflaps.

Women's clothing did not differ from that of the men in terms of style, but women's robes were longer and usually blue, dark blue, brown and sometimes red in color. Women's robes were decorated with colorful stripes

along the sides and hems as well as with small bits, shells, etc. Women's boots had shorter legs than those of men's. The women did not have special headwear in the summer, but wore a headscarf (*suede*) in colder weather. Both Tazy men and women wore breast cloths. These resembled, both in form and cut, the Manchu abdominal band worn by women.

Food

In the nineteenth century, the Tazy diet contained hunting, fishing, and marine products. Unlike the Chinese and Koreans, the Tazy ate fresh raw meat (mainly *izyubr* deer), liver, and ligaments. One of their favorite dishes consisted of thinly sliced frozen meat or fish. During ritual ceremonies they ate bear meat. The Tazy had methods similar to the Udeghe, Nani, and Oroch for preserving meat and fish. Foods gathered from the sea were another important aspect of Tazy nutrition. Not a single household could get by without laminaria (kaytsay, a seaweed). They dried, salt, and lightly fermented it. They consumed fern fronds, wild garlic, and mushrooms in similar quantities.

By the nineteenth century's end, food from gardens and farming began to play a larger role in their food web: vegetables, potatoes, flour products. Their most common flour dishes are *tubo* rolls filled with stuffing made from beans, peas, onion, wild garlic, meat, and other ingredients. The Tazy ate almost no bread until recently. They ate flatbreads and other flour-based products until then. Their favorite dishes to this day remain Russian-style *pelmeni* (dumplings) filled with various fillings and all sorts of hot cereals. More than twenty different types of thick cereals and thin gruels are known: using millet, wheat, Siberian millet, sorghum, upland rice, and others.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Today's generation of Tazy have been assimilated to a significant degree but is attempting to renew cultural aspects of their ethnicity. Interest in the history, culture, and traditions of their people is growing. Their ethnic self-awareness is on the rise in combination with increased social and political activities.

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TELENGIT

The Telengit people are a subgroup of the southern Altayan people. They call themselves *chu-kizhi* (people of the Chuya River). In seventeenth century Russian historical literature they are also described as uryankhaitsy or uryankhayskiye kalmyki. They live in the valleys along the Chuya, Argut, Chulyshman, Bashkaus and Ulagan Rivers in the Republic of Altay. The Telengit speak the Telengit dialect of Altayan. According to the 2002 census, there are 2,399 individuals.

Ethnogenesis and History

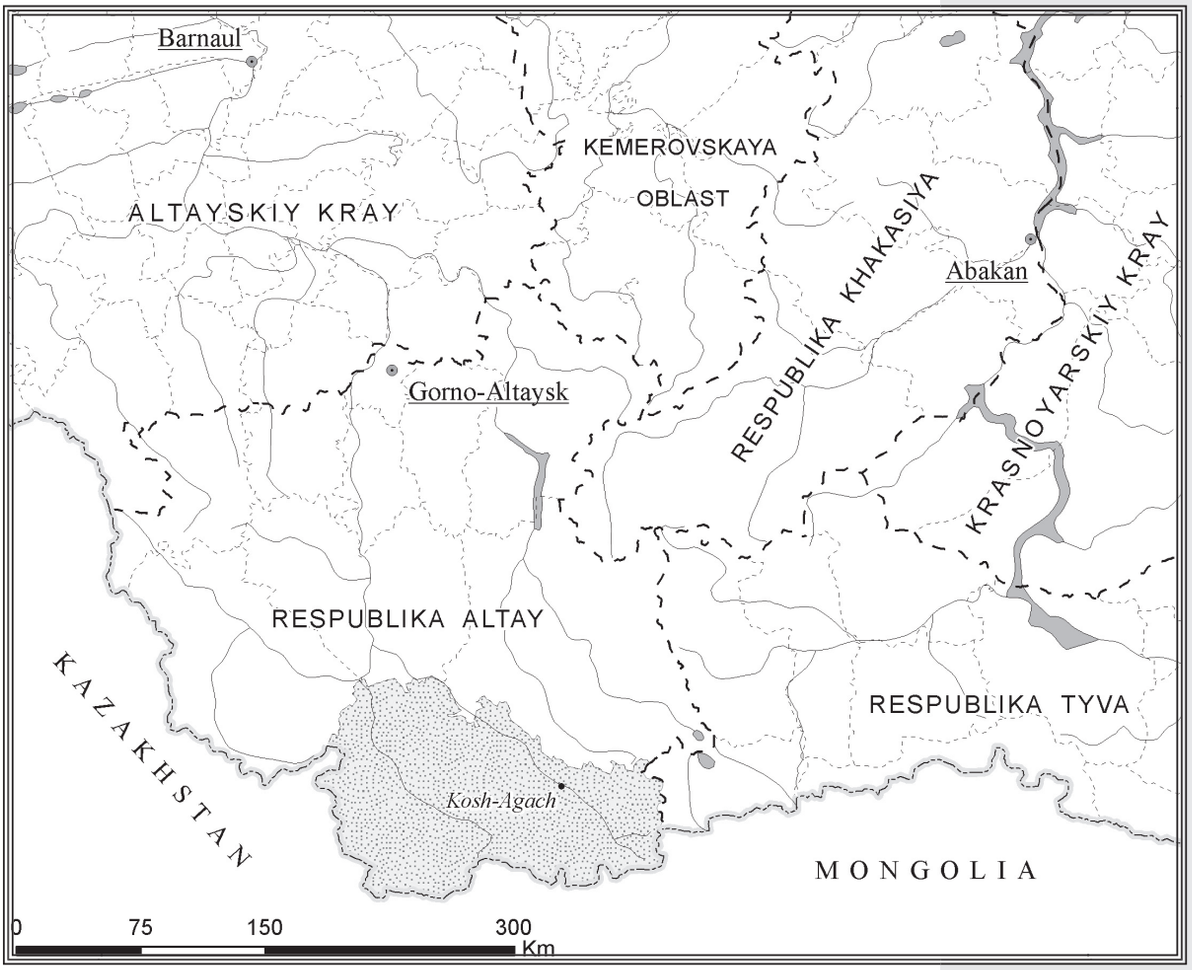
Contemporary southern Altayans including the Telengit descend from Turkic-speaking groups. The ancient Turkic ethnonym *tele* is related to this group. During the first 500 years A. D., various nomad-herder tribes living mainly in eastern Central Asia were known as *tele*. The Turkic-speaking *tele* played an important role amongst Turkic tribes in general, with the Telengit people being especially distinct. Through the middle of the first millennium, interactions between the Telengit and the Kypchak and Mongol peoples were important in the ethnogenesis of the Telengit. In the seventh century A. D. the Telengit lived alongside the Teles tribes, on the Tunlo River in Mongolia, from whence they moved to Tuva, appearing in Altay in the eighth century.



Until 1865 the Telengit were the subjects of two states. They paid tribute to both Russia and China. Right up to the 1930s they systematically crossed international borders, interacting with related tribes in Mongolia. Ethnographically and culturally speaking, the Telengit are a nomadic or semi-nomadic group practicing grassland farming of livestock. This nomadic lifestyle permitted the Chuya Valley Telengit to preserve their culture. Their lives and culture are closely connected to the nomadic lifestyle and herding activities.

Social organization

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Telengit still had a tribal clan structure. As of the 1897 census, there were fifteen clans (*seok*), all registered in the First and Second Chuyan Districts (*volosts*). Each



Current territory of residence of the Telengit in Russia

Telengit was considered a blood-relative of every other member of their *seok*, , no matter where they lived. Each *seok* was tied to a specific leader (*zaisan*), whose powers were formally limited to tax collection and resolution of everyday affairs. For all practical purposes, however, the *zaisan* had unlimited powers.

In terms of family and marriages, Telengit culture values the maternal clan. For example, while the Tuvan people make presents to the father of the bride, the Telengit give gifts to the mother. At childbirth and during childhood, the cult of the dog played an important role in rituals and beliefs. Dogs were seen as associated with the human reproduction cycle. Similar beliefs can be found amongst the Yakut, Tuvan, Kyrgyz, and Buryat peoples.

In the early twentieth century, exogamy was still a strict practice, as was the practice of a widowed woman marrying the youngest brother of her dead husband. Marriages were transacted in several ways. In the "cradle" tradition, children were betrothed to each other at a young age. Brides were also ritually kidnapped. Cousins often married, and offspring of a married woman were permitted to marry her brother's offspring.

Legend

Traditional Lands

State boundary

Regional administrative boundary

Regional municipal boundary

Tomsk — Administrative centers

Esso — Cultural centers

Ratta — Communities

Subsistence activities

Traditionally, the Telengit are livestock herders and hunters. In terms of herding, they pasture livestock year-round. During the summer months, livestock graze along river valleys; in the spring and fall, they move the herds to the steppe foothills, finally moving them to high elevation plateaus in the wintertime. They farmed yak, camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. Horses were especially important. Horses were honored and respected by Telengit and were called "human wings." During certain ritual séances, horses were sacrificed. Horses were the primary form of transport — both on horseback and as pack animals.

Hunting, a seasonal activity complementary to nomadic and semi-nomadic herding, was a secondary activity for the Telengit. They hunted in small groups, mainly for fur animals, whose furs were used to pay the *yasak* fur tribute to the Tsar. By the end of the nineteenth century, some farming was occurring, mainly in the form of barley cultivation.

Settlements and housing

Livestock farming, with its demand for constant movement, demanded seasonal settlements. Camps were usually along land tracts near water sources and were considered to be the holdings of specific clans and belong to clan members. Camps were small, usually consisting of no more than ten buildings, whose doors faced the river. Each building had two sides — the women's side to the right of the entrance and the men's side. Opposite the door, behind the hearth, was the front, honored corner. Here images of spirits were usually hung.

The Telengit have three traditional types of buildings. The oldest is the *alanchik*, a cone-shaped hut made of wooden strips, covered with birch bark, and an opening atop it to release smoke. A wooden shield served as the door of the *alanchik*. Similarities to other southern Siberian peoples can be found, both in terminology and construction. Later, another type of building arose — a *yurt* known as the *kerego*. This yurt was made from felt stretched over trellised wood walls, and the entrance covered with an animal skin. As the Telengit became increasingly settled, a transitional home arose. This cabin was a rough-hewn multi-cornered (usually six-sided) *ayil*, standing about the height of a person and with a conical roof covered in wood or birch bark. The peoples of the Altay-Sayan, including the Telengit have practiced lumber production since ancient times. This is confirmed by timber burial frames found in Scythian-era burial mounds (*kurgans*) in Tuva and Altay. Of domestic constructions, the oldest form is probably the *kazhaa* — a round enclosure for keeping sheep. Similar enclosures go by the same name among other Altay-Sayan peoples.

Food

Meat from farmed and wild animals was the main source of nutrition for the Telengit. They developed processing and conservation methods for meat production. Smoked foods arose naturally from living with a smoky hearth. Organ meats and offal were often included in their cuisine, from both farmed and wild animals. All of their cuisine traces back to southern Siberia, including the Republic of Altai.

Dairy products from all farm animals were consumed only in a processed form: sour milk, farmer's cheese (*tvorog*), butter, cheese, *araka* (an alcoholic drink) and others. The Telengit did not drink raw milk, although they did add it to tea. They sometimes brewed tea (usually from "tea bricks") with milk, salt, and small pieces of mutton fat. This sort of tea was also served with barley flour mixed in. Sour milk was called *ayrak*, *chegen*, or *koytpak* by the Telengit, a fact that connects them ethnically to Mongol and Tuvan peoples. The most frequent meat dishes include blood boiled in sheep kidneys with milk and bits of fat, kidneys stuffed with giblets and grain, and boiled sheep kidneys wrapped in fat. Vegetarian food sources were mainly grains and wild plants. Traditional grain dishes (of barley, wheat, and millet) were similar to those of other Turkic and Mongol peoples.

The Telengit primarily used farmed and wild animal skins and wood to make dishware and household implements. They used various internal organs for dishware — stomachs for *karyn*, bladder for *kuuk*, plump kidneys for *ichege*. After cleaning them well, they inflated them using the existing opening, then dried and smoked them. Meat and fat were stored in such dishes. Unique dishes for stored poured and liquid foods were made from cow udders. For smaller containers, animal scrotums were used. Implements, such as buckets, tubs, pots, mortars, etc. were usually made from poplar, an easy wood to work. Reeds were also used to make woven objects, especially for tea strainers.

Clothing

Telengit clothing was carefully designed to meet the demands of a nomadic lifestyle. In the summer, men wore shirts with wide sleeves and short pants drawn snug at the knees. On top they wore a broadcloth robe, also with wide sleeves, called the *chokpen'*, fastened with a sash. In the winter months, a leather coat was worn instead, again with wide sleeves, adorned with embroidery and goat skin trim (*yachi*), sometimes with the fur on the exterior. For shoes, they wore leather boots with soft soles. Footwear had pointed toes and a flat heel. Inside their footwear, the Telengit wore felt stockings, the tops of which were embroidered and peeked out of the top of the boots. During the winter, fur boots were trimmed around the tops with tanned roe-deer legs.

Telengit women's coats (*dzaygy ton*) are also southern Siberian in type, similar to southern Altayan, Buryat, and Tofalar. Women's summer clothing were the *kaptal* and *chedek*. The Altayan chegedek had a similar cut. *Chedeks* were made from blue nankeen cotton. This clothing was a sleeveless cloak worn only by married women. Although historically the *chedek* was widely worn, today it has a different function and is worn only for weddings and as burial clothing.

Headwear took the form of rounded hats with a stiff pointed cone, made from farm animal skin, with a red bottom and a black winged rim in front. Both men and women wore such hats, although men also had the option of wearing round fur caps with a tassel on the crown. Today, women continue to wear traditional hats, although men's headwear has gone out with the times.

Women's clothing was richly decorated with various adornments serving as protective amulets. An elegant tobacco pouch (*kalta*) of skin or fabric and covered in two-side embroidery was tied to the belt. Women's smoking pipes (*kanza*) were made with special care and originality. Even today, a pipe and tobacco pouch are considered essential elements, to be laid to rest with the deceased in the grave.

The Altayan liked to decorate clothes with bright colors (red boots, a yellow hat with a red tassel). Women studded their braids with various trinkets, buttons, and shells, all of which, at the slightest movement, rustled and tinkled. Mature women had two braids, while girls had three, five, or seven. Hair length is equally important, and women often braided in hair extensions.

Religion and spiritual culture

The Telengit were known for having a syncretic system of religious beliefs. While remaining shamanistic, they were influenced by Christianity, Tibetan Buddhism, and Burkhanism. From the Buddhists, they borrowed a twelve-month calendar of animals and names of years that completely align with the naming system in Mongol and Chinese calendars. Shamanism was central to Telengit beliefs, as were a number of cults reflecting animistic and magical tenets of the people. Telengit shamans conducted rituals dressed in a coat, a distinction not found among other southern Altayan shamans, who usually dress in special robe-type vestments. They wore a red hat, decorated with cowrie shells and hung with squirrel skins and owl feathers. Rituals took place in a sacred location in a building opposite the building's entrance. Female shamans conducted rituals from the men's side of the building.

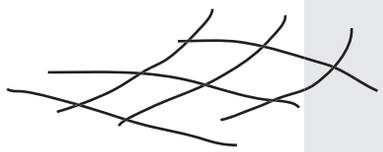
The animal cult is most closely connected to shamanism. During ceremonies, the shaman, or *tayylga or yyyk*, serving as the intermediary between worlds, offered an animal sacrifice to a specific spirit or god — *Ul'gen'*, *Erlik*, etc. The cult of nature, with its spirit-masters in specific

locales (*e-ezi*), and the cult of familial protectors were also wide-spread. Mountain passes were especially sacred; here Telengit left offerings to the local spirit, in the form of rocks or branches, thus creating heaps on the ground — *oboo*. family had concrete spirits (*tos*)) that served the function of guardians and protectors and which took human and animal forms as well as other non-iconic forms.

Telengit burial ceremonies were influenced by a number of sources and were varied. There were a number of different burials. Burial according to general Christian principles is a relatively late occurrence. Other burials interred the body along with a horse in the embankment of an existing ancient *kurgan*, or burial mound. When a body was laid to rest on the ground, the corpse was covered with either two- or three-crowned wooden frame or a rock pile. The latter type occurred most often, but historical sources also point to aerial burials, as well as cremation. The entire cycle of burial rituals was conducted by family and relatives, with the shaman conducting a ritual séance to convey the deceased's spirit to its ancestors' land.

Folklore and Art

Heroic epics are the primary creative works of the Telengit. Heroic stories were recited in a singing by storytellers, in a low voice, and with the accompaniment of a two-stringed instrument similar to the dombra. Other art forms included woodcarving, hand-tooling leather, and felt appliqué.



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TELEUT

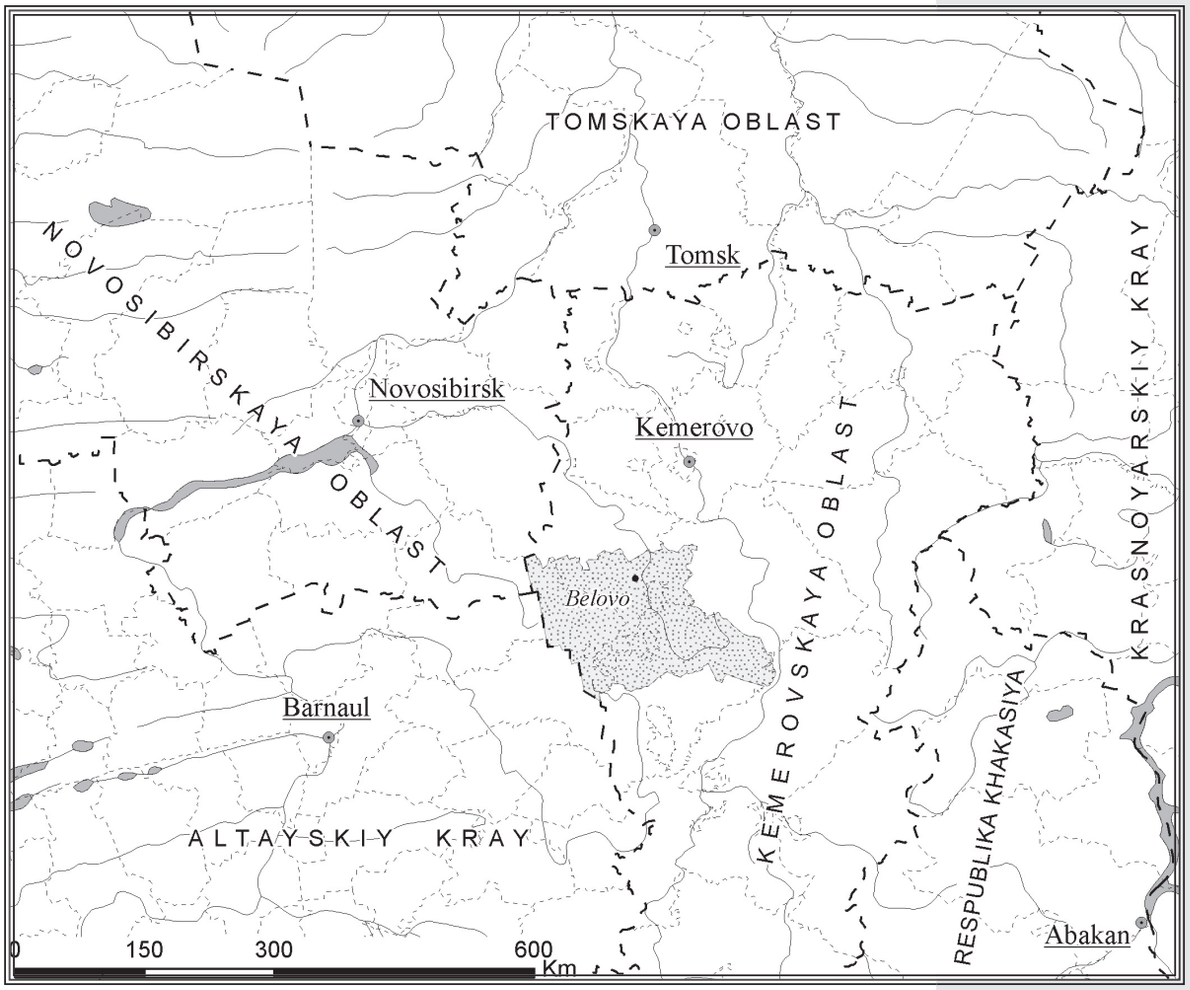
The Teleut people live in the Russian Federation in the south-western Siberia. They call themselves *telengeter*, *payattar*, and *tatarlar*. Their close neighbors, the Altay-Sayan Turks know the Teleut by the name *baiat* or *pachat*. Until the beginning of the twentieth century a few of these ethnographic groups stood out: the Bachat, Tomsk, Altay, and Chumysh. The Bachat group has essentially been preserved into modern times, but the remaining groups were subjected to strong assimilation on the part of their neighbors. They speak the Teleut language, which is one of the southern dialects of the Altay language. A number of investigators view the language of the Bachat Teleut as a distinct language. The written system is based on Russian characters. Anthropologically, they are part of the northern Altayan group along with Shor, and some of the Kumandin and Khakas.

Ethnogenesis, Territory and Population

The Teleut trace their origins back to the *Tele* group of the ancient Turk epoch. Even their ethnic name dates back to that time. In Russian sources, they are first referenced in the very beginning of the seventeenth century under the name "White Kalmyk." In this period, the Teleut played a significant role in the political arena of the southern Siberian region. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, a large number of Teleut drawn by the Mongols into Dzhungariya and migrated in that region for over fifty years. The process of incorporating various groups of Teleut into the Russian government occurred over the course of half a century. The Dzhungar Teleut were the last to accept Russian citizenship after Dzhungariya was captured by Qing China. The basic ethnographic groups of Teleut were formed on that basis.

The subsequent ethnic fate of the Teleut occurred in different ways. The Bachat Teleut, whose settlements were located in the Kuznetskiy watershed along the rivers Ur, Bol'shoy and Maliy Bachat, and Tom', administratively speaking made up four *volosts* of the Kuznetskiy District of Tomsk Oblast. According to the 1897 census, the Teleut numbered 4,426 individuals. A significant number of Bachat Teleut had already been thoroughly Russified by that time. That group in particular forms the core of the Teleut ethnos even today.

The Tomsk Teleut (Kalmak) made up the Teleut Volost of the Tomsk Okrug. Their settlements were located along the Iskitim River stretching from Tomsk to the south. By the end of the nineteenth century, a significant portion of Teleut had been assimilated by their Turkic-speaking neighbors



Current territory of residence of the Teleut in Russia

and joined the ranks of Tomsk Tatar — a particular ethnic subgroup of Siberian Tatar. In 1897, 713 Tomsk Teleut were counted.

The Teleut who resettled in the Republic of Altay in the first half of the nineteenth century from the Kuznetskiy Okrug made up the Altay group. Administratively speaking, they were assigned to the Bystranskaya and Saranskaya *Inorodtsy* Executive Council of Biysk Okrug. In 1897 they numbered 4061 individuals. The settlements of this group of Teleut were located along the tributaries of the Katun' River. Looking ahead, the majority of these Teleut dispersed into the surrounding Russian and Altayan populations. The Chumysh group did not survive to the present day. In the nineteenth century they set out for the Biysk-Chumysh forest steppe belt, along the Tom' and Chumysh rivers, intermingling with Shor and Russian old-timers, by whom they were assimilated.

The majority of modern Teleut live in the Belovskiy and Gurevskiy Districts of Kemerovo Oblast. There are small groups in Novokuznetskiy District, as well as in Zarinskiy and Kytmanovski Districts of Altay Kray and in Shebalinskiy District of the Republic of Altay. The total population of Teleut in the Russian SSR was 3,000 people in 1989, including 2,594

Legend

Traditional Lands

State boundary

Regional administrative boundary

Regional municipal boundary

Tomsk — Administrative centers

Esso — Cultural centers

Ratta — Communities

people in Kemerovo Oblast. Soviet censuses materials never counted the Teleut separately. For this reason it is difficult to judge population dynamics in the twentieth century. Various researchers determine the populations of Teleut on the basis of participating local statistical agencies, primary accounts (ledgers) and actual field data. Today, a more reliable informational base exists now that the Teleut are officially recognized as an indigenous minority people of the North, Siberia, and the Far East.

Subsistence activities

Historically, the Teleut practiced two primary activities: livestock husbandry and unmounted hunting. From the seventeenth through the first half of the eighteenth century, the majority of Teleut practiced nomadic livestock husbandry. They bred horses and large horned livestock. Hunting, fishing, and gathering played an auxiliary role. By that time a significant portion of Teleut had already begun to develop agriculture. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Bachat, Tomsk, and some Chumysh and Altay Teleut barely differed from the Russian population in their farming methods, availability of agricultural technology, and assortment of cultures. They planted corn, rye, oats, barley, and millet. At that time, other occupations (hunting and fishing) were only preserved in primary capacities by a small portion of Chumysh Teleut, who possessed the necessary lands.

Nomadic livestock husbandry had undergone a noticeable transformation by the end of the nineteenth century. In essence, amongst the Bachat, Tomsk, and Chumysh Teleut, it had become stationary animal husbandry. In addition to horses and large horned cattle, they bred sheep, goats, and swine. Nomadic husbandry continued to be practiced by Teleut in Gorniy Altay (Mountainous Altay or the Republic of Altay), although traditional characteristics were largely preserved only in horse farming. They branded horses with irons; herders used special wooden counting sticks for counting livestock; and the widely accepted method counting of horses by herds was retained.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, hunting, fishing, and gathering continued to play an important role in Teleut subsistence. They hunted rabbits, foxes and wolves on horseback as well as with hunting hawks. In the winter they captured fur animals (sable, mink, and Siberian weasel), as well as bears, elk, deer, and maral deer. They hunted with the help of bows, crossbows, and spears. Trap pits and various types of traps (pressure traps, deadfall traps, snares, etc.) were widely used. Fish were caught with harpoons, fishing poles, and net-type gear. Gathering (Siberian pine nuts, wild leeks, and day lilies) was widespread. Learning from the Russians' example, the Teleut began to engage in beekeeping.

In terms of domestic handicrafts, leatherworking, woodworking, metalworking, as well as weaving, braiding, and sewing were the most developed. Even today, they use traditional tools for leatherworking in

households — leather boarding machines, stretching frames, and various tools for scraping hides. Women did leatherwork and weaving. They even made felt. Men wove baskets, built wagon frames, and wove purse nets out of willow and bast twigs. They made seines, nets, horse harness, and engaged in woodworking and metalworking.

At present the ability of the Teleut to practice traditional activities in the Kemerovo Oblast is significantly limited. In recent decades, the lands used for traditional natural resource exploitation have become a zone of intensive industrial development, and many Teleut settlements have been absorbed by cities or wiped out entirely. As a result, a significant portion of Teleut living in rural areas work in mines and industrial enterprises. Fewer than half of those who are working are engaged in agriculture.

Rebuilding the traditional Teleut economy on the market track is a slow process. Opportunities to reestablish horse husbandry in the Teleut village of Bekovo, to create a national Belsu park, a model Territory of Traditional Natural Resource Use, and many other projects have not found financial support. Small enterprises created between 1995 and 1998 based on indigenous *obshchinas* and families of livestock husbandry, hunting, and gathering wild berries, however, are by and large unprofitable, and many have already fallen apart.

Social organization

The *seok* (a genealogical clan) was the main unit of Teleut social organization from the nineteenth century through the beginning of the twentieth century. The *seok* was a patrilineal exogamic subdivision, which had a complex hierarchical structure. Family connections and concepts are preserved among the Bachat Teleut to the present day. Because of the transition to a settled lifestyle, societal relationships among the Teleut are regulated more and more by community institutions. Government essentially did not interfere in the internal life of the communities. *Pashtyks* (elders) played an important role in community self-determination. They were responsible for levying various taxes. All contacts with state agencies were established through them. By the end of the nineteenth century, Teleut communities grew to resemble communities of Russian Siberian peasants. The basic economic unit in all of Teleut groups was the small monogamous family. Lineage was determined by both the father and mother. The father served as head of household and administrator of the homestead.

Settlements and housing

The Teleut's transition to a settled lifestyle had an important effect on the character of their settlements. Urban planning was one of the predominant effects. Settlements were located not far from one another. Members of one *seok* or family (*yurt*) tried to settle nearby each other. A

few types of Teleut housing structures are known: *chums*, pyramidal or truncated framed dwellings, non-latticed cylindrical-conical, square or multi-sided log houses with conical (bark) or hipped roofs, wattle structures, various types of semi-dugouts (framed or log cabin), and Russian-style huts. Male and female halves were delineated inside the dwellings, which were heated by clay stoves. Of the household outbuildings, they built storehouses, *banyas* (bath houses), corrals, and stables for cattle and other animals. The majority of the aforementioned dwelling structures have long been out of use. Hexagonal log cabins and conical structures are sometimes preserved as summer kitchens and temporary dwellings on hayfields during hunting season.

Clothing

Teleut clothing at the turn of the twentieth century was the same for all ethno-territorial groups. The traditional male outfit included a kaftan called a *telen*, a warm quilted robe called a *syrmal*, various types of fur coats, leather shoes without bootlegs or soles, fur and cloth cone-shaped hats, and long shirts and slacks made of fabric. Women's clothing consisted of calico or linen trousers, a tunic-cut dress with a *tshtek* (removable formal breast cloth), a light kaftan and silk formal robes. For warm outer clothing, women wore quilted robes and fur coats. A *kur*, a colorful linen belt, was a requisite accessory of both male and female dress. The male traditional outfit fell out of use in the beginning of the twentieth century, although a few of its elements prevailed until the 1960s. Traditional women's clothing is used today to a significant degree. Tunic-style dresses with colorfully embroidered collars, multicolored homespun belts, and formal accessories are owned by the majority of urban and rural women.

