

**ABORIGINAL SIBERIA**  
**A STUDY IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK  
TORONTO MELBOURNE BOMBAY  
HUMPHREY MILFORD M.A.  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

# ABORIGINAL SIBERIA

A STUDY IN  
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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WITH A PREFACE BY  
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OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1914

## PREFACE

BY R. R. MARETT

WHEN, somewhat light-heartedly, I suggested to Miss Czaplicka, after she had taken the Oxford Diploma in Anthropology, that she might most fruitfully undertake a monograph on the aboriginal tribes of Siberia, I confess that I had no clear idea of the magnitude of the task proposed. The number of Russian authorities concerned—not to speak of the students of other nationalities—is simply immense, as Miss Czaplicka's bibliography clearly shows. Moreover, as must necessarily happen in such a case, the scientific value of their work differs considerably in degree; so that a great deal of patient criticism and selection is required on the part of one who is trying to reduce the evidence to order. Now I am sure that Miss Czaplicka has proved herself competent to do this sifting properly. As a result, those students belonging to western Europe who could make nothing of the Russian originals—and alas, they compose the vast majority—will henceforth be in a position to frame a just notion of the social anthropology of these interesting peoples of the Far North. Hitherto, they have had to depend largely on the recent discoveries made by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, or else to go back as far as the classical researches of such writers as Castren or Pallas. Of course there remains much to be accomplished still. In particular, so far as I can judge, the data in regard to social organization are altogether incomplete, and should be made

a first consideration by those trained anthropologists who in the future may be concerned with this region. Needless to say, anthropological science is quite insatiate; wherefore, despite the excellence of most of the material already collected, it is necessary to insist that a far more intensive study of these tribes is needed, and that the time for making acquaintance with their culture in its aboriginal state is fast slipping away. Indeed, apart from its intrinsic interest, the present survey is of the utmost value simply as a guide to the future explorer.

Miss Czaplicka's work may be said, I think, to cover the social anthropology of the aboriginal tribes of Siberia. The physical anthropology, archaeology, and technology she does not profess to touch in the present work. On the other hand, the main aspects of the social life are dealt with adequately; and she has had the happy thought to prefix, in accordance with modern method, an account of the geographical conditions to which the native institutions so closely and characteristically respond.

Now it might seem at first sight that such a work as this, consisting as it primarily does in the systematic presentation of the results of a large number of first-hand authorities, can leave little scope for originality, except in so far as a critical handling of sources must always depend in the last resort on the personal judgement. It seems to me, however, that Miss Czaplicka has in several important respects contributed new ideas of great interest and importance. In the first place, her classification of ethnic groups is, so far as I know, her own; and the fundamental contrast upon which it is based between Palaeo-Siberians, namely, the ancient inhabitants of the country, and Neo-Siberians, namely, all those peoples who have come northwards at any time during, let us say, the last millenium, but have already been resident there long enough to have become differentiated

from their kinsmen in the south, offers a working distinction of first-rate value. There may be, nay, there undoubtedly is, a plurality of racial types within each of the groups so distinguished; but, from the standpoint of social anthropology, it seems of primary importance to lay stress on the affinities produced by culture-contact.

In the next place, Miss Czaplicka has dealt with the problem of the nature of Shamanism in a very novel and, I think, satisfactory way. The difficulty is that, on the one hand, some anthropologists have been wont to use the term Shamanism as a general expression applicable to the magico-religious life of all primitive peoples, at any rate in so far as the notion of 'possession' constitutes a dominant note; while, on the other hand, Shamanism is sometimes treated as if it stood for a specific type of religious experience confined to Northern Asia, and without analogy in any other part of the world. Miss Czaplicka, however, deftly steers a middle course, doing justice to the peculiarities of the local type, or (shall we say?) types, and yet indicating clearly that a number of elements common to the life and mind of primitive mankind in general have there met together and taken on a specific shape. Moreover, Miss Czaplicka has ventured to place her own interpretation on the very curious phenomena relating to what might be termed the sexual ambiguity of the Shaman. I am inclined to believe that her theory of the Shaman's relegation to a third or neutral sex will be found to throw much light on this very curious chapter of social anthropology. Lastly, Miss Czaplicka, with the help of what would seem to be somewhat scattered indications derived from the first-hand authorities, has put together what I take to be the first systematic account of those remarkable facts of mental pathology summed up in the convenient term 'Arctic Hysteria'. This side of her work is all the more important



because, apart from these facts, it is difficult or impossible to appreciate justly the religious life of these Siberian tribes; and to say the religious life of a primitive people is almost to say their social life as a whole.

It remains only to add that British anthropologists will be sincerely grateful to Miss Czaplicka for having introduced them to the splendid work of their colleagues of eastern Europe. What a love of science must have burned in their hearts to enable them to prosecute these untiring researches in the teeth of the icy blasts that sweep across tundra and steppe! The more, too, shall we have reason to congratulate them, if, as a result of the scientific study of the aborigines of Siberia, practical measures are taken to shield them from the demoralization which in their case can be but a prelude to extinction. Unlovely in their ways of life as to us they may appear to be, these modern representatives of the Age of the Reindeer typify mankind's secular struggle to overcome the physical environment, be it ever so inhospitable and pregnant with death. We owe it not only to the memory of our remote forefathers, but to ourselves as moral beings, to do our best to preserve these toilers of the outer marge whose humble life-history is an epitome of humanity's ceaseless effort to live, and, by making that effort socially and in common, likewise to live well.

## AUTHOR'S NOTE

ARE there any true aborigines in Siberia, as there are in Australia and Africa? This is a question not infrequently asked in England, and Siberia is sometimes regarded as a country originally peopled by political exiles and criminals. Only lately has it been realized that, apart from the interest and sympathy aroused by the former and the curiosity felt concerning the latter, Siberia and its people present an interesting variety of subjects for study, and especially for anthropological and archæological research. In the vast mass of literature written on the people of this country, there is nothing which can serve as a comprehensive and concise handbook for the study of anthropology. The works of early travellers which deal with the area as a whole give us nothing beyond general impressions and items of curious information; while the profound and systematic study made lately by the Jesup Expedition is too extensive and detailed for the ordinary student, and further it deals only with the north-eastern district. The *Memoir of the Jesup Expedition* is practically the first work of the kind published in English—that is if we except translations of the writings of some of the earlier travellers mentioned above, such as Krasheninnikoff and Pallas.

Many Russian men of science, who have recently published special works on different districts, take occasion to deplore, in their prefaces, the lack of such a handbook. It is the object of the author, before personally investigating conditions in the country itself, to make an attempt to supply this need; for comparative work of this kind is a task for the study rather than the field.

In the compilation of a work of this kind one realizes only too well the lack of arrangement and the unequal value of the available materials. On the one hand, one finds numerous detailed descriptions of one single characteristic of a people or of a ceremony; on the other, a bare allusion to some custom or a mere cursory account of a whole tribe. Thus the Buryat

scholar, Dordji Banzaroff,<sup>1</sup> complains: 'The Orientalists have long occupied themselves with the inhabitants of the interior of Asia, but their attention was primarily directed to the wars of the Mongols, while the customs, habits, and beliefs of this people were neglected as unimportant in historical research. The faith of the Mongols previous to their acceptance of Buddhism has received no study at all, the reason being a serious one, the inadequacy of the materials for such research.'

Banzaroff, who has described the Black Faith of the Mongols, was himself seriously hampered by the vagueness of the Russian as well as the Mongol literature on the subject<sup>2</sup>; and this in spite of the fact that the religious side of native life has always received more attention from writers on Siberia than the social side.

One of the most earnest pleas for the immediate and systematic study of the Siberian aborigines comes from Yadrintzeff,<sup>3</sup> who was among their truest friends. Lastly, Patkanoff,<sup>4</sup> to whom we owe many statistical and geographical works on Siberia, and who is the editor of the Central Statistical Committee, refers to the immense amount of material collected, varying in period, quality, place and aspect to an extent which greatly impairs its usefulness; and he considers this to be the reason why the ethnological literature of Europe is either silent on the subject of Siberia, or merely touches on it lightly. The same writer enumerates three errors frequently met with in descriptions of the country: (1) Confusion of the tribes. Thus explorers have failed to distinguish until lately the Gilyak from the Tungusic tribes; the Ostyak-Samoyed have been confounded with the Ugrian Ostyak; the Turkic tribe of Altaians proper, because they were ruled for some time by the Kalmuk, are often called 'the Mountain (or White) Kalmuk', and are by some writers actually confused with the Kalmuk, who are Mongols; and so on. (2) Incorrectness in delimiting frontiers. (3) Inaccuracy in reckoning the numbers of natives.

<sup>1</sup> *The Black Faith, or Shamanism among the Mongols*, 1891, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *The Siberian Aborigines, their Mode of Life and Present Condition*, Petersburg, 1891, Preface.

<sup>4</sup> *Statistical Data for the Racial Composition of the Population of Siberia, its Language and Tribes*, Petersburg, 1912, p. 1.

The second of these errors is due to the fact that many tribes are either nomads or mere wanderers. As to the numerical reckoning of the peoples, the payment of *yasyk* (taxes) being made proportionate to the numbers of the tribe, the natives are not anxious to assist in revealing the true state of affairs.

Of the numerous important problems which confront us in the study of Siberia, one of the most interesting is that attacked by the Jesup Expedition, namely, the connexion between the Asiatic aborigines of the North-East and the North-Western Amerinds. Also there is the question of the relation between the Neo-Siberians and the Palaeo-Siberians, and the question of the relation of the different tribes within these groups to each other. The question of the migrations of the last ten centuries is closely connected with the foregoing subjects of research, and no less important is the study of whatever information can be gathered concerning tribes which have become extinct almost within the present generation, such as the Arine, Kotte, Assan, and Tuba,<sup>1</sup> of which the last named were related to the Ostyak of the Yenisei.<sup>2</sup> Some Turkic tribes of the Altai still call themselves Tuba, a fact which suggests the possibility of an admixture with the old Tuba of Yenisei.<sup>3</sup> The Ostyak of Yenisei are themselves dying out; so also are the Yukaghir of the north-east. The latter are the last survivors of a large

<sup>1</sup> All these tribes are referred to in Chinese chronicles of the seventh century as the nation of Tupo, inhabiting the region of the Upper Yenisei and the northern Altai.