Food

Traditional Teleut cuisine consisted of horsemeat and mutton dishes, as well as milk products. Fish, various wild berries, and hunting products significantly diversified the table. Many traditional Teleut dishes remain even today. In particular *tutmash* — mutton broth with pieces of dough, onion and meat, blood-sausage *kan*, sheep intestines stuffed with pieces of lard, hearts, livers, and lungs (*torg*), dry-cured horse meat *kurgan e*t, salted horse shoulder fat are widespread. Traditional food today includes large dumplings shaped like half-moons, as well as flour products adopted from the Russians — pies, *bliny* (pancakes), etc. Recipes remain for the preparation of traditional cultured milk drinks — *airan*, *chigen*, and *arak* vodka.

Religion and spiritual culture

The traditional religion of the Teleut is shamanism, similar to the shamanism of other Altayan peoples. The Teleut's shamanist worldview is founded upon the widespread view shared by many world peoples of a three-tiered structure of creation (heavens, earth and the underworld). Heaven, according to the Teleut view is comprised of sixteen layers inhabited by living celestial beings. The most important of them, *Bai-Ulgen'*, is located in the sixteenth heaven. Every *seok* has a patron spirit. Sacrifices of domestic animals, typically light colored horses were made periodically in their honor. Aside from the heavenly beings, a significant number of earthly beings also existed — spirit-masters of mountains, waters, birds, etc. They were depicted in the form of wooden anthropomorphic figures. Every village had a patron figure (*Iayk*). In their honor, collective sacrifices were similarly made. Teleut shamans (*Kamas*) had a special hat, a drum and mallet, and other ritual items. Both men and women could be shamans. Domestic cults included the *emenderi* cult — protectors of childbearing women and children. Shamanic ideas and rituals, a few cults (*Emenderi* and *Som*) still exist today. A significant stratum of religious ideas is connected to Russian Orthodoxy. The Altayskaya Spiritual Mission played a big role in converting the Teleut to Christianity. Their first successes include the development of public education. By the twentieth century a Teleut intelligentsia consisting of priests and teachers had emerged.

Folklore

Folklore has an important place in Teleut spiritual culture. Its collection of genres is fairly diverse: the heroic epic (*Altay Kuuchun*, *Koziika* and *Bayan-Slu*, etc.), historical legends retelling the events of the Teleut-Dzhungar wars, funeral dirges (an ancient genre from an oral tradition dating to the ancient Turkic epoch), and blessings for weddings, births, etc. Popular heroes of historical folklore are the *bogatyr Shyunyu*, *knyazes Mamyt* and *Balyk*, and so forth. Shamanist incantations are the origins of cultic folklore. Even the musical folklore of ceremonial and dance songs is varied. In the spring, the Teleut put on ritual games devoted to the erotic god *Kocha-Kan*, joining in chants with the accompaniment of a kai-komysa, a musical instrument similar to a guitar, Russian balalaika, or accordion.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Despite their small numbers and assimilation processes, the Teleut retain many elements of their traditional spiritual culture. Their culture persists, especially in terms of household rituals. The rich multi-day Teleut

wedding, for example, attracts attention Teleut living up to a hundred kilometers away from villages. Burial and memorial traditions retain their particular characteristics. Ritual and other folk song genres persist.

The central and most problematic issue in modern Teleut cultural life doubtlessly the issue of language. Only a small number of Teleut speak their native language. The Teleut language is taught in only one school in the Kemerovo Oblast — in Bekovo village in Belovskiy District, but even there lessons are elective. Measures are being taken to expand the field of study: a primer and Teleut-Russian language dictionary exist and methodological literature on the Teleut language has been published. These are only the first steps toward a large and complicated job. The *Tazylar* Cultural Center is in the works.

Modern Teleut have a stable ethnic identity. They aspire to ethnic self-determination and political activity. In the Belovskiy District of the Kemerovo oblast the Bekovskiy Village Council, a Teleut indigenous administrative entity, was created. The *Ene-Baiat* Teleut People's Association, a Teleut self-governance agency, has been active since 1990. This association's chartered goals and tasks are to develop Teleut cultural traditions, aid in the preparation of indigenous specialists, and create programs for socio-economic development.

In the Kemerovo Oblast, where the majority of Teleut live, a number of legislative and normative acts apply and make provisions for the state support of indigenous minorities. In 1991 the Executive Committee of the Kemerovo Oblast Council passed a resolution on "Top Priority Measures for Teleut Indigenous Renewal." These included the creation of regional legislation for indigenous minority peoples of the North. The Kemerovo Oblast charter provides for the creation of indigenous municipal entities in places where indigenous minorities reside in concentration. "The Temporary Provision of Indigenous Villages and Village Councils" was confirmed. They plan to pass a law "On the legal status of indigenous minority peoples." Privileges were provided to the Teleut and other indigenous minorities for the training of specialists with higher and secondary education and for the use of the forest products.



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TOFALAR



The Tofalar people live in southern Siberia. They call themselves *tofa* or *tokha* (person). Their old name, *Karagas*, was used by Russians to describe one of their clan groups (*karakhaash*) who disappeared following a smallpox epidemic at the start of the twentieth century. They speak the Tofalar language which, together with other Sayan subgroup languages, belongs to the Uighur-Oguz group of Turkic languages. Tofalar can be divided phonetically and lexically into the Alygdzherskiy and Gutarinskiy vernaculars. They are not anthropologically homogeneous. The Katangskiy anthropological type of northern Asian with a dash of Central Asiatic is characteristic for them.

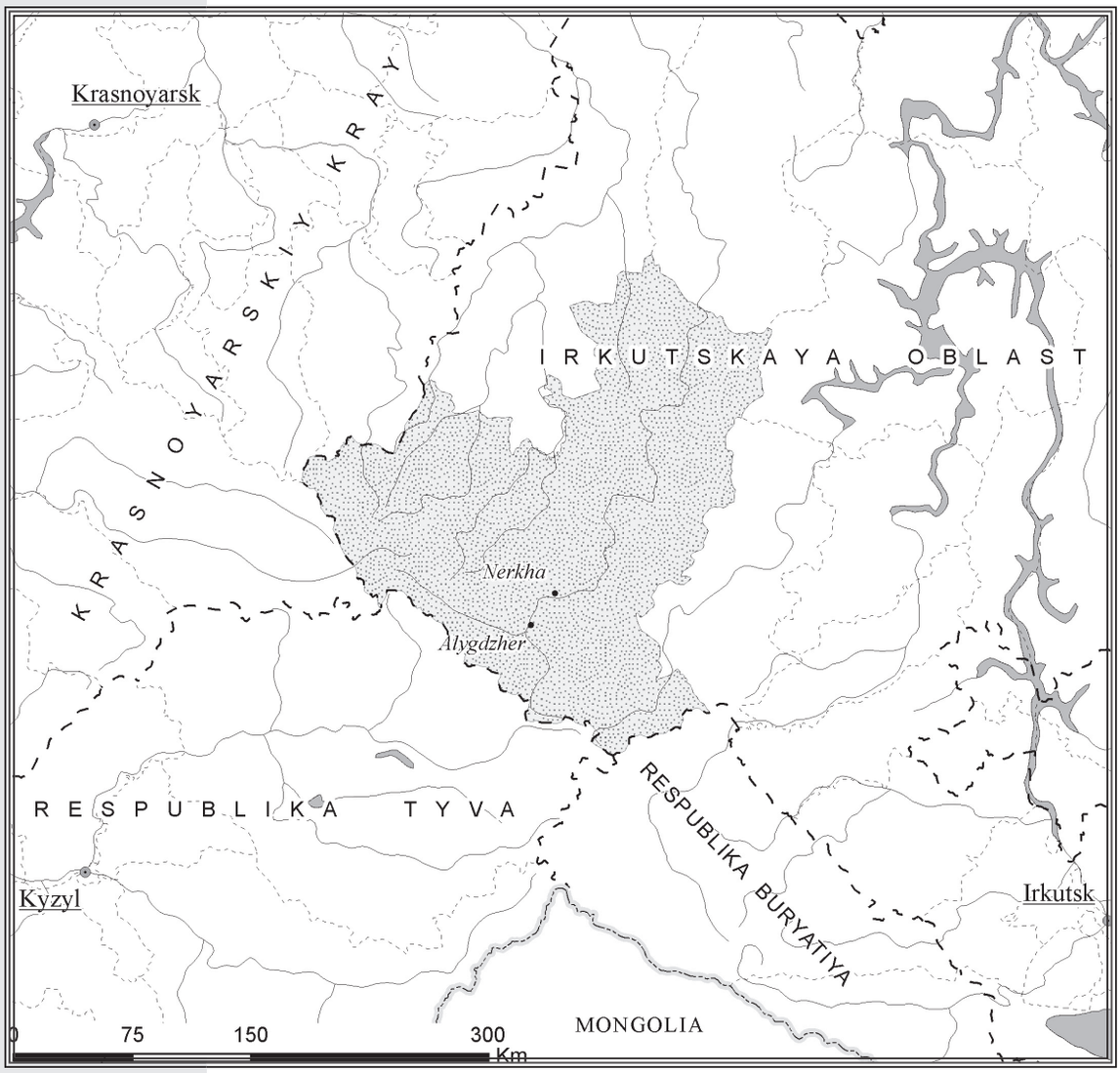
Ethnogenesis

Tofalar origins are connected to complex ethnic processes that occurred over the course of many centuries in the Sayan range and nearby southern Siberia. At the end of the first millennium BC, Samoyed groups entered the region, followed later by Ket-speaking tribes. Ket influence can be seen in Tofalar clan structure and the toponymy of the region. Turkic *tuba* tribes had a decisive influence on Tofalar ethnogenesis. In the thirteenth century, Mongol groups also penetrated the Sayan region and were relatively assimilated by the local Turkic language-speaking milieu. The formation of the Tofalar as a distinct ethnos with a Turkic language was completed by the nineteenth century. The Tofalar are close relatives of the Tuvan-Todzhin in terms of language and many cultural elements. Differences between the two peoples are a result of their differing historical fates over the course of subsequent centuries. As a result of political conditions, the Tuvan-Todzhin did not, for a long time, experience Russian influence, while by the mid-seventeenth century the Tofalar were within the orbit of Russian culture.



Territory and Population

The Tofalar inhabit the mountainous taiga areas of Nizhneudinskiy District in Irkutsk Oblast and the watersheds of the Uda, Biryusa, Gutara, Iya, and other rivers. During the 1989 census, the Tofalar numbered 731



Current territory of residence of the Tofalar in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

individuals in the Russian Federation, included 630 in Irkutsk Oblast. Almost all of these live in three villages today — Alygdzher, Nerkha, and Verkhnyaya Gutora. They are the majority in each of these villages. In Alygdzher they represent 73 % of the total population (390 individuals), in Nerkha 65 % (152 ind.), and in Verkhnyaya Gutora the Tofalar constitute 240 of 380 total residents. In the past, the Tofalar of these villages were members of three clan associations: the Alygdzher belong to the eastern group of camps, the Verkhneutor to the western, and Nerkha residents to the middle. During the last inter-census period (1979–1989), the Tofalar population fell by approximately 100 people as a result of assimilation by Russian, the Evenk, and the Tuvan-Todzhin.

Social organization

Ongoing contacts between the Russians and the Tofalar began after the construction of the Udinskiy Fort (known today as Nizhneudinsk)

in 1648. At that time they had seven clan groups, each of which was led by the *ulug-bash* elder. The clan (*nen*) consisted of closely related families who traced back to a common ancestor and was exogamous. The family was their basic unit of society and generally consisted of a husband, wife, and children. Adult unmarried sons and daughters lived together with their parents. After marriage, sons received property from their parents and started their own families. The youngest son inherited the father's household. Clan organization was preserved among the Tofalar into the twentieth century, although the number of clan groups decreased.

Subsistence activities

Tofalar traditional activities are built around hunting and reindeer husbandry. Their main hunting targets were squirrel, sable, river otter, other fur animals, as well as moose, maral deer, and roe deer. Both men and women Tofalar hunted. Youth also worked alongside adults during hunting season. Each family had its own hunting territory; these were passed down along the male line. One could only hunt on another's land with permission, generally during times of poor harvest in the taiga.

Hunting season usually began at the end of September with squirrel hunting. Hunters traveled into the taiga in small groups mounted on reindeer. They hunted with the help of dogs on scant snow. In October they set out for sable on more distant and lengthy expeditions. At the start of December when deep snow lay on the taiga, sable hunting came to an end. From that time onward they mainly hunted for squirrel. Squirrel was generally hunted not far from camp, and they gradually broadened their radius, not traveling further than one day from the camp in the taiga.

Hunters for hoofed animals went on year round. They killed roe deer close to camp, traveling several days into the taiga for other animals. In September, during rutting season, they attracted maral deer with lures (*murgu*) that imitated the calls of the male. In the spring they hunted the deer with dogs on the ice-crusted snow. They hunted musk deer for its musk, called *struya* (a stream). Bears were hunted in the late fall when they were already in their dens. It was taboo to hunt wolves.

The Tofalar used a variety of abatis and trap pits to catch animals. The hunt for upland fowl and partridge was an important supplement to a family's diet. The Tofalar had stopped using hunting bows by the start of the nineteenth century. From that time forward, their main hunting gear was the flint rife and later the *Berdanka* rifle. Ethnographic literature describes the complete absence of traps in Tofalar hunting. Later sources show this to be incorrect. The Tofalar often used hair snares and deadfall traps in difficult to reach locations.

The Tofalar had small herds of reindeer and used them for transportation. The number of reindeer per household did not exceed several dozen. Tofalar reindeer (*Karagass* breeding) are the largest in the world

and are distinguished by their durability and simple nutritional needs. Castrated males easily carried an adult man and could cover up to sixty kilometers daily. They were especially valuable in alpine tundra conditions. Only male reindeer were used for riding. Females were used as pack animals and were capable of carrying up to two *puds* (one pud equals slightly more than sixteen kilograms). Like the Tuvan-Todzhin, the Tofalar mounted reindeer from the left, as was also customary when steppe nomads mounted their horses. When riding they used Buryat-style horse saddles with stirrups. They had special packsaddles for pack animals. They also had special saddles for transporting young children and the cradles of babies. Female reindeer were commonly milked. They began milking immediately following calving and stopped milking at the start of October.

Historically, the Tofalar led a nomadic life with seasonal migrations. They completed approximately fifteen migrations annually. In the winter and during calving season (mid-April through the end of May), reindeer herders stayed in river valleys. In the summer they moved to mountain pastures where there were few mosquitoes and more reindeer moss. Reindeer usually grazed close to camp without shepherds to watch over them. During calving season the animals were tethered at night.

Fishing was a secondary subsistence activity for the Tofalar. Only a few fished and then only when their hunting was unsuccessful. They fished mainly on lakes, catching grayling, taimen, mackerel, and sometimes whitefish or pike. They used *chetki* nets, *dug* blocking nets, and *syugen* "snouts" braided from willow. Large fish were caught at night with *seree* fish spears using torches for lighting. They were also known to use a *dortkha*, a long pole with a hook-type gaff, which could then be used to throw the fish onto the shore. The Tofalar did not preserve fish for future consumption.

As with other indigenous peoples of the Altay-Sayan upland plateaus, gathering was a significant activity for Tofalar subsistence. They preserved large quantities of wild onion, day lily roots, fawn lily, and Siberian pine nuts for the winter. Day lily bulbs were dried over a fire and then stored in special leather bags. They ate various berries, wild garlic, and rhubarb fresh. Nuts were gathered and processed in September, breaking open the pinecones with a mallet on tree trunks, as well as in the spring after they had spent the winter in the snow.

The Tofalar did not have any professional craftsmen. Each household manufactured everything it required independently. All men could perform basic blacksmithing, woodworking, and preparation of horn and birchbark. They made smoking pipes, skis, and packsaddles for sale. Women sewed clothing from skins and leather. They generally purchased more complicated metal creations, including jewelry.

During the Soviet period, until the mid-1960s, the Tofalar worked in three *kolkhozes* in Nizhneudinskiy District, which were then reor-

ganized as the Tofalar Cooperative Fur Animal Industrial Enterprise. Approximately two million hectares of hunting lands were set aside for the enterprise. Today, this business has been recreated as a private shareholder's company. The business is experiencing losses and is on the brink of bankruptcy. Private reindeer husbandry is also falling into decay. The *Utkum* Peasant Farm Enterprise was created and engages in hunting and reindeer husbandry, although business is not brilliant. The main sources of support for most Tofalar today are individual subsistence activities and household lands where they grow potatoes and vegetables and raise pigs and cows, and humanitarian food aid.

Transportation

Their main source of transportation was the riding reindeer. In the mid-nineteenth century horses also came into use. They used skis covered in legskins to hunt in the deep snow of the taiga. For water transportation, they used dugout boats and rafts.

Settlements and housing

The Tofalar lived in small camps. During the winter these camps consisted of two to five houses, and in the summer the numbers increased to ten or more. Camps were usually in one location for no more than two or three weeks. Migrations were only over small distances of eight to twenty kilometers. During these migrations there was a specific process. The mistress rode a reindeer at the front, followed by a reindeer with small children and property. The master and his adult sons accompanied the caravan from the sides.

A conical *chum* built from poles (*alazhi*) was their shelter. In the summer the *chum* was covered in boiled birchbark, switching to maral deer or moose suede in the winter. The hearth was in the center of the *chum*, and a bronze pot hung over it from a chain. Sometimes a three-legged trivet stand was used instead. The entrance, which usually faced the east, was covered in an animal skin or piece of fabric. The left side of the *chum* (from the entrance) was considered the men's side, and the right belonged to the women. The space opposite the entrance was set aside for honored guests. They slept directly on the floor on skins, birch-bark pads, or piece of felt that they traded for with the Buryat. *Chums* as shelters fell out of use in the 1930s as a result of collectivization and the transition of the majority of the population to a settled lifestyle. From that time onward, the Tofalar began to live in Russian-style log cabins. They were known to use storage platforms (*arangas*) built on four posts and log storehouses covered in birchbark to store food, hunting gear, harness, and other property.

Clothing

Men's, women's, and children's clothing (*toon*) had no differences in patterning. Their winter clothing was made from reindeer skins with the fur on the exterior. In the summer clothing was made from suede. By the end of the nineteenth century, their main material for clothing became fabrics, and purchased Russian clothing came into use as well. In the winter they wore a fur coat with the fur on the interior and a deep vent on the left side. The coat was gathered at the belt and neckline. The left side, chest, cuffs, and hems of the coat were trimmed in red or black cloth. The left side also had a semi-circular opening and was closed with three buttons at the collar, right shoulder, and under the right sleeve. Robes made from old, worn furs or roe deer suede were used as summer-wear. Men wore summer kaftans of fabric and sleeves that narrowed toward the ends. The robe was fastened with a leather belt from which hung a knife in a sheath, tobacco pouch, and fire-making tools. Until the end of the nineteenth century, leather pants were their only underclothing. Women wore a dress with a front opening and belted it with a sash. Women's footwear was indistinguishable from that worn by men. In the summer it was sewn from suede, and in the winter with fur on the inside. In the winter they wore overboots made from legskins. Winter headwear was a reindeer skin hat, and women wore headscarves tied around their heads in the summer. Jewelry consisted of earrings, tin bracelets, rings, and silver braid embellishments.

Food

Their main food, especially while hunting, was wild game and bird meat. They only rarely killed domesticated reindeer, and then only in exceptional circumstances. Meat was generally eaten boiled. From milk they made sour cream, clotted milk, and a special kind of cheese. To produce the cheese, curdled milk was mixed with fresh milk, then boiled until a thick cheesy mass resulted, whereupon it was place in linen bags and hung for several days. The resulting cheese had a slightly sweet flavor. With the onset of frosts, they froze milk, after which it could be kept for long periods. Since the majority of Tofalar families had only a few reindeer (one milking provides no more than a cup of milk), milk products did not often appear on the table. Milk went mainly to tea and children. Fish played an insignificant role in Tofalar diet. They ate it dry-cured or fried, and they served it in thin slices in the winter.

In the winter vegetable foods mainly consisted of dried day lily bulbs (*ay*) and Siberian pine nuts. They made a nourishing porridge from pine nuts that quickly restored a hunter's strength. In the summer, day lilies and fawn lilies were eaten raw or dried. They prepared flour from dried bulbs for the winter. Day lily served with onion was also an

accompaniment to meat dishes. Meat soups were seasoned with dried onion. As grain flour became more available, day lily flour fell out of use (today, no one makes it). Rye flatbreads became the main food for most Tofalar; it was baked on hot stones at the fire. Another popular dish was a flour gruel made with salt. Green brick tea was the most widely consumed beverage.

Religion and spiritual culture

Animism, pre-Christian cults (mountain cult), and shamanism played important roles in the Tofalar religious belief system, although they were nominally considered to be Russian Orthodox. At the start of the twentieth century, they had several dozen shamans, both men and women. The shamanic gift was inherited, but there were no professional shamans. Any person so inclined was permitted to conduct rituals. Ritual séances were performed on an as needed basis, and there were no special shamanic ceremonies. Shamans worked mainly as healers. Ceremonies were conducted wearing ritual clothing and used a drum. *Ongony* were shamans' helpers, cut into anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures from wood or rag dolls, and personified spirits. They also used sable or eagle owl dolls to represent spirits. It was customary to dedicate a single animal to the master spirit of mountains in order to protect and multiply their herds. They tied colorful ribbons to the animal's mane and tail. Women were not permitted to touch or even approach the animal.

Arts, Crafts and Folklore

Tofalar folk art traditions include ornamental carving, decorative embroidery and embellishment of leather bags, needle cases, clothing, and footwear. They especially elaborately carved the front arches of packsaddles.

One of their main folklore genres was song, including lyric songs performed either solo or in a chorus. They were sung at weddings, during migrations, at rest, and while working. Their songs accompanied traditional *oyen* games and festivity. Tofalar musical culture has much in common with the musical traditions of the Yenisey peoples, the Altayans, Evenk, and Buryat. Their *ayalga* melody was especially distinctive. The *alkhysh* genre of songs was especially common — a sung blessing or request addressed to the spirits, relatives, or nature. Shamanic choral *kham yry* songs were also special, as were ritual tunes and ceremonial exclamations, which were accompanied by drums and metal pendants. Historically, epic songs were quite common and were performed using specific throat-singing technique. Their musical instruments were known to include a six-stringed strummed instrument with a leather sounding

board, a two-stringed strummed lute carved from a single piece of spruce, and a two-stringed bowed instrument known as a *khure*.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Administrative organization of Tofalar native life during the Soviet period (transition to settled lifestyle, children sent to boarding schools and separated from families and traditional activities, etc.) had negative impacts on the preservation of their traditional culture and lifestyle. An interest in linguistic and cultural renewal arose only during the Perestroika period. A Tofalar writing system based on the Russian alphabet arose only in 1989. Since 1990 the language has been taught in elementary schools. Unfortunately, many aspects of their cultural inheritance have already been completely lost. In 1989 only 48.2% of Tofalar claimed Tofalar as their native language, and only those over fifty years of age speak it. According to sociological research conducted in 1985, only 6.2% of Tofalar possessed traditional clothing. 76% of those surveyed in that year no longer prepared Tofalar traditional cuisine. In recent decades, the number of inter-ethnic marriages has grown, but the majority of children of mixed marriages claim the Tofalar identity.

Attempts by the Tofalar to revive their traditional culture became especially visible in the 1990s. Active attempts in this regard by the creative intelligentsia and activists from the *Tofalariya* Association have not seen the desired success due to economic crisis and the severe worsening of conditions for the indigenous population. In 1991–92, they attempted to recreate the summer folk holiday *Argamchy yry* (Arkanniye Games). The *Bystrye Oleni* Tofalar Folk Ensemble has participated in recent international folklore festivals.

In the 1930s, the Tofalar had their own native administrative entities — Native Councils, and beginning in 1939, the Tofalar Native District centered on the village of Alygdzher, which played an important role in the consolidation of the Tofalar ethnos. Unfortunately, it was liquidated in 1950. Since that time, the Tofalar governance system is typical. They are included in the administrative district and a specialist addresses their challenges in the executive structure. Self-governance functions are performed by the *Tofalariya* Association of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North of Nizhneudinskiy District, created in 1992. The Association's mission is to protect the interests of indigenous minorities, facilitate the renewal of ethnic self-awareness, and develop historical character and culture.

According to the 1989 census, more than 90% of Tofalar are rural residents. The main issue in Tofalar villages is unemployment. 65% of work-ready Tofalar are unemployed. Employment rates are not comparable in any other villages in the district. The Tofalar cannot even find jobs in those situations where they would seem to be the primary candidates.

The employment roster in the Tofalar Federal Hunting Preserve consists entirely of residents of Nizhneudinsk. Due to the difficulty of financing helicopter flights, hunters cannot reach their place of work for months on end. Those Tofalar who live close to the Preserve are more interested than anyone in protecting local hunting fauna yet have remained unemployed for years.

The horrifying poverty of the indigenous population is a result of this employment policy. The only source of revenue in many families is government child support. The difference between Tofalar income and that of the surrounding population is shocking. When in 1999 the average income in Nizhneudinskiy District was 597 rubles (per month), for the Tofalar it was only 87 rubles. The minimum necessary income to maintain existence is 686.

Most Tofalar families have multiple children. People live in dilapidated structures of pre-war (The Second World War) time. Residence area on average does not exceed more than six square meters per person. The majority of social indicators for Tofalar children and youth lag significantly behind their peers among the old-timer population.

The Tofalar as an ethnos are, without a doubt, in a critical phase of their ethnic development. Their small population, loss of many aspects of their traditional culture, and increasing numbers of inter-ethnic marriages are creating conditions for further ethnic dilution and increased assimilative processes. At the same time, there are a number of stabilizing factors: compact settlement of the ethnos, a high degree of focus on traditional work activities, and a growing level of ethnic self-awareness. Which of these tendencies will become predominant in upcoming decades is difficult to predict. Much will depend on the solution of economic and social challenges in Tofalar villages.

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TUBALAR

The Tubalar people are a subgroup of the Altayan. Together with the Kumandin and Chelkan they belong to the northern Altayan group. They live in the Turochakskiy, Chuyskiy, and Mayminskiy Districts of the Republic of Altay, along the left bank of the Biya River and its tributaries the Syry-Koksh, Kara-Koksh, Tula, Pyzh, and Uymen', as well as in the Bol'shaya and Malaya Isha basins which drain into the Katun' River. In the past, various Tubalar groups used a number of names — *tuba, tuma-kizhi, d'yish*. During consolidation of the Tubalar *seoks* (clans) into a single geographic group a common self-name arose — *y'ysh-kizhi* ("people of the taiga"). At the start of the twentieth century, another name came into use among the Tubalar — *Tubalar*. The southern Altayan referred to them by this name, and it later went on to become their official ethnonym. Old Russian documents refer to the Tubalar as "Black Taiga Tatars."



Population

In 1926, the Tubalar were not counted as a separate ethnicity during censuses, but were instead grouped with the Altayan. It is known that in 1897 there were 5,692 Tubalar residing within their modern administrative boundaries. By 1933 their numbers had grown to 8,427, shrinking down to 4,865 by 1989. However, these numbers were clearly inflated in all cases, as they also included Chelkan and Kumandin living in Turochakskiy District. The 2002 census counted only 1,565 Tubalar. Researchers attribute decreasing Tubalar population to frequent inter-ethnic marriages. The number of single-ethnicity couples among the Tubalar over the last twenty-five years dropped from 65% to 38%. According to those surveyed, only half of children from such families go on to claim Tubalar ethnicity.

Language

The Tubalar language is a dialect of the Altayan language, itself a member of the Khakas subgroup of the Uighur-Oguz group of Turkic languages. According to linguists, it is an unusual "bridge" between northern and southern Altayan dialects. Thanks to this, the Tubalar understand both northern and southern Altayan dialects. The Tubalar dialect is distinguished



Current territory of residence of the Tubalar in Russia

by the presence of a large number of ancient elements, a fact that is explained by their relatively isolated taiga lifestyle. Socio-linguistic research in recent years shows that most Tubalar have a passive knowledge of their native language as well as the Altayan written language. Almost all Tubalar speak Russian fluently, and many are bilingual, speaking Russian and Altayan. Only older Tubalar speak their native language in everyday settings, a setting in which the youth prefer Russian.

The Tubalar dialect has never had a writing system. A Russian Orthodox mission developed an Altayan written system in the mid-nineteenth century based on the Russian alphabet and using the Teleut dialect. Prior to the Russian Revolution (1917) however, literacy was not widespread. During the Soviet era Altay-Kizhi was acknowledged as the main conversational and literary language. In 1931 a writing system was developed for it based on the Latin alphabet, although this was then rewritten using the reformed Russian alphabet in 1938. Altayan language instruction occurred in Tubalar villages until the 1960s, when it was halted. Language instruction has resumed only in recent years.

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

Ethnogenesis

The Tubalar ethnogenesis is complex and not yet thoroughly understood by scholars. There is no doubt, however, that their ancestry is related to historical interactions between ancient Turkic, Ket, Samoyedic, and perhaps Ugor tribes. This ancestry is pointed to in part by anthropological peculiarities among the Tubalar. Along with a number of Ugor and Samoyedic peoples, they belong to the Uralic anthropological type.

Social organization

The main unit of Tubalar social organization was the patriarchal family, although clan relations also played a large role in their lives. At the nineteenth century's end, the Tubalar had nine clan groups (*seok*, literally "bone"): Kondosh, Kuzen, Tiber, Tigresh', Togus, Chygat, Yus, Yalan, and Yarlyk. Each *seok* in turn consisted of several subgroups, often counted as independed *seoks* in official documents. *Seoks* contained anywhere from 200 to 1,000 individuals. Administratively, the *seok* was generally a separate *volost* (administrative district). It was lead by an elder or *zaisan* and his helper, *demichi*. All work, legal (aside from criminal affairs) and fiscal power was held in their hands. By the eighteenth century many Russian documents called the Tubalar dual tribute payers, as they paid the *yasak* fur tribute to both the Russian Tsar (two to three sable skins per person) and the Dzhungar *knyaz* (an iron pot and trivet each).

Clans and the system of inheritance were patrilineal in character for the Tubalar. At the time of marriage, grooms paid a symbolic bride price for the bride consisting of foods such as dried carcasses of rabbits, round breads made from Siberian pine nuts and mixed with barley flour, dried day lily or fawn lily bulbs. When the bride moved into the groom's household, her dowry included traditional objects — clothing, bed linens, wooden dishware, a hoe, and a root digger. These items were the woman's personal property within the husband's family.