<sup>2</sup> Yadrintzeff, *op. cit.*, preface, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> No longer ago than the year 1753 Gmelin saw some of the Arine (Deniker, *Races of Man*, 1900, p. 366), but already in 1765-6 Fischer states that the Arine no longer exist (*Sibirische Geschichte*, 1768, pp. 138-387). Castren (1854-7) came across some five Kotte who made it possible for him to learn their language (*Ethnol. Vorles. über die altaisch. Völk.*, 1855, p. 87). The Omok, living in large numbers between the rivers Yana and Kolyma, are mentioned in Wrangel's work, *Journey to the North Coast of Siberia and the Polar Sea*, 1841, p. 81. Argentoff speaks of the Chellag in his *The Northern Land*, I. R. G. S., 1861, vol. ii, p. 18. Mention is made of the Anaul in Müller's *Sammlung von Russische Geschichte*, 1758, vol. iii, p. 11. From these sources we learn of great tribal meetings between the Chellag and the Omok, and of wars between the Cossacks under Dejnéff and the Anaul in 1649. Deniker supposes (*The Races of Man*, 1908, p. 370) that the disappearance of the tribes is more apparent than real, that the Anaul and the Omok (whose name is a general term, signifying 'tribe') were in fact branches of the Yukaghir, and that the Chellag were a Chukchee tribe. But this is mere conjecture (see Schrenck, *The Natives of the Amur Country*, 1883, p. 2).

family of tribes which included the now extinct Omok, Chellag, and Anaul. Indeed, until Jochelson had investigated the Yukaghir, it was generally thought that they, too, were extinct, or had become absorbed by the Lamut-Tungus.

If the Kamchadal had not been described by Stoller and Krashennikoff, we should now have as little knowledge of them as we have of the extinct tribes, since the Kamchadal are now quite intermixed with Russians.

Perhaps the most neglected of the surviving peoples are the Tungus and the Ostyak of the Yenisei; for the north-east is 'under the microscope' of American workers (including some Russian scientists), and the Samoyedic and Finnic tribes are being investigated by the scientists of Finland. As to the Mongols and Turks, they have always been to some extent under the eye of the Orientalists both of Russia and of western Europe, though the anthropology of the Orient has been overmuch neglected in favour of its linguistics and literature.

The author has found it impossible to include in the present work an account of the physical anthropology and technology of the aborigines of Siberia. Nor has it been possible to describe here the prehistoric life of this region, of which the Yenisei valley alone can supply so wide a field for research. These will form the subject of a future work.

Before closing these observations the author would like to say a few words with regard to the orthography of the non-English words which occur in the text and notes.

All native as well as Russian terms have been spelt as simply as possible, allowance being made for the fact that all foreign vowel sounds are pronounced by English people in very much the same way as those of modern Italian. The names of Polish authors, as they are written in Latin letters, have been left unchanged. The Russian names ending similarly to the Polish (*ski* or *cki*) are variously spelt elsewhere in Latin characters.

In regard to this point, the author has borrowed a hint from the only modern original article on this region written in English by a Russian, namely *The Burgats*, by D. Klementz, in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Klementz

has adopted the same spelling for the ending of Russian names when written in Latin characters as for similar Polish names (i. e. not *sky* or *skii* but *ski*).

The native words taken from the publications of the Jesup N. P. Expedition are written minus the numerous phonetic signs. Any one desiring more intimate linguistic acquaintance with them can always refer to the original.

There is one sound, very often met with in the native words used in this work, which it is impossible to transliterate into western European tongues; namely a hard *l*, written *ł* in Polish, and in Russian ordinary *l* with a hard vowel following. Thus the words Allakh, Boldokhoy ought to be pronounced something like Aouakh, Booudokhoy.

The following abbreviations have been used:

- I. R. A. S.—Bulletin of the Imperial Russian Academy of Science.
- I. R. G. S.—Bulletin of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.
- E. S. S. I. R. G. S.—Bulletin of the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (the Ethnographical Section).
- W. S. S. I. R. G. S.—Bulletin of the West Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (the Ethnographical Section).
- A. S. I. R. G. S.—Bulletin of the Amur Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.
- S. S. A. C.—Bulletin of the Society for the Study of the Amur Country.
- I. S. F. S. A. E.—Bulletin of the Imperial Society of Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography.
- J. N. P. E.—Mémorial of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.
- R. A. J.—*Russian Anthropological Journal*.
- E. R.—*Ethnological Review*.
- L. A. T.—*Living Ancient Times*.
- E. R. E.—Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

I am indebted to so many persons for help in connexion with this book, that it is impossible for me to mention all their names in this necessarily brief acknowledgement. In particular I wish to record my warm gratitude to my tutor, Dr. Marett, who first suggested to me the idea of writing the book, and who, during its preparation, has helped me with many invaluable hints and suggestions. A grateful acknowledgement of much valuable aid is also due to Mr. Henry Balfour of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, and to many other members both of English and Continental Universities.

For a rich supply of materials and bibliographical suggestions I owe thanks to various Russian scholars, especially to Dr. Sternberg, Mr. Maksimoff, Mr. Jochelson, and Mme. Kharuyina. Mr. Jochelson has shown endless patience in aiding me in my search for data, and in resolving my doubts on various points.

To two of my own countrymen, Mr. Pilsudski and Mr. Sieroszewski, Poles who have spent many years in close personal contact with Siberian natives, I gladly take this opportunity of offering my cordial thanks for their help.

A grant from Somerville College enabled me to start the work in the autumn of 1912. Grants for its continuation have also been twice made to me by the Reid Trust of Bedford College, London (in 1912 and 1913). The trustees of this research fund have thus shown a very active and generous interest in the work of one who is twice a stranger, being both of another college and of foreign nationality. I wish to express my special thanks to them.

The task of improving my imperfect English was very kindly undertaken by my friends Miss Hilda Walton and Miss Katherine Menke of Somerville College, and Miss Agnes Dawson and Mr. H. U. Hall, of the London School of Economics and Political Science. Mr. F. H. Nixon kindly attended to the final stage of proof-correcting after my departure from England. I am indebted for the photographs to Mr. Pilsudski, Mr. Stroyecki, Dr. Sternberg of the Imperial Russian Academy of Science, and Prof. Franz Boas of Columbia University.

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## PART I. ETHNO-GEOGRAPHY

### CHAPTER I

#### GEOGRAPHY

SIBERIA occupies the whole of northern Asia, from Turania and the eastern Asiatic plateau to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific. It forms one-fourth of the whole continent of Asia, and has fewer inhabitants than London.<sup>1</sup> The total area is 5,493,629 square miles, or more than the area of the United States, Alaska, and Europe taken together (5,184,109 square miles).<sup>2</sup> Its frontier in the south coincides roughly with the parallel of 50° N. lat., whence it stretches northwards over about 30° of latitude. Its western meridian is 60° E., and from this it extends eastwards through about 130° of longitude.

There are several different opinions as to how the name Siberia originated. Golovacheff<sup>3</sup> thinks that it was taken from the name of an ancient tribe called 'Syvyr' or 'Sybir', who came originally from Mongolia and settled on the banks of the middle Irtysh, in the present Government of Tobolsk. For a long time before the Russian colonization of Siberia this tribe was subject to the Tartaric Khans, and all that remained of it was its name, which was also the name of the chief town of Khan Kuchum—'Sibyr' or 'Isker'. However, when we consider that the name Sibyr was the name by which the Russians called the ancient town Isker, it seems that the opinion of Chyliczkowski<sup>4</sup> is perhaps nearer to the truth. The eastern Slavs, he says, used to call all the northern regions by the name of 'Sievier'. Hence the country of northern Asia, as well as its chief town, 'Isker', was named 'Sievier', 'Sivir', 'Sybir'.

The frontiers of Siberia are very difficult of access. In the south, mountains and deserts separate it from China. In the east, mountains shut it off from the sea, and the sea itself, especially the Sea of Okhotsk, is extremely difficult to navigate on

<sup>1</sup> Nalkowski, *Geografja Rozumowa*, pp. 378-9.

<sup>2</sup> Kennan, *Siberia*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Siberia*, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Syberya*, p. 1.



account of fogs and ice. Northwards Siberia is open to the Arctic Ocean, but, as the mere mention of this name suggests, there is no access for navigators to those shores. The search for a North-East Passage, which occupied four centuries, met its chief obstacle in the rounding of Cape Chelyuskin. Finally, some fifty years ago, Nordenskiöld succeeded in making his way by sea along the Arctic shores, by choosing as the time for his voyage, not the short Arctic summer, when the highest temperature of the region scarcely affords enough heat for the melting of the sea-ice, but the beginning of autumn, when the waters of the Siberian rivers, warmed by the continental heat of southern Siberia, on reaching the Arctic coast form a current of relatively warm ice-free fresh water, setting eastward along the Siberian shores. This memorable voyage of the *Vega*, however, did not establish the possibility of making the route a permanent trade-route to Siberia, for the amount of ice in the Kara Sea in different years is very variable. Hence the proposal to construct a railway between the Petchora and the Ob. Also, the necessity for a long and difficult coasting voyage round the Samoyedic peninsula gave rise to another proposal—to cut a canal through the neck of this peninsula to the mouth of the Ob.<sup>1</sup> Only in the west, owing to the lower altitude of the Middle Ural and the nearness to each other of the Asiatic and European rivers of this region, is Siberia easily accessible. This is the route which war and trade have followed from time immemorial; by this path the chief Asiatic migrations have reached Europe; and now, in the contrary direction, the stream of colonization is passing from Europe into Asia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nalkowski, op. cit., pp. 379-82.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly all Russian writers in describing geographical conditions refer more to the administrative than to the physical division of the country. Therefore, before proceeding with our real subject, we shall give an idea of the administrative division. There are three great 'General Governments'—Western Siberia, Eastern Siberia, and the Trans-Amur Country.

A. *Western Siberia* is composed of:

I. The Tobolsk Government, which is divided into the following districts: 1. Tobolsk; 2. Berezovsk; 3. Surgutsk; 4. Ishimsk; 5. Kurgansk; 6. Tinkalinsk; 7. Tarsk; 8. Turinsk; 9. Tioumensk; 10. Yalutorovsk.

II. The Tomsk Government, divided into the following districts: 1. Tomsk; 2. Barnaulsk; 3. Biisk; 4. Kaiusk; 5. Kuznieck; 6. Mariinsk; 7. Zmeinogorsk.

III. Akmolinsk Territory.

IV. Semipolatsinsk Territory.

In its configuration, Siberia may be regarded as comprising two parts: (a) Western Siberia, from the Ural Mountains to the River Yenisei, of tertiary formation, flat, bounded by mountains in the south; (b) Eastern Siberia, east of the Yenisei, of older geological formation, rising here and there into hilly regions difficult of access, and culminating in high mountains in the extreme east, the region of Bering Sea.<sup>1</sup>

The Amur region forms still a third geographical district. It slopes eastward from the watershed to the Pacific, and its chief river is the Amur, a stream which, with its great tributaries, affords splendid facilities for navigation.

The island of Sakhalin lies opposite the Amur region, and marks the eastward extremity of Siberia.