Subsistence activities

Traditional Tubalar activities consisted of hunting (on foot) for hoofed animals, fishing, and gathering. They also practiced hoe agriculture on small cleared plots of land where they planted barley, rye, wheat, hemp, and tobacco. Some groups also raised reindeer as a means of transportation. Later, some of them began to engage in livestock husbandry (sheep, horses, large horned cattle). With the arrival of the Russians they began fur hunting in order to pay the *yasak* fur tribute as well as for profit. Their means and techniques for fur hunting were characteristic of all peoples in the taiga belt of northern Asia. They hunted on foot (or on skis in the winter) using hand-drawn sleds to carry their hunting gear. They used trap pits, crossbow traps, and various

deadfall and pressure traps. Pursuit hunting using wooden fences as aids was conducted collectively. They set crossbows and snares in the gaps between the fences. During the nineteenth century the bow and arrow was gradually replaced by ramrod firearms. Hunting territories belonged to individual clan *seoks*.



Only clan members were permitted to hunt there. They gathered Siberian pine nuts, berries, various roots, as well as wild hemp for the preparation of fabric. At the turn of the twentieth century, Siberian pine nut gathering became a commercial activity. The processing and sale of these pine nuts, alongside furs, were the main source of income for the Tubalar. Wild garlic processing was another commercial activity. Other gathered foods included honey from wild bees, an activity that evolved into wild hive beekeeping and subsequently beekeeping under Russian influence.

Prior the Russian contact, the Tubalar practiced cottage metallurgy and blacksmithing. They were capable of mining ore, smelting iron, and making the resulting metal into weapons, work tools, and household items. They smelted metal using the bloomery process in small clay furnaces using hand bellows. All of the Tubalar vocabulary related to smelting and iron work is of ancient Turkic origin. Metal items were traded by the Tubalar with neighboring peoples for felt and livestock. Iron was also sold in significant quantities to Russian blacksmiths. Tubalar metalwork began to die out gradually with the precipitous rise of industrial metallurgy in the region during the eighteenth century, although it was still practiced in a few areas until the end of the nineteenth century.

Transportation

During the summer months, the Tubalar used small boats and rafts for transportation, switching to skis in the winter. They used travois made from game or horse skins in addition to hand-drawn sleds to move cargo from place to place. During the summer they also transported items using shoulder slings. At the turn of the twentieth century they began to hunt from the backs of horses in the summertime.

Settlements and housing

The Tubalar lived a settled way of life. Their villages (consisting of five to ten homes in the latter half of the nineteenth century) were sited along the shores of taiga rivers. Each village's population consisted

mainly of blood relatives and relatives by marriage. Their homes were mainly dugouts of two types (submerged in the earth or framed and then completely covered in earth from the base to the roof), framed single-room structures, and conical huts covered in birchbark or larch bark. Most homes did not have stoves or windows, and smoke from the hearth exited the house through an opening in the ceiling. Some semi-dugouts had windows in the roof covered by woven branches and stretched with abdominal membranes. The richest families had four-, six-, or eight-sided *yurts* built from thick logs and with an earthen floor. For all types of shelters, the doors usually faced out to the river. Under later Russian influence, the peasant-style cabin came into use, with a wooden or earthen roof, ceiling, floor, windows, and a Russian stove.

Clothing

Tubalar clothing, like other Altayan subgroups, consisted of long-sleeved shirts, open angled collars with a single button, and broad pants stretching below the knees. They wore belts that joined with a string at the ends in front, leaving the ends to dangle. Clothes were sewn from homespun broadcloth made from hemp, nettle, or suede. Over their shirts they wore a robe with no buttons, an open collar, and a belt or a short coat made from felt and covered in rough fabric. The robe's collar and often women's hems and sleeves were embroidered with colorful threads. Footwear was composite – a leather front and fabric bootlegs. In place of stockings they wrapped their legs in dried grasses. Winter boots were sewn from legskins taken from maral deer and a hat made from felt. Winter hats were covered in the skin of a fetal maral. Outer winter clothing consisted of a half fur coat or a felt coat (*sranda*) covered in broadcloth. Women's wore headscarves tied in the back. Tubalar hunting clothing included trimmed fur coats and hats, covered in rough grey fabric, fur pants, and boots. By the start of the twentieth century typical Russian peasant clothing dominated.

Simple circular rings, earrings, pendants made from metal bits, and buttons were their most common forms of decoration. Women wore their hair in two braids which were tossed to the front when meetings guests. Girls had several braids. Men wore their hair long, cut into a rounded shape.

Food

Tubalar cuisine consisted of game meat, farmed foods (barley flour from toasted grains), fish, and edible wild plants. In particular, they made large amounts of meal from fawn and day lily roots and processed the leaves of wild rhubarb, berries (arrow wood, bird cherry, and

others). Several clan subdivisions speak to the importance of plants in their nutrition — the *Palan-Komdosh* (Arrowwood People), *Sargaychy-Yuz* (Day Lily People). As livestock husbandry grew in importance, dairy products gained ground. They drank an infusion made from elephant ears (*Bergenia sp.*) leaves in place of tea. A homemade beer made from barley and fawn lily roots was another specialized drink. Households commonly used wooden and birchbark dishware.

Religion and spiritual culture

The Tubalar practiced shamanism. Animism, totemism, and a belief in the population of the world by good and evil spirits upon which human wellbeing depended were characteristic aspects of their belief system. Ancient clan cults played an important role — the cults of mountains, fire, and bear cults were especially developed. Among the more honored deities, *Kanym-biy* and *Tezim-biy* represented personifications of mountains, a belief characteristic of ancient Turks. Three times each year they ritually sacrificed horses of particular colors to these deities. Shamans had a great deal of authority. Unlike southern Altayan shamans, those of the Tubalar did not have robes, and their drums differed from those of the southern Altayan by handle form, drawings on drum and form of drum itself. Tubalar shamanic drum differed from the Chelkan and Kumandin ones in that it was referred to as *chalu*, , a Turkic term. The drum had a vertical handle that took the shape of an anthropomorphic head. The most meaningful shamanic ritual took place in the fall prior to the start of the hunting season as was dedicated to *Kanymu*, the master of all animals in the taiga. In place of a drum, the shaman conducted the ritual with a stick in the shape of a presser.

Deceased Tubalar were laid to rest above ground, in trees or in aerial wooden coffins.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of Tubalar converted to Russian Orthodoxy. Despite their conversion, their Christianity was only taken on externally, meaning the ritual side. In their everyday lives they continued to turn to traditional cults. The deification of nature and its components is still characteristic of a significant portion of the Tubalar today. They still hold Siberian pine, fir, and birch in particular reverence. These are seen as intermediaries between the worlds of humans and spirits. The Tubalar hunter is even today convinced that hunting success is completely reliant on his ability to establish contact with a spirit — the master of the taiga or a mountain. In order to better please these masters he plays the *shor*, a fife made from a plant stalk. They have thoroughly preserved beliefs about sacred mountains where the taiga, rivers, animals, and rocks are united in an unbreakable sacred entity. Contemporary taiga activities are still regulated today by myths

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and stories of interactions between people and the true masters of the forest. All of these beliefs certainly enrich the ethics of the people's relationship with nature.

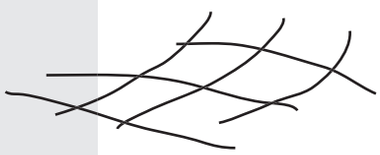
Folklore

Tubalar oral folk traditions include stories about everyday and fantastical events, legends or tall tales, and stories about animals. Overall, Tubalar folklore is filled with reflections on their hunting lifestyle.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Tubalar traditional natural resource use, lifestyle, and ethnic continuity suffered seriously from the impacts of technocratic progress and administrative tyranny during the Soviet years. The unification of cultural and linguistic stereotypes oriented toward the value of the titular group (Altay-Kizhi) led to conflicts in inter-ethnic communication and gave rise to a movement to recognize the Tubalar as an independent ethnos in the Republic in the 1980s and early 1990s. In March 2000, the Russian federal administration listed the Tubalar as an official Indigenous Minority People of the Russian Federation.

Today, the Tubalar are working to preserve and develop many elements of their culture, customs, and traditional activities. Great hopes are connected to the activities of the Tubalar Ethno-Cultural Center, with whose help it has been possible to not only preserve the culture of the Tubalar people but also to share it with other people.



TUVAN-TODZHIN



The Tuvan-Todzhin people live in the mountainous taiga range of northeastern and southeastern Tuva. Until recently, they were considered part of the Tuvan ethnos. In 1991 a decree by the Russian Soviet Republic added them to the list of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East. They call themselves tyva. In the past they have been called *soyoty, soyony, uryankhaytsy*.

Language, Territory and Population

They speak the Tuvan language, which has several dialects. The Tuvan-Todzhin have a northeastern (Todzhin) and a southeastern dialect. Their writing system is based on the Russian alphabet. They live on the territory of the Shynaanskiy administrative unit of Kyzylskiy District and on the territories of Azasskiy, Iyskiy, Systyg-Khemskiy, and Chazylarskiy administrative units in Todzhinskiy District in the Republic of Tyva (formerly known as Tuva). No Soviet censuses recorded the Tuvan-Todzhin separately from the Tuvan. As mentioned above, they were considered part of the Tuvan ethnic group. In 1997, local statistics recorded 5,212 Tuvan-Todzhin, including 1,993 in the Shynaanskiy area, 1,454 in Azasskiy, 1,379 in Iyskiy, 228 in Systyg-Khemskiy, and 158 in Chazylarskiy.



Ethnogenesis and History

The formation of the Tuvan-Todzhin ethnos is related to historical events at the end of the first century AD, when the Turkic-speaking Tubo tribe (related to the Ugric) penetrated a region settled by Samoyedic, Ket-speaking, and possibly Tungus tribes. By the nineteenth century, all aboriginal tribes in eastern Tuva had been turkicized, and the ethnonym Tuba (Tyva) became the common term describing all Tuvan.

At the end of the sixteenth century Tuva was part of the Mongol state of Altyn-Khan that endured until the second half of the seventeenth century. From the mid-eighteenth century until 1911 the region was under the control of the Chinese Manchurian Dynasty. In 1914,



Current territory of residence of the Tuvan-Todzhin in Russia

Legend

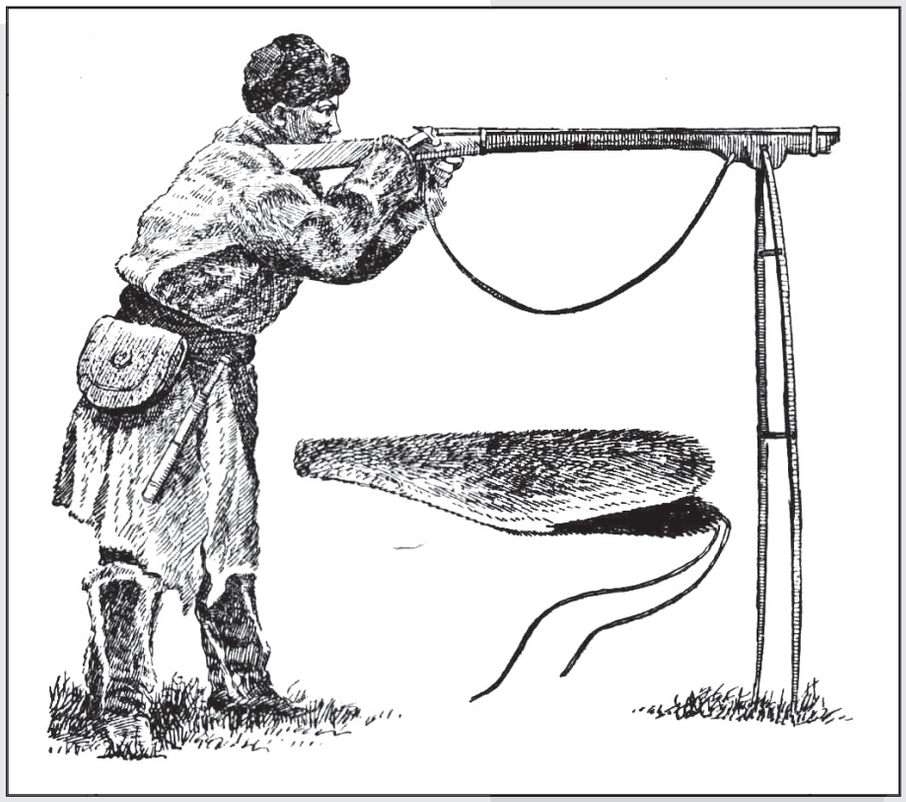
- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

Tuva, then known as Uryankhay Kray, became a Russian protectorate. It joined the Russian Federation as an autonomous *oblast* (province) in 1944, became the Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1961, reformed as the Republic of Tuva in 1991, and finally, in 1993, became the Republic of Tyva.

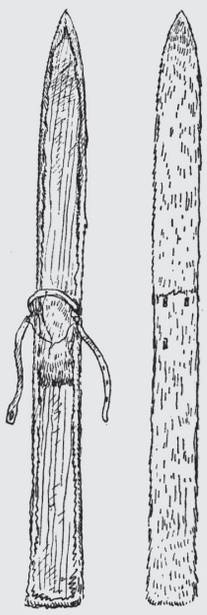
Subsistence activities

The Tuvan-Todzhin people practice a hunting and reindeer-herding taiga lifestyle. Some researchers attribute this to their particular Sayan mountain-taiga subtype. The Tuvan-Todzhin traditionally engage in hunting, reindeer husbandry, fishing, and wild plant gathering. Significant portions of the population who engage in reindeer husbandry still lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle. Over the course of the year, reindeer are pastured in natural areas: high in the mountains during the summer and in inter-mountain valleys protected from wind in the winter. During

this period, many reindeer herders set out to hunt with their reindeer. They do not practice fenced containment of reindeer, although they do tether newborn calves outside their homes during the day. The female reindeer that come to visit their calves are milked three times per day. During the night the calves are pastured together with their mothers. Tuvan reindeer are distinguished by their high level of domestication. During hot summer months, they set up smoke fires made from rotting wood and grasses to protect the animals from gnats. Reindeer are only used for riding; they are saddled like horses using the same saddle.

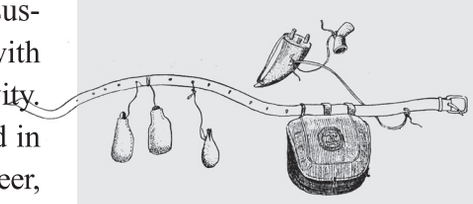


Today, individual families, *obshchina*s, and agricultural enterprises engage in reindeer husbandry. Local statistics record thirty-six families practicing reindeer husbandry. An Indigenous Minorities of the North Corporation of *Obshchinas* was formed to coordinate reindeer farming activities in the Republic of Tyva. This corporation focuses a lot of attention on selective breeding and the creation of a breeding herd. The transition to a market economy is negatively impacting Tuvan reindeer husbandry. Farms and *obshchinas* need to take measures to fight warble fly infestations and necrobacteriosis. They are also lacking all-terrain-vehicle transport to move production and facilitate related activities, production distribution points, fuels and lubricants, and equipment for processing and storing products of taiga industries.



In 1995, the President of the Republic of Tyva signed a decree "On the Means to Develop Reindeer Husbandry in the Republic." The decree stipulates that reindeer stocks belonging to agricultural enterprises and native *obshchinas* are their collective property and are not subject to privatization. Native *obshchinas* are temporarily forbidden to sell reindeer to the state, neglect their internal farming operations, or using reindeer in place of money.

All Tuvan-Todzhin hunted as a primary activity to provide sustenance. They hunted wild hoofed animals to provide their family with meat and skins. Fur animal hunting was a generally commercial activity. Hunting is important today as well. Over 460 hunters are registered in Todzhinskiy District. They hunt maral deer, roe deer, moose, wild reindeer, sable, and squirrel. Until the end of the nineteenth century bow and arrow



were commonly used for hunting. The term *boo* for "firearm" testifies to the relatively recent arrive of such weaponry to Tuva from Mongolia. Even today, Tuvan bullets are called *ok*, which literally translated means "arrow." Analogously, a quiver is known in Tuvan as a hunting belt. They also frequently used abatis traps — felled trees with sharp points arranged for impaling animals. They caught small animals and birds using snares made from animal hairs and homemade jaw traps.

Fishing was less important than hunting to the Tuvan-Todzhin. They mainly fished in lakes in the spring and fall, targeting carp, northern pike, taimen, and perch. They fished using nets, spears, or fishing poles. On hot days, when the northern pike hides in grassy waters by the shore, they caught it using nets or shot them. They also fished underneath winter ice, but not widely.

Women and children were responsible for gathering edible plants. They preserved the roots and bulbs of day lilies, fawn lily, and bird cherry in large quantities. They dug fawn lily in May and day lily at the summer's end and early fall. They also gathered small quantities of Siberian pine nuts for personal use.

They worked furs and skins for domestic use and prepared leather and birchbark to make into clothing, household objects, roofing materials, and reindeer harness. They were skilled in blacksmithing and woodwork.

During the Soviet period, the majority of Tuvan-Todzhin worked in state and cooperative reindeer husbandry enterprises. During the transition to a market economy and agricultural reforms villages experience significant cutbacks in jobs. This situation is worsening for the local populations, especially among youth. 43.3% of young people in Todzhinskiy District lack full-time work. Unemployment is leading to the outflow of specialists and youth to urban areas.

Settlements and housing

In the past, Tuvan-Todzhin lived in small camps known as *aals*, usually consisting of two to five homes. In the summer, when reindeer herders began to migrate with their herds to the mountains, settlements became more populated. Reindeer-herding families that remained in the valleys merged into one settlement, and the number of homes in an *aal* could grow twofold or threefold or more. The Tuvan-Todzhin mainly lived in *chums* known as *alazhi-og*. This type of home is mentioned in written sources as early as the twelfth century. Its tent pole frame had the bark left on the poles (numbering fifteen to thirty, depending on size), three of which were the main posts. At the bottom they were set in a circle, with the upper ends attached using a thong or by inserting the ends through slots in other poles. *Chums* were covered in sheets made of boiled birchbark. They used ropes woven from animal hairs to attach the sheets to

the frame. In the fall, they replaced the birchbark with prepared moose skins. They also used a piece of moose skin for a doorway covering. In the winter, they built the *chum* atop a layer of coniferous branches. The *chum's* living area was divided into two main parts — the men's area (to the right of the entrance) and the women's area. The area opposite the door was considered an honorary space. The hearth was placed in the center of the *chum*, and a bronze pot hung from a chain above it. The family slept on animal skins on the earthen ground, and the master and mistress slept on the women's side.

A variation on the *chum* for weddings also existed — the boodey, which the bride's parents erected in order for the groom to visit her prior to the marriage. This *chum* was small and lacked the three primary poles.

In addition to *chums*, the Tuvan-Todzhin used multi-sided post-framed and log cabin style buildings and *yurts*. The latter, however, were very rare. Walls in framed houses were made using horizontal poles inserted into slots cut into the corner posts. The roof was flat or arched into a cupola shape. Multi-sided cabins had a flattened roof and timbered walls that narrowed toward the top.

They also built temporary (but not moveable) house shelters of single and double pitched roofed shacks (*chavyt*). An angled set of poles usually leaned from one or two sides onto a horizontal tree branch or a long pole, one end of which was inserted into a forked pole and the other tied to a tree. They also used a cone-shaped shelter for temporary protection, covering it in branches or bark. Two-sided pitched roofs had their fire by the door, while conical homes placed it in the center.

Today, the majority of Tuvan-Todzhin live in villages not very different from other villages in the Siberian taiga zone. Rural social infrastructure is relatively undeveloped. Medical checkpoints and schools are under-equipped, and radio and telephone communications are non-existent. Population centers do not have continuous contact with the local capital or other districts in the Republic. Communication is possible only by air and only in on summer days when the weather is good. Companies and organizations that used to serve areas where the indigenous population lives are either shut down or are faltering seriously. This situation is leading to further worsening of socio-economic problems in the villages.



Clothing

Tuvan-Todzhin traditional clothing was divided into categories of spring-summer clothing and fall-winter clothing are distinguished according to their use. The most common summer clothing was a robe (*ton*), which was sewn from reindeer skins or roe deer suede. It had a straight cut that widened along the bottom hem, with straight sleeves with wide armholes. The left side was frequently adorned with a strip of dark

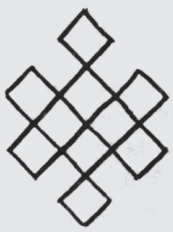
fabric. In the winter, reindeer herders wore skin coats made of moose or roe deer with the fur on the inside. These robes had a standing collar with was sewn on the outside with strips of squirrel fur. Hunting clothes did not much differ from everyday clothing, except in that it was lighter in weight and shorter. In the winter, hunters wore a half-length fur coat that was easy to move about in and usually made by recycling old winter coats. During extreme cold, they protected the face and neck with a neck scarf made from wolf or foxtails. Headwear was a fur hat made from the heads of various animals. It came with or without earflaps.





Tuvan-Todzhin footwear consisted of legskin boots with the fur on the exterior — *byshkak idik*. Hunters sewed knee stockings to the tops of their boots and attached these to the waistline of their pants with several straps. In the spring and fall, they wore stockings made of roe deer suede, while the winter demanded two sets of fur stockings. In addition, they used thin honeysuckle branches for inserts for footwear.

Underneath outwear, the Tuvan-Todzhin wore shirts and a short loincloth. Shirts and summer pants were sewn from suede or fabric, while winter pants were made of fur. Pants were belted at the waist. They hung a sheathed knife and fire-making tools from the back of the belt, in addition to a tobacco pouch. Belts and sashes known as *kur* could be decorative — women wore a red, orange, or blue sash, while men's were usually dark blue. Women also adorned themselves with silver rings, earrings (which they wore from one year of age), decorative combs, silver disks and coins in their braids, and sometimes even precious stones. Men's and women's hairstyles did not vary much. Men kept their hair in one braid, married women — two, unmarried girls — three braids braided into one larger braid.







Food

Todzhin reindeer herders and hunters based their nutrition on the foods they could find in the mountain taiga. During the fall and winter, they mainly ate the meat of wild hoofed animals and squirrels as well as preserved dried day lilies, and frozen (during the fall) reindeer milk. Domesticated reindeer were only rarely butchered for their meat, usually only during periods of hunger. Reindeer milk and day lilies as well as fish products dominated their nutrition from May until the end of September. Herders obtained insignificant quantities of flour and grains (fried millet) from the western Tuvan in exchange for furs.

Todzhin reindeer herding cuisine varied most when it came to dishes prepared from reindeer milk. They milked reindeer from May until the end of September. During this period, they boiled the milk and drank it with tea, and made a soft cheese (*pyshtak*) — one of their favorite food items. Other notable milk dishes included curdled milk, sour cream, milk boiled (for a long time) with flour, and frozen milk.

These preparations could all be stored until spring in birchbark dishes or pouches made from animal stomachs. If it was necessary to butcher a domesticated reindeer, they only ate its meat when boiled and made sausage from its blood and liver.

Fish was of secondary nutritional importance in the Todzhinskiy District. They never preserved it for later consumption, although a few isolated groups of Todzhin made fish flour from northern pike or whitefish. This flour resembled the Ket's *porsa*. Vegetable foods were very important. The main vegetable was the day lily. They ate it dried with tea, always took it hunting, and made a thick soup from powdered day lily known as *aylyg bydaa*. They also used Siberian pine nuts grilled in ashes or boiled and wild onion. They dried bird cherry berries (sometimes with milk skins), and then ground them up and mixed them in hot water as a tasty delicacy. Smoking was a common practice.

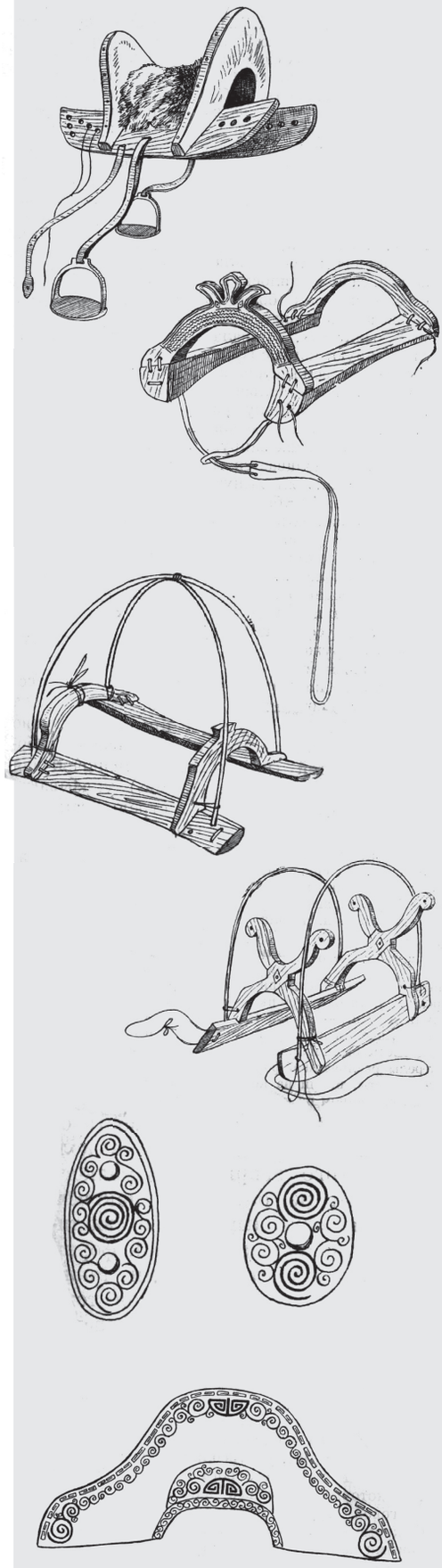
Religion and spiritual culture

The Tuvan-Todzhin worldview was mainly shamanistic, although Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism also had noticeable influences. The extent of shamanism can be illustrated through these data. In the early 1930s in the eastern mountainous taiga of Tuva, 13 % of households had shamans, and 20 % of reindeer herding households had shamans. Both men and women could be shamans. All shamans were called *kham*. As a rule, shamans inherited their gift from shaman-ancestors. A future shaman received his attributes — ritual clothing, drum, and mallet — from relatives. Images on these attributes were supposed to resemble those people who had shaman ancestors. A beginning shaman started their professional activities possessing only a birch rod for séances. The new shaman acquired attributes later, when they had achieved specific results.

A Tuvan-Todzhin shaman drum was slightly oval in shape, had a wide rim and wooden resonators. Maral deer or moose skin was stretched over the drum. Mallets were made from horn or wood and covered in bear skin. Shamanic headwear came in three varieties. The most common was a suede wrap, embroidered with colored thread and symbolizing the sun and moon or parts of the human body. The exterior of a shaman's kaftan was also embroidered in colored threads illustrating a human skeleton. Metal discs, bells, fabric images of snakes, animals, and birds were attached to the kaftan. Special braids with twigs, symbolizing wings, helped the shaman to fly to other worlds.

Ritual séances were frequently conducted for healing purposes, as well as for fortune telling, relieving hunting problems, etc. Shamans received furs or reindeer in payment for their services, but their main income source was their own household activities.

The mythology, cult practice, and attributes of eastern Tuvan shamanism clearly show ancient traits also characteristic of Tofalar



shamanism, a number of Samoyedic peoples, Ket, Evenk, and other Siberian peoples. Pre-shamanic cults were also widely practiced. The most ancient of these is the bear cult. Bear hunting was considered a sin, an act against one's conscience. The killer of a bear requested the animal's forgiveness, making various justifications. The bear cult is especially well illustrated by the bear holiday, an event widely practiced by many Siberian peoples.



The hunting and fishing cult was closely related to the nature cult — worship of mountains, passes, hunting territories, rivers, spirit-masters considered rulers of the animals and fish living on their lands. They conducted a number of rituals in their honor, setting up altar-huts (*ova*) in sacred places. Passing through such a region occasioned a mandatory stop for make an offering to the spirits. Collective prayers were also organized at these sites. Mountains with flat, treeless peaks were considered especially sacred, because the Todzhin believed the most powerful spirits lived there. Some tree species were also sacred, especially if the tree had an unusual or whimsical trunk, branches, etc. Such trees were known as *kham-yyash* (shaman tree). Remnants of the ancient family-clan cult can be seen in the worship of the home hearth, spirit-ancestors, and anthropomorphic images kept by each family.

Folklore, Arts and Crafts

Applied decorative arts, folk and family holidays, oral poetry and music are all important aspects of the Tuvan-Todzhin traditional spiritual culture. The Todzhin preferred small geometric designs for ornamentation: zigzags, dotted lines, angled lines, etc. Their rich folklore includes heroic epics, myths, legends, and traditions. Throat singing is a special genre in their musical culture. The mouth harp and a number of bowed instruments were most commonly played.

Contemporary culture and self-government

The Tuvan-Todzhin have today preserved almost all main elements of their traditional culture — language (in 1989 98.8% of the Tuvan considered Tuvan to be their native language), customs, ceremo-

nies, behavioral norms, traditional holidays, sport competitions, and others. Their oral poetic traditions and traditional music persist today. They have their own composers, professional artists, and folk carvers of wood and stone.

The Association of Tuvan-Todzhin serves as their self-governance organization. The Association has approximately 1,100 individual members and includes five clans: Systyg-Khem, Ulug-Dag, Odugen, Kham-Sara, and Tere-Khol. The Association collaborates with the Corporation for Indigenous Minority Obshchinas in the Northern Republic of Tyva and maintains business relationships with the Russian Union of Reindeer Herders and the World Reindeer Herders Association. A Fund for the Preservation of Reindeer Herding and a union fund for indigenous minorities of the Republic have also been created.