Being shut in by mountains keeping off the warm winds from the south, and being open to the northern winds, Siberia, owing to its great land-mass, has a cold and continental climate, under the influence of which the windows break with the cold, the milk is sold in pieces, people become blind from the glittering snows, and one's breath becomes frozen. The ground, except on the surface, remains always frozen, except in the south-western parts of Siberia. As, at a certain distance from the surface, the ground keeps the average temperature of the year, and as, taking Siberia as a whole, the average temperature is below 0°, the ground remains frozen for the whole year, notwithstanding certain seasonal differences in climate. When a well was dug at Yakutsk to a depth of 380 feet, the temperature of the ground at this point was found to be 0°.<sup>2</sup> In this eternal ice the bodies of diluvial

B. *Eastern Siberia.*

I. The Yeniseisk Government, divided into the following districts:

1. Krasnoyarsk; 2. Yeniseisk; 3. Kansk; 4. Achinsk; 5. Minusinsk; 6. Turukhansk.

II. The Irkutsk Government, divided into the following districts:

1. Irkutsk; 2. Balagansk; 3. Niznieudinsk; 4. Verkholensk; 5. Kirensk.

III. Yakutsk Territory, divided into the following districts; 1. Yakutsk; 2. Olekuminsk; 3. Viluyk; 4. Verkhoyansk; 5. Kolymak.

C. *The Trans-Amur Country.*

I. Trans-Baikal Territory, divided into the following districts: 1. Chitinsk; 2. Nerehinsk; 3. Verkhneudinsk; 4. Selenginsk; 5. Barguzinsk.

II. The Amur Territory.

III. The Sea-Coast Territory.

IV. The island of Sakhalin. (Northern part of Sakhalin.)

<sup>1</sup> Nalkowski, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 383.

animals, mammoth, &c., long ago extinct, have been found preserved, with bones, flesh, and hair.

Only northern and north-eastern Siberia have a truly Arctic climate; the south and south-west may be called sub-Arctic. It is difficult to draw a definite line between the two zones, but it may be said that Arctic climatic conditions are found further south in the east than in the west.

While the climate of the Northern Zone (i.e. the northern regions of the Tobolsk Government, the northern and central parts of the Yeniseisk Government, the Yakutsk Territory, and the north-east part of the Sea-Coast Territory) is more or less uniform throughout, the Southern Zone has four distinct climatic types. These are—

(a) The south of the Tobolsk and Yeniseisk Governments, and nearly all the Government of Tomsk.

(b) Kirgiz Steppe region, including the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk territories.

(c) South-eastern Siberia, including the Irkutsk and Trans-Baikalian Governments.

(d) The Amur and Sea-Coast regions.<sup>1</sup>

A. First as to the Arctic region. 'Its low level and exposed northern aspect, combined with its high latitude and enormous extension southwards, are the chief reasons which cause the climate of this region to be the most "continental", as it is technically termed, that is, subject to the greatest extremes of heat and cold, of any region on the globe.'<sup>2</sup>

The 'continental' climate has another characteristic, viz. its extreme dryness, the summer being wetter than the winter, especially in eastern Siberia. Towards the north the total rainfall and snowfall decreases. The coldest places are not on the Arctic coast, but further south in the neighbourhood of the middle Yana River. The reason of this is that in the winter the winds blowing in the northern tundra from the Arctic Sea are laden with moisture, and not only cold but also warm currents of air easily reach the flat northern tundra. In the southern mountainous region these warm air-currents, being lighter, rise towards the top of the mountains, and the cold currents of air, being heavier, sink into the valleys, where they cause most bitter cold. Generally during the winter in this part of Siberia it is

<sup>1</sup> See Golovacheff, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Stanford's *Compendium of Geography, &c.*, Asia, vol. i, p. 4.

warmer at the summit of a mountain than it is at the foot. On the coast of the Gulf of Ob, and generally near the Kara Sea, it is cooler than in places of the same latitude east or west. This is on account of the great accumulation of ice in the Kara Sea. With the exception of this small region, eastern Siberia is colder than western, as is shown in the following table of the average annual temperature:

Berezov	.	.	.	.	.	.	-4.6° C.
Turukhansk	.	.	.	.	.	.	-8.2
Yakutsk	.	.	.	.	.	.	-11.0
Verkhoyansk	.	.	.	.	.	.	-16.9

Verkhoyansk (67° 34' N. latitude) is the Asiatic pole of greatest cold. To give an idea of the difference between the winter cold and summer heat, we shall take the average temperature of January and July, the coolest and the hottest months:

	January.	July.
Berezov	-23.7° C.	+16.3° C.
Turukhansk	-23.2	+15.3
Yakutsk	-43.3	+19.0
Verkhoyansk	-50.8	+15.1

To show what the extremes of cold and heat are, we shall give a table of the highest and lowest temperatures:

	Cold.	Heat.
Turukhansk	-56.6° C.	+32.7° C.
Yakutsk	-60.6	+33.7
Verkhoyansk	-67.1	+30.8

In western Siberia the winter temperature varies, but in the east the winter temperature is unchangeable. On the other side of the Arctic Circle the days are very dark; they are marked only by a dull light on the horizon.<sup>1</sup>

Tretyakoff<sup>2</sup> says that in Turukhansk, on the River Yenisei, just without the Arctic Circle, the temperature in winter sometimes falls to -40° C. He says that at such times the atmosphere is so dense that it is difficult to breathe. The earth, the ice, the branches of the trees, crack with a dull noise. One can hear the ringing stroke of the axe on the trees at a great distance. Iron becomes so brittle that any ordinary blow may break it, and trees become as hard as iron. Even the fire seems to burn feebly. In the first half of December, daylight lasts only three hours. The sun rises almost due south, and remains above the horizon only

<sup>1</sup> Golovacheff, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-2.

<sup>2</sup> Tretyakoff, *The Country of Turukhansk*, pp. 74-5.



two hours. At the end of January the climate becomes milder, and the prevailing winds are north, veering to south.<sup>1</sup>

Schimper<sup>2</sup> characterizes the Arctic climate as follows: 'Temperature and illumination constitute the chief characteristics of the polar climate, the former in the long, cold winter, and the short, cool summer, the latter in the long winter night and the long summer day. During the greatest part of the three summer months (June, July, August) the sun is above the horizon continuously for 65 days in lat. 70° and for 134 days in lat. 80°. The summer temperatures are very unequal in the different parts of the polar district, but are dependent, not so much on the latitude, as on the distribution of land and water, and on the presence or absence of warm currents.' Schimper summarizes the main features of the Arctic climate as follows:

1. Shortness of the warm season.
2. Low temperature of the air during summer.
3. Continuous light during summer.
4. Dry winds in winter.<sup>3</sup>

The Arctic snowstorm, which is so characteristic of the winter season, may be visualized from the following description<sup>4</sup>: The first part of November is rich in falls of snow, and in the second part of this month the cold becomes quite severe, and snowstorms or *purgas* (*khykden* in Ostyak) are very frequent, when earth and air are hidden by furiously whirling snow-dust, which penetrates the pores of the most closely-woven cloth. When the *purga* thunders through the wilderness, the native stops in his way, ties up the leather thongs with which he guides his reindeer-team, and lies down at full length upon his sledge, with his head to windward, and the reindeer, too, stretch themselves upon the ground in a similar posture. Sometimes they lie like this for three, or even four days, the man without food, and never moving save to give some fodder to his animals. In the northern region, *purgas* are most frequent between December 15 and January 15. A *purga* never lasts for less than twenty-four hours, and sometimes continues, with short intervals, for twelve days.<sup>5</sup> When, however, the snowstorm passes, there often follows a spectacle which richly rewards the eyes of the traveller.

On the northern horizon a small pale cloud appears.<sup>6</sup> As it

<sup>1</sup> Tretyakoff, *The Country of Turukhansk*, pp. 74-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Plant-Geography*, pp. 663-4. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Tretyakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 72. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

rises higher it glows with a stronger light, and at last assumes the form of an arch, with rays streaming from its curve. Before two hours have passed, these rays increase greatly in size, and appear now rather as belts of lights extending upwards to the zenith. Now they glow with a delicate rosy light, now they disappear, to return again, no longer rose-coloured, but of every hue of the rainbow, as if momentarily illumined from behind by some mysterious light. In the unceasing play of the rays they sometimes combine into a single fiery ball, then spread out again into a colonnade of light. It should be remarked that the streamers, when they cross the zenith, lose their brilliant colours, and appear like a delicate, rarefied mist. The more vivid the aurora borealis, the darker seems the sky. In calm, bright weather, or when there is a light wind from the north, this spectacle continues throughout the night. Sometimes, though not very often, the aurora borealis disappears suddenly, as if sucked in by the sky. This strange natural phenomenon begins to appear in the sky in November, and ceases in March.<sup>1</sup>

B. Southern and south-western Siberia is much milder, although the characteristics of a continental climate are there also quite marked. We shall consider the climate of southern Siberia according to our division of it into four climatic types.<sup>2</sup>

(a) The southern part of the Tobolsk and Yeniseisk Governments, and nearly all the Government of Tomsk, have generally a very severe climate, liable to great and sudden changes:

	Average Annual Temperature.	June.	January.
Tobolsk . . . .	-0.2° C.	+16.6° C.	-19.7° C.
Ishim . . . .	-1.1	+19.3	-19.6
Tomsk . . . .	-0.7	+19.0	-19.6
Barnaul . . . .	+0.3	+20.0	-17.9
Yeniseisk . . . .	-2.2	+20.1	-25.6
Minusinsk . . . .	+0.6	+19.7	-18.6

There are great extremes of both cold and heat:

	Cold.	Heat.
Kurgan . . . .	-35.0° C.	+33° C.
Ishim . . . .	-42.0	+29.0

The climate of the Altai Mountains is also severe, and it is liable to sudden changes, especially on the coasts of the big lakes. From sunset till the following midday the temperature sometimes falls as far as -8° and -9° C., and as early as August the frosts begin. In the southern valleys, separated from the north by the mountains, the climate is milder.

<sup>1</sup> Tretyakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Golovacheff, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-7.

(b) The climate of the Kirgiz Steppe and the Akmolinsk and Semipolatsinsk territories is warmer than the climate of the Tobolsk and Tomsk Governments.

Average Annual Temperature.		Average January.
Akmolinsk	} From +2° to +2.5° C.	-18.5° C.
Semipolatsinsk		

The average range of temperature between winter and summer temperature is 36°, and between January and July the average range is 40°.

In the winter there are rain-storms called Burany, and in the summer there are great winds. There is little rain and snow. Rain in the summer is particularly rare.

(c) South-eastern Siberia, including the Irkutsk and Trans-Baikalian Governments, has long periods of cold, sharp transition from cold to warm seasons, great scarcity of snow in the quiet, windless winter. There are frequent summer rains, except during the years when drought occurs. In the town of Irkutsk the average annual temperature is -0.5°; average for January, -21°; average for July, +18.1°.