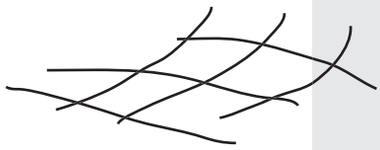
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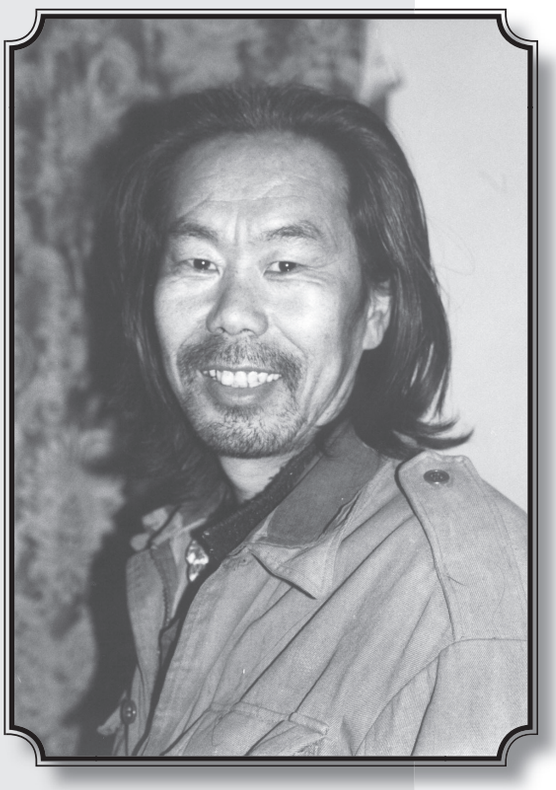




UDEGHE

The Udeghe people belong to the Manchu-Tungus language group. Until the nineteenth century's end, the Udeghe were not identified as an independent ethnos, but were instead grouped together with the Oroch as a single people. S. N. Brayilovskiy was the first to declare their ethnic independence. He brought the *udikhe (udee, udekhe, udikhe)* ethnonym into use, a term that would become their self-name in the 1930s. Prior to that time, they had no self-name. Each regional group had its own name: the Khungari called themselves the *khungeke*, Bikin the *bikinka*, Anyuy the *uninka*, and so forth. Historical ethnographic literature referred to the Udeghe using the ethnonyms *kyaka, kekal, udakha, orochen,* and others.

Language



They speak the Udeghe language, which, together with Oroch, is in a middle position within the southern subgroup of Manchu-Tungus languages. Lexically and grammatically, it is close to the Amur group of Tungus languages. According to observations made by V. K. Arsen'yev, in the nineteenth century, most regional Udeghe groups spoke a distinct vernacular, and the Samarga Udeghe "in the lowlands poorly understood those in the highlands." Today, three dialect groups are usually identified: Primorskiy (Samarga-Khungari), Khor-Anyuy, and Bikin-Iman. The Khor Udeghe variant was used as the basis for their written language, based on the Latin alphabet in the 1930s. However, this written language existed only briefly and was used only in everyday affairs. Today, new attempts are underway to create a writing system based on the Russian alphabet. All Udeghe speak Russian. Only the oldest generations speaks their native language. In 1989, only 24.3 % of Udeghe claimed it as their native language.

Ethnogenesis and History

Three main ethnic components can be identified that form the basis of the Udeghe ethnos: an aboriginal Paleo-Asiatic component represented by the Yankovskaya and related archaeological cultures of Korea and Primorye; an Austroneziskiy group in the form of migrants from the coast of the Yellow and Eastern China Seas (*susheney* Krou-



Current territory of residence of the Udeghe in Russia

novskaya archaeological culture); and the Tungus component whose first migrants were *ilou* ilou hunters arriving on foot from the Trans-Baikal (Ol'ginskaya archaeological culture). Representatives of these cultures were mainly engaged in marine hunting and fishing, agriculture, and livestock husbandry in their early forms, as well as hunting, fishing, and gathering.

In the process of seventh century interactions between the *ilou* and local tribes in the southern Far East, a new Tungus-speaking society known as the *mukri* arose. Their development occurred in complex, long term ethno-political conditions with the history and culture of neighboring countries and peoples. Ancient Turkic and Mongol peoples had an especially strong influence, a fact that ultimately led to the creation of the contemporary ethnoses of the southern Tungus group, including the

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

Udeghe. Ethnographic and linguistic data testify to close ethno-cultural contacts between the ancient Udeghe and their neighbors in the region.

The Russians came into contact with the Udeghe in the latter half of the nineteenth century when the Near Amur and Primorye joined the Russian state. At that time, they were settled along rivers draining into the Sea of Japan, stretching between the Razdol'niy and Tadushi Rivers. They also occupied lands in the areas of the Bikin, Khor, Anyuy, Khungari, Iman, Vak, and other rivers. As Russian settlers expanded their territory, the lands occupied by indigenous peoples steadily shrank. At the start of the twentieth century, the Udeghe were concentrated in the difficult-to-reach river systems of the Samarga and Bikin in Primorye and along the Near Amur headwaters of the Khor, Anyuy, and Khungari Rivers.

Social organization

By the nineteenth century, Udeghe clan structures were already in a condition of deep decay. Each settlement was a distinct geographic neighborly community in which representatives of a number of clans resided. Clan membership was only strictly observed when marrying (the Udeghe observed exogamy into the 1950s) and when conducting certain religious rituals. They preserved numerous remnants of clan life: the customs of levirate and avunculate, blood revenge, the clan's right to inherit the property of deceased clan members, the cult of inter-clan fire, inter-clan justice, various forms of ancient collectivism, and others. Mutual assistance was provided to members of the neighborly community independent of clan membership. Families of differing clans often united into exogamous unions of clans (*dyamula, za-mula*) in order to acquire greater security. *Dyamula* relations were formed in two ways: as a result of a main clan's breakdown into smaller ones or by way of inter-marriage of Udeghe widows with members of neighboring peoples (Na-nai, Oroch, Ul'chi, and others). The appearance of a new form of social organization, an event that other Near Amur peoples also experienced, is a unique stage in the breakdown of their original communal structure in new socio-economic and political conditions and is likely related to the complexity of Manchu-Tungus ethnogenesis.



Population and Settlements

The 1897 census tabulated 1,841 Udeghe. Elected elders led each neighborly community and were approved by the Russian administration and given rights equal to those of village elders. They were responsible for allocating hunting territories, deciding conflicts and disagreements, as well as implementing decrees and injunctions of the Russian administration. At the start of the twentieth century, the Udeghe population significantly decreased. Exponentially increasing pressure on hunting stocks by new settlers led to a severe decrease in target species. Impacts on fishing harvests were especially noticeable. Mass famine and high mortality among the Bikin, Khor, and Anyuy Udeghe were attributed to an intensive chum salmon fishery in the Amur lowlands conducted by Russian and Japanese fishermen and natural variations in chum fish stocks in some years. A smallpox epidemic in 1906 caused the Udeghe clans of Andiga, Maadiga, Syadiga, Tsundiga and many other residents of river systems along the Sea of Japan coast to completely die out.

Assimilative processes in Primorye at the start of the twentieth century were another reason for population losses among the Udeghe. The Kray's natural wealth attracted thousands of emigrants from northeastern China, and these emigrants in turn started families. Intense ethnic mixing occurred between aboriginal peoples and Manchu Chinese, especially in the south and southeast of the Kray. This mixing became the basis for a new ethnic community, the Tazy (a Russified variant of the Chinese *Tadzy*, which in Chinese describes a collective term for all Manchu-Tungus peoples and is close in meaning to the Russian term *inorodtsy*).

Contact with the Russian population had a huge influence on the material and spiritual culture of the Udeghe. Acculturative processes increased especially quickly during the Soviet period. Collectivization and the technical reformation of economic and subsistence activities completely change their lifestyle. By the 1930s the Udeghe had begun to settle in larger and more comfortable settlements. At the outset of the 1960s almost all ancient Udeghe camps had ceased to exist along the Bikin, Anyuy, Khor, Iman, Samarga, and Khungari Rivers. The Bikin Udeghe were centered in the rebuilt village of Krasniy Yar. The Anyuy Udeghe settled in Rassvet village, the Khor in Gvasyugi, the Khungari in the villages of Kun and Tamolo, and the Iman in Ostrovnoy.

The coastal Udeghe had ceased to exist even earlier. Some of these resettled on the Samarga River, and together with the local Udeghe, lived in Agzu village, while others turned up on the Bikin River and in other regions of Primorye. These processes concentrating the Udeghe population continued in the years to come. On the one hand, this facilitated the ethnos' consolidation, raised their ethnic self-awareness, improved their socio-economic status, and raised their cultural and educational level. On the other hand, many elements of their traditional culture were lost.

Today, the Udeghe live in several villages in Pozharskiy District (Krasniy Yar), Terneyskiy (Agzu), Krasnoarmeyskiy (Dal'niy Kut, Roshchino) of Primorskiy Kray, and in Lazo (Gvasyugi) and Nanaiskiy Districts (Arsen'yevo, Uni) of Khabarovsk Kray. Their total population according to the 1989 census is 2,011 individuals, including 766 in Primorskiy Kray and 697 in Khabarovsk Kray.

Subsistence activities

Traditional Udeghe lifestyle was based on hunting and fishing. Fishing played a determining role for the Udeghe, who lived in the Sea of Japan riverine basin and along large tributaries of the Ussuri and Amur rivers. At the headlands of Ussuri tributaries their main activity was hunting. The Udeghe hunted year round for moose, *izyubr* deer (*Cervus elaphus*), wild boar, spotted deer, musk deer, bear, roe deer, and other animals. Their ancient and preferred style of hunting was pursuit — following an animal on skis through the deep snow or along the ice-encrusted snow in the spring. In the latter case they most often used a *gida* spear or bow and arrow. Traps were another effective hunting technique — snares (each family set up to 300 snares, mainly for roe deer) and trap pits. Pits were dugs in the fall and in use during the winter. In the spring and summer the holes were filled with brush, in order to prevent animals becoming entrapped.

They also killed animals with the help of *beysigu* crossbow traps. Depending on their purpose, they came in three types: small ones intended to catch fur-bearing animals, mid-sized for musk deer and other small animals, and large ones for moose, *izyubr* deer, bear, and wild boar. With the appearance of firearms on the scene, they began to develop new techniques. Animals were tracked with dogs that kept the animal at bay until the hunter's arrival. In the summer they hunted hoofed animals at natural salt licks over which the hunter lay in wait on a platform in the trees above. They hunted roe deer and moose from dugout canoes in river backwaters, where the animals came to eat water plants. In the fall *izyubr* deer-rutting season, they attracted the animals with the help of a birch whistle known as a *bunika*. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, they hunted *izyubr* deer mainly for their valuable velvety antlers prized by Chinese traders. Antlers collected in late May and early June were the most valuable.

Fur animal hunting became more common in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when multitudinous fur buyers came to the Kray. They hunted raccoons, Siberian weasel, river otters, and especially sable, usually by following the animals' spoor. Hunters set nets at the exits to their dens and waited for animals to leave. Sables were hunted using crossbow traps and other traps. Traps were set in the forked branches

of trees, along animal paths and on brush and branches thrown across streams that sable used to cross from one side to another.

High demand for fur, increasing numbers of hunters (including Russians), and frequent taiga fires quickly led to falling stocks of valuable fur animals, especially sable. Squirrel hunting gained in importance, lengthening the hunting season. Following Russian and Chinese example, Udeghe hunters began to use poisons and other poaching technologies. All of these factors led to steep declines in the Udeghe hunting tradition by the start of the twentieth century.

Udeghe fishing focused on pink salmon in the fall and humpback salmon in the summer. Men were mainly responsible for fishing. For gear they used fishing spears, hook-and-line gear, and traps. Spears had two designs and had either a fixed or free attachment. Light fishing was especially effective — spear fishing by night. They erected a torch on a boat, by which light they could fish. An experienced fishermen working at the height of the chum salmon spawning season could catch eight fish every two minutes according to witnesses. They also spear-fished in the winter months. For this purpose they erected a hut over a hole in the ice through which the fishermen watched for passing fish.



Hook-and-line gear were quite common, often structured to resemble a weir. They attached baited hooks on short lines to a long rope every half-meter. The rope was stretched across the river such that the hooks did not touch the river bottom. They check the lines morning and evening.

Another common way to fish was the fishing pole. In the winter old men and children fished using poles in channels and holes that did not freeze over. In place of bait they wrapped the hook in yellow or red thread.

Along the Samarga, Bikin, and streams of the Sea of Japan coastline, the Udeghe fished for salmon using small blocking nets. They also used branches braided into traps, known by the Russians as *mordy* ("snouts"), usually setting them in the channel of narrow waterways. Such blocking nets were also used with a central wall, which entirely blocked small channels. In coastal areas, the Udeghe fished not just in rivers but in the sea.

Depending on the extent of Russian commercial fisheries along the Ussuri and its tributaries (as well as on the coast), the Udeghe acquired their nets and beach seines. Some Udeghe quickly mastered net-making and became professionals earning the necessary income to subsist. The use of nets and especially beach seines led to the Udeghe joining together into work teams. In those cases, the harvest was divided evenly among members.

Gathering was another Udeghe subsistence activity. Women were responsible for this work. With the arrival of summer they set out into the taiga to gather wild garlic, wild onion, fern, mint, and many other edible and useful plants. With the onset of the berry season, they gathered and preserved bird cherry, bilberry, cranberry, honeysuckle, and other taiga berries. At the summer's end, men went out into the taiga to gather ginseng. Ginseng production was a commercial activity for the Udeghe, who sold the collected roots to Chinese traders. At the end of the nineteenth century, tens of *pud* (sixteen kilograms) of ginseng were collected annually in Primorye alone. The large-scale harvest of the valuable root led to a relative loss of importance for the industry at the start of the twentieth century.

Collectivization and subsequent economic reorganization changed the Udeghe lifestyle fundamentally. In the early 1960s, state industrial farms specializing in hunting were created in the districts where the Udeghe resided. Despite this, the majority of Udeghe were very rapidly crowded out of that work by Russian hunters. They were only able to mostly preserve their traditional activities in the Pozharskiy state industrial farm in Primorskiy Kray. By the end of the 1980s, only 20% of Udeghe worked in activities traditional to them. Remaining Udeghe were employed in the public sector and in the agricultural and timber industries.

Transportation

During the summer months, the Udeghe mainly used boats and dugouts to move across the landscape. These could be divided into two categories based on the construction of the bow and several other details: the *utungie* canoe or *ana* boats with shovel-shaped bows. Boats were made from cottonwood tree trunks with a straight-bladed ax and a special adz with a curved blade. The canoe's stern was straight, and the bottom was narrowed and twice as thick as the sides. The bottom stretched out into the bow in the shape of a meter and a half long slightly rounded shovel that rose above the surface of the water. *Ana* boats were made in various sizes. A large boat could carry up to a metric ton of cargo.

Canoes differed in construction from boats in their oval bottom and narrowing stern and bow. They did not exceed five or six meters in length, and were sixty centimeters wide. Both boats and canoes were

propelled using poles and oars. They used a two-side paddle in canoes. Dogs were occasionally harness to pull boats upstream, and these boats could be used to move cargo. Canoes were used to hunt hoofed animals. Today, traditional dugout canoes are no longer used. Boats built of three to five boards have replaced them. Almost every Udeghe family has such a boat today, powered by outboard motors.

In the winter their main transportation were two types of skis: *kingile* skis or *sugala* , skis made with a fur covering. These were made from birch or fir or more rarely from oak. Kingile were used in the spring to cross the hard and slippery ice-covered snow. Fur-covered skis were well adapted for used in deep and soft snow. They used a pole to aid in skiing. The lower end had a bone tip and a limiting ring. The upper end had a small shovel-shaped tip. When descending a slope, the hunter sat down upon the ski pole and flew downhill.

They used a low straight-stanchioned sled without arches to move cargo in the winter. The left side of the sled had a handspike, which could be used by the hunter to steer. Dogs helped to pull the sled. Dog harness was used by the Udeghe of the Bikin, Iman, and Samarga Rivers and was eastern Siberian in type. The Khungari Udeghe used a different harness type — Gilyatsko (Nanai) Amur style, but overall the majority of Udeghe did not often use dogsledding.

Settlements and housing

The Udeghe had three types of settlement camps: permanent (winter), seasonal, and temporary. Permanent settlements, known as *yokho*, were sited in deep valleys protect by surrounding peaks from winter winds and not far from traditional hunting and fishing grounds. These endured over the course of decades. The oldest of these, 100 or more years old, are the Khor Udeghe camps of Dzhoongo and Chuken, the Samarga camps of Zava and Isim, the Bikin camps of Olon and Syayin, the Anyuy camps of Bira, and still others. The majority of these camps no longer exist today.

Seasonal and temporary settlements (*dzhuasiksi*) were usually set along a riverbank in breezy areas. They lived in seasonal camps while fishing and hunting, from spring until fall. Temporary camps were occupied for a few days only. As a rule, camps were inhabited by just a few people. Each had three to five residential structures that together housed no more than ten families.

Other than work buildings, the Udeghe call any shelter a *dzhugdi*. The root of this word exists in the named shelters of the majority of Manchu-Tungus peoples, a fact that illustrates the Udeghe's ancient cultural ties. The tuedzi semi-dugout was a common building style, having a two-sided pitched roof set on the ground. The door was on the east

side. The home's interior was divided lengthwise into three parts — two residential and one for work. A home was also divided into male and female halves. The hearth was at the center of the home, and immediately beyond that, opposite the entrance, was the men's half (*malu*). Benches covered in birchbark or furs lines the walls.

The semi-dugout *tuedzi* used by the Khungari Udeghe had several distinct differences. It had layers of logs that reached above the earth, and the roof was four-sided. The entrance was built into one of these roof sides. Some Khungari and Iman Udeghe lived in semi-dugouts with piped heating systems. These were either L-shaped or U-shaped. The smoke that heated the home traveled through pipes along the walls and left the home through a tall pipe at some distance from the structure. Similar shelters with piped heating systems have been in use since the Neolithic era and are characteristic of the Oroch, Nanai, and Ul'chi peoples as well.

Chinese-style *fanza* fanza homes with vertical walls and two-sided pitched roofs are more modern winter housing. The walls of the *fanza* were latticed and then covered in a mixture of clay, grass and straw. Wide windows were covered in oiled paper. The door was always in the middle of the eastern or southern wall. *Fanzas* Fanzas were heated with stoves or had a piped heating system. The floor was earthen, and some *fanzas* lacked ceilings. Archaeological remains show that many Chzhurchzhen culture homes were also built using the lattice technique.

Other Udeghe winter housing includes conical chums (*toza*) and the bark *kava* hut, used by some Udeghe along the Khor, Iman, Bikin, and Anyuy Rivers. The Udeghe *chum* was identical in construction to those of the Evenk. Huts had tall, steep roofs set directly into the ground. Such shelters had three areas: on the two sides a barn and the middle space was a living area. The living area had two hearths and two exits, one into each barn. The framework was made from poles, which were then covered in two layers of spruce or Siberian pine bark. Boards were then pressed over this surface. The center of the hut was for the hearth, over which several racks for smoking meat and skins hung.

A simplified version of the *kava* hut was their main seasonal (summer) housing. The only difference was that it lacked barns, and the roof was covered in a single layer of birchbark. When necessary, the summer hut could be quickly winter-proofed. The Anyuy, Khor, and Iman Udeghe lived in cylindrical huts in the summertime. Their sidewalls were built from branches bent into the earth whose ends took the shape of an arch. The resulting frame was covered in birchbark or canvas. Such spaces were unheated, and food was prepared elsewhere.

Temporary Udeghe housing also included *egbene* awnings and *maiga* tents, used during the warm months. An awning had a two-sided pitched roof and no sidewalls, and the roof was set directly on the ground. Unlike the awning, a tent had two side walls. Both of these coverings were flung over a frame of two vertical and one horizontal poles. Both

of these shelters always required *nakomarniki* — a fabric bottomless box in the form of a parallelogram, made from thick fabric and providing protection from multitudinous mosquitoes.

The most common work structures were storehouses, but hanging racks and platforms erected on four posts were also common. *Dzali* storehouses were of two types: with vertical walls and a two-sided pitched roof or a storehouse with a semi-cylindrical roof. Vertically-walled storehouses had doors, while semi-cylindrical ones had long gap openings in the platform. One entered the storehouses from steps cut into a vertical post. They stored clothing, hunting equipment, and various other items in storehouses, although in the past, the elders told of semi-cylindrical storehouses serving as homes.

The *deka* platform was used to store sleds, spears, animal skins, and other large items. They always erected a two-sided pitched roof over the platform. The Primorskiy and Samarga Udeghe were known to used a *saktama* structure that resembled the Nivkh's shed used to raise bears in captivity.

Summer settlements always features various racks used for drying nets and hanging out *yukola* dry. The most common racks were *daguma* daguma and consisted of two pairs of vertical posts, two horizontal crossbars and perpendicular small boards. Sometimes, they used dead trees with spreading branches as racks.

The Udeghe also had lean-to shelters (*koktou aunga*) to provide protection from wind and rain. Also used were small conical huts made of three main poles, conical winter huts (*tue aunga*) of boards designed to last through the hunting or fishing season, and semi-cylindrical *euma* huts. Today, the Udeghe use standard hunting cabins made from logs and laid out two to three cabins per hunting territory. The hunter overnights in the cabin closest to where he finished his workday.

In addition to homes, work, and hunting structures, the Udeghe also had ritual buildings: places of worship, burial huts, and birthing rooms. Places of worship could be scaled for individuals, families, or communities. Each contained images of spirit-protectors and spirit-masters upon whom the Udeghe believed their success depended. Burial huts had a two-sided pitched roof and a door in the sidewall, through which they moved the casket with the deceased. Udeghe rooms for birthing could be conical or have two slanting walls.

Clothing

Animal and fish skins served as the primary material for Udeghe clothing and footwear in the past. In the latter half of the nineteenth century they began using industrially produced fabrics. Women made clothing. Men and women wore similar clothing, footwear, and headwear. Outer

clothing consisted of a *tege* robe that had an opening with closures on the right side. Most Udeghe robes had standing collars. Women's robes were longer and had more decorative ornamentation. Additionally, women's everyday and special clothing was rounded out by Tungus or Amur-style bibs that covered the chest and lower torso.

Men wore gokogi *kheigi* loincloths and long pants with *amukhi* leggings, *adapti* oversleeves to protect against mosquitoes and gnats in the summer and snow in the winter. Oversleeves were wrapped around the wrists together with the robe's sleeves. They added a hood that covered the head and shoulders, earmuffs, a hat, fur stockings, footwear, and mittens. During the winter, they wore a fur coat over a padded robe. The coat was made from sheepskin or wild reindeer. At the nineteenth century's end, underwear was only rarely worn as part of the Udeghe costume, although some families did wear them. Loincloths began to be replaced by long men's pants, under influence from Russian and Chinese migrants at the end of the nineteenth century. Leggings were made obsolete by those pants. Shortened leggings remained a part of women's clothing and work clothing for men.

Clothing worn for holidays and celebrations was no different than that of everyday, but it was highly embroidered with cloud or linear ornamentation. Moreover, celebratory and marriage robes began to be sewn from silk or wool. At the nineteenth century's end, shirts became part of celebratory clothing. Their design was borrowed from the Russians, but they were still traditional in style.

Udeghe *unta* footwear was made in lower Amur (bucket-shaped) and eastern Siberian (boot-shaped) styles. Initially, they were made from fish skin, which were highly water-resistant, or moose or wild boar skins. Later, they made the bootlegs from fabric. High boots appeared among the Udeghe only in the 1940s. They are worn with fur stockings, which they also wore around the home.

Short, conical birchbark hats protected them from sun and rain. Udeghe winter hats resembled hoods and were stuffed on the inside with batting, while the exterior was covered in a column of squirrel or sable fur. They wore earmuffs over a cloak that protected the neck from snow. In the summer, they only rarely wore hats. On formal occasions they donned a goat legskin hat that was trimmed with a squirrel tail in the rear. Women covered their heads with a cloak over which they wore a headband covered in beading or colored embroidery. Udeghe women and men wore their hair in two plaits, which were folded several times and tied with a red string. The braids were fastened to the back of the head with a strap, and the ends hung just below the shoulders.

Udeghe work clothing worn for fishing and hunting consisted of a typical robe and a short, sleeveless fabric of fur jacket made of goatskins with the fur on the outside. Removable sleeves were added as protection for the robe's sleeves from premature wear and tear. When

moving through vegetation, they wore a leather apron or skirt. At rest they moved the apron apron to the rear at the belt and sat upon it. When moving over ice, the Udeghe wore special *unta choboni* boots. Iron spikes were attached to the soles.

Modern clothing is almost the same as that of the surrounding Russian population. Udeghe work clothing did not change until well into the twentieth century because it was so well adapted to local conditions. Despite that fact, this clothing has changed significantly today. Only traditional cloth jackets and Amur style boots are still worn. Women's traditional clothing changed more slowly today. They continued to wear traditional robes, footwear, and leggings into the 1970s.

Food

Their diet changed with the seasons. From spring to fall fish and plants prevailed. From December until the spring and in September, meat from wild game was important. Daily food was relatively consistent: thin tala tala strips of fresh fish and tea for breakfast and fish or meat soup, a thick porridge, and *tala* were served again at lunch and dinner. Men ate separately from women and children. In the winter they cooked indoors, moving outdoors in the summer.

The Udeghe did not keep meat in large quantities. When they ran out, the hunter set out to find new prey. Meat was eaten raw, dry-cured, or grilled. Even today the Udeghe eat meat raw with pleasure and enthusiastically drink fresh blood. They especially value the raw nostrils, heart, liver, kidneys, and bone marrow. They preserved game meat for future use. Usually they dry-cured it or boiled it, but sometimes also smoked it. Dry-cured meat was eaten uncooked, boiled with seasonings or grilled over coals. They made *solimi* from dry-cured meat, dish that was served to important guests. For this the meat was first soaked in cold water, then boiled, chopped, mixed with fried fat, fresh onion or wild garlic, and lightly salted. Smoked meat was convenient in that it could be stored for a long time, but they only ate it in boiled form.

The Udeghe had several restrictions when it came to the meat of certain animals. For example, river otter, bear, wild boar, and sable were only permitted to be boiled. Only men and the oldest women were permitted to eat bear, and even then they were only to eat the meat from the back legs and only after boiling it in their own dish outside the home. Between 1926-1950 rituals around bear meat changed somewhat. Women were permitted to eat from other body parts as well, but only after receiving it from the hands of the men. Today, river otter and sable meat are not eaten, and the Udeghe eat the meat of other animals without observing any taboos or superstitions.

Some body parts from wild game were often used for medicinal purposes. For example fresh, warm liver was thought to quickly reduce

pain in the case of burns. Some stomach ailments were treated with the bile of bear, wild boar, or badger. Velvet-covered *izyubr* deer horns and the musk of female roe deer were also valuable forms of treatment.

The Udeghe began to eat the meat of domestic animals and birds only in the 1930s, when they began to practice domestic livestock husbandry.

In terms of fish, the Udeghe ate chum salmon, taimen, northern pike, small carp, Amur carp, grayling, and Atka mackerel, among others. The Samarga and coastal Udeghe also fished for marine fish — eulachon, flounder, redfin, and others. They ate fish raw, boiled, steamed, fried, smoked, or dry-cured. Freshly caught fish was considered tastiest, especially the fish head. They ate fish eyes, cheeks, brain, cartilages, and the lower jaw of the fish head. The tastiest part of the fish was the eyes.

Raw fish was also made into a well-loved dish called *tala*. Cleaned and gutted fish was cut into small pieces and mixed with salt, onion, and wild garlic. In the winter they made *tala* from frozen fish. This dish remains popular today.

The Udeghe boil fish in large chunks, dropping it into salted boiling water for several minutes. They eat this fish with a thick porridge, soup, or flatbreads. When fishing, they make fish broth soup. They start by boiling smaller fish and then drop pieces of larger fish into the resulting broth. Before serving it is seasoned with wild onion or garlic. As they began to vegetable garden, they added certain vegetables to their fish.

Fried fish was originally prepared using a metal grill, but today they use a frying pan. Fish kebabs are one type of fried fish preparation. Gutted and scaled fish is speared on a stick and place at a downward angle in the fire. From time to time they turn the stick.

Khumte, a fatty fish pate made from larger steamed fish (frequently taimen) was a popular dish. The fish was first braised in a pot in its own juices. When the flesh began to flake, they removed the bones and continued to steam it until it turned into a mealy mass that was light brown in color. They preserved *khumte* for later use, lightly frying the mass, storing it in a clay dish, and covering it with rendered *izyubr* deer fat. It could be stored for a long time in this fashion.

Like other Near Amur indigenous peoples, the Udeghe stored large quantities of dry-cured chum salmon *yukola*, which served the purpose for them as did bread for farmers. Depending on the process used for filleting the salmon and the method of dry curing, they had several types of *yukola: mala, namikta, sigdanta, makhala,* and others. Each of these was used with a specific goal in mind. *Namikta* and *sigdanta* was the basis of everyday food, while *makhala* was made into boiled dishes, and so forth. They also used fish fat and roe in large quantities.

The Udeghe also made a wide variety of dishes from wild plants. Plants and berries were used in everyday meals or as seasonings for fish and meat dishes. They used fresh fern roots, coltsfoot stems, the roots

and bulbs of day lilies, and touch-me-not leaves. Wild garlic and onion were dried for later use. Bird cherry, dog rose, hawthorn, currants, honeysuckle and other berries were eaten raw, made into juices and *kissel* (a thickened fruit drink), or were dried or frozen, and covered in fat. They prepared especially large quantities of bird cherry for the winter. These berries were made into a meal that could be used to make flat breads, which were then dried and covered in animal fat. This permitted them to then be stored over the long winter months.

Vegetable gardening, which was already common among some Udeghe by the end of the nineteenth century, significantly changed their cuisine. Potatoes, corn, pumpkin, beans, and many other vegetables broadened their vegetable dish options. They began making porridges from corn, wheat, and rice, and dishes like *pyartanga*, a soup made with dumplings and meat, *mudyu*, a barley soup, *syandza*, dumplings filled with meat or fish, and others.

Udeghe household implements were made from birchbark, willow branches, and wood. They made bowls, cups, water buckets, various birchbark containers and bags for collecting and storing berries, dried grasses, and other foods from birchbark. They braided baskets and colanders from willow. In addition to homemade wares, they also often used purchased pots of various sizes, teapots, porcelain and clay dishes, bronze cups, etc.