Frosts often extend into the middle of May, and they begin again about the beginning of September. A similar average temperature is found on the other side of Baikal, but the average annual temperature in Chita is -2.7°.

The enormous Lake of Baikal has a considerable influence upon the climate of its coasts: it moderates the summer heat and the winter cold, except, of course, when it is frozen. Like north-eastern Siberia, the climate of the Trans-Baikalian valleys is very rigorous, through the cold and the descent of the heavy air from the mountains: 40° of frost is not uncommon there. The summer is abundant in rainfalls and in storms.<sup>1</sup>

(d) The Amur and Sea-Coast region has two sub-types of climate: southern Amur-Sea-Coast type, and northern Okhotsk-Kamchatka type.

The Amur-Sea-Coast climate is exemplified by the following table:

	Average Annual Temperature.	July.	January.
Nerchinsk . .	-5.8° C.	+18.2° C.	-33.5° C.
Blugoveshchensk	-0.7	+21.4	-25.5
Khabarovsk .	+0.5	+20.8	-25.2
Nikolaevsk .	-2.4	+15.3	-24.2

<sup>1</sup> Golovacheff, op. cit., p. 34.

Throughout winter the temperature frequently falls as low as -20°, whilst the summer temperature rises to +37.5° in shadow. The summer rainfall is more abundant here than in Trans-Baikalia.

The Okhotsk-Kamchatka climate is shown from the following table:

	Average Annual Temperature.	July.	January.
Udinsk . . .	-3.5° C.	+16.3° C.	-10.8° C.
Okhotsk . . .	-5.0	+14.2	-15.8
Petropavlovsk .	+2.2	+16.1	-8.0

The humidity of Kamchatka is high owing to the influence of the seas surrounding this peninsula, the moist nature of the ground, and the slow melting of the snows on the Kamchatka Mountains. There is a substratum of lime, which prevents the soil from absorbing the water and thus encourages the growth of tayga. The whole western part of the peninsula is covered by the tayga.<sup>1</sup>

The mountains of southern Siberia give birth to the three great river systems of the Ob, Yenisei, and Lena.

The Ob, the largest river in western Siberia, has its source among the lakes and glaciers of the Altai Mountains. On leaving the mountains and entering the lowlands of the north it divides into a main stream and its great left tributary, the Irtysh, with the Ishym and Tobol. Its tributaries on the right bring it near to the streams of the Yenisei Basin, with which it is connected by canals. The length of the Ob-Irtysh is 3,400 miles.

The Yenisei is regarded in its main stream as the largest of Siberian rivers (Yenisei-Angara, 3,309 miles). It originates in the confluence of two rivers in Chinese territory, Khakema and Bikema by name, after which confluence it is known as the Ulukema. It serves as the basin of many tributaries, including the mountain torrent Kemchik. Cutting through the Sagan Mountains and reaching Russian territory, it is renamed Yenisei (Ioannesi, i. e. 'great water', in Tungusic). It flows along the western foot of the eastern Siberian plateau. Here it has been deprived of western tributaries by the Ob system, the only important left tributary being the Abakan; but it has very important right tributaries, of which the Upper Tunguska (Angara) flows out of Lake Baikal, forming, as it were, a continuation of the Selenga, which flows into that lake. Other tributaries are the Middle and Lower Tunguska.

<sup>1</sup> Golovacheff, op. cit., p. 34.

*Baikal* is the largest mountain lake in the world. It is like a cleft between precipices, and is very deep (1,400 metres), its bottom being lower than some portions of the Pacific bed. The winds blowing from the neighbouring mountains make the lake dangerous for navigation; and the natives on its shores offer sacrifices to it to calm its waters: they call it the 'Holy Sea'.

The *Lena* (Lena-Vitim, 3,280 miles in length) takes its rise in the mountains surrounding Lake Baikal. Its most important right tributaries are the Aldan, Olekma, and Vitim, of which the Aldan brings the Lena system near to that of the Amur.

The *Amur* originates from a double confluence of streams. The smoothly-flowing Ingoda, merging in the rough waters of the Onon, forms the Shilka, a swift, shallow stream, full of rocks and boulders. This river is joined farther on by the Argunia, from which confluence the great Amur is born. (Amur in Tungusic means 'good', 'kind'.)<sup>1</sup>

Besides these largest rivers there are others of some importance, the Yana, the Indigirka, the Kolyma, and the Anadyr of the Chukchee Peninsula.

The mountains of Siberia do not form a continuous chain, but rather a series of detached ranges, in the following order from west to east: the Altai Mountains proper, or Gold Mountains, between the Irtysh and Yenisei rivers; the Sayan Mountains, between the Yenisei and the Selenga; and the Yablonoi Mountains, between the Selenga and the Shilka—the latter being a tributary of the Amur system. The Yablonoi mountain-chain is called in the extreme north-east the Stanovoi Mountains, and these in turn throw off several spurs, including the Verkhoyansk range. The peninsula of Kamchatka has its own volcanic system, of which some peaks attain a height of 5,000 metres.<sup>2</sup>

These mountains are all well forested and rich in minerals. The valleys of the south are very fertile and well adapted to agriculture. This especially applies to the southern districts of the Tobolsk Government and the Akmolinsk Territory. In the west the broad steppes afford excellent ground for cattle-breeding, and are the natural road into Turania. Their flat, low-lying surface is frequently swept by furious wind-storms (*buran*). The Ishym Steppe (between the Ishym and Irtysh rivers) and the Barabine Steppe (between the Irtysh and the Ob) are the largest steppes in which pastoral life is possible, although the abundance

<sup>1</sup> Golovachoff, op. cit., pp. 46-8.

<sup>2</sup> Nalkowski, op. cit., p. 346.

of swamps, with myriads of annoying insects in summer (which force the natives to wear masks), and a local disease called *sibirskaya iazva*, make open-air life not always comfortable. The Barabine Plain is not strictly speaking a steppe, for it contains many marshes and birch forests. It forms a magazine of salt for Siberia.<sup>1</sup>

We may distinguish two physical divisions corresponding very roughly to the two climatic zones of northern Asia, viz., a northern division, with a typically Arctic climate, which comprises the tundra and the tayga; and a southern division, with a sub-Arctic climate, which includes the steppe country, as well as mountains and fertile valleys.

A. In the north the predominant feature is the frozen swamp-desert, known as the tundra. 'Only in the less cold and therefore chiefly southern tracts of the Arctic zone, in the more favourable localities' are found 'willow-bushes and small meadows on river-banks and in fjords,<sup>2</sup> or even clumps of dwarf shrubs, which consist of a denser growth of the same ever-green, small-leaved, shrubby species as appear singly in the tundra among mosses and lichens. . . . Where the climate is most rigorous the vegetation forms only widely separated patches on the bare, usually stony soil, and we have *rock-tundra*.'<sup>3</sup> The peculiar bluish hue of the tundra, and the vast expanse of its flat surface, present to the traveller a curious illusion of having before him a great waste of waters rather than a plain. This resemblance to the sea is heightened when moonlight floods the tundra, or when the wind has heaped up a light snowfall into dunes and undulating furrows.<sup>4</sup>

The swampy surface of these vast frozen deserts renders them impassable except in winter, when they are frozen over.

The animals of the tundra consist chiefly of white or polar bear, arctic fox, lemming, polar hare, and reindeer. The reindeer is found also in more southern provinces, where polar animals do not exist. Reptiles do not live in the tundra at all, but insects abound even in the most northerly parts during summer. At this time of the year the mouths of the rivers are covered with masses of migratory birds. The chief of them are: gull, falcon, white owl, plover, white partridge, and many geese and ducks.

<sup>1</sup> Nalkowski, op. cit., p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> Probably estuaries.

<sup>3</sup> Schimper, op. cit., pp. 685-6.

<sup>4</sup> Tretyakoff, op. cit., p. 7.



Most Arctic animals and birds are white in colour for the greater part of the year.<sup>1</sup>

B. South of the tundra extends the tayga. The region between tayga and tundra is called 'Marginal Forest', and is covered with bushes, dwarf birch, and willow trees. The tayga is composed of primeval forests, which grow on the swampy ground. In the north the tayga has no grass or insects, but nearer the south grass begins to grow and insects to appear, the latter gradually increasing in numbers the farther one goes in a southerly direction.

At a first glance there appears very little difference between western Siberia and the eastern part of European Russia, but the dry and rigorous winter of Siberia is not conducive to the growth of oak, elm, ash, maple, and apple trees, which flourish in eastern Russia. On the other hand, the Siberian fir-tree will very seldom grow in eastern Russia. Towards the south, where firs become gradually more scarce, birch and aspen trees take their place. The northern slopes of the Altai Mountains are covered with sub-polar vegetation, while the verdure of the southern slopes is more of the Steppe order, very rich, and plentifully besprinkled with wild flowers. In the forests are to be found brown and black bears, sables, squirrels, and, nearer to the Steppes, wolves, which are seldom met in the dense forests. Farther south are reptiles, and all southern Siberia is pestered throughout the summer, especially in June, by gnats, midges, gadflies, and horseflies, which disappear with the advent of the snow.

In the Steppe of Kirgiz there are numbers of domestic animals, as well as wild horses, gazelles, and marmots. The Amur country has a combination of the vegetation of northern and central Asia. Farther south appear birds and beasts of prey, such as vultures and tigers. In the soil of the tayga there is often found some gold-dust, or small nuggets of gold, washed down from the rocks of the neighbouring mountains, and called by the gold-diggers *rozsypi* (Russian).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Golovacheff, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 63-5, and Nalkowski, op. cit., pp. 345-6.

## CHAPTER II

### ETHNOLOGY

IN dealing with the ethnology of northern Asia we are confronted with a task of peculiar difficulty. No other part of the world presents a racial problem of such complexity, and in regard to no other part of the world's inhabitants have ethnologists of the last hundred years put forward such widely differing hypotheses of their origin.

In fact, any even probable solution of this racial problem, or any scientific classification based either on resemblances and differences of physical types, on linguistic coincidences, or on common features of material and social culture, would be premature. We shall, therefore, mention the most important attempts at classification that have hitherto appeared in the scientific literature dealing with this subject, and shall propose, so to speak, a temporary classification, based on geographical and historical data. This will afford a convenient basis for the systematic treatment according to their geographical grouping of the tribes dealt with in this work, and will serve as a clue to their chief migrations. It will also permit us to keep within the limits of the Siberian region, a procedure which, while it may be undesirable from a wide racial point of view, is ethnically allowable, since modern Siberia is the home of a well-marked *groupe ethnique*, walled-in, as it were, by her no less well-marked physical frontiers. The western frontier, as being the most accessible, is practically non-existent from an ethnical standpoint; since we find the same Steppe tribes in eastern European Russia as in south-western Siberia, and the same Arctic peoples in Arctic Russia as in Arctic Siberia. Yet although these people, on both sides of the border, have many physical and cultural characters in common, they are more easily and profitably studied in Siberia, for the reason that in Europe their culture and physical type and those of the Russians mingle and interact to such an extent that it is often difficult to distinguish the respective elements.