Modern-day Udeghe cuisine uses many purchased foods as well as anything produced by their individual secondary activities. Methods of prepared traditional dishes have changed, and many of them (*khumte* khumte pate, *idyana* made from powdered bones, and others) have fallen entirely out of use. Tala made from Atka mackerel and grayling is the most commonly made traditional dish. They eat fish and meat less often now, and the importance of vegetables, especially potato, and milk products has increased.

Religion and spiritual culture

Animist beliefs about the surrounding environment form the core of the Udeghe belief system. Countless good and evil spirits populated the entire world around them. The souls of the deceased fellow clan members who drowned, burned to death, or were killed by a bear became good spirits. For example, the Udeghe believed that the soul of a drowned person went to the master spirit of the sea or a river and became a member of the sea spirit clan. In this way, spirit-protectors became intercessors for the masters of mountains, forests, and water bodies. They could appear to people in the image of a bear, tiger, or orca. A deceased person's soul could also become an evil spirit if it did not reach the afterworld. In order to prevent the growth of evil on earth, the Udeghe observed numerous

taboos: it was not permitted to torture a wounded animal, to make wood shavings from the reddish heartwood of the bird cherry tree, etc.

Their animal beliefs included the cult of natural spirit-masters closely related to hunting and fishing rituals. Udeghe spirit masters included Ganikha, the water protector, who was aided by *Tema* the orca; *Mamasa Davani* was the mistress of salmonid fish. *Onku* protected mountains and forests, and his helpers were the masters of specific places and certain animals. *Puzya*, the spirit-master of fire, was the most highly honored of all spirits. He generally appeared in the image of an old, gray-haired woman or as a young man. In order not to harm the fire spirit-master and his helpers it was forbidden to overturn a burning stick, through trash into the fire, burn garbage, pour water on the fire, etc. They tried to not to extinguish fire and left glowing coals in the hearth overnight. They carried coals in a birchbark container covered in clay when moving to a new place. Each clan had its own clan fire-making tools kept by the clan elder. They made ritual sacrifices to the spirit-masters of the mountains and taiga.

Udeghe beliefs related to hunting and fishing are directly connected to the worship of such animals as bears, tigers, river otters, and others. It is likely that these animals were historic totems of the Udeghe. Relics of totemism were seen until only recently in Udeghe cults. They can still be observed in the names of some clans. The Kimonko clan claimed descent from the wild boar, Kamandziga from the tiger, etc. They observed many taboos when preparing to hunt these same animals. They were especially strict about observing rituals related to the bear. After killing one, the hunters marked the east side of a tree upon which the bear's eyes were fixed, in order for its *khanya* spirit to see that humans were observing the laws of the taiga. Each hunter that killed a bear hosted a *talasiini* celebration. Mainly men belonging to the clan of the son-in-law and father-in-law attended this event. It was forbidden to touch the boiled bear meat with one's hands. Collective consumption of the bear's head was the central aspect of the celebration.

Shamanism was another important part of the Udeghe's life and was related to their belief in spirits. Initially, the Udeghe only practiced shamanism within families, but this was replaced over time by professional shamanism. Each shaman had spirit-masters and spirit-helpers that took the form of little people, animals, fish, birds, and insects. Wooden figures known as sevakhi represented these beings. Periodically the images were "fed" with blood or the fat of hunted animals.

The shamanic gift was passed down from generation to generation. The ritual to dedicate a shaman lasted for three days from sunrise to sunset each day. Only shamans of every third generation could become great shamans.

Udeghe shamans believed that universe consisted of three worlds — the heavens, earth, and underworld. The heavens were organized

analogously to the earth and contained good people who assisted fellow clan members during their earthly life. The shaman's spirits freely passed between the heavens and earth through special openings in the heavenly firmament. The underworld had many tiers organized into three levels: the lower *kengma oeni*, middle *dokini oeni*, and upper *buniga*. It was believed that *buniga* was populated by the souls of dead relatives. The shaman could enter the land of the dead through an opening located at the end of the earth to the west. The shaman "contacted" spirits during ritual séances that brought him to a state of ecstasy and hypnotized observers. There were two kinds of rituals: nighttime (in absolute darkness) rituals for male clan members and daytime rituals for all camp residents.

Udeghe shamanic duties included treating the ill, conducting dead souls to the afterworld, implanting souls in the bodies of children, conducting rituals to ensure hunting success, etc.

Folklore

The Udeghe created and have preserved to the modern day rich folklore, musical culture, and applied decorative arts. Their folklore includes historical stories, legends, myths, stories, and other genres. Their musical story-telling tradition is highly flexible: just one piece can include mythological action and a sung tale. Stories of past historical events, clan legends, myths, shamanic legends, and various explanations of the names of mountains, lakes, and other natural objects were other parts of their folklore. Cosmogenic pieces reflect the people's beliefs about the universe's organization and creation of the earth, people, and animals. Shamanic legends were rich with mythology. Heroic tales were similar in content and structure to myths.

Songs played a special role in the Udeghe oral folk tradition and were characterized by a monotone voice and lamentation. Songs were simple in motif and consisted of two or three repeated notes. Some songs were based on imitations of animal and bird sounds. They had a number of ways to produce sounds: intermittent throat singing with palatal shading, throat cantilenas in falsetto, etc. Songs were performed in a sitting position, and while singing they gesticulated and nodded their head and body. They had sung improvisations about work, lyrical pieces, nursery songs, jokes, and guest songs.

The Udeghe possessed a variety of musical instruments: wind instruments, chordophones (stringed), membranous, and idiophones. Amateur music was frequently accompanied by wind instruments — various flutes, whistles, and fifes. The *faula* (a blown wind instrument) was quite common and consisted of a wooden propeller with two strings that could be used to turn it in various directions and emit a buzzing sound. The *kunkay* was a single-stringed plucked instrument and was made from a wooden or birchbark cylinder covered by a fish skin membrane

and a single string made from tendon. A single-stringed *dzulyanka beini* bowed instrument also existed.

Udeghe dancing arts included ritual and playful dances. They held dances to mark the successful hunt of a bear or other animal. Women danced around the fire, and the shaman conducted a special dance. Shamanic dancing was solo improvisation and consisted of illustrative and imitative movements that sometimes crossed over into pantomime. Dance participants imitated the movements of animals. Ritual dances were performed in connection with ritual séances to chase evil spirits from a sick person's body. All men danced, some to the point of complete exhaustion. Impromptu "shamanic evenings" sometimes took place and were very popular. Residents who gathered to participate danced in turn, seemingly exciting the shaman. Such evenings were a good way to relax and demonstrate one's skills.

Playful Udeghe dances were historically magical in nature and were held to ensure successful hunting and fishing. Later they became the object of educating and unifying the collective. They were based on movements necessary for the hunter while working. Each such dance was a unique form of training. The most common play dances were *nakta siayti* wild boar game), mafa gusiti (*bear game*), and others.

Arts and crafts

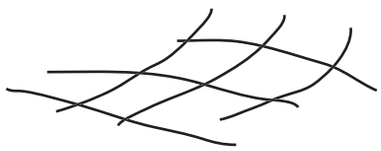
Udeghe visual arts included design, ornamentation, sculpture, and two-dimensional drawings. Design and ornamentation decorated everyday objects, work tools, and cult items. Ornamentation of fabric, fish skin, and birchbark was very common. When decorating objects made from these materials they used techniques such as painting, appliqué, and embroidery. Skilled Udeghe women could demonstrate over twenty different decorative stitches. Designs and ornamentation of hard materials was achieved with carving or inlaid work.

There are four main motifs in decorative applied arts: zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, geometric, and plant. They formed the basis of Udeghe ornamentation and were worked into spirals combined with undulating stripes. When decorating clothing and everyday objects they used borders and closed rosette-shaped designs. These were made from wood, metal, clay, or grasses. Overall, their folk art has much in common with that of other Manchu-Tungus peoples.

Contemporary culture and self-government

The ethno-cultural appearance of the Udeghe was greatly changed by increasing inter-ethnic contact during the Soviet years, mixed living with Russian and other peoples, and increasing numbers of ethnically-mixed marriages. Despite those factors, Udeghe self-awareness remains. As commu-

nity life becomes more democratic, they are demonstrating a clear desire to achieve ethnic consolidation and fight for their rights. All Udeghe subgroups are experiencing a certain "cultural renaissance" and are attempting to resurrect cultural traditions. Folk ensembles (such as *Su gagpay* in Gvasyugi village) and ethnographic museums exist. An ethno-cultural center is about to be opened in Krasniy Yar. The Udeghe has many members of its creative intelligentsia — writers, artists, and scientists. They are attempting to bring the Udeghe language back to life. In 1989 a new writing system based on the Russian alphabet was developed but has not yet come into wide use. Experimental language instruction is underway in Krasniy Yar in Primorskiy Kray. Language study in schools is delayed by the lack of stable teaching materials and qualified teachers.



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UL'CHI

The Ul'chi people live in the lower Amur River watershed. Today they call themselves *nani* (local residents), formerly using the term *mangun*. Participants in the Amur expedition led by G. I. Nevel'skiy first described them using the latter term in written sources. The Amur River was called *Mangu* in the Tungus languages spoken by peoples of the Near Amur region. The terms *mangun* and *mangun'* (of the Amur) derived from that name. L. I. Shrenk's writings, influenced by F. Shmidt, P. Glen, and A. Brylkin, described them as *ol'chi*. Russians living in the Amur region called both the Ul'chi and the Nanai *Gol'dy*. The Ul'chi themselves used the term as a self-reference in their conversations with Russians. In the early 1930s when Northern indigenous minorities began to formalize their ethnonyms, the former *mangun* who called themselves nani accepted the ethnonym *Ul'chi*, as the Nanai were already called the *nani*. Over time, the *Ul'chi* ethnonym became the name for the people themselves.

Language

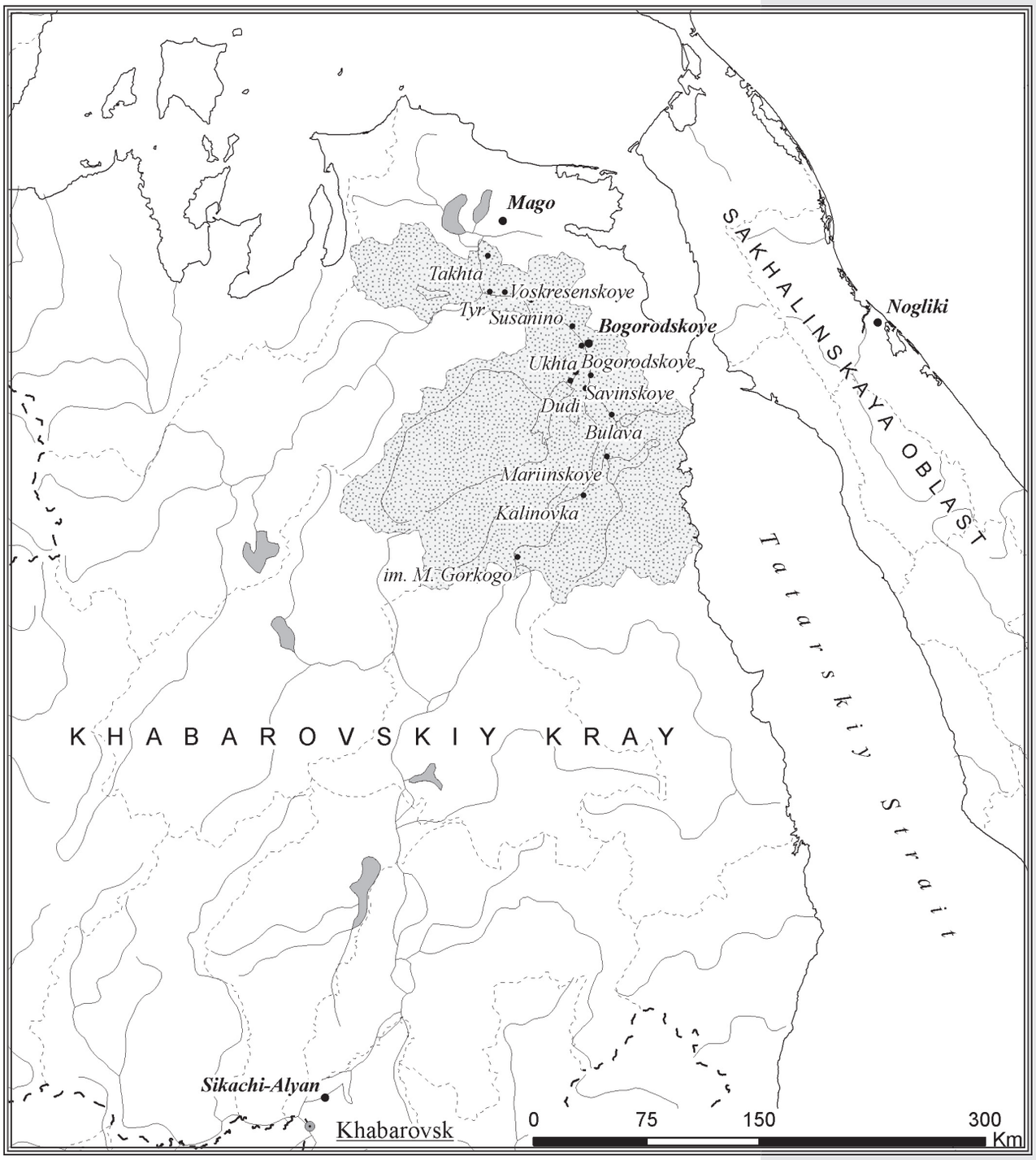
They speak the Ul'chi language, considered in the 1930s to be a dialect of Nanai. Along with the languages spoken by other Near Amur peoples, Ul'chi belongs to the Manchu-Tungus family of languages. It is much more closely related to Tungus than to Manchu. Many years of research by V. Tsintsius led her to conclude that Ul'chi, Nanai, and Orok are ancient languages, spoken for no fewer than 2,000 years. Contemporary Ul'chi language still contains relicts of the ancient Altaic languages.

Population

According to the 1989 census, the total population of Ul'chi in the Soviet Union reached 3,233 people, including 3,173 in the Russian Federation. In 2002 the Ul'chi population numbered 2913. The majority of these (84.2%) live in Ul'chskiy District (2,028 individuals) of Khabarovsk Kray in the villages of Bulava, Bogorodskoye, Kalinovka, Kal'ma, Mongol, and others, as well as in the cities of Khabarovsk (207 ind.), Komsomol'sk on Amur (133 ind.), and in Nikolayevskiy (114 ind.) and Nanayskiy Districts.

Ethnogenesis and History

Anthropologically speaking, the Ul'chi can be attributed to two different racial types — the more ancient Amur-Sakhalin type and the



Current territory of residence of the Ul'chi in Russia

later Baikal type. The Ul'chi's multi-faceted anthropological type, like that of several other Amur indigenous peoples (Nivkh, Oroch), is confirmed by the research of a number of anthropologists.

The Ul'chi's ethnic roots trace back deep into ancient times. Archaeological materials show that modern Ul'chi culture has direct parallels with the culture of ancient tribes who lived in their modern region during the Mesolithic period. Later indigenous populations during the Mesolithic underwent cultural influence by unknown visitors from the south (during the third millennium BC), as well as from the west and north. These northern and western visitors to the Lower Amur region came

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

repeatedly (second millennium BC, Iron Age, early centuries AD) and in small groups. These groups included Tungus and speakers of Turkic and Mongol languages. All of these immigrants were assimilated within the existing population, mixing with specific aspects of the local culture. The local cultural substrate, a unique "foundation," steadfastly survived into the early twentieth century despite multitudinous influences, and traces of it can be seen even today. It was during lengthy and close contacts, including mixed marriages that the Ul'chi ethnos formed in the Lower Amur region. Various ethnic elements mixed into their formation, including Nanai, Nivkh, Manchu, Negidal, Evenk, Ainu, and many others. All of these groups left a noticeable trace on the Ul'chi, their language, traditional work activities, and material and spiritual culture.

Men's skirts, the consumption of dog meat, beliefs regarding a mythical bird (*koori*), and many other aspects can be attributed to western cultural aspects. These themes are also found among the Chinese, southern Chinese peoples, Koreans, Indians, and Central Asians. Aspects of western culture are especially clearly seen in their tradition of metal inlaid work and Turkic, Mongol, and Central Asian motifs in their ornamentation and ornamental techniques. The Northern Tungus cultural layer is uneven, showing both more ancient and more recent traits: birchbark boats, curved skis, children's cradles of a particular shape, breast cloths, and Tungus-style footwear. The Tungus brought their language to the Lower Amur region, replacing the local language. For example, the Ul'chi lexicon related to hunting is almost entirely Tungus in origin.

The first Russian sources mentioning the Ul'chi occurred in the seventeenth century. Reports from Russian Cossack explorers called them *ngatki* and *lonki*.

The latter ethnonym, as it was later determined, was the name of one of the Ul'chi clans. After the Treaty of Nerchinsk was signed with Qing China (1689), the Russians were required to leave the Near Amur region. Starting at that time, news of the Ul'chi became fragmented. Attempts by the Chinese government to subjugate the Amur peoples did not meet with particular success. Chinese bureaucrats appeared annually in Amur to collect the yasak fur tribute (one sable per hunter), a tax that the local population viewed as payment for the right to trade. The Ul'chi traded furs in China, receiving the products and wares they needed in return. This barter trade played an important role in the life of the local population.

The return of the Russian state to the Near Amur region in the mid-nineteenth century made the Ul'chi subjects of Russia. Russian Cossacks and peasant settlers arrived and began actively colonizing the Amur River basin. The Russian villages of Bogorodskoye, Mikhaylovskoye, and Irkutskoye appeared in the area where the Ul'chi lived. Contacts between Russian farmers and the local population had a large influence

on the culture, economy, and social development of the Ul'chi. Their activities were actively drawn into the larger market economy.

Social organization

In the nineteenth century, Ul'chi social structure was an interesting mixture of relic patriarchal clan form, neighborly communities, and elements of capitalistic relations. Clan remnants were visible in terms of marital and family relations and in religious ceremonies. Members of one clan conducted joint ritual sacrifices, participated in marriages and burial rituals, organized bear holidays, and stored chiu flints (symbols of the clan's fire). Any marriage had the firm requirement that it be exogamous — the basis for clan society. They had a system for classifying clans: a group of relatives with varying degrees of relatedness were named using one common term. In the event of serious conflicts (murder, theft, family misunderstandings, etc.), the accused was judged by the clan judge using common justice norms. However, interested and disinterested parties were permitted to participate in the case. During the course of a murder case, the brother of the mother of a woman who had killed her husband played a deciding role. This fact is a testament to the previous existence of a maternal line clan among the Ul'chi people.

Clan relations, nonetheless, were gradually replaced by neighborly relations even in those villages mainly inhabited by members of a single clan. Property differentiation, the resettlement of clan members in differing settlements, and separate households among brothers are all a testament to these changes. Despite living in the same village, such families entered into close contacts with neighbors, including non-Ul'chi. Members of different clans that lived in the same location established friendly unions known as *dukha*. These unions were created by marrying a widow from a neighboring tribe, although according to ancient norms, only the youngest brother or other close relative of the deceased could marry the woman.

Ul'chi neighborly societies were an unusual institution. They consisted of collective (hunting for bears and marine mammals) and individual labor. Expeditions for salmon fishing, for example, were organized jointly, but families actually fished individually. Members of different clans worked in collective associations, while the resulting production was used jointly. A moose killed by one hunter was always shared by all residents of a village, but members of hunting crews for fur animals each kept their own kills.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, clan and village-based ownership of hunting and fishing grounds had been liquidated among the Ul'chi. They became accessible for collective use and not just within the local community. No conflicts arose due to the appearance of members

of other clans at the hunting and fishing grounds. The idea of fish as collective property was preserved into the twentieth century. Any fellow villager had the right to claim fish ("enough for one or two pots") for his family from a fisherman arriving home from fishing. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Russian administration allocated salmon fishing rights among villages and families based on actual recent use. Fishing grounds for other species and hunting territories were not regulated.

The legal position of the Ul'chi and other Amur peoples differed somewhat from the position of other peoples who became Russian subjects in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries. They were relieved of the *yasak* fur tribute. Elders chosen in each settlement at general meetings (participated in by members of the clan leadership and other well-to-do villagers) governed the Ul'chi. The village elder's appointment was approved by the governor-general. The village elder reported directly to the police or *volost* volost (district) administration. In 1916, the Ministry of Internal Affairs developed the "Regulation on the management of the *inorodtsy* of Priamurskiy Kray." According to this regulation, large portions of the indigenous peoples of the southern Far East were made equivalent with the peasant class. The Ul'chi began to elect *volost* chairmen. The institution of "delegates" also existed, whereby one person was elected to represent every ten households. This person had the right to adjudicate various issues within the jurisdiction of the *volost* gathering.

Subsistence activities

Year round fishing was the foundation of the Ul'chi traditional work complex. Migrating salmon had the greatest importance: summer and fall chum and pink salmon. Requirements for salmon fishing were determined to a significant degree by Ul'chi settlement patterns. They lived along the right banks of the main branch of the Amur River, the main route for salmon migrating to their spawning grounds.

They fished for kaluga, sturgeon, Amur carp, carp bream, silver carp, and other fish (northern pike, orca, and others). Fishing provided the Ul'chi was everything they needed for life – food, clothing, footwear, material for household objects, etc. Men primarily engaged in fishing, but in September and October when the chum salmon were spawning, women, children, and the elderly fished as well.

They fished using traditional gear: nets, weirs, hook and line gear, various fishing spears, and other equipment. They selected gear depending on the season, weather conditions, water levels, species, etc. To catch salmon and fish requiring finely meshed nets, they usually used small beach seines (*arga, dagdali*), and set nets (*nemde, chidya*). They harvested sturgeon species using hook and line gear or drift nets. Set nets were usually erected in waters with minimal water flow: in channels,

backwaters, and in flooded meadows. Nets were set in the evening and collected in the morning. They also used set nets in the winter, making spaced holes in the ice. A wooden pole to which a net was tied with a rope was then inserted into the water through those holes.

Set nets could also double as drift nets. To do this, the lower line was removed. The fisherman would make his way downstream with the net, raising it into the boat and collecting the fish at the end. The Ul'chi regularly teamed up to fish using drift nets. This technique was known as vel'devu. Several boats would set out to fish, lining up in a row. Each boat would lower a net over the side into the river. The fishermen then knocked on the boat bottom with sticks, scaring any fish below. When the fish climbed to the surface, it would be caught in the nets.

The Ul'chi had a specialized drift net — the *zengku*. They wove it from thick strands into a mesh size of 30-40 centimeters across. The mesh was rectangular, and the net lacked a bottom line. They also made *khaemagda* drift nets of a similar type, but with a smaller mesh size. Such nets could be used to catch sturgeon and large kaluga fish, which sometimes reached weights of 700–800 kilograms. They also widely used purse seines known as *dyakharaku*. These could either be fixed (*anga*) or drifting (*temte*) and were very high yield, a fact that resulted in their use into the present.

The harvest of fish using weirs is an Amur version of blocking seines. Weirs are relatively complex structures requiring a great deal of labor, time, and materials. They were generally built collectively and came in two types: winter *sipsi* and summer *menge*. *Sipsi* were built in river channels in the form of a straight fence, in which openings were backed with purse-type nets. They used these nets to catch fish requiring finer mesh. The summer weirs were used for salmon fishing and were erected along the riverbanks, the preferred route of the spawning chum salmon. Weirs consisted of two walls of nets that came together at one end. One net that ranged from 100 to 300 meters in length stretched from the shore to mid-river. The second net was shorter and followed the river downstream. This net ended in a trap net (*menge adulini*) — a conical purse measuring ten to twelve meters in length with a triangular entrance. The trap net was raised when full of fish using a special pole by fishermen standing watch over the weir in boats.

The Ul'chi used a variety of hook and line equipment. Sturgeon and kaluga were caught using *nakuyteli* gear — an Amur variation on the longline. They tied wooden bars with iron hooks to a long thick rope (*deke*). This gear was then set out in shallow waters between deep pools. They fished in and along water channels with an *umbu* fishing pole. This consisted of a line and a small hook brazed down into a piece of lead. Iron spears (*degbo*) caught spawning salmon and other fish (in late May and early June). Fishing spears were also used for under-ice fishing. The

Ul'chi erected a small conical hut over a hole in the ice, and the fishermen waited there for a fish to swim by. Sometimes they set out a lure with small wooden fish to attract fish.

The Ul'chi fished for everyday use and to preserve fish for future consumption. Their main method of preservation was the preparation of *yukola. Yukola* could be made from any fish caught in large quantities, but was most often made from chum salmon. Depending on the type of fish and the method of butchering, *yukola* had a variety of names. Chum salmon *yukola* of the highest quality was known as *boroksi, khavaya, makuri,* while kaluga *yukola* was called *sargali*, etc.

Their richly specific fishing vocabulary and unusual variety in gear and fishing techniques suitable for use in a variety of conditions are a testament to the highly specialized skill that the Ul'chi have for fishing and great level of importance that fishing plays in their lives.

Hunting was of secondary importance. They mainly hunted fur animals, since those were commercially quite valuable with traders. They hunted Siberian weasel, squirrel, river otter, and fox, but their most valuable fur-hunting target was sable. At the nineteenth century's end, sable were already rare on lands near the Ul'chi, so they set off on far-reaching expeditions to Sakhalin as well as to the watersheds of the Amgun', Gorin, and Tumnin Rivers. One hunting technique for sable (using a loop snare) is reflected in the Ul'chi folk calendar. The period from mid-October until mid-November was called *puchaku beni* or "Month of the Snare." They also caught sable using small sleeve nets *sepe adilini*, where the hunter chased the animal into the trap. They used pressure traps *nagu* and jaw traps.

The *kha ntau* trap was a unique way to catch fox. A simple stick was chosen with a fork at the top end. They then hung meat or fish from this fork. Jumping for the bait, the fox's paw was caught into forked end. This set-up was based on a good knowledge of the animal's behavior. When a fox wants to catch an insect, it always jumps high into the air.

The Ul'chi hunted year round for hoofed mammals (moose, reindeer, elk): in the winter they hunted on the ice-crusted snow and during the warmer months they hunted near water, near natural salt licks, and during rutting. They used crossbow traps set up near paths to watering holes and at river crossings. This type of hunting was called *dyuari kagachuvu*. Animals were hunted from dugout canoes while grazing for water plants, luring them using calls that imitate the male mating call.

The bow was the most common weapon used by the Ul'chi for hunting. They could catch almost all types of animals using it, including bears. Bows came in two varieties: simple straight *pila*, which were doubled as a ski pole in the winter and complex *buri* with a facing of whale baleen. Arrows were feathered with eagle, eagle owl, and kite feathers. They used both iron and bone arrowheads. In addition to the bow, each hunter carried a *gida* spear with an iron tip in the shaped of a stretched

rhomboid, twenty to thirty centimeters in length. Firearms came into wide use in the Lower Amur region at the end of the nineteenth century.

Marine mammal hunting was another important traditional activity for the Ul'chi. They hunted a number of seal and sea lion species. They mainly worked the coastline of the Tatar Strait, setting out to that area in small hunting bands. To reach the seacoast, they traveled past Lake Kizi and a system of rivers that drain into the lake and the bay. In April, when many animals had gathered on the coastal ice, a number of hunting camps appeared to the north of De-Kastri Bay. They hunted by boat using harpoons. At the start of the twentieth century, they began to use firearms to hunt at sea. Marine mammal hunting season ended in mid-May.

Settlements and housing

The Ul'chi led a settled life. In the nineteenth century they lived in small settlements consisting of two to five homes. Many of these were located on the left branch of the Amur River (Bol'shoy or Stariy Amur), but by the nineteenth century's end the majority of these had been abandoned when the Ul'chi moved to the right (Maliy) branch of the Amur. Conditions were better there for hunting and fishing, and regular steamships traveled the river. All Ul'chi settlements were permanent. Some (Auri, Koyma, Mongol, Ukhta), known to exist since the mid-nineteenth century, still exist today. A number of villages that were documented in by the 1897 census have received newer Russian names: Solontsy (formerly Sukanaksi), Bogorodskoye (formerly Tencha), Pokrovka (formerly Puli), and others.

Settlements included both summer and winter housing as well as all sorts of non-residential structures: fish racks, drying racks for nets and clothing, storehouses, etc. The entire complex of buildings was laid out along the shoreline. There were no streets, although paths sometimes arose between houses. Neighbors frequently used boats to visit neighbors.

The historical and ethnographic atlas of Siberia reflects six types of Ul'chi homes: cylindrical, two-side pitched roofed, flat-topped cylinders, rectangular with a two-side pitched roof, Chinese-style homes, and log cabins. The *khagdu* is the Ul'chi's ancient winter home — a frame structure built directly on the earth from posts and beams with a two-sided pitched roof, earthen or clay floors, piped heating, and no ceiling. The home's frame had grooved vertical posts into which horizontal beams were inserted. The walls were sealed with moss and the exterior was coated in clay. Such homes were 30–50 square meters in area, but larger ones have also been documented. The home was heated using two stoves that piped heat around the home. One of these, placed closest to the home's front wall facing the river, was called the *pusku tava* (fire of the water master-spirit), and the second, along the rear wall, was the *gochi tava*

tava (taiga fire). There were heated benches (up to two meters wide) on the walls between the two stoves with smoke pipes tiled in stones. Hot air passed through the smoke pipes, heating the home, and then exited through a pipe leading into a tall chimney three to five meters away from the house. During extreme cold, they also used large metal braziers that stood on three legs and were filled with hot coals.

The benches closest to the hearth were considered honored places; guests of the head of the family were seated here. The benches to the left of the entrance along the sidewall were sacred. It was believed that the home's spirit-protector lived here. They worked and slept on these benches. Bedclothes (fabric mattresses *sektipi*, quilted blankets *pulta*, and four-sided pillows similar to divan bolsters *tireptu*) were folded and stored along the walls by day. The home was lighted using stone lamps fueled by fish or seal fat. By the end of the nineteenth century Russian kerosene lamps had begun to appear in Ul'chi homes.