Until about 1883, i.e. up to the time of Schrenck,<sup>1</sup> all the inhabi-

<sup>1</sup> *The Natives of the Amur Country*, pp. 254-62.

stants of northern Asia were generally known as Ural-Altaians. This name was first used some seventy years ago by the Finnish investigator, M. A. Castren,<sup>1</sup> and was based on similarities in the phonetics and morphology of the languages of the Finns, Lapps, Turks, Tungus, Mongols, and Samoyed. Max Müller accepts this name, calling the Ural-Altai group the northern division of the Turanian family, and basing his reasons for doing so on the linguistic researches of Castren and Schott.<sup>2</sup> These two investigators succeeded in discovering similarities among the agglutinative languages of the tribes mentioned, just as Hodgson, Caldwell, Logan, and M. Müller pointed out resemblances in the Tamulic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Taic, and Melatic languages of the southern Turanian group.<sup>3</sup> 'They must refer chiefly to the radical materials of language, or to those parts of speech which it is most difficult to reproduce, I mean pronouns, numerals, and prepositions. These languages will hardly ever agree in what is anomalous or inorganic, because their organism repels continually what begins to be formal and unintelligible.'<sup>4</sup>

All other tribes of Siberia Müller classes as 'People of Siberia', and places them in the north Turkic division of the Turkic-Altai class.

Müller's 'People of Siberia' comprise the Kamchadal, Yukaghir, Chukchee, Koryak, and all others who do not belong to the linguistic group which Castren called Ural-Altai. These tribes, together with the Aleuts and Eskimo, were called by F. R. Müller (1873) the 'Arctic or Hyperborean races'.<sup>5</sup> In Peschel's book of about the same date these people form two Mongoloid groups, which he considers as extending through Asia, Polynesia, and America. One of these groups, composed of the Ostyak of Yenisei, Yukaghir, Ainu, and Gilyak, he names 'Nordasiaten von unbestimmter systematischer Stellung'. The other group, consisting of all other natives of the north-east, of Amerinds such as the Tlingit, and of the tribes of Vancouver, he calls 'the Bering Tribes'. Now, as Schrenck points out, we can hardly call people like the Ainu, living partly in Nippon, an island washed by the warm current of Kurusivo, an 'Arctic or Hyperborean' tribe; and if the Ostyak, Yukaghir, &c., are 'Northern Asiats of undetermined

<sup>1</sup> *Reiseberichte und Briefe aus den Jahren 1845-9* (1853).

<sup>2</sup> *Altaiische Studien*, 1860.

<sup>3</sup> Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1861, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>5</sup> *Allgemeine Geographie*, Vienna, 1873, p. 188.

position,' so, no less, are the Kamchadal, Koryak, and Chukchee.<sup>1</sup> Schrenck himself forms one class of all the tribes not belonging to the 'Ural-Altai' group, calls them the 'Northern and North-Eastern Palaeasiats', and supposes that they once occupied much more extensive territories in northern Asia, and have been driven to their present inhospitable habitats by more recent comers. He thinks that they are only the remains of a formerly more numerous stock; and that contact with the intruders has influenced especially their physical type. Of these Mongolic types only those escaped contamination who, like the Ainu, fled to the neighbouring islands. The Basques of Europe, he thinks, present an analogous case, being an old people who have been driven out by Celts.<sup>2</sup> Schrenck proposes this classification as a temporary device, until such time as the linguists have determined to what people the Palaeasiats are akin, and terms his classification a historico-geographical one.<sup>3</sup>

Now, if we are to provide a name for these unclassified tribes of the extreme north and east of Asia, who differ in various respects from one another, but have many characteristics in common, and differ still more from the other peoples of Siberia, viz. the Ural-Altaians of Castren, we would propose the name 'Palaeo-Siberians' as conforming better to the historical and geographical data. It is not ambiguous, as 'Palaeasiats' is, for it could not, like the latter, be taken to include other indigenous Asiatic peoples now becoming extinct; and it implies a comparison and a contrast with the other tribes—Finnic, Mongolic, Turkic, Samoyedic, and Tungusic—who are comparatively recent comers to Siberia, and whom we shall call 'Neo-Siberians', not including under this term any Mongols, Turks, or Finns living outside Siberia. These two names explain themselves, and are especially suitable for our comparative study of the natives of this region.

A. The name Palaeo-Siberians, then, is applied to these people as representing the most ancient stock of dwellers in Siberia; and even if the work of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, headed by Professor Franz Boas, should ultimately be held to prove that they migrated thither from America, this would not depose them from their position as the earliest comers among the existing population of Siberia, while it would certainly make the term Palaeasiats meaningless. The investigations conducted by the

<sup>1</sup> Schrenck, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 258. <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

members of the expedition have already proved the cultural and physical similarity, if not the identity, of the peoples on the opposite shores of the North Pacific.<sup>1</sup> The term Palaeo-Siberians must be understood also to include the Ostyak of Yenisei, the remains of a formerly much larger stock, who are as isolated as each tribe among the other Palaeo-Siberians, and are not connected with the North-Western Amerinds.

Some of the recent linguistic researches carried out by a distinguished member of the Jesup Expedition, Mr. Jochelson of Petersburg, throw most important light on the Bering Sea ethnological problem; especially when compared with the linguistic work done by the members of the Jesup Expedition on the American shores. Thus Mr. Jochelson has found that the Aleut and the Eskimo languages are closely connected; they have many roots in common, and the similarity extends both to the morphology and physiology of their phonetics and to many grammatical forms. He thinks the Aleut language is one of the oldest Eskimo dialects.<sup>2</sup> About the Yukaghir language he says that it differs morphologically in many respects from the languages of the Neo-Siberians, but has much in common with the Palaeo-Siberian languages of the neighbourhood. He has made acquaintance with two independent Yukaghir dialects, while the travellers before him thought the Yukaghir languages quite extinct.<sup>3</sup> The Chukchee and Koryak languages are very similar, although the Koryak is more vital and has many dialects, and the Chukchee has practically none.

B. As to the term Neo-Siberians, the various tribes of Central Asian origin whom we group under it have already been so long in Siberia, and have become so intermixed with one another as the result of wars and contact by other means, that they are now sufficiently differentiated from the kindred peoples of the region of their origin to be deserving of a generic name of their own.

The term Ural-Altaians is objectionable linguistically, besides the fact that ethnologically it does not serve to specify the Ural-Altaians of Siberia. Modern linguists, especially those of Finland, Germany, and Hungary, are still at work upon the problem, but have not yet said their last word as to whether or not they approve

<sup>1</sup> See Jochelson, *Ethnological Problems along the North Pacific Coasts*, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes on the Phonetic and Structural Basis of the Aleut Language*, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> *Materials for the Study of the Yukaghir Language, &c.*, 1900.

of the classification of Castren;<sup>1</sup> and exception has justly been taken to the grouping together of Finnic and Tungusic tribes,<sup>2</sup> while it seems no less objectionable from an anthropological point of view to put together in one class such different physical types as those represented by the Mongols and the Turks. Moreover, the term Altaians applies most naturally to the tribes inhabiting the Altai Mountains, and in the first place to the Turkic tribe of Altaians proper (sometimes called the Kalmuk of Altai).

Except as regards substituting 'Neo-Siberians' for 'Altaians' and 'Palaeo-Siberians' for 'Palaeasiats', we shall follow the classification of Patkanoff.<sup>3</sup>

The last census of 1897, of which the results were published in 1904-5, shows the population of Siberia as amounting to about six millions. Now, as the Europeans (Russians and Poles, mostly) themselves number about five millions, the number of aborigines is less than one million.<sup>4</sup> The most complete work on the census

<sup>1</sup> See the work of Prof. H. Paasonen of Helsingfors, 'Beiträge zur finnisch-ugrisch-samojedischen Lautgeschichte' (*Revue Orientale*, Budapest, 1912-13).

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Paasonen, op. cit. For the opposite opinion see the work of Prof. H. Winkler, *Der uralaltaische Sprachstamm, das Finnische und das Japanische*, Berlin, 1909, and his other works.

<sup>3</sup> According to the last census, the European Siberians numbered 4,705,082 (Patkanoff, *Statistical Data for the Racial Composition of the Population of Siberia, its Language and Tribes*, Petersburg, 1912). They comprise five widely different classes: (a) Voluntary exiles, who, even before the Russians annexed Siberia, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, being dissatisfied with Muscovite rule, migrated to Siberia and mixed with the natives, forming a class of Creoles. They are a very hardy stock, athletic and prolific, splendidly adapted for survival in the struggle for existence. Other immigrants joined them in the early years of the Russian conquest. The Russian name for them is *starozily*, from *staryi*, 'old', *zyl* (*zil*), 'lived'—i.e. people who have lived long there. (b) In strong contrast to these are the Russian peasants who have more recently migrated to Siberia, and who have not yet found their places in the new environment—virtual nomads, wandering from place to place in the effort to find a spot in which they can settle down and feel themselves at home. These are known as *novosely*, 'new settlers' (Chyiczkowski, *Syberya*, pp. 6 and 227). (c) Criminals, banished into penal servitude, or deported without being condemned to hard labour. Some of these who have escaped from prison, or (in the case of those who have not been sentenced to confinement) who cannot find employment, become vagabonds or bandits (*brodiagi*, 'Wanders'), and wander through the country; in summer they live on what they can beg or steal, and in winter, sometimes, as a last resource, they give themselves up to the Russian authorities to be incarcerated, this being practically the only alternative to starvation. (d) A fourth class, including Russian officials, merchants, and persons of various professions and occupations, living chiefly in towns and settlements. (e) Finally, political prisoners, mostly



of 1897 is that of Patkanoff, published in 1912, which differs slightly from the statistics of Stanford's *Compendium* of 1906, although the latter is also based on the census of 1897.

The figures, as given by Patkanoff, are as follows:

*Total Native Population* . . . 870,536 (Males, 442,459; Females, 428,077).

Mongols . . . . .	M. 145,987; F. 143,014.
Tungus . . . . .	M. 38,303; F. 37,201.
Turkic tribes . . . . .	M. 221,573; F. 214,166.
Samoyed . . . . .	M. 6,501; F. 6,001.
Finnic tribes . . . . .	M. 12,732; F. 11,965.
Chukchee . . . . .	11,771 (5,811 M.).
Koryak . . . . .	7,335 (3,733 M.).
Kamchadal . . . . .	2,805 (1,415 M.).
Ainu . . . . .	1,457 (769 M.).
Gilyak . . . . .	4,649 (2,556 M.).
Eskimo . . . . .	1,307 (631 M.).
Aleut . . . . .	574 (289 M.).
Yukaghir . . . . .	754 (388 M.).
Chuvansy . . . . .	453 (236 M.).
Ostyak of Yenisei . . . . .	988 (535 M.).

#### THE PALAEO-SIBERIANS.

1. *The Chukchee*. In north-eastern Siberia, between the Anadyr River and the Arctic Ocean (except in the extreme north-east). Many of the Chukchee, according to Patkanoff, are still independent of Russian control, hence the total number of the tribe is

of the educated class, either confined in prisons or kept at hard labour, or banished to live in Siberia under certain restrictions which do not permit of their engaging in occupations suitable for people of their training. By a kind of irony of history, it is just these political prisoners who have turned with interest and sympathy to the study of the native tribes, and it is not too much to say that but for the information collected by them in modern times a book like this could not have been written. Thus we read in the report of Mr. V. Ptitsin, a member of the revisory committee on the work of the East-Siberian section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society: 'It is well known that the best work done, up to this time, in the East-Siberian section of the Imperial Geographical Society, is the work of exiles. Almost all of the work done and the observations made at the section's meteorological stations must also be credited to exiles.' It is hardly necessary to remark that the word 'exiles' in the above quotation is not a euphemism for 'criminals'. The works published in more recent years show that the same can be said of the present state of affairs. Many of the investigators now in the field started their work as political exiles.

The majority of European Siberians are Russians (Great Russians and Little Russians) of the professional class, including a large number of exiles. The Polish element is second in point of numbers. Members of other nations, Germans, Greeks, French, and English, formed an insignificant minority at the time of the last census.

difficult to ascertain. They number probably about 11,771 (5,811 Males).

2. *The Koryak*. South of the Chukchee, between the Anadyr and the central part of the peninsula of Kamchatka (except the coast-lands between the Gulf of Anadyr and Cape Olintovsk). Their number is 7,335 (3,733 M.).

3. *The Kamchadal*. The (comparatively) pure Kamchadal are found chiefly in the southern part of the peninsula of Kamchatka. They number 2,805 (1,415 M.), possibly including some of the Koryak Kamchadal, and not including several wandering tribes.

4. *The Ainu*. In the island of Yezo and the southern part of Sakhalin. Their number is 1,457 (769 M.).

5. *The Gilyak*. Near the mouth of the Amur and in the northern part of Sakhalin. Their number is 4,649 (2,556 M.).

6. *The Eskimo*. Asiatic shore of Bering Strait, as well as the whole Arctic region from Alaska to Greenland; i. e. Asiatic Eskimo as well as American. Number, 25,000. In Asia alone, 1,307 (631 M.).

7. *The Aleut*. Aleutian Islands of Alaska. 574 in number (289 M.).

8. *The Yukaghir*. Between the lower Yana and lower Kolyma Rivers. 754 in number (388 M.).

9. *The Chuvansy*. South of Chuan Bay, on the upper and middle Anadyr. 453 (236 M.).

10. *The Ostyak of Yenisei*. On the lower Yenisei, between the lower Tunguska and the Stony Tunguska as far as Turukhansk. 988 (535 M.).

#### THE NEO-SIBERIANS.

1. *Finnic Tribes*. (a) The Ugrian Ostyak, from the northern part of the Tobolsk district to the mouth of the Ob, and eastward as far as the Tomsk district and the Yenisei River; they number 17,221 (9,012 M.). (b) The Vogul (called also Maniza or Suomi), between the middle Ob, from Beregov to Tobolsk, and the Ural Mountains. They number 7,476 (3,720 M.).

2. *The Samoyedic Tribes*. In the Arctic region from the mouth of the Khatanga River to the Ural Mountains, and thence, in Europe, to Cheskaya Bay. Together with the Yourak, Ostyak-Samoyed, and other small tribes, they number 12,502 (6,501 M.).

3. *The Turkic Tribes*. Only the eastern group of the Turkic race



belongs to Siberia.<sup>1</sup> The central group (Kirgis-Kasak, Kara-Kirgis, Uzbec, Sartas, Tartars of the Volga) and the western group (Turkoman, some of the Iranians of the Caucasus and Persia, Osmanli Turks) inhabit eastern Europe and Central Asia. This eastern, or Siberian, branch comprises: (a) the Yakut in the Yakutsk district along the Lena, as far as the Amur and the island of Sakhalin; with the Tolgan they number 226,739 (113,330 M.); (b) the other Turco-Tartars of the Tobolsk and Tomsk Governments, 176,124 (89,165 M.). All the Siberian Turks number 476,494.

4. *The Mongolic Tribes.* (a) Western Mongols, or Kalmuk, who call themselves Eleut. Only a very small number (in 1897, only 15) of these are found in Siberia; the majority are in Central Asia. (b) Eastern Mongols or Mongols proper. Of these only a small number (in 1897, 402) of the Kalkha, the northern branch, are in Siberia; the rest are in Mongolia. (c) The Buryat, inhabiting the districts round Lake Baikal. Their number is 288,599 (175,717 M.).

5. *The Tungusic Tribes.* (a) Tungus proper 62,068 (31,375 M.), found throughout eastern Siberia from 60° E. long. to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Arctic to the Chinese frontier; (b) other Tungusic tribes, viz. (i) the Chapogir, between the lower and Stony Tunguska; (ii) the Goldi—5,016 (2,640 M.)—on the lower Amur. They are called Twanmon-tze, 'people who shave the head', by the Chinese from their habit of shaving off their hair; (iii) Lamut, along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk; (iv) Manchu (Manjour)—3,340 (2,105 M.)—only a small part living in Siberia, most of them in Manchuria; (v) Manyarg (Manegre, Menegre, Monagir)—middle Amur, about 126° E. long.—160 (75 M.); (vi) Oroch (called also *Chih-mao-tze*, 'red-haired people', by the Chinese) between the lower Amur and the Pacific

<sup>1</sup> That is, if we follow Deniker's division of these people into Eastern, Central, and Western groups. (See his *Races of Man*, 1900, pp. 375-8). Radloff divides the Turks into four linguistic groups: (i) Eastern, composed of Altaian tribes comprising eight linguistic sub-groups: (a) South Altaic (i.e. Altaic proper and Teleut); (b) Barabinsk; (c) North Altaic (Kumanda, Tartar of Chern, or Tuba); (d) Abakansk-Tartar; (e) Chulimsk-Tartar; (f) Sayan and Uriankhai language; (g) Karagas; (h) Ouigur (now extinct). (ii) Western (Kirgis, Kara-Kirgis, Irtysh Tartar, Bashkir, Tartar of Volga). (iii) The Mid-Asiatic (eastern and western Turkestan). (iv) Southern (Turkoman, Turks of the Caucasus, the Crimea, and the Balkan Peninsula). According to Radloff, the Yakut and Chuvash represent a 'strange stream falling into the Turkic ocean'.

coast—2,407 (1,329 M.); (vii) Orochon, on the Olekma River. Their name means 'reindeer-keeper', and they are commonly called Reindeer-Tungus; (viii) Oroke (Orokho, Orotzko)—749 (395 M.)—in the interior and on the eastern coast of Sakhalin; (ix) Solon (lit. 'shooters')—15 (7 M.)—south of the middle Amur, about 120° E. long. All the 'Tungusic tribes together number 76,507.<sup>1</sup>

To the question, Are the aborigines of Siberia dying out? we find an answer in a work of Patkanoff devoted especially to the subject of the increase of the natives of Siberia.<sup>2</sup> He says: 'If we consider the question of the increase of Siberian natives from the geographical or territorial point of view, we can draw the following conclusion. The natives who live in regions almost wholly barren, and those in the northern part of the southern provinces, where agriculture is possible indeed, but is at best an uncertain means of livelihood, are not increasing.'<sup>3</sup> The natives, however, who live along the rivers and, in general, in places where agriculture is possible in middle and southern Siberia, are increasing in numbers, and this in spite of famines and epidemics.<sup>4</sup>

The whole of Siberia was annexed by the Russians towards the end of the eighteenth century, but the beginning of the Russian conquest dates from 1582, when the chief town of Khan Kuchum, Isker, was occupied by the Cossack Yermak. In 1684 another chief of the Cossacks, Dejneff, reached the mouth of the Anadyr. At the end of the eighteenth century Atlasoff occupied Kamchatka.

It is only since the Mongolic war that we hear of the migrations of the different tribes of Siberia, though in reality they must have begun much earlier: the first Manchu invasion of China dates back to the tenth century, and is known by the name of Kidaney or Lao. The second historical invasion was in the twelfth century, and is known by the name of Uy-Dgey or Giney. This caused certain movements of the people of south Siberia. Soon after this, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Mongols, under the chieftainship of Djingis Khan and with the aid of the original Tartaric tribes, after having broken the power

<sup>1</sup> All the above figures are taken from S. Patkanoff, op. cit. The account of the distribution of tribes is taken, with some necessary changes, from the *Gazetteer of Ethnology* of Akira Matsumura of Tokyo, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the Increase of the Aboriginal Population of Siberia, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 165.

of the Giney dynasty in China, subjected to their rule the whole of western Siberia and eastern Europe.<sup>1</sup> Since then the name 'Tartars' was gradually transferred to the western people now called 'Turks'. The pure Tartars no longer exist, and the name is now used collectively for the Turkish tribes intermixed with Mongolian, who possess perhaps a strain of old Tartar blood in them.<sup>2</sup>

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the Mongol-Buryat began to arrive in the country of the upper Amur, and from there they moved to the west, to Lake Baikal. They met here the Turkish tribe of Yakut.<sup>3</sup> The Yakut, who had to give up their territory to the newcomers, made for the Lena, and moved along this river to the north. But this area being already occupied by the Tungusic tribes, they met with great resistance. In the end, however, the Tungus had to go. They went to the west, towards Yenisei, and to the extreme north. Some, too, migrated to the east, to the Stanovoy Mountains, to the Okhotsk, and to the Amur country. But the Yakut did not stay on the banks of the Lena; they went further, to the extreme north, where they caused more disturbance amongst the Palaeo-Siberians. All this migration of Neo-Siberians forced the Palaeo-Siberians to leave their own lands or else to mix with the newcomers, hence obviously their numbers must have considerably decreased.<sup>4</sup> Secondary migrations among the Palaeo- as well as the Neo-Siberians were caused by the invasions of the Russians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not only were they forced to relinquish their land, but they sought to escape registration and the payment of *Yasak*, or taxes.

<sup>1</sup> Schrenck, op. cit., vol. i, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Akira Matsumura, op. cit., p. 341.

<sup>3</sup> Schrenck (op. cit., p. 95) calls the Yakut a Tartaric tribe.