One distinct feature of an Ul'chi winter home was the presence of a "dog table." This was a low platform (*uycheu*)) upon which they fed their sled dogs. There were small posts along the sides of the platform to which they tied a bear during the bear holiday. The *uycheu* platform was placed in the middle of the home.

Winter homes of the *khagdu* type were lived in by larger families with three to four smaller families. Each family used a certain part of the bench. As large Ul'chi families became a thing of the past in the nineteenth century, the Ul'chi began to build small semi-dugout homes (*khulbu*)) with only one hearth and benches along three, two, or even just one wall. These semi-dugouts were built similarly to the larger *khagdu*, but were much more primitive. The "dog table" was omitted in this case or placed in the right corner opposite the entrance.

In the first part of May families would move from the larger home into winter homes closer to the river. These came in two types: four-sided *daura* houses built with poles, a two-sided pitched roof and covered in bark (similar to the Nanai and the Udeghe), and light *gengga* cottages built on pilings. The latter consisted of two buildings: a front residential structure built from board and with benches along the walls and a central hearth in a timber shaft filled with earth, and a rear non-residential log cabin used to store belongings. One accessed the home using wooden stairs. In the winter, sled dogs lived underneath these summer homes.

While out hunting and fishing, the Ul'chi built some cylindrical huts (*khomiran*) from thick flexible branches. They covered that frame with dried grasses, bark, or matting. During marine mammal hunting they lived in conical *aundya* huts covered in panels of fish skin. Similar to a *chum*, the hut relied on three weight-bearing poles in addition to several others.

Non-residential structures included *taktu* and *khonggorau* storehouses. These were built from logs and erected on pilings, covered by a two-sided pitched roof. There was usually a small terrace in front of the door. They built wooden platforms made of horizontal poles and flooring set on post pilings for drying *yukola*. In the event of bad weather, they covered the platform with a two-sided pitched roof.

At the start of the twentieth century the Ul'chi began to build Russian-style log cabins with glass-filled windows and iron stoves instead of their piped heating system hearths. Street planning began to appear in settlements. Today, the Ul'chi live in log homes using typical architecture. Traditional homes built from poles and bark are still in use for storage and other non-residential purposes.

Transportation

During the warmer months, the Ul'chi moved about the landscape in large flat-bottomed *ugda* boats made with boards or small birch and board canoes. Flat-bottomed boats were used for fishing, moving firewood, and visiting neighbors. Hunters mainly used canoes. The *ugda* boat had a notably small displacement and was highly stable. It could transport up to two metric tons of cargo and is still used widely today.

Their extensive fishing industry allowed them to keep a large number of sled dogs. Many families had two or three harness teams, each of which had ten to twelve animals. They fed the animals with fish remnants and bones, which they made into a gruel. In the winter they fed dogs indoors on special platforms.

The Ul'chi dog sled was of the Amur type — a narrow and light sled with two runners bent at either end. They rode the sled in a mounted position, resting their feet on the small skis. A thick stick capped with an iron end served as a brake. At the nineteenth century's end the Ul'chi began to use a wider Eastern Siberian sled with runners curved at only one end and with two arched stanchions — vertical and horizontal. They harnessed the dogs to this sled in pairs. The transition to Eastern Siberian sleds was related to increased cargo transport in the Amur River watershed. As the fishing industry became more commercially valuable they prepared less food for dogs. The scale of sled dog use decreased. By the end of the 1930s only hunters kept dogsledding teams.

In the winter, they also used two types of skis to move from place to place: skis covered with legskins or sealskins or skis specially designed to be used in March, when they were pursuit-hunting reindeer and moose over the ice-crusted snow. When traveling by skis the Ul'chi used a single ski pole tipped with a small shovel at the top and with a bone or horn point or wheel at the bottom. The ski pole could double as a hunting bow.

Clothing

Men's and women's summer outer clothing consisted of kimono-style fabric robes (*kapchuma*), where the left side wrapped over to close on the right. Men's and women's robes were distinguishable not in terms of design, but in ornamentation and finish. Men's clothing was only rarely embellished. Winter *lebeli* robes provided additional warmth due to their added quilting. In the winter they also wore fur coats made similar to robes and covered on the outside with cotton or silk fabric. Men's outer clothing also included *chaa tetue* with a narrow left front panel and *khosi* skirts made from sealskins. They wore the latter over their robe or fur coat when setting off on long trips. Winter headwear took the shape of a hood trimmed on top with dog legskins and fox fur trim around the face. For extreme cold they wore fur earmuffs (*dyava*) underneath the hood. In the summer men and women preferred birchbark hats (*taluma apu*).

These were made from pieces of birchbark cut into a circle and then folded along the radius into a flat cone.

Men's underclothing consisted of a short fabric shirt (again kimono style) with long sleeves, a wide opening on the right side, standing collar, and short fabric pants (*peru*) and *garu* leggings. In the winter leggings were made of quilting or dog fur. Women's underclothing added an Evenk-style chest cloth (*lelue*) that reached almost to the knees. The upper part of the chest cloth was made of fabric embroidered in beads and metal bits, while the lower half was made from suede. Both men and women wore braided belts made from thread, sleeves, and oversleeves.

Ul'chi footwear was made from fish, reindeer, moose suede, and seal or Steller's sea lion skin. They wore two styles of footwear: Amur and Tungus. They used legskins, suede, and sealskin to make Tungus-style footwear, preferring fish, seal, and Steller's sea lion skin for the manufacture of Amur footwear. Amur style footwear was more common. They inserted dried *naukta* grasses for added warmth and softness, storing enough grass to last the winter. Women's everyday footwear consisted of boots with short fabric legs. Children's clothing differed only in sizing. They were afraid to dress their children well, fearing that if a child is well dressed in childhood that they will live in poverty in the future. They also worried that good clothing would attract evil spirits to a child.

They made holiday and wedding clothes from expensive fabrics (silk, brocade) or using specially prepared and bleached (in cold weather) carp leather, decorating it with ornamentation. These were artistic creations in every sense. They were handed down in families and carefully stored. *Urpiche* suede robes were uniquely made and ornamented for weddings and holidays — long robes that flared at the bottom and had a dual left side and long sleeves. They were embellished with appliqué made from fabric, white fish skin, and silk and white reindeer hair embroidery. Especially skilled women made this clothing.

Women added to decoration to their holiday clothing: rings, earrings made from thin silver wire and hung with multi-colored beads, bracelets. They wore several pairs of earrings at once, requiring multiple piercings in their ears. A rare chest decoration was the *koso*, a round jade disk hung from a thin piece of leather. Men also wore jewelry — metal rings, simple ring earrings, and silver bracelets. The presence of jewelry was an indicator of material wealth.

The Ul'chi also used special clothing for burials. Three or four silk or cotton robes were sewn for the deceased, one of which was lined with batting. Unlike everyday robes, these opened down the center with equally sized front panels and were closed not with buttons but with string ties. Men's burial clothing added a small rectangular *bepi* apron made from fabric or suede and embroidered with silk and reindeer hair. They attached a small jade ring or a wooden ball (drilled through) to the apron. The elders said that the deceased breathes through this opening.

Men, women, and children all wore their hair similarly. Men wore their hair long, parted straight down the middle and gathered into a single braid in back. Married men let the braid hang down their back, while bachelors folded the braid twice or three times and kept it close to their head with a black lace. Women also wore one braid, wrapping it around their head or letting it hang. Unmarried women and girls had two braids. Young women doubled each braid and fastened it with a bit of lacing. Girls decorated their braids with a *magli*. This consisted of small rectangular or six-sided pieces of fabric attached to a backing and with a firm edge. Metal bits, beads, and white buttons were added to the hairpiece.

Close contacts with the Russians in the latter half of the nineteenth century could not help but influence Ul'chi clothing. Many men began to wear Russian boots, shirts (standing collar, side closure), and peaked caps (*kartuz*). Women continued to dress in their traditional robes. Today, traditional clothing is rarely worn as everyday clothing. It is mainly worn by older generations. Work clothes have largely preserved traditional elements.

Food

Fish was the main food eaten by the Ul'chi. In the winter, *yukola* was the most important food. They ate *yukola* dried, soaked and grilled on coals, and made it into soups to which grains, wild plants, and laminaria seaweed were added. In addition to *yukola*, the Ul'chi preserved fish using other methods: frying sliced unsalted fish in a pot in its own fat until it turns into a powder. At that stage they picked out the bones and stewed it again. This preparation could be kept for a long time. They also prepared large quantities of fish fat for the winter. They rendered the

fat from the organs and heads of Amur carp and fall chum salmon. The fat was stored in kaluga or sea lion bladders. They dried chum salmon roe. The dried roe (*turse*) became as hard as a rock. They fed this to dogs and added it to certain soups.

They made a thick *burdata sechukhe* sechukhe soup from pounded boiled fish and wheat. Boiled fish was consumed without salt, replaced by a cup of salted grasses on the table. They grilled fresh fish on a long-handled oval grid made from wire or on a spit. They also often ate and continue to eat raw fish.

The Ul'chi only irregularly consumed the meat of wild game. When they did, it was usually the meat of bears and moose, as well as geese and ducks. In the field, hunters ate squirrel, lynx, and sable meat. Meat was boiled or grilled and made into various soups. Some body parts (liver, kidneys, heart, and others) were eaten raw. Reindeer and moose meat harvested in the summer was preserved for future consumption. They dried this meat on racks using smoke fires. The dried meat was then pounded and grilled on a spit or powdered and used as a soup additive. They only ate seal meat raw and widely used seal fat.

The consumption of bear meat was regulated by their religious beliefs. Men only were permitted to eat meat from the front half of the animal, leaving the rear half to women. Bear meat was not preserved, and they always ate it without salt. Dog meat was also ritually consumed, specifically only that of sled dogs. They only killed dogs in special situations: during the bear holiday and at burials. It was forbidden to grill dog meat.

Wild plants provided a significant nutritional supplement: wild garlic, day lilies, nettles, wormwood, wild onion, acorns, lichen, and various berries, nuts, tree mushrooms. They preserved wild garlic and day lilies for future use. Wild garlic was salted, and they strung day lily bulbs on threads and stored them both in storehouses. Bird cherry berries were made into flatbreads, which were subsequently smoked over a fire for several days. After smoking they could be stored all winter.

By the nineteenth century imported products such as wheat flour and millet had become common. The Ul'chi began drinking tea relatively late. They prepared their food in purchased pots of various shapes and sizes. Housewives widely used wooden and birch implements.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Ul'chi had learned new fish conservation techniques from the Russians — pickling. They began to make less *yukola* yukola at the same time. They traded fish in exchange for bread and potatoes from the Russians. The Russian peasants also acquainted the Ul'chi with dairy products. The foods still were an insignificant share of their total food consumption until the early 1930s.

Religion and spiritual culture

Ul'chi religious beliefs had much in common with the animistic beliefs practiced by their regional neighbors. They believed that the mountains, rivers, forests, and their hunting and fishing groups had spirit-masters. Each natural event had its own spirit-master. Specific deities personified the cosmos, earth, sun, moon, and stars. A regular worshiping ritual was dedicated to the spirits of the heavens, and all clan members participated. They attempted to procure a sacrificial piglet for this day. They also regularly worshiped the spirit-master of water, *Temu*, on whom the Ul'chi believed successful fishing depended, as well as the spirit-master of the taiga, *Duente Edeni*.

The Ul'chi believed that the taiga spirit took the form of an enormous bear, to which all bears were subject. The bear cult is one of their more developed cults. Bear hunting and the consumption of bear meat occurred in combination with a multitude of taboos that must be observed. They also had a custom of raising bears in captivity for several years, after which the bear holiday was organized, accompanied by many games, dogsled races, and great feasting shared with guests. All of these activities were supposed to elicit feelings of satisfaction from the spirit master of the taiga.

Other greatly respected spirits include the fire spirit, *Pudya*, and the spirit-masters of the local surroundings. Each family had a tree beside which they prayed to such a spirit. They asked for family wellbeing, relief from illness, happiness for a departing family member, and others.

One of the most ancient cults practiced by the Ul'chi was the cult of twins. The birth of twins was a very serious occurrence. Twins were treated as sacred people. It was thought that one twin was a "person of the taiga" and the other was a "water person."

Ul'chi shamanistic practices had much in common with the Nanai. Shamans were considered to be experts on cults and ceremonies and served as intermediaries between people and deities. A shaman's magical strength depended on his spirit-protectors. The more spirits a shaman had, the stronger an effect he had on people. Both men and women could become shamans, but as a rule the Ul'chi tried to avoid such a role. Shamanism could not provide even the most popular shaman with a living. Shaman practice interfered with life, hunting, and fishing because shamans do not control their own time, but must always answer the first call of those in need. Shamans frequently inherited the title from a relative, receiving the shamanic gift from a grandfather, great-grandfather, aunt, uncle, or, more rarely from a father or mother. Someone became a "non-genealogical" shaman if that person began to act strangely. In order to alleviate this strangeness, the person must become a shaman.

The Ul'chi distinguished among shamans by their degree of strength. A *khoypakach*i was a weak shaman. He had the weak spirit-helpers *masi* and *buchu*. This shaman did not undergo a ceremony to become sacred and was capable of healing himself only. The *dai saman* (middle shaman) was an intermediary between deities and people. He could determine the reasons for a spirit's ill intentions and knew what to do to improve its disposition. He also determined which spirit-healers were required to help a sick person, among other skills. A middle shaman had access to many *seven*, spirit-protectors and spirit-healers. These spirits could be commanded to visit the afterlife and the heavens, performing the act required by the master-healer. The average person could not see the *seven* , except for *Ayami* and *Edekhi*, whose images the shaman wore around his neck. Each middle shaman had a drum and a mallet, belt, skirt with a jacket, and a robe.

The *kasa saman* was the highest shaman. He conducted the souls of the deceased to the afterworld. The ceremony was conducted once annually. The deceased's relatives participated in it one to three years after the person's death. At the ceremony's end relatives threw the dead person's belongings into the fire, saying a final goodbye with the deceased's soul, which the shaman had helped find its body in the afterlife. Female shamans never attained such rank. *Kasa* shamans wore a special hat embroidered with figures that helped the shaman during ceremonies. Only shamans of that rank had the *koori* bird as a spirit-helper, using this bird to return from the afterlife. Only certain Ul'chi clans had *kasa* shamans. The *kasa* shaman received all his shamanic attributes from his ancestors, and for this reason a regular middle shaman could not act on a desire to become an upper shaman.

The stripes on a shaman's robe's sleeves and shoulders were an indicator of a shaman's popularity and authority. Thankful patients sewed these on in gratitude for help received. Middle and upper category shamans performed all the same duties of a simple "healing" shaman (which were the majority) in addition to their own specific functions.

Arts and crafts

Work in the arts was divided along gender lines. Men worked wood, bone, and metal, while women made creations from fish skin, fabric, and birchbark. The Ul'chi knew many techniques for carving and painting. Openwork carving was used to decorate spoon handles, ladles, storehouse posts and doors, and the ends of logs on winter homes. Carved *baksa turani* posts were an artistically interesting detail of homes.

Ul'chi art reserves a special place for spoons, which were distinguished among other household items by their elaborate and delicate carved ornamentation. Ritual spoons intended for use during the bear

holiday were especially finely carved. Ul'chi wooden religious art is also worthy of attention.

The main focus of art made by women was on the ornamentation of clothing, shoes, various birchbark items, wall carpets, and mats. Using fish skin, sealskin, dog fur, and moose suede, they made amazingly beautiful robes, chest cloths, footwear, oversleeves, and other clothing. They used multi-colored threads and reindeer neck hairs for embroidery. Appliqué, painting, fur mosaics, and dying techniques were all widely used. The most highly skilled were known for their inexhaustible imagination, never repeating a single design.

The Ul'chi used a characteristically Amur style of ornamentation, different from those used around Siberia and the Far East. Its main distinction was its use of angles, with multitudinous flourishes and spirals. Similar styles were discovered by archaeologists at Neolithic (and later) sites in the Amur region, a fact that testifies to uninterrupted cultural tradition. Ul'chi ornamentation also includes other components characteristic of the Turks, Tungus, and other peoples in the region.

Folklore

Ul'chi folklore includes cosmological mythology, historical legends and fables, fairy tales, riddles, sayings, and proverbs. Shaman stories about spirits and animals and their origins are also important. Many Ul'chi shamans were known as great storytellers, performing their séances and rituals as theater.

Musical folklore is an intrinsic part of Ul'chi spiritual culture. Music accompanied the bear holiday and other rituals. Musical intonations were a fundamental part of shamanic rituals. The Ul'chi classify their song genres by function: lullabies, music for guests, ritual, bear holiday songs, etc. Personal songs came in three important categories: devotion songs, love songs, and remembrance songs.

Single-stringed violin instruments were common, including the *tengere* and *sirpakta* (similar in sound to a viola), pipes, and wooden and metal mouth harps. They had a unique idiophone in the form of a musical log. This was made by hollowing out the interior of a well-dried spruce and then hanging the log from a tripod. They beat the log using two thin wooden mallets. The log's music accompanied the bear holiday, the birth and burial of twins, and the burial of twins' mothers.

Some traditional instruments have been reconstructed today. They have perfected the single-stringed bowed instruments, and the shaman's drum, musical log, and shaman's belt (with musical hangings) are widely used. All of these instruments have become part of a new musical instrument — the Ul'chi percussion *duente* instrument.

The Ul'chi combined traditional choreography with music and singing. Their music and choreography is illustrated by "bear dances,"

performed during the bear holiday as well as during rituals related to the cult of twins and shamanic dances. Only female participants in the holiday danced in "bear dances." The dance performed immediately before the ritual slaughter of a bear and after its death was quite emotional and loaded with meaning. Other dancing parts of the holiday were purely for entertainment purposes. The majority of other choreographed dances during the bear holiday were accompanied by the musical log. Shamanic dances included solo improvisation with illustrative-figurative and imitative elements were accompanied by the drum. During some shaman's séances all participants present danced.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Despite a multitude of socio-economic challenges, modern Ul'chi ethno-cultural life is relatively varied and rich. Decorative folk arts persist — creative carving of wood and bone, artistic creations of fur, fish skin, birchbark, and cult art. The works of such applied and decorative art masters as O. L. Rosugbu, Ch. N. Dechuli, K. K. Dyatala, A. F. Ol'chi, and others are regularly exhibited at Russia-wide and international exhibits. Music and dance are successfully developing. Many traditional rituals are again being conducted, including the bear holiday. Folk ensembles operate. The best known of these is the folklore ensemble *Giva* (Daybreak) in the village of Bulava. A regional museum opened in addition to children's music and art schools. School curriculum devotes time to traditional culture. The Ul'chi have formed a cultural intelligentsia. The villages of Bulava and Mongol are opening ethno-cultural centers.

Among ethno-cultural challenges, the most important is without doubt the issue of language. Today only 30.7% of Ul'chi have a native command of their native language. More precisely, those 30.7% claim it as their native language. As with other indigenous peoples of the North, the migration of Ul'chi to large population centers with a Russian-speaking milieu and the education of children in boarding schools have had an impact. During the 1930s, when northern peoples were developing writing systems, the Ul'chi language did not yet have one. For this reason it was not studied in schools (although some schools used Nanai textbooks), no literature was published, and linguistic research did not occur. An Ul'chi writing system finally appeared in the 1970s and was based on the Russian alphabet. As of today a grammar has been developed, kindergarten instruction in Ul'chi has begun in Bulava. There is a page in Ul'chi in the regional newspaper, and local radio broadcast in Ul'chi also occur.



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VEPS



The Veps people live in northwestern European Russia. Official pre-Revolution sources call them the *chud'*. Russian chronicles preferred *ves'*. They live along the southwestern shore of Onezhskoye Lake (Kareliya Republic) and in northeastern Leningradskaya Oblast and northwestern Vologodskaya Oblast. In 1989, there were 12,142 Veps, almost half of which lived in Kareliya. The 2002 Census showed a population decrease to 8,240 individuals, a fact that may be connected to increased assimilation processes. The poor demographic situation is also having its own effect. Age and gender statistics indicate that a large proportion of the Veps are older (45 % of the population consists of pensioners), resulting in a large natural population loss.

Language

The Veps speak Vepsian, a language in the Baltic-Finnish subgroup of Finno-Ugric group of languages. The language has three dialects: Northern (Sheltozerskiy, southwestern shoreline of Onezhskoye Lake, Kareliya), Middle (northeastern Leningradskaya Oblast and Babaevskiy District in Vologodskaya Oblast), and Southern (Boksitogorskiy District in Leningradskaya Oblast). Some researchers also distinguish the Korva'lskiy dialect, almost extinct today, as a separate dialect, as well as an eastern dialect of Middle Vepsian, a sub-dialect possessing a number of specific characteristics. The distinctions amongst all of these dialects are small, and Vepsian dialects are mutually intelligible.



In 1989, 50.8 % of Veps stated that Vepsian was their native tongue. Today, specialists have found that just less than half the population speaks Vepsian fluently. All Veps speak Russian fluently. In the early nineteenth century attempts were made to create a written language, but they did not meet with success. In 1931, a Vepsian writing system was developed using Latin letters. Until 1937, Vepsian was taught in schools, textbooks and literature were published, and a Vepsian-Russian dictionary was developed. By the end of the 1930s, the development of written Vepsian was curtailed. Today, Vepsian is again being included as part of a few schools' curricula. Radio and television programming in Vepsian can be



Current territory of residence of the Veps in Russia

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- Esso — Cultural centers
- Ratta — Communities

found in Kareliya, as well as newspaper publications. Teachers are being prepared to teach Vepsian.

Ethnogenesis and History

The earliest mentions of the Veps occur in the sixth century. Their ethnogenesis is connected with the formation of other Baltic-Finnish peoples from which they became distinct in the second half of the first century AD, when they settled in southeastern Priladozh'ye (near Lake Ladoga). Burial mounds found here, tracing back to the tenth-thirteenth

centuries, are attributed to ancient Veps. In earlier times, the Veps were settled in a broader area. During the twelfth-fifteenth centuries, significant groups of Veps penetrated as far as the northern rivers of Siberia and intermingled with the Kareliyan, participating in the formation of the Kareliyan sub-ethnic groups, the Lyudikov and the Livvikov. In the nineteenth century, Veps ranged as far as Petrozavodsk, spreading along the Upper Svir', the middle branch of the Oyat' River, and the northwestern shoreline of Lake Lach.

Until the last third of the fifteenth century, the majority of Veps lived within the borders of Obonezhskaya Pyatina of Novgorod, one of the five major landholdings in Velikiy Novgorod at the time. It was at this time that the Veps were converted to Russian Orthodoxy. After Novgorod joined the Russian state, they became state peasants (non-landholding), and still later they worked in the Olonetskiy metallurgical and weapons factories, as well as on the Lodeynopol'skiy shipbuilding wharfs. At the end of the nineteenth century, a significant portion of the Veps had been assimilated, both culturally and in way of life, living practically indistinguishably from the general Russian rural population. The Aleksandro-Svirskiy, Tikhvinskiy, Vvedenskiy, Kirillo-Belozerskiy, and other monasteries founded in the eighth-sixteenth centuries played a significant role in their cultural assimilation.

In ancient times, the Veps called themselves *vepsya*. In the majority of twentieth century instances, the Veps do not use that term. Instead they prefer *lyudinikad* (*lyudinik*, singular) or *tyagalazhet* (those who are here). Among the southern and some of the middle Veps, recent history has preserved the ethnonyms *bepsya* and *veps'*. Today's ethnonym spread during Soviet times in connection with events aimed at ethno-cultural development. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Veps had their own official ethnic regions (Vinnitskiy District in Leningradskaya Oblast and Sheltozerskiy District in Kareliya) in addition to Vepsian village councils. At the end of the 1930s and after World War II (the Great Patriotic War, as it was known in Russia), they lost their official ethnic status. In the early 1990s, three ethnic Vepsian village councils were resurrected, united as the Vepsian National Volost (district).

For three decades beginning in the 1960s, during a campaign to consolidate and liquidate failing settlements, the majority of Veps villages were liquidated. The distribution of Veps, historically fairly uniform, was broken into dispersed territories, with no connecting links between them. In light of this, the processes of consolidation and cultural transmission challenged the Veps. Their settlements are, as a rule, distant from administrative centers. Natural and environmental conditions do not lend themselves to agriculture. The region is in an unstable location for agriculture and lacks mineral resources. Timber resources are fairly depleted, as are fisheries in both rivers and lakes. Commercial timber resources are insignificant.

Subsistence activities

In ancient times, the Veps practiced extensive agriculture, using a three-field system with elements of slash-and-burn farming. Their main tools included the ax (*kirvez*), scratch plow (*adr*), harrow (*yagez*), toothed scythe (*sirp*), and the flail (*chep*). They cultivated barley, rye, oats, flax, and turnips. Recently cleared forest areas (*palo*) were especially important, as harvests were significantly greater in these fields than in existing fields. Livestock agriculture played a secondary role, in addition to hunting and fishing. During the Soviet period, agricultural production by the Veps was mainly in the area of dairy and meat farming.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Veps were economically impacted by the policy of *otkhodnichestvo* — redirection of farm workers into other industries. They became involved in timber processing, metallurgy, ship maintenance on the Svir', Neva, and other rivers. Some villages had pottery industries. The development of *otkhodnichestvo* and its primary impact on male Veps resulted in the division of labor, with farming activities mainly conducted by women. In the 1930s, when commercial industry began in the region, a significant proportion of Veps worked in forestry *kolkhozes*, producing rock and stone for construction. During the Soviet period, specialists developed in the fields of management, education, and health. Today, the main working population is engaged in agriculture and forestry.

Social organization

Prior to the Revolution, almost all Veps were in members of the peasantry. Large undivided families under the authority of a "master" (*izhand*) and a "mistress" (*emag*), and class administration offices — the village fellowship and its assembly *suym* suym — existed until the mid-1920s. Veps family rituals resemble those of northern Russians. Marriage traditions include nighttime matchmaking, participation of the fiancé in bridal shower, and the couple's ritual consumption of a fish-pie baked by the bride's mother. Burial traditions include two historically differentiated variations — one with lamentations similar to Russian ritual, and an archaic tradition with merriment (singing the deceased's favorite songs, dance, accordion music, etc.).

Settlements and housing

Veps villages (*kyulya, pagast*) were located mainly along the shores of rivers and lakes. The traditional house (*pert'*) is similar to the northern Russian cabin, with a few variations: work buildings were joined in T-shaped complexes. The interior layouts of the home had a characteristically Finnish table location (on the front-facing wall, as

opposed to in the front corner) and side placement of the Russian stove (with its hearth to the sidewall, not the front).

Clothing

Native Veps clothing was reminiscent of northern Russian clothing. Distinctive aspects include women's skirts (vertically or horizontally striped) that lacked a Russian-style *sarafan* (traditional long strapped shapeless jumper), while men had rabbit fur hats, special wedding trousers (*kaddyat*) with embroidery and fringe at the bottom, and male neck scarves (*kaglan payk*). Clothing was decorated with double-sided embroidery (geometric, plant, animal, and anthropomorphic designs) in stem stitch or featherstitches using red or black thread.

Food. Crafts

Traditional foods consisted of various cereals, soups and porridges, fish-filled pies, oat aspic, a mash of malted rye flour and lingonberry juice, malted rye dough, home-brewed beer and *kvas* (a drink made from fermented bread). Dishware was made from wood, birch bark, roots, and other materials near to hand. Local ceramic production continues to this day. All Veps groups produce artistic woodcarvings decorated with images of everyday life and dwellings (bargeboards, architraves, etc.). Middle and southern Veps prefer simple geometric carvings, while northern Veps carve more complicated images (often anthropomorphic). Everyday and artistic ceramics — decorative figures of animals, birds, and statuettes — are also interesting.

Folklore

The core of historical epic literature can be found among the epic genres of folklore — legends of the first settlers of the region. The fantastical epic *sarnad*, magical everyday satirical tales, is well developed here. The subject matter of these tales is comparable to northern Russian and Kareliyan stories. Varied oral stories are also part of the epic genre. The Veps possess many lyric songs and *chastushki*, two-four line poems or songs, often humorous. Several genres of ritualized folklore are well preserved in modern times, for example, burial laments (*voykad*), various proverbs, sayings, and flowery expressions. There are a number of original characteristics of Veps folk dancing — a flamboyant dance with spoons, a dancing game incorporating *chastushki* (making soup), and others.