<sup>4</sup> Schrenck, op. cit., p. 257.

## PART II. SOCIOLOGY

### CHAPTER III

#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

##### PALAEO-SIBERIANS

##### I. THE CHUKCHEE.

*The Reindeer Chukchee.*—The most natural division of the Chukchee is into Reindeer and Maritime, the Reindeer people living in camps, and the Maritime in villages.

Among the Reindeer Chukchee, people are often in friendly relations with those in neighbouring camps, or related to them by blood. Since those composing a camp are not always relatives, not the camp but the family must be considered as the permanent unit. The camp, however, is the economic though unstable unit; according to the Chukchee maxim, 'One camp, one herd'. Normally it consists of a few families—from ten to fifteen persons usually. Rich people prefer to divide their herds, thus forming new camps. If they need help in the care of the herd they employ a stranger, the so-called 'assistant'.

Every camp has its 'master', or man living in the 'front tent', *aunralin* or *attooratin*, lit. 'the one in the chief house'; while those living in the other tents are *nim-lungit*, 'camp-companions'.<sup>1</sup> The 'master' is also called 'the strongest one'.

Permission to join the camp must be obtained from those who have already set up their tents there. There exists a class of vagrants who spend most of their lives in wandering about the tundra, sometimes owning a few reindeer, and sometimes none at all.

*The Maritime Chukchee.*—The Maritime Chukchee live in villages, the organization of which is founded on territorial contiguity, not on family relationship. Here the family which has inhabited the village for the longest time uninterruptedly occupies

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 612-28.

the *attooran*, 'front house', or *armaci-ran*, 'the house of the strongest'. The master of this house is called *attooralin*, 'the one of the front house', or *armaci-ralin*, 'the one of the house of the strongest'. Sometimes this man lays claim to a certain privileged relationship with the local spirit, and occasionally he even receives tribute; this custom, however, is by no means general, for many villages have no 'front house' at all.

A special social unit among these people is the outgrowth of their occupation as fishermen; it is called the 'boatful', *attwat-yirin*. It consists of eight oarsmen and one helmsman, the latter being known as 'boat-master', *attw-ermecin*. He is also the owner, and was formerly the constructor of the boat. The skin-boat of former times is now, however, usually replaced by the American whaling-boat. A boat's crew is formed of the nearest relations of the owner,<sup>1</sup> and the products of the hunt are divided among them as follows: Small seals are the property of those who kill them, but the master of the boat receives a seal or two, even if he has killed none himself. 'The meat and the blubber of thong-seals and walrus are divided in equal portions among all the members of the crew. The heads are taken by the master, and the tusks of the walrus go with the head. In due time these heads figure at the ceremonial of heads. Then the walrus tusks are divided among [the] families of the crew. . . . In dividing the hides of the walrus, the master takes that of the first one caught; the man at the prow takes the second; and the following hides are taken by the paddlers, one after another. If the number of walrus killed is too small, the distribution may be continued in order the next year.'<sup>2</sup>

Cases of murder are differently regarded by the Chukchee, according to whether they are committed within or without the family group. In the latter case murder is subject to blood-revenge on the part of the family group of the victim. Murder within the family group is usually considered a matter to be dealt with by that group alone.<sup>3</sup> Bogoras quotes several incidents in support of the Chukchee statement that it is usually a 'bad man' who is murdered by members of his own family group. They think that it is better to dispose of a troublesome individual in this way than to be forced to undertake a blood-feud by leaving

<sup>1</sup> The master of the boat among the Eskimo is called *umialik* (from *umiak*, 'boat'), and the boat's crew as a social organization exists everywhere among the Asiatic and American Eskimo. See Murdoch, *Point Barrow Eskimo*, and Rink, *The Eskimo Tribes*.

<sup>2</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

such a person to be killed by a member of another family. An incident cited by Bogoras to illustrate this point of view concerns the killing of a certain Leivilihin, who was accustomed to ill-use the members of his own family, and worse still, was cruel to his driving-reindeer, which are first among things 'dear to the heart' of the Reindeer Chukchee. One day, with a misdirected blow, he killed one of his team. For this it was decided that he must die. 'Otherwise', they said, 'he will be killed by somebody else, and we shall have a feud on our hands.' His own brother came to his camp, and, watching his opportunity, stabbed him in the back with a knife. This act was approved by the common consent of all the neighbours, because he was 'a bad one, a source of torment to the others'.

Other examples cited, however, show that the victims were sometimes not 'bad men', but that the murderers were simply acting for their own material interests, or in anger. In one such case a rich reindeer-breeder, having killed his wife, had to pay a heavy fine to the brother of his victim. But, on the whole, it appears that such murders are regarded as not being the concern of any one outside the family group.

The duty of blood-revenge lies upon the relatives of the person slain—first the relatives in the paternal line; failing paternal relatives, those on the mother's side are next held responsible. Certain friends, especially 'group-marriage' companions, are also held to the duty of taking revenge for blood.

Each camp has its 'strong man', and sometimes also its 'violent man'. The 'strong man' (*ermecin*) is sometimes the master of the camp. He has a stronger influence among the Maritime Chukchee than among the Reindeer people where each camp 'lives its own independent life'.<sup>2</sup>

This is shown in the following incident related by Bogoras: In the Chukchee village Valkalen, where Bogoras stopped for two days to rest his teams, an *ermecin*, named Canla, offered to sell him a large bag of seal blubber as seasoning for the food of the dogs. Such food was usually paid for with compressed tea and leaf-tobacco; but Canla did not want these. He wished to buy a fine white Russian bitch, leader of one of Bogoras's teams, and offered,

<sup>1</sup> The common consent of the neighbours to the killing of a 'bad man' is of great importance also among the Eskimo (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 582, quoted by Bogoras); Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 663.

<sup>2</sup> Bogoras, *op. cit.*, pp. 641-2.

besides the blubber, a beaver-skin and two fox-skins as payment. The owner of the dog, a Cossack in Bogoras's party, would not sell, because Canla did not have the peltries with him. The *ermecin* took back the blubber and departed, deeply offended because his promise to pay was not trusted. When Bogoras tried to buy food elsewhere in the village no one would sell; 'Canla is the *ermecin*,' the villagers explained, 'and he says "no traffic".' Finally, they were forced to hand over the bitch to Canla, who in due time delivered the promised peltries.<sup>1</sup>

The 'strong man' in modern times is simply a man of great physical strength, daring temper, and adventurous disposition; but when the Chukchee were frequently at war with the Koryak, Eskimo, and Cossacks, the 'strong man' was the hero, as we see in the extant primitive Chukchee war epic.<sup>2</sup>

'The Chukchee are described as less perfidious, and as dealing more frankly with their enemies than the other tribes';<sup>3</sup> hence we find in their tales fewer descriptions of night attacks and murders of the sleeping than of battles consisting of a series of single combats.

There is at present no class of slaves, but such formerly existed, as we see from the tales; and Bogoras even met men who described themselves as the descendants of slaves. As to the origin of this slave class Bogoras says: 'The term for a male slave was *purel*, and for a female slave *nauchin*. The latter is simply a variation of the word *neusqät*, "woman". Other synonyms of the word *purel* are *amulin*, *viyolin*, *gupilin*. Properly speaking, a *purel* was a captive of another tribe, or perhaps a man of the same tribe who was enslaved in lieu of blood-revenge. . . . *Amulin* signifies also "weak one", "weakling", and is used as an invective, especially with the superlative prefix *ciq* (*ciq-ämulin*, "a very weak one"). *Viyolin* signifies "assistant", and is used even for some of the benovolent spirits. *Gupilin* signifies "a working-man", and is applied to all workers, male and female, even those belonging to one's own family. Nevertheless, all these terms are used in a contemptuous sense, and may be used as invectives. They are applied also to the real slaves almost without discrimination."<sup>4</sup> 'I was told that in cases of murder blood-revenge may be replaced by the taking of a man from the family of the murderer. This man must wholly replace the [victim]. He must perform his

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 646.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 644-5.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 659.

work and all his duties. Thus in the case of the Chukchee killed at the Anui fair in the year 1895, of whom I have spoken before, the kinsmen of the one killed came to the fair the next year, and asked for retribution. They were offered tea, sugar, and tobacco. They took all this, but then asked for the Cossack who killed the man, or at least any other of the Cossacks. He was to be taken to the tundra, and to live there in the family of the killed man, to be a husband to his widow, a father to his small children. Then only might the feud be considered as wholly settled. They repeated the request the following year, and were again paid in tea and other valuables.<sup>1</sup>

A case is also cited by Bogoras in which a boy was actually taken from the family of the slayer to replace a murdered man. This writer knows of no other cases in which a dead kinsman was replaced by a living enemy; but he was told that in former times there were frequently such cases, that the substitutes were treated like slaves, and had to obey their masters blindly, on pain of being themselves put to death.<sup>2</sup>

In the tales there is mention of the capture of numbers of herdsmen along with the herds taken in war. These herdsmen were enslaved, being particularly valuable in that they 'knew their own herds better than the victors'. 'Captive women were hard-worked, and were made the wives of their masters. Sometimes they were sold from one camp to another; but, on the whole, their position was little different from that of the Chukchee women.'<sup>3</sup>

A group of kindred families is called *varat*, i. e. 'collection of those who are together'. A member of such a group is called *enan-varatken*, 'one of the same *varat*'. Another name for the group is *cin-yirin*, 'collection of those who take part in blood-revenge'. Since the custom of blood-revenge still exists in full vigour, the last name is of great importance. 'The Chukchee *varat* may perhaps be called the embryo of a clan; it is unstable, however, and the number of families "that are together" changes almost every year. Moreover, when one *varat* picks a quarrel with another (usually one living in the neighbourhood) there will always be a few families that are connected equally with both interested parties.'<sup>4</sup>

In former times, according to Bogoras,<sup>5</sup> there existed a clan organization more strict than the present-day *varat*. It consisted

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., p. 661.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 660.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 543.



of from ten to fifteen related families, living always together, dividing among themselves various occupations, such as hunting, fishing, and reindeer-breeding, and keeping themselves continually in readiness for war. If this is so, we cannot, with Mr. Bogoras, regard the *varat* as a clan in embryo, but rather as a decadent relic of a former more regular clan organization. The 'clans' established by the Russian administration among the Chukchee are purely arbitrary, and have no relation to their old clan system—whatever its real nature may have been. 'The whole territory of the Chukchee was divided into five parts, and each of these parts, with the people living in it, was called a "clan". Some rich reindeer-breeder among those friendly disposed to the Russians was called "Chief".' He is also known by the names 'Chukchee King', 'Black King of the Tundra', 'Chukchee Tsar'.<sup>2</sup> All this has not made the enforcement of tribute easier: many Chukchee are still practically outside the sphere of Russian control.<sup>3</sup>

The individual Chukchee family is composed of a husband with his one, or several, wives, and his children. His parents, with their unmarried children, usually live near by. Old people enjoy considerable respect; this is especially the case among the Reindeer Chukchee, and Bogoras<sup>4</sup> assigns as the reason for this the fact that the father retains the herd as long as he lives. But he states that even among the Maritime Chukchee 'those that cannot walk are carried on the shoulders of their young relatives'.<sup>5</sup>

Although, as stated above, the family is the only stable social unit, even this institution is not so firm as among other Siberian tribes. It often happens that an adult male or female member of the family will depart in order to seek a new home for himself or herself, individual migrations of this sort being frequent from Maritime to Reindeer Chukchee and vice versa.<sup>6</sup>

*System of Relationship.* 'In the Chukchee system of relationship', says Bogoras, 'the paternal line preponderates to a marked degree over the maternal. The first is designated as "that coming from the old male (buck)" (*kirnaipu-walin*), also *kirne-tomgin*, "old male (buck) mate", or as "that coming from the penis" (*yaelhepu-walin*).