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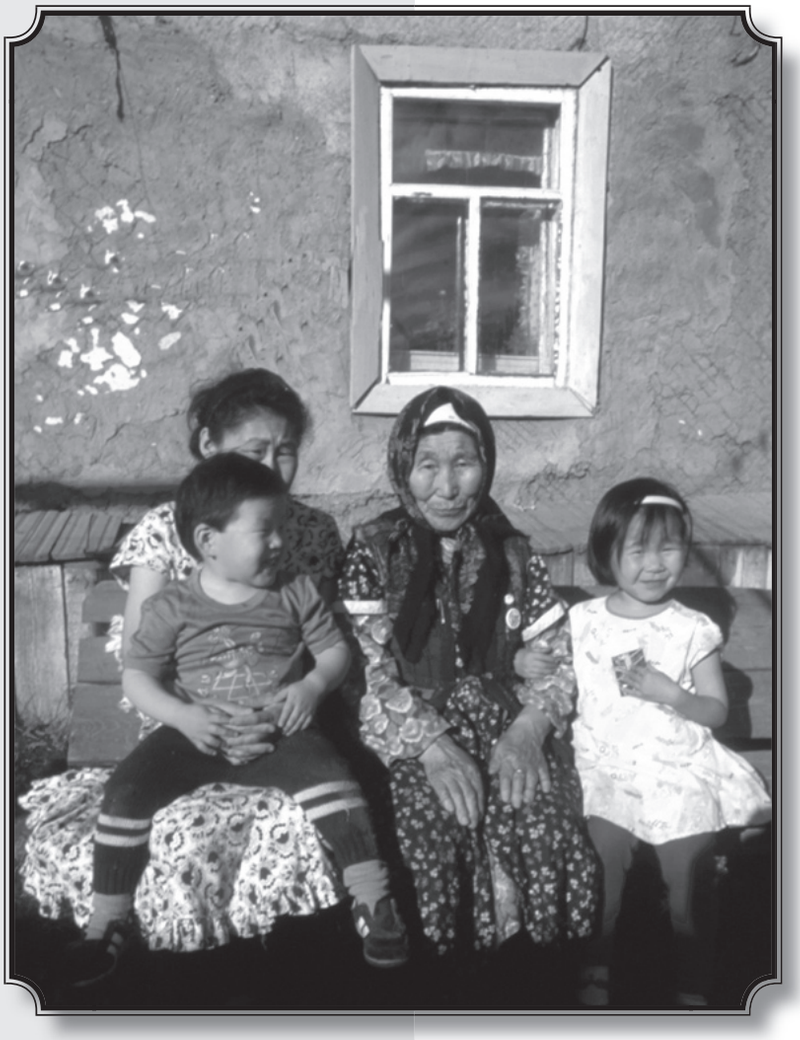
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YUKAGHIR

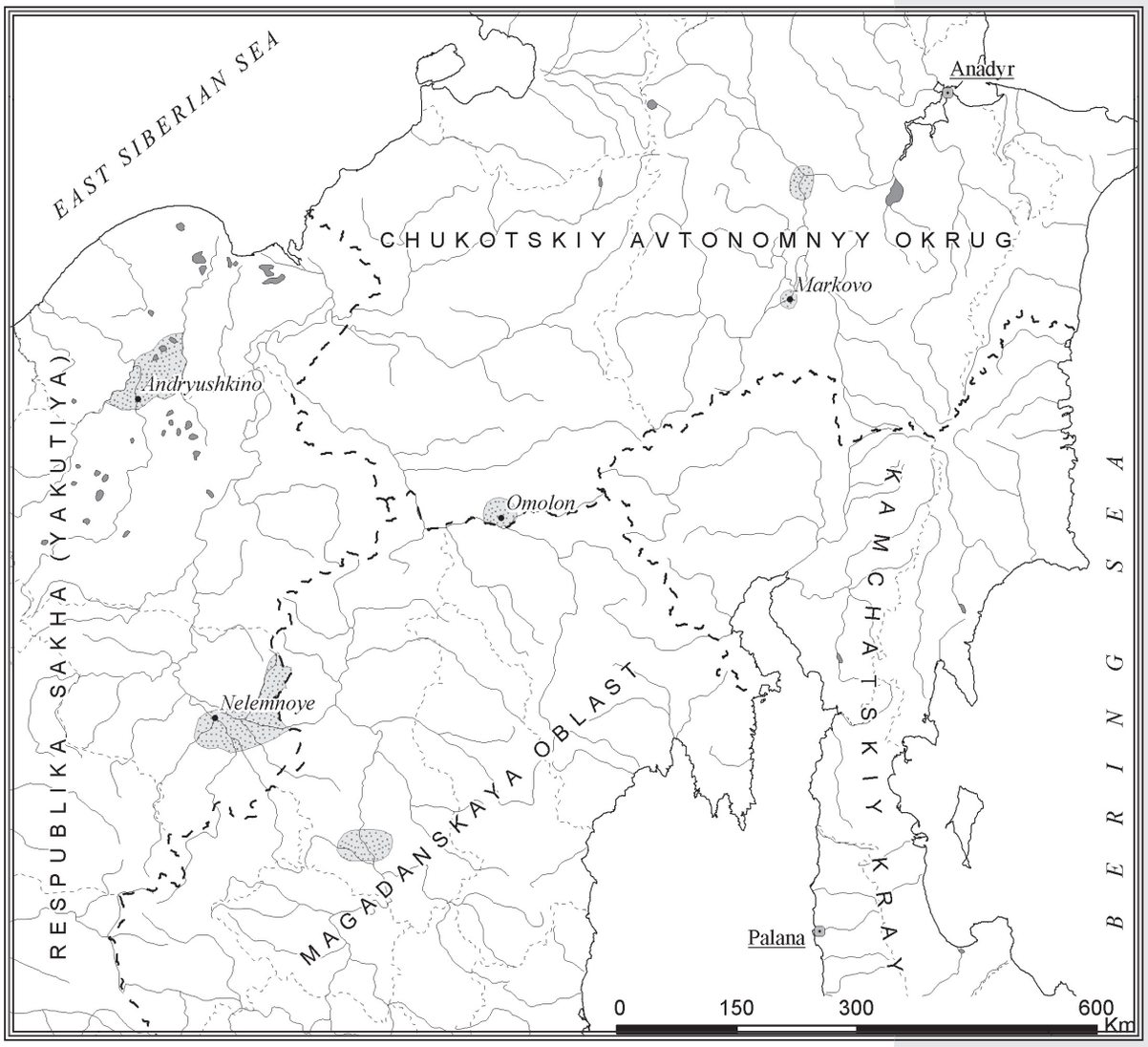
The Yukaghir people live in eastern Siberia. They call themselves *odul* or *vadul* (powerful, strong). In the past the Russians called them *omoki*. The Chukchi and Koryak called the Yukaghir *etel* or *etal*. Some Yukaghir clans (tribes) were known as *chuvan*, *odul*, *khodyntsy*, *anauly*, or *ilkonbey*. The ethnonym *Yukaghir* is presumably of Evenk origin. The suffix *"ghir"* is prevalent in Evenk tribal and clan names. Ethno-culturally, there are two geographic groups: the tundra Yukaghir (lower Kolyma River) and those in the taiga (upper Kolyma).



Ethnogenesis. Population

The Yukaghir are an ancient group in eastern Siberia. They are connected to late Paleolithic cultures that spread from the Taymyr west to Anadyr in the east and the Near Baikal to the south. Later this Yukaghir ethno-linguistic community dispersed, and parts participated in the ethnogenesis of the northern Yakut, Even, western Chukchi, and the Khatanga group of Vadeyevskiy Nganasan.

At the time of Russian contact, the Yukaghir occupied lands from the Indigirka to the Anadyr Rivers and numbered 4,000 to 9,000 individuals according to various assessments. Military conflicts with the Chukchi, Even, and other neighboring peoples, destructive epidemics, and assimilative processes led to changes in their settlement patterns and overall population. By the seventeenth century's end, there were only 2,545 Yukaghir and by the mid-eighteenth century only 1,500. Numbers continued to drop, with 948 in the 1897 census and fewer than 400 in the 1926–27 census. The 1989 census recorded 1,142 individual Yukaghir, including 1,112 within the Russian SSR. Between 1979 and 1989 their population grew by over 300 people or by 36%. This is one of the largest such increases among indigenous minority peoples of the North. It should be noted, however, that approximately half of this grown is related to new ethnic renewal that occurred over the course of that census. 147 people



Current territory of residence of the Yukaghir in Russia

who originally claimed membership in Yakut, Even, Russian, Chukchi, and other categories now claimed Yukaghir status.

Today, the Yukaghir are settled relatively densely in three regions in the Russian Federation: in Yakutiya (Nizhnekolymskiy, Allaikhovskiy, and Verkhnekolymskiy Districts), Magadan Oblast (Srednekanskiy District), and Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (Anadyrskiy and Bilibinskiy Districts). A significant number of Yukaghir live in the cities of Yakutsk, Magadan, Anadyr, and in other regions of the Russian Far East and the rest of Russia. Numbers of rural Yukaghir have been decreasing since the early 1970s. In Yakutiya, for example, between 1970 and 1989, the proportion of rural residents fell from 76 to 71.9%.

Legend

- Traditional Lands
- State boundary
- Regional administrative boundary
- Regional municipal boundary
- Tomsk — Administrative centers
- *Esso* — Cultural centers
- *Ratta* — Communities

Settlements

The Yukaghir live in multi-ethnic settlements. The largest and most long-lived Yukaghir communities can be found in the villages of

Andryushkino, Kolymskoye (Nizhnekolymskiy District), and Nelemnoye (Verkhnekolymskiy District). They live together with Russians, Chukchi, Even, and Yakut. The Yukaghir form the majority in Nelemnoye — 46% of the total population. The Yukaghir are intermixed among Even, Chukchi, and Chuvan in Magadan Oblast (Seymchan village) and in Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (villages of Ust'-Belaya, Snezhnoye, Omolon, Markovo, and others). In recent years, the multi-ethnic composition of settlements has been perceived by the Yukaghir as a negative factor, as it increases the speed of assimilative processes. Efforts to resurrect abandoned Yukaghir villages are on the rise in order to form linguistic communities.

Social organization

Right up through the end of the nineteenth century, Yukaghir social organization reflected clan structures. Yukaghir clans (*kudeye*) varied in size. Each clan claimed particular hunting lands and was led by a *ligeye shoromokh* elder, who also frequently served as shaman. In the past, clans also had a military leader known as *tenbeye shoromokh*. Yukaghir camp settlements of the nineteenth century consisted of several families who were not necessarily members of the same clan. Camp life was strongly influenced by ancient community relations. Hunting spoils were divided among all residents, and the family of the hunter who killed the animal received an equal share. Marriage traditions among the Upper Kolyma Yukaghir strongly reflect remnants of an ancient matrilineal clan. Upon marriage the husband moved into the family of his wife's parents, and there were no specific marriage ceremonies. Girls had sexual freedom prior to marriage, and women held a high position within the family. The Yukaghir paid a bride price over a long period of time, although there were customs that permitted one to avoid it. It was taboo for the son's father to interact with the bride, for the groom's father to interact with the married son, etc. Tundra Yukaghir marriages were patrilocal, and there existed rituals for betrothal and marriages.

Subsistence activities

The Yukaghir's main traditional activity was nomadic or semi-nomadic hunting for hoofed animals. They supplemented this with lake and river fishing and with reindeer husbandry focused on transportation. The tundra Yukaghir hunted mainly for wild taiga reindeer as well as moose and mountain sheep. In a good year, a Yukaghir family caught up to one hundred wild reindeer and five to seven moose. They usually pursuit-hunted moose from skis, and hunting over the spring ice-covered snow was often especially successful. Animals who broke through the

snow tired quickly and were more easily killed by the hunter. The tundra Yukaghir frequently pursuit-hunted reindeer with the help of dogs that chased herds into lakes. There, the hunter was able to kill them with spears. Other pursuit-hunting techniques were also common, including barriers at river crossings and hunting with reindeer decoys. In the summer, they sometimes pursued reindeer from the back of a reindeer or on a sled in the winter. In the spring and fall they hunted geese and ducks. Into the mid-nineteenth century, they hunted birds at the mouth of the Kolyma River using a shooting dart and a *bolas*, a clump of straps to which rocks are tied. The Yukaghir hunted for furs in the winter. They hunted Arctic fox in the tundra and sable, squirrel, fox, and other animals in the taiga. They set jaw traps for Arctic fox and caught sable, squirrel, and ermine with other metal traps, snares, and simple tracking. Almost all furs went for sale.

Fishing was important to the Yukaghir, but was nonetheless a secondary activity. Tundra and taiga Yukaghir used essentially the same basic techniques. They fished with poles using iron hooks wrapped in red thread. They set hair and thread nets in taiga and tundra lakes and used longlines with horn tips. The Upper Kolyma Yukaghir also used hoop nets and baskets made from willow. Fishing began in the spring, although during the spring and summer they fished mainly for everyday use. In the fall, when broad whitefish and herring began to spawn en masse they preserved fish for future consumption. They fished using a seine without a bag, a technique the Yukaghir termed "scooping." They erected block nets on small rivers and creeks. In the winter they fished under the ice dropping hair nets through holes in the ice. Summer and early fall fish harvests were made into *yukola*, which was then frozen as the weather chilled. They fermented fish for dogs in holes in the ground. The tundra Yukaghir also fermented fish for their own consumption.

Reindeer husbandry was focused on providing transportation, and as a rule, a single household had no more than twenty reindeer. Households with herd of 100–150 head of reindeer were considered rich. In the summer, reindeer were ridden and were harnessed to arched stanchion sleds in the winter. They used Even-style saddles with a single girth to ride reindeer. Upper Kolyma Yukaghir also used sled dogs harness to straight stanchion sleds for transportation. Twelve dogs were considered a complete set, but they generally used no more than five dogs.

Transportation

They navigated water in birchbark, dugout, or board boats. Dugout boats were made from the trunk of a poplar and had an oval prow and straight stern. They rowed with one-ended oars and moved upstream by pushing off with two poles. Sometimes dogs were used to pull against the current. By the mid-twentieth century dugout boats began to fall out

of use. Old boats were still used for hunting, but no new ones were built. Board-built boats began to predominate. These were made from three aspen boards (the bottom and two sides), joined with sinew and covered in larch tar. There are also recollections of rafts used by the Yukaghir to reach their hunting and fishing territories. Rafts were triangular and were made from logs connected using straps.



Skis were an important means of transportation. Men, women, and children used them when migrating from place to place. They had several sorts of skis: wide hunting *uchurge* that were covered in legskins or moose skin, simple broad *kokisa* (*koysar*) skis for use on wet sticky snow or ice-covered snow, and snow shoes commonly used in the tundra and borrowed from the Chukchi and used for walking in deep, powdery snow.

Each household made all of the items it required for life. They practiced blacksmithing even prior to Russian contact, although not as much as did the Even or the Yakut. Yukaghir legends tell of blacksmith work, but in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were only using wooden and birchbark utensils.

The Yukaghir continued to practice their traditional lifestyle during the Soviet period. They worked in collective farms mainly in fishing and hunting brigades. Today, the Yukaghir in Yakutiya have created three *kolkhozes* engaged in hunting, fishing, reindeer husbandry, and even logging. They have territories of traditional natural resource use set aside for that work (on indefinite inheritable ownership) and receive free licenses to fish and hunt for hoofed animals. Hunting is mainly a subsistence activity, although some of it goes toward an internal market.

Housing

In ancient times, the Yukaghir lived in semi-dugouts known as *chandals*, whose remnants can still be found today. Later, taiga Yukaghir lived in conical huts made from thin logs and covered in sod or in Tungus-style *chums* built around three to four poles and with bark or suede coverings. The *chum* was heated from a central hearth, over which a pot

was hung on crossed poles also used to dry clothing, fish, and meat. They also used large, log *yurts* with flat or conical roofs in which mostly settled Yukaghir lived in the winter and summer. Tundra Yukaghir borrowed portable cylindrical or conical shelters similar to the *chorama-dyu* from the Even. Non-residential structures included storehouses and shelters built on pilings. Today, the majority of Yukaghir live in log homes.

Clothing

Traditional Yukaghir clothing resembles that of the Evenk and Evenk, and a clear Yakut influence can also be seen (turned and standing collars, welts, etc.). The chief defining element of Yukaghir clothing is a kaftan robe made from suede or reindeer skins that reached to the knees. The sides were connected using laces. "Tails" made of sealskin were attached the bottom of the robe, and for men these were split at the ends, while women's had side tassels. Underneath the kaftan they wore an apron and short leather or skin pants. Men wore a belt over their kaftan and attached a knife and tobacco pouch to the belt. During the winter they wore a long scarf made from squirrel tails. Winter clothing was also known to be made from suede and resemble the Chukchi *kukhlyanka*. Men's summer footwear was made from suede and always had leggings that were tied to the thighs and ankles using straps. In the winter men wore tall boots made from reindeer legskins and with fur stockings. Women's clothing did not differ significantly from that of men, but was lighter and made from multi-colored pieces of fur. It was richly embellished with beading, pieces of fabric, and appliqué. Holiday clothing was especially richly embellished. Women's *kilipeliki* boots were equally decorative. These were made from white or yellow suede, with tops made from pounded black leather and embroidered with colored thread and beading. Copper and silver pendants and rings were also used as clothing decoration. The center of a woman's apron always contained, for example, a large silver pendant.

Food

The Yukaghir survived mainly on meat and fish. Reindeer and moose meat was usually boiled, and in the winter they ate it in frozen form (cut into thin, narrow strips). They also widely used dry-cured meat. Long, thin strips of meat were first smoked over the fire and then dried under the sun. Such meat was strung from threads of tendon and could be stored for long periods. In the winter they cured meat with mixed with fish or intestinal fat from reindeer and then boiled. They also prepared and preserved bone marrow. The bones were first ground up and then boiled. Tundra Yukaghir set aside some of their wild reindeer meat harvest in

holes in the ground. When the meat acquired "a little soul" it was moved to storage on ice. They called this meat *didigo uldy*. They also stored specially prepared wild geese bodies in the permafrost. First, the geese were gutted and the bones removed, cutting the meat into pieces. The resulting mass of meat was placed in a whole bird carcass. The opening in the bird's gut was closed using a bit of wood. This package was then stored on ice.

During the summer, fish was boiled without salt, although a significant portion of fish went to make *yukola*. Pounded boiled fish mixed with berried and fat (*kul'ibakha*) was considered a particular delicacy. Small fish were baked over the fire on wooden stakes. Fish giblets and roe were fried, and they baked flatbreads from the roe. As with meat, sometimes they fermented fish. To achieve this they wrapped fish in willow leaves and left the package in a warm place for twenty-four hours. When the fish began to decay, they boiled it. Taiga Yukaghir made fish flour from boiled and dried fish. They boiled this flour together with reindeer blood and sapwood. This dish was known as *anil kerile*. Tundra Yukaghir fermented some of their fish in holes. In the winter they ate raw, frozen fish. All Yukaghir drank tea with their meals, sometimes making it from thyme leaves or birch fungus.

Taiga Yukaghir used wild onion, day lily roots, berries, and mushrooms in their diet. Toadstool agaric was used as an intoxicating narcotic substance.

Religion and spiritual culture

The Yukaghir's spiritual culture resembles, as does their material culture, their closest neighbors, the Even and Yakut. Their animist beliefs are best illustrated in their hunting rituals and customs. Taiga Yukaghir held the moose in especially high regard. Moose skins were removed only by hunters, and they too were responsible for boiling the meat (participation by a woman could offend the animal's spirit). The animal's head was carried back to camp on a special sled, which only a man was permitted to pull. The moose's tracks were also deeply respected, and it was forbidden to cross moose tracks during nomadic migrations. Moose skulls were protected and stored on platforms.

They also honored other hunting targets. The Upper Kolyma Yukaghir protected rabbit and duck skulls from defilement (they often put them underwater or threw them into fire). In order to prevent dogs from gnawing reindeer bones, the Lower Kolyma Yukaghir burned them over special fires, while the taiga Yukaghir preferred to bury them. Wild reindeer, moose, bears, and wolves were also spoken of indirectly. Tundra Yukaghir did not hunt wolves at all as they considered them relatives.

In addition to hunting-related animal cults, the Yukaghir traditional belief system also includes cults for spirit-masters, the sun, ancestor-

spirits, and the worship of river spirit-masters. During springtime high waters and in the fall, when *shuga* ice appeared, they always conducted ceremonies of ritual sacrifice, giving beads to the ice. They also sacrificed animals, usually dogs. After the death of the dog, they carried it into the taiga and hung it from a tree. It was not permissible to use the dog's pelt. Fortunetelling using a reindeer shoulder blade was also common. Results were based on the direction of cracks made in the bone as a result of heating. Rabbit shoulder blades and jaws were also sometimes used for this purpose. Numerous taboos existed for women. They were forbidden to make eye contact with killed moose and reindeer, nor was it permissible to step on bird feathers, sing when attaching legskins to skins or when a man set out to fish or hunt, etc.

Yukaghir burial rituals clearly reflect unusual and archaic traditions. In the past, Upper Kolyma Yukaghir buried their dead on *arangas* platforms. Similar burial methods were also documented in the Lower Kolyma. There is some evidence of mummification of shaman bodies. With the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church they began to bury their dead in the ground, although the burial ceremony still had a number of unusual aspects. Men were laid to rest with arrows and a new smoking pipe. The deceased received a new smoking pouch stuffed with tobacco. Women were buried with their needle holder, a cutting board, and an aid for mounting reindeer. The coffin was usually made from the deceased's boat. Along the way to the gravesite, they erected a small hut, alongside which they killed sacrificial reindeer. The bones and skin of the animal were burned along with the deceased's clothing. Taiga Yukaghir built a small hut with a cross over the grave.

Yukaghir shamanism had a clearly clan-based character. Deceased shamans became objects of cult worship. Their bodies were separated into parts and stored as relicts believed to protect the clan. They made ritual sacrifices to these relicts. Later, their shamanism acquired Tungus traits. Shamans wore Tungus-style clothing and used Tungus drums and other shamanic attributes.

Folklore

Historical folklore is an important means of studying the Yukaghir's distant past. Their folklore tells of initial meetings with the Russians, Yukaghir-Koryak wars, and complex inter-clan relations. Animal stories where the main actor is a crow are quite common. The crow has satirical characteristics. The clever and wise rabbit was another frequent character. Pictographic letters (in both male and female formats) are an unusual monument of Yukaghir culture. Men's letters are seen by researchers as the core of geographic mapping. They used knife tips to inscribe symbols on birchbark indicating the location of a person or group of people.

Women's letters contained conventional images of people that generally conveyed the feelings of a girl's heart.

Spring folk *shakhadzibe* celebrations were a notable aspect of their traditional spiritual culture. These events included mass dances and folk dancing. Dancers formed a circle and imitate the movements of various animals or fantastical beings. Rhythmic breathing, coughing, and occasional imitative sounds accompanied dances. Dance rhythms were regulated by foot tapping and the sounds of pendants dangling from the clothing of dancers.

Contemporary culture and self-government

Modern Yukaghir social life is characterized by attempts to renew their traditional culture. Created in 1992, the Yukaghir People's Congress gave this movement a strong push forward. The Council of Elders was created at that Congress, as well a Fund for the Renewal of the Yukaghir People. In 1989, only 35% of Yukaghir in Yakutiya could speak Yukaghir, while 33% claimed Russian, and 32% claimed Yakut. These indicators are even small in Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, where 31% speak Yukaghir. In Anadyr District (Chukotka Autonomous Okrug) only 13% speak Yukaghir. In recent years in Yakutiya they are making concrete efforts to resurrect the Yukaghir language. The first Yukaghir grammar has been published, and Yukaghir is being taught in high schools in the village of Andryushkino. It is studied sporadically in Nelemnoye. The Yukaghir writing system was based on the tundra dialect, a language that is only little understood by the Upper Kolyma Yukaghir. In other Russian regions where Yukaghir reside, Yukaghir is not being taught in schools.



An increasing number of folklore ensembles also underscore attempts to achieve cultural renewal. Traditional rituals are also becoming more popular among both rural and urban Yukaghir. The Yukaghir intelligentsia is quite active: artist Nikolay Kurilov, composer Il'ya Kurilov, actress Anastasiya Tynkel', poet Gavriil Kurilov, and others.

The Suktul of the Yukaghir People (a municipal agency) is the self-governing agency for the Yukaghir in Yakutiya. This agency operates under the auspices of a special law in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya). There are two such municipal agencies within the lands of the Tekki Odulok Cooperative in Verkhnekolymskiy District and Chayla Cooperative in Nizhnekolymskiy District. They oversee local finances, develop and implement socio-economic, cultural, and ethnic development programs, and supervise the use of biological resources, education, public health, etc. The head of the Suktul's executive powers

is the *anidzha* anidzha leader, selected by members of the cooperative. Relations between Suktul and local government agencies are managed by written agreements. In other Russian regions, self-governance functions are provided by regional associations of indigenous minority peoples and their branch offices. These associations include the Yukaghir as well.

As an ethnos, today the Yukaghir are divided into four isolated groups, divided not just by great distance but also by administrative borders. The future fate of these groups is varied. The Yukaghir in Magadan Oblast and in Chukotka are subject to assimilation in communities where they are a minority in multi-ethnic settlements. Due to their small population it is likely that they will disappear as an ethnos in the decades to come. The Yukaghir in Yakutiya have better opportunities for ethnic development. The main bulk of the Yukaghir population is concentrated here, and self-awareness is on the rise. Conditions for increased independence and proactive efforts exist, including at the level of legislation. There are many excellent examples of ethnic leaders among the Yukaghir, and their intelligentsia has a significant presence.



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ANNEX 1

GLOSSARY

Acculturation — acquisition (borrowing) of one ethnic group's elements by another group; occurs as a result of contact between cultures, facilitates broad distribution of cultural phenomena. Acculturation precedes the process of *assimilation*.

Ancestor cult — one of the earliest religious forms, worship of the spirits of deceased ancestors, where such worship is intended to influence the life of descendants. Propitiatory sacrifices may occur.

Animism — belief in spirits and gods, initial phase of religion. Elements of animism are preserved in all contemporary world religions.

Assimilation — a unifying ethnic process where one *ethnos* or part of an ethnos, having fallen under the influence of a second *ethnos*, mixes with it or loses its own ethnic self-consciousness. Ethnic assimilation precedes linguistic or cultural assimilation (*acculturation*).

Autochthons — aborigines, first settlers of a given location.

Avunculate — totality of familial and societal customs reflected in the special relationship between a nephew and his maternal uncle. The nephew may live with his uncle's mother, be his heir or coheir, regularly seek his advice and support, etc.

Clan — a group of relatives who trace their lineage along matrilineal or patrilineal lines to a distant single common (not necessarily real) ancestor. Clans commonly practice *exogamy*, and as a result, did not exist in isolation, but joined with others to form *tribes*.

Consolidation — unifying ethnic process mixing similar or related cultures and languages or parts of *ethnoses* into a larger ethnic community.

Depopulation — process of population (*ethnos*) decrease in a country due to mortality exceeding the birth rate (extinction). Depopulation amongst indigenous minorities of the North, Siberia, and the Far East became a severe problem in the 1990s. According to data from the Institute for Cytology and Genetics (Siberian Division of the Russian Academy of Sciences) and the Institute for the Study of Indigenous Minorities of the North (Yakutsk), more than ten indigenous peoples are faced with extinction today.

Endogamy — custom of arranging marriage within a particular social group (usually within a *tribe*, between members of its constituent *clans*). In early societies, *clans* were exogamous and *tribes* endogamous. Patrilineal groups (within the *clan*) became endogamous during the development of the primitive communal system. This allowed them to concentrate private property amongst close relatives, while at the same time, marrying patrilineal (and sometimes matrilineal) cousins (second, third, etc.) to each other. Modern-day endogamy is characteristic of caste-based, religious, racial, social and ethnic communities. In the case of ethnic communities, it is often seen as one way to preserve the *ethnos*, as intermixed marriages lead to *racial mixing* and *assimilation*.

Ethnic group — part of an *ethnos* that separates as a result of migration, but preserves its self-appellation and its culture, in part.

Ethnic identity — a feeling of belonging to one or another *ethnos*, expressed in terms of ethnic self-determination (i. e. — the self-attribution of an individual to a given ethnic group).

Ethnic processes — changes in distinct elements of ethnic culture, parts of *ethnoses*, and *ethnoses* in general. Ethnic processes can be evolutionary (expressed in changes of distinct features of the *ethnos* — language, culture, etc. — while preserving existing ethnic attributes or transformational (leading to a change in ethnic attributes). Ethno-linguistic, ethno-social, and ethno-cultural processes are included within the category of evolutionary ethnic process. These can be further divided into intra-ethnic (see *consolidation*), inter-ethnic (see *acculturation*) and super-ethnic, related to universal changes in human culture. Transformational ethnic processes can be divisive (see *separation*) and unifying (see *assimilation, mixing, integration, consolidation*).

Ethnic renewal — process for the realization of an *ethnos'* potential, previously unrealized for a variety of reasons; discovery of a new qualitative condition for a people.

Ethnic sustainment — process of meeting the primary material and spiritual needs of an *ethnos* by adaptation to natural and socio-cultural conditions, thus ensuring ethnic continuity and the systemic functioning of the *ethnos*.

Ethnogenesis — the emergence of a people. Three historical types of ethnogenesis are commonly accepted: paleo-ethnogenesis, the formation of ethno-linguistic (Slavs, Arabs, Turks, etc.), ethno-cultural (peoples of the North), and ethno-racial communities in primitive society; meso-ethnogenesis, the appearance of ethnoses (the majority of today's peoples were formed in this way); neo-ethnogenesis, the formation of new ethnoses in recent times. The Negidal, Orok, Chuvan, and Kamchadal can be considered the result of neo-ethnogenesis — a variety of ethnic groups, both local and foreign groups contributed to the formation of these groups.

Ethnographic group — local subdivision of an *ethnos*, distinguished by language (dialect, accent), specific cultural elements, but not having its own *ethnic consciousness*.

Ethnonym — the name of an ethnos, the most important aspect of ethnic self-awareness. It is customary to distinguish two types of ethnonym — the internal ethnonym common within a given *ethnos*, and external ethnonym, the name used by others to describe a given *ethnos*.

Ethnos — a people historically located in a specific region; a stable community of people sharing common characteristics and cultural elements, including language. The most important attribute of an ethnos is the presence of *ethnic consciousness*.

Etymology — a word's historical origins

Exogamy — custom characteristic of community-clan structures forbidding marriage within a specific social group with kindred relations, for example, *clans*, *phratries*. The tradition of exogamy is practiced to avoid marriage between blood relatives, as well as an attempt to widen social contacts through alliances with other social groups.

Il'mak — an edible mushroom found across the southern Russian Far East. It grows on dead or decaying elm from mid-May until September.

Inorodets (pl. *Inorodtsy*) (Otherborn) — term used in the Russian Empire to describe non-Slavic peoples not practicing Christian (non-Orthodox) religion. Officially, all aboriginal peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Russian Far East were included under this term, as were

Central Asian peoples, the "mountain tribes of the Caucasus," and a number of other peoples.

Integration — a unifying *ethnic process*, unification of *ethnoses* into larger communities (civil societies) within the framework of pluralistic states.

Kamleya, kamleyka — waterproof work clothing made from marine mammal intestines worn by some Siberian peoples; men's clothing with fasteners made from reindeer skins.

Kamus — piece of skin from a reindeer's leg (or some other animal), used for padding skis; making shoes, clothing, and adornments.

Levirate — custom of marrying a widow to her deceased husband's brother. The custom traces back to traditions of group marriage customs (the right of a younger brother to the wife of his older brother).

Marginality, ethno-cultural — simultaneous membership in to two ethnic cultures, resulting in a duality of ethnic consciousness. This is especially characteristic for descendents of ethnically mixed marriages, as well as for representatives of ethnic minorities in an ethnically "foreign" environment.

Marriage, cross-cousin — Marriage to the mother's brother's (or male cousin's) daughter or to the father's sister's (or female cousin's) daughter.

Matriliny — tradition of tracking lineage and inheritance along the maternal line.

Matrolocality — custom requiring spouses to reside in the community of the wife's family.

Mestizaje — (from the word 'mestizo') physical mixing of differing populations belonging to one or multiple *ethnoses* or races. Occurs due to a broadening circle of marital connections within the population. Descendants of inter-racial marriages are known as mestizos ("of mixed ancestry") and can resemble one source type or preserve elements of both.

Mixing — unifying ethnic process where several unrelated *ethnoses* mix, resulting in a new ethnic community containing cultural elements from the contributing ethnoses and possessing a new ethnic self-awareness. The formation of the Kamchadal people from Russian and Itel'men ethnoses is an example of mixing.

Monogamy — marriage between one man and one woman.

Nogovitsy — an element of footwear that covers the calf from the knee; a legging.

Obshchina — community of individuals sharing common interests. There are two historic types of obshchina — *primitive* and *neighbor* (or *peasant*). A primitive obshchina is a self-managed subsistence-based community, sharing, as a rule, the means of production and with an egalitarian system for dividing resulting production. Neighbor (territorial) communities are a basic unit of social organization, based on as yet undeveloped private resources. The main economic unit in such communities is the household, which depends on mutual aid from the obshchina. In recent years, indigenous minorities of the North, Siberia, and the Far East have created a variety of obshchina manufacturing collectives of family/clan members or neighbors to conduct traditional subsistence activities within a specific area. Federal legislation formalized such obshchinas as a form of self-organization of indigenous minority peoples and gives them specific authority for self-government.

Opuvan — decorative binding along the hem or skirt of fur clothing.

Patrilineage — a group of close relatives along a patrilineal line and their family members, all of which trace their lineage back to one well-remembered real ancestor.

Patriliny — tradition of tracking lineage and inheritance along the paternal line.

Patrilocality — a custom requiring spouses to reside in the community of the husband's family.

Phratry — grouping of several *clans* within one *tribe*, usually arising as a result of the division of one "mother" *clan* into several "daughter" *clans*, or as a result of artificial unification of unrelated *clans*. *Exogamy* is characteristic of phratries, although as a rule *exogamy* dies out as the group is divided into exogamous "daughter" *clans*. Each phratry has its own designation, and *clans* within it maintain solidarity, both in terms of rituals and other function.

Polyandry — a rare form of marriage with multiple husbands. One woman has several husbands. In the 19th century, Aleuts and a few Eskimo groups, both indigenous minorities of the Russian North, practiced polyandry.

Polygamy — a form of marriage with multiple wives or husbands.

Porsa — finely ground meal made from cured or dried fish.

Potestary — organization of power in pre-governmental societies. Form of rule, whereby the highest form of self-government is a gathering of all adult community members or clan members. Elder councils also played a large role — leading elders were chosen or emerged. These elders were the most authoritative representatives of the older generation, in whose hands power began to concentrate over time.

Rovduga — a type of high-quality suede, made by pounding reindeer or elk/moose skins. Tanning agents included urine, internal organs (frequently boiled reindeer liver), reindeer brains, fish guts, and melted fish bile.

Russification — the process of becoming Russian; mastery of Russian language, culture, and traditions by non-Russian peoples. It can be voluntary, during the process of natural *assimilation*, due to living amongst Russians. It can also be forced, as a result of directed government efforts to hasten the spread of Russian language and culture.

Séance (*kamlaniye*) — activity performed by a shaman using specific rituals, accompanied by drumbeats and sounds of metallic pendants. During a séance, the shaman interacted with spirits, requesting success with traditional subsistence activities, healing an illness, etc.

Separation — a divisive ethnic process, the separation of an *ethnos* into independent parts; also the separation of a subgroup from an *ethnos*, becoming a separate *ethnos* (for example, the Dolgan people).

Sororate — custom by which a man marries one or more second female cousins (second or closer). Another aspect of this custom requires a widower to marry the sister of his deceased wife. Later versions of this custom are usually motivated by a concern for the upbringing of children from the first marriage when the wife dies.

Suglan — meeting, council, summit (Evenk).

Territory of traditional natural resource use (abbreviated to *TTP* in Russian) — forests, water bodies, pasturelands, and all other lands, including their biological resources, which can be

used to conduct traditional subsistence activities. The boundaries of TTPs and their legal status are determined by the legislation of local government, as well as by federal law.

Territory, ethnic — territory within which one or another *ethnos* can be found. The primary ethnic territory is considered to be the place where *ethnogenesis* occurred. After *ethnogenesis*, location can change due to ethnic migrations. The ethnic territories of different peoples can overlap each other, creating ethnically mixed regions.

Torbasy — tall boots made from the skins of reindeer seals, and other furred animals.

Traditional subsistence activities — aggregate of subsistence activities historically practiced in a given territory; the interaction of humans (an *ethnos*) and their natural surroundings. As it relates to the indigenous minority peoples of the North, their tradition subsistence activities include reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, hunting of marine mammals, as well as the preparation of food, technical, medical, and vegetable materials.

Tribe — a type of ethno-social organization; the main compact ethnic group formation (proto-ethnos), characterized by a tendency to *endogamy* and cultural-linguistic unity. At its most ancient, a tribe was a group of communities (*clans*) living within a certain area and periodically meeting to exchange information, conduct joint rituals, hunt, etc. Tribal consciousness was based on an awareness of the common ancestry of all tribe members.

Vazhenka — female reindeer.

Yasak — a subsistence tax collected from peoples of the North and Siberia from the fifteenth through the twentieth centuries. It was paid in the furs of commercially valuable animals — sable, arctic fox, and others. As Siberian fur animals were overexploited, other, less valuable skins were accepted (squirrels), as was a simple currency tax payment.

ANNEX 2

ETHNONYMS OF SIBERIA AND THE FAR EAST

Ainu **—** people in Japan, on Hokkaido. Population approximately 20,000. Belonging to the distinct Ainu race. Profuse facial hair distinguishes them from other Far Eastern peoples. In the past, a significant number of Ainu lived on Sakhalin Island, the Kurile Islands, on the southern Kamchatka Peninsula, and on the mainland coast along the Tatar Strait. Russians first learned of the Ainu from Tungus hunters in 1640, when the I. Moskvitin's team of Cossack explorers of reached the Amur River, describing them as "bearded Daurs." According to Japanese records, 2,847 Ainu lived on Sakhalin at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1872, prior to the signing of a Russian-Japanese treaty, there were 2,426 Sakhalin Ainu. After southern Sakhalin became part of Japan (in 1875), 843 Ainu resettled on Hokkaido in the Isikari River valley. 1,583 Ainu remained on Sakhalin. The first All-Russian Census of 1897 fixed the number of Ainu within the borders of the Russian Empire at 1,394. In subsequent years, the Sakhalin Ainu were intensely impacted by assimilation forces with the Japanese (on the south end of the island) and with the Nivkh. A household census conducted in 1926–27 found that there was only one Ainu household (five individuals) in northern Sakhalin. Subsequent Soviet censuses did not find any Ainu, while the 1979 census discovered three Ainu on Sakhalin. In 1989, there were no Ainu in the census. The Ainu exerted a great influence on the ethnogenesis of the peoples of the southern Far East and Kamchatka. Ainu roots can be traced in the Nivkh, Orok, Oroch, Ulchi and other peoples of the Far East.

Alyutor **—** a sub-ethnic group of the Koryak people. They primarily live in the Olyutorskiy Rayon of the Koryak Autonomous Okrug and speak the Alyutor language, earlier considered to one of the Koryak language dialects. Today, researchers consider Alyutor to be a distinct language. Due to their isolated geographic location, the Aliutor were less impacted by Koryak consolidation than were other Koryak subgroups. This isolation allowed them to better preserve traditional subsistence activities and traditional life. They currently number approximately 2,000 individuals. Traditional activities are a combination of reindeer-herding, fishing, and marine mammal hunting. In March 2000, the Russian Federation officially declared them an Indigenous Minority People.

Birary, birar, birachen **—** a subgroup of the Evenk who lived, during the seventeenth century, in the Bureya River watershed and along the left-hand tributaries of the middle Amur River. They also resided along the Selemdzhi River headwaters and the Uda River (Sea of Okhotsk). The Tungus term for 'creek' is *bira*, and it follows that the Birari are 'river people.' The Birar distinguished themselves from other Tungus groups by their relative bellicosity.

In 1646, V. Poyarkov characterized the Birars as 'reindeer Tungus,' migrating to the Selemdzhi headwaters. In 1681, however, Ignat Milovanov came across them in the Selemdzhi lowlands. He reported that the Birar were horsemen. Evidence suggests that the Birar were numerous. I. Milovanov complained to a Yakut *voevoda* (military leader or governor) that collecting the *yasak* fur tribute from the Birar required significant force.

In the 1840s, Middendorf discovered Birar horsemen on both shores of the Amur River. They were in service to the Chinese. At that time, they lived mainly on the right shore of the

Amur, between the Albazikha and Pongoy Rivers. According to Middendorf, the Birar lived only periodically on the left shore.

In the 1850s, Radlov came across Birar on the left shore of the Amur, near the Bureyinsky Mountains. Shrenk noted that Birar horsemen lived on both sides of the Amur, above and below the Bureya River mouth. When this region became part of Russia, the majority of Birar were resettled by the Chinese to the right side of the Amur River.

In 1887, Prince Dadeshkiliani was the last Russian to meet the Birar, crossing paths with them at the southern end of their previous range. It is possible that these were remnant individuals not resettled to China who later dispersed into other Tungus groups. Since that time, there are no mentions of Birar in Russian sources, and their territory was occupied by Yakut and Tungus groups such as the Butal'skiy, Edzhanskiy and Lalagirskiy clans from Uda and Ust'-Mayskiy Okrugs. The 1897 census did not record any Birar in Russia.

The clan structure of the Birar is unknown. Middendorf reported that the Birar language resembled that spoken by Tungus of the Butal'skiy clan

Bogden — a subgroup of Ket who lived during the seventeenth century in the Bakhta River lowlands (the right tributary of the Yenisey River). Later, they were known as the Bakhtinsky Ket. The ethnonym arises from their self-designation of 'Bokdeden,' a term still in use today.

Chzhurchzhen — a collective term for a large group of Tungus tribes living during the eleventh-thirteenth centuries and even later in Manchuria, Primorye and North Korea. The ethnos arose during the twelfth century due to a consolidation of various ethnic groups within the framework of an ethno-political unification — the Aluchun government (Golden Empire). During the Mongol reign in the Far East, the Chzhurchzhen people dispersed into several small disconnected ethnic groups, on the basis of which various related Tungus groups later arose — the Man'chzhur, Nanai, Udeghe, Oroch, and Ul'chi, all of whom, to some degree, inherited elements of Chzhurchzhen everyday culture.

Daurs, dakhur, dagur — a people in China. They live in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region near the city of Khaylar and in northern Heilongjiang Province, as well as in Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region. They number approximately 100,000. Until the mid-seventeenth century, the Daur lived along the upper Amur River and its tributaries to the mouth of the Zeya River. One group of Daur was known in Yakutiya. For many years Trans-Baikal and parts of the near Amur River region were call Dauriya, borrowing from the Daur. In Trans-Baikal, there is still one mountain peak named Daurskiy. Russian Cossacks called the Daurs, as well as the Buryat, brothers. One of the first mentions of the Daur was recorded by Cossacks under the leadership of I. Moskvitin in 1638 in Aldan.

Some suggest that the Daur are a Tungus tribe that mixed with Mongols and acquired their language. Others hypothesize that they are descendants of the Kidani and Manchu-Tungus tribes. In 1654, the Daur were resettled deep into Manchuria, but after the Treaty of Nerchinsk was signed in 1689, some of them returned to the Amur River (below the Zeya River). In 1870, Busse reported 1,960 individual Daur. The census of 1897 counted 446 Daur along the Amur River. They lived in seventy-three settlements together with Chinese and Manchu. In 1910, after the beginning of the war with China, the Russian authorities resettled them, along with their compatriots, to the Chinese shores of the Amur.

Dyucher — a people who lived along the upper and middle reaches of the Amur River in the seventeenth century. They are likely of Mongol or Manchu descent. N. Vitsen equated them with the Chzhurchzhen, and similar viewpoints can be found in Russian literature. Russians first met the Dyucher during V. Poyarkov's exploration of the Amur River in 1644. Two groups of Dyucher were identified — upper and lower, with significant differences between them. In 1654, the Qing authorities resettled them, together with the Daur, in Manchuria. Some people think that the Dyucher, especially the lower Dyucher, are actually Nanai.

Inbak — northernmost group of Ket in the seventeenth century. They lived in the Eloguy River watershed and along the Yenisey River near the Inbatskiy wintering area.

Kamchadal — a Russian sub-ethnic group (see the article "Itel'men"). At the beginning of the twentieth century, this ethnonym designated four completely different groups: descendants of Russian Cossacks and peasants resettled to Kamchatka in the eighteenth century, Itel'men, settled Koryak and Even along the Okhotsk coastline north of Magadan, and Kamchatka residents irregardless of their ethnic membership. Today, the Kamchadal self-define as the descendants of a local mixed-heritage population that arose toward the end of the eighteenth century in southern Kamchatka as a result of mixed marriages between Russian Cossacks and peasants with Itel'men, Koryak, and Ainu. In March 2000, the Russian Federation decreed that the Kamchadal people were to be included in the list of in-digenous minority peoples of Russia. Their population is approximately 3,600. They make their living by fishing, gardening, domestic livestock, and fur hunting.

Kerek — a group which has practically vanished today, they are settled Koryak Nymylan. In 2000, they were declared an independent ethnos by the Russia federal government. They live in the Beringovskiy Rayon of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. Soviet censuses counted them as either Koryak or Chukchi. They speak Kerek, considered to be a Koryak dialect. The Soviet linguist P. Ya. Skorik determined that Kerek is an independent language, noting significant influence by Chukchi and Koryak, as well as elements of Yupik.

Data regarding the Kerek population are contradictory, both in the past and present. In 1901, V. G. Bogoraz determined that there were 644 Kerek. N. V. Shnakenburg counted, probably more precisely, 152 individuals in 1937. In the end of the 1970s, V. V. Leont'ev thought that there were probably no more than seventy-eighty Kerek, of whom only fourteen actually had a native command of Kerek language. In attributing the Kerek to the group of Northeastern Asian peoples, he considered them to be a more ancient ethnos than the Chukchi or the Koryak. Their traditional lifestyle placed equal importance on bird and small rodent hunting, fishing, marine mammal hunting, and gathering.

Kidan' — a Mongol tribe that settled in ancient times in what are now Mongolia and Inner Mongolia. In the 10th century, they created the state of Lyao, which survived until 1125, when it fell to the Chzhurchzhen. After this, some Kidan' left for Central Asia, where they were known as the Kara-Kidan'. The Kidan' participated in the ethnogenesis of the Chzhurchzhen, and elements of their culture and language can be traced in modern culture of the Manchu-Tungus peoples of southern Far East.

Kile, kilen, kili — one of the many Evenk clans. In the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, they lived near the Okhota River. Kilen clan members can be found today amongst the Even of Yakutiya and the Sea of Okhotsk shoreline. In 1897, the All-Russian census determined that

there were Evenk of this clan in both the Yakutskiy and Vilyuyskiy Okrugs (known as the Kilyatskiy clan). In the 1850s, the Kilen moved along the Kur River (right tributary of the Tunguska River) to the Amur River basin. The Kilen called the lower Amur Evenk Oroch, Oroch, Ul'chi, and Amur Gilyak (Nivkh). G. M. Vasilevich proposed that the ethnonym Gilyak possibly came from the word kile. At some point, the Kilen were a significant portion of the Tungus tribe that, when it reached the Amur River, joined with the Nanai, Oroch, Orok, Ul'chi, and Nivkh. In the nineteenth century, the Kilen were a special group amongst the Nanai. L. Shrenk believed them to be a distinct people (tribe), due to the fact that their language was so different than other Tungus-speaking peoples. The 1897 census showed that there were Kilen amongst the Nanai in Nizhne-Tambovskaya and Troitskaya Volosts (districts), as well as along the Sungari. Today, descendants of the Amur Kilen can be found amongst the Nana, with surnames such as 'Kile', 'Kilya', and 'Kili'.

Manegri, manegiri, managir, manyagair — a regional group of horse-riding Evenk, who lived on the southern inclines of the Yablonevyy and Stanovyy Ridges and along the left-hand tributaries of the Amur River during the seventeenth century. They were also found to live in the upper right-hand tributaries of the Lena River. Russians first met the Manegri in 1647. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, according to Shrenk, the Manegri lived mainly on the left side of the Amur River, from the Neviru River along the ridge to the headwaters of the Oldoy River. Nomadic Manegri were also found in grassland areas around the Zeya, Selemdzhe, Nara, Uru, and other rivers.

In the 1880s, twelve Manegri camps were located along the Tygde River (a right-hand tributary of the Zeya), down to where it emptied into the Ura River, as well as along the left bank of the Depa Gorbyl'yak Rivers. In an 1887 overview of the Amur region, the Manegri population was estimated at around 1,000 people, mentioning that they migrate between the Russian and Chinese shores of the Amur River. The 1897 census counted 160 Manegri, including seventy-five men in Kumarskiy Cossack camp districts along the Bera, Pakulikha, and Belaya Rivers.

S. Patkanov believed that the Manegri's native lands reached to the west from the Gilyuy River, from whence they migrated to the Amur in the south. Later, the majority of the population was resettled in China. Patkanov observed that there were several thousand Manegri in China at that time.

The Manegri speak a Tungus language with contributions from Daur, Chinese, and Manchu, mainly words for clothing and domestic items. The Russian Manegri were mainly engaged in hunting and fishing, while the Chinese Manegri made their living raising horses and farming.

Mokhe, Utszi — Chinese name for Tungus tribes known as the 'Iru', who, by the end of the first millennium B.C. arrived from Trans-Baikal to the upper Amur region, traveling from there to southern Manchuria and Primorye. Ethno-cultural contacts between the Iru and local populations at that time resulted in the creation of a specific group of southern Far Eastern Tungus, whose later history had nothing in common with the history of their Siberian compatriots. During the third-seventh centuries (A.D.), the Iru were known by the names 'mukri' or 'bakari'. In the eighth century, a significant portion of the Mukri tribes united within the framework of their Bokhay government. They were also known as Bokhai at that time. They participated in the ethnogenesis of the Chzhurchzhen.

Orochon — archaic name for various Tungus groups, ranging from Lake Baikal to the Pacific Ocean. The Manchu likely called all reindeer-herding Tungus by this name, although

G. M. Vasilevich confirms that this ethnonym belongs to horse-raising tribes. Russians used the name 'Orochon' to describe not just Tungus of the Vitima, Olekmy, Aldana, Zeya, and other rivers, but also the Sakhalin Orok, Primorye Oroch, and several other peoples. The etymology of the ethnonym is connected to the word *oron* 'deer'. G. M. Vasilevich also put forth another hypothesis — since the suffix *chen* means 'local resident', it follows that *orochon* means 'resident of Oro'. Vasilevich believed that the ethnonym was used in this way in the Amur region. In the north, the word loses this meaning, and, as a result of the phonic resemblance to the ethnonym *Oroch*, it took on the meaning 'of reindeer'.

Samagir, shamagir — several Evenk tribes in a variety of places in eastern Siberia and the Far East. In the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, their presence was recorded in Trans-Baikal, along the Bureya River, and in other regions. In the nineteenth century, they were located on the Angara River, in the Lena River watershed, and the Lena's tributaries. In the nineteenth century, the Nanai people had a clan known as the Samogir, undoubtedly of Evenk descent. The Nanai-Samagir lived in the Gorina River watershed, especially densely along the right-hand tributary Khyy. It was here that one of the oldest Samagir settlements was located — Kondon. Nanai lived at the mouth of the Gorina River. Samagir and Nanai settlements were divided by a strip of 'no man's land' approximately 130 versts in width.

L. I. Shrenk believed the Samagir to be a separate people, distinct from the Nanai, Oroch, and other peoples of the Amur. The 1897 census counted Samagir separately from the Nanai, but basically considered them to be on of the Nanai clans — the Samar. The census counted 425 individuals, including 275 along the Gorina, 133 on the Amur in the Nizhne-Tambovskiy Volost, and seventeen and the Udskiy Okrug. In reality, the Samagir population was significantly larger.

Solon — the Russian name for Evenk living along the Sea of Okhotsk, in Trans-Baikal, and on the Vilyuy River. In the seventeenth century, Evenk with the clan name of *Shologon* (or *Sologon*) were living amongst the Daur in the Selimba River watershed, in the Vilyuy River headwaters, and on the Olenyok River. In the mid-nineteenth century, they lived in Amur Oblast along the right shore of the Amur River and at the Zeya River headwaters. A regional group of Nanai along the middle Amur River also bore this name. 'Solony' means 'those of the headwaters' in Nanai, that is, those living in the upper reaches of the Amur River.

The 1897 census counted only fifteen Solon, including six men on the Bol'shaya Ussurka River tributary, about thirty versts from the river's mouth. Shrenk believed that the Solon were one of the Tungus tribes assimilated by the Mongols. Their native lands were along the Nonni River and its left-hand tributaries in Manchuria. Their main activities were farming and livestock, as well as service in the Chinese army. The Solon spoke a language similar to the Manegri. G. M. Vasilevich came out strongly in favor of their Mongolian ancestry. Palladiy suggests that the Solon descended from the Uryankh, themselves descendents of the Kidan during the Mongol dynasties and who lived under the yoke of Mongol *voevodes* (military leaders). S. Patkanova asserts that the Solon are probably not a Tungus tribe, but rather a conglomeration of various peoples, naturally or artificially brought together.

Tazy — a ethnic group of local descent, arising at the end of the nineteenth century in modern-day Primorye region as a result of mixed marriages between Manchu-Chinese immigrants with female Nanai, Udeghe, and Oroch. Initially, the Tazy were considered to be Udeghe, but further examination of their culture led researchers to consider them a distinct people, as reflected

in official documents. In 1903, the "Primorye Statistical Committee *Listok*" first mentions them as a separate group. In terms of their culture and lifestyle, the Tazy different significantly from the Udeghe. V. K. Arsen'ev wrote that the Tazy "have a quiet disposition, live in small Chinese-style buildings, do not understand a word of Udeghe, speak only in Chinese, cannot ski, swim in mountain rivers, and build boats." In 1910, the Primorye Tazy numbered 554 individuals, although this number was inflated with Udeghe. In 1915, a special assistant to the Near Amur General Governor V. V. Solyarskiy conducted a special census of the Tazy and counted 183 people in the ethnic group.

Soviet period census data do not show the Tazy as a separate ethnic group. In 1959, they were, as an ethnographic group, folded into the Udeghe. At that time, their population numbered 154. Later censuses in 1970 and 1979 do not mention the Tazy. In 1989, the All Soviet Census registered 203 Tazy as an independent ethnic group. They are distinguished by their stable ethnic self-identification and live mainly in the village of Mikhaylovka in the Ol'ginskiy Rayon. Their main activities are agriculture and livestock farming, augmented by hunting and fishing. They are recognized as an indigenous minority people in Russia.

Zemshak — Ket subgroup in the south during the seventeenth century. They lived in the Podkammenaya Tunguska River lowlands at the turn of the eighteenth century. At that time they were called the Zashatskiy clan, and later they joined the Nizhneinbatskiy Ket and, partly, the Bakhtinsky Ket.

ANNEX 3

Indigenous Minority Peoples
of Siberia and the Far East, Russian Federation by location of

THE MAJORITY OF POPULATION

(2002 All-Russian Census)

Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East, Russian Federation	Total	By Sex	
		Men	Women
— TOTAL	243,982	113,134	130,848
ALEUT — Total	540	262	278
In:			
Kamchatka Oblast	446	213	233
Koryak Autonomous Okrug	6	3	3
CHELKAN — Total	7,261	3,262	3,999
In:			
Republic of Altay	830	364	466
CHUVAN — Total	1,087	483	604
In:			
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	951	425	526
Magadan Oblast	39	13	26
CHUKCHI — Total	15,767	7,443	8,324
In:			
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	12,622	5,940	6,682
Kamchatka Oblast	1,487	686	801
Koryak Autonomous Okrug	1,412	656	756
CHULYM — Total	656	318	338
In:			
Tomsk Oblast	484	233	251
Krasnoyarsk Kray	159	76	83
DOLGAN — Total	7,261	3,262	3,999
In:			
Krasnoyarsk Kray	5,805	2,617	3,188
Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Okrug	5,517	2,504	3,013
EVENK — Total	35,527	17,005	18,522
In:			
Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya)	18,232	9,194	9,038
Krasnoyarsk Kray	4,632	2,069	2,563
Evenk Autonomous Okrug	3,802	1,713	2,089
Khabarovsk Kray	4,533	1,987	2,546
Amur Oblast	1,501	700	801
Sakhalin Oblast	243	98	145
Republic of Buryatiya	2,334	1,137	1,197
Irkutsk Oblast	1,431	683	748
Chita Oblast	1,492	705	787
Tomsk Oblast	103	51	52
Tyumen' Oblast	109	57	52

Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East, Russian Federation	Total	By Sex	
		Men	Women
EVEN — Total	19,071	8,059	11,012
In:			
Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya)	11,657	4,609	7,048
Khabarovsk Kray	1,272	594	678
Magadan Oblast	2,527	1,145	1,382
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	1,407	670	737
Kamchatka Oblast	1,779	832	947
Koryak Autonomous Okrug	751	358	393
ENETS — Total	237	122	115
In:			
Krasnoyarsk Kray	213	105	108
Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Okrug	197	99	98
ITEL'MEN — Total	3,180	1,465	1,715
In:			
Kamchatka Oblast	2,296	1,082	1,214
Koryak Autonomous Okrug	1,181	569	612
Magadan Oblast	643	300	343
KAMCHADAL — Total	2,293	1,114	1,179
In:			
Kamchatka Oblast	1,881	903	978
Koryak Autonomous Okrug	132	64	68
KEREK — Total	8	2	6
In:			
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	3	2	1
KET — Total	1,494	712	782
In:			
Krasnoyarsk Kray	1,189	574	615
KHANTY — Total	28,678	13,033	15,645
In:			
Tyumen' Oblast	26,694	12,130	14,564
Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug	17,128	7,850	9,278
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	8,760	3,965	4,795
Tomsk Oblast	873	396	477
Republic of Komi	88	49	39
KORYAK—Total	8,743	4,191	4,552
In:			
Kamchatka Oblast	7,328	3,535	3,793
Koryak Autonomous Okrug	6,710	3,244	3,466
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	55	28	27
Magadan Oblast	888	412	476
KUMANDIN — Total	3,114	1,413	1,701
In:			
Altay Kray	1,663	742	921
Republic of Altay	931	444	487
Kemerovo Oblast	294	126	168
MANSI — Total	11,432	5,167	6,265
In:			
Tyumen' Oblast	10,561	4,786	5,775
Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug	9,894	4,510	5,384
Sverdlovsk Oblast	259	130	129
Republic of Komi	11	8	3

Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East, Russian Federation	Total	By Sex	
		Men	Women
NANAI — Total	12,160	5,636	6,524
In:			
Khabarovsk Kray	10,993	5,083	5,910
Primorye Kray	417	196	221
Sakhalin Oblast	159	69	90
NGANASAN — Total	834	362	472
In:			
Krasnoyarsk Kray	811	355	456
Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Okrug	766	335	431
NEGIDAL — Total	567	249	318
In:			
Khabarovsk Kray	505	222	283
NENETS — Total	41,302	19,267	22,035
In:			
Tyumen' Oblast	27,965	13,078	14,887
Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug	1,290	600	690
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	26,435	12,377	14,058
Arkhangelsk Oblast	8,326	3,877	4,449
Nenets Autonomous Okrug	7,754	3,657	4,097
Krasnoyarsk Kray	3,188	1,461	1,727
Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Okrug	3,054	1,400	1,654
Republic of Komi	708	321	387
NIVKH — Total	5,162	2,379	2,783
In:			
Khabarovsk Kray	2,452	1,140	1,312
Sakhalin Oblast	2,450	1,122	1,328
OROCH — Total	686	322	364
In:			
Khabarovsk Kray	426	199	227
SAMI — Total	1,991	882	1,109
In:			
Murmansk Oblast	1,769	814	955
SEL'KUP — Total	4,249	2,028	2,221
In:			
Tyumen' Oblast	1,857	892	965
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	1,797	864	933
Tomsk Oblast	1,787	871	916
Krasnoyarsk Kray	412	188	224
SHOR — Total	13,975	6,455	7,520
In:			
Kemerovo Oblast	11,554	5,399	6,155
Republic of Khakassiya	1,078	455	623
Republic of Altay	141	75	66
SIBERIAN YUPIK — Total	1,750	835	915
In:			
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	1,534	733	801
Kamchatka Oblast	19	8	11
Koryak Autonomous Okrug	3	2	1
SOYOT — Total	2,769	1,392	1,377
In:			
Republic of Buryatiya	2,739	1,377	1,362

Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East, Russian Federation	Total	By Sex	
		Men	Women
TAZY — Total	276	131	145
In:			
Primorye Kray	256	122	134
TELENGIT — Total	2,399	1,151	1,248
In:			
Republic of Altay	2,368	1,141	1,227
TELEUT — Total	2,650	1,210	1,440
In:			
Kemerovo Oblast	2,534	1,144	1,390
TOFALAR — Total	837	421	416
In:			
Irkutsk Oblast	723	362	361
TUBALAR — Total	1,565	786	779
In:			
Republic of Altay	1,533	772	761
TUVAN-TODZHIN — Total	4,442	2,154	2,288
In:			
Republic of Tyva (Tuva)	4,435	2,150	2,285
UDEGHE — Total	1,657	791	866
In:			
Primorye Kray	918	473	445
Khabarovsk Kray	613	278	335
UL'CHI — Total	2,913	1,366	1,547
In:			
Khabarovsk Kray	2,718	1,273	1,445
YUKAGHIR — Total	1,509	722	787
In:			
Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya)	1,097	528	569
Magadan Oblast	79	43	36