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> An eighteenth-century traveller in the Chukchee country, Sarytcheff by name, says, 'The Chukchee have no chiefs or authorities. Each community has a man who is richer than the others, or who has a larger family; but he also is little obeyed and has no right to punish anybody' (*Sarytcheff's Fleet* . . . 1785-93, vol. ii, p. 107).

<sup>3</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., p. 543.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 544.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 545.

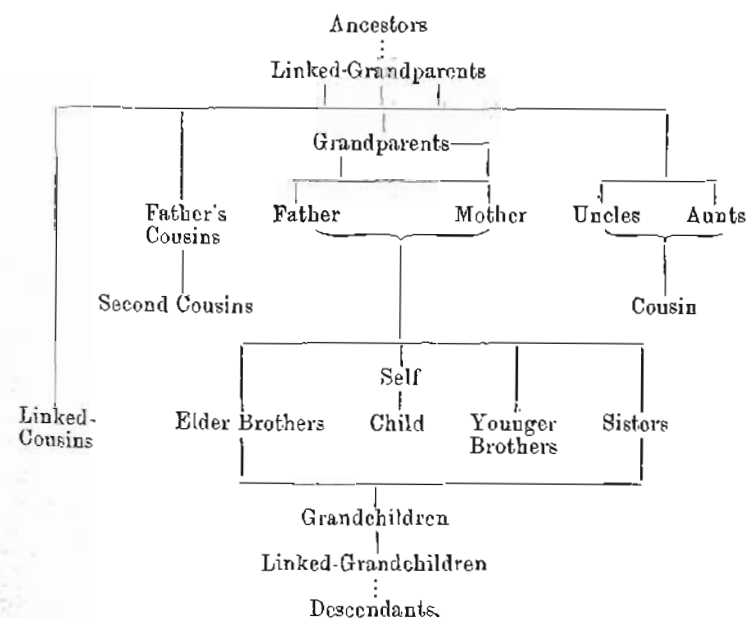
<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 537.

[*Kirne-tomgin* or *kirna-tukalhin* means also generally "older relative"; *kirneyicmit-tomgin*, "older brother". For *tukalhin* see p. 540.] The second is designated as "that coming from the matrix" (*kigolhepu-walin*). The paternal relatives are also called "those of the same blood" (*ennenmulilit*), meaning the blood with which the usual sacrificial anointment is administered.<sup>1</sup> At the 'ceremonials the people paint their faces with blood, and persons of the same paternal line of descent use the same marks, which descend from generation to generation'.<sup>2</sup> 'Paternal relationship is considered to be much stronger than maternal relationship. There is a Chukchee saying that has it that even a distant relative on the father's side is much nearer to the heart than a maternal cousin.'<sup>3</sup>

There is no word for 'family' in Chukchee: *rayirin* means 'houseful' or 'those in the house', and *yaratomgit* signifies 'house-mates'. A member of the family who leaves the house ceases to have these names used in reference to him.

The following tables<sup>4</sup> show the recognized degrees of blood-relationship and the terminology used for them.

#### SYSTEM OF CONSANGUINITY.



<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 537.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 538.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 537-8.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 540.

## TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY.

<i>Attuolon</i> ('fore-goer')	Forefather (ancestor).
<i>Yilhi-mirgin</i> ('linked-grandfather')	Great-grandfather. <sup>1</sup>
<i>Mirgin</i> <sup>2</sup>	Grandfather and great-uncle.
<i>Apainin</i>	Grandfather (children's term—augmentative form from <i>epi</i> , 'father').
<i>New-mirgin</i> ( <i>ne</i> , <i>new</i> , 'woman')	Grandmother and great-aunt.
<i>Epigai</i>	Grandmother (children's term).
<i>Enduo</i> <sup>3</sup>	Uncle, paternal and maternal.
<i>Eccai</i>	Aunt, paternal and maternal.
<i>Elihin</i> (address: <i>ate</i> , 'papa')	Father.
<i>Ela</i> (address: <i>amme</i> , 'mamma')	Mother. <sup>4</sup>
<i>Elihit</i> ('fathers')	Parents.
<i>Yicemit-tomgin</i> <sup>5</sup> ('fellow-brother')	Brother.
<i>Ine-elin</i>	A brother or sister older than myself.
<i>Ele-ni</i> <sup>7</sup>	A brother younger than myself.
<i>Enan-inaalin</i>	The eldest brother.
<i>Enan-elane</i>	The youngest brother.
<i>Wuthitcen</i>	The middle brother.
<i>Cakihet</i>	Sister (male language).
<i>Impici-cakihet</i>	Elder sister (male language).
<i>Wuthitca-cakihet</i> , or <i>wuthitcen</i>	Middle sister (male language).
<i>Nenca-cakihet</i>	Younger sister (male language).
<i>Caket-tomgin</i> ('sister-mate')	Sister (female language).
<i>Impici-caket-tomgin</i> ('elder sister mate')	Elder sister (female language).
<i>Wuthitca-caket-tomgin</i> ('middle sister mate')	Middle sister (female language).
<i>Nenca-caket-tomgin</i> ('younger sister mate')	Younger sister (female language).
<i>Yelhi-tomgin</i> ('cousin-mate'), more rarely <i>yelo</i>	Male cousin, paternal and maternal.
<i>Naw-yelhi-tomgin</i> (in respect to male cousins)	Female cousin, paternal and maternal (male language).
<i>Nangel</i>	Female cousin, paternal and maternal (female language).

<sup>1</sup> The fourth degree of relationship is expressed by means of the prefix *yilhi*, 'link', 'junction', e. g. *yilhi-elue*, 'great-grandson', *yilhiloo-tomgin*, 'male cousin twice removed' (ibid.).

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes one particularizes, *eliu-mirgin*, 'paternal-grandfather', and *ela-mirgin*, 'maternal grandfather' (ibid.).

<sup>3</sup> This term may be made more definite by the addition of *eli*- and *ela*-: *elihindue*, 'paternal uncle'; *elandew*, 'maternal uncle' (ibid.).

<sup>4</sup> *Amme* probably means the mother's breast. *Ate* and *amme* are used chiefly by young children (ibid.).

<sup>5</sup> *Impina-chin* and *impina* mean lit. 'old man' and 'old woman' (ibid.).

<sup>6</sup> The stem *tomgi* means 'companion', 'mate', also 'kinsman'. It is used in forming compounds denoting various degrees of relationship, sometimes only between males, sometimes only between females (ibid.).

<sup>7</sup> *Ine-elin* and *eleni* are used by both males and females. The former term is pronounced by women *inelin*, according to the rules for female pronunciation, in which all contractions are avoided (ibid.).

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 539.

<i>Elek</i>	Son.
<i>Ne-ekik</i>	Daughter.
<i>Elue</i> (plu., <i>eluegot</i> )	Grandson and nephew.
<i>Eloo-tomgin</i>	Parents' cousin's son (male language).
<i>Eluego-tomgin</i>	Parents' cousin's son (female language).
<i>Nandoo-tomgin</i>	Parents' cousin's daughter (male language).
<i>Nanduego-tomgin</i> <sup>1</sup>	Parents' cousin's daughter (female language).

'Of all these terms, a collective may be formed by means of the word *-rat*, *-ret*, which signifies "collection", "set", and is used only in combination with others. Thus, *yicemret*, "company of brothers"; *cakettirat*, "company of sisters" (in regard to male relatives); *yelhirat*, "company of male cousins"; *kret*, "company of boys" (*k*, shortened for *keminin*, "boy", "child").'<sup>2</sup>

To indicate relationships beyond these classified degrees there are used two other terms: *cimcekin*, 'the near one', and *cicelkin*, or *cicelen*, 'kinsman'. The latter term is wider in denotation than the former.<sup>3</sup>

SYSTEM OF AFFINITY.<sup>4</sup>

## Affinity of Male.

Relatives-in-law  
(Father-in-law and Mother-in-law).

Relatives-in-law (Brother-in-law and Sister-in-law).	Self	Wife	Wife's sister's husband.	Child-in-law's parents.
		Son. Daughter.		Daughter-in-law. Son-in-law.

'For the female the system is practically the same, except that in the table of affinity the *takalhin* ("wife's sister's husband") relation is not found.'<sup>5</sup>

The collective term for relatives by affinity is *mataliramkin* ('affinity people').

TERMS OF AFFINITY.<sup>6</sup>

<i>Matalin</i>	Father-in-law.
<i>Nematalin</i> <sup>7</sup>	Mother-in-law.
<i>Imetaper</i>	Son-in-law.
<i>Leti</i>	Daughter-in-law.

<sup>1</sup> Women among themselves use simply the term *nangel* (ibid.).

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 539.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 541.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 539.

<sup>7</sup> From verb *netakin*, 'thou takest', 'thou takest to wife' (ibid.).

Brother-in-law.  
Sister-in-law.  
Husband of wife's sister.  
Son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's father.  
Son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's mother.

en men married to two sisters is considered  
l in ancient times, according to Bogoras,<sup>2</sup> it  
stronger than brotherhood. Such men call  
which means literally, 'brace-companion'.  
bond is expressed in the following proverbs:  
sister (is) of the old male-brother beyond'  
*et-tomgepu paroc*; 'Man of the wife's sister  
eshore a fall-companion' (*Takalhin eman*)  
—that is to say, that they must fight and

all its degrees is denoted by the suffix *-ilqāl*,  
g. *uwaquilqāl*, 'intended for husband',  
*ilqāl*, 'intended for wife', i. e. 'bride'.

father.  
mother (also, in polygynous families, 'another  
ife of my father').  
son.  
daughter.  
brother.  
sister (in respect of the brother).

*jilqāl*, 'step-grandmother', is often used in

## II. THE KORYAK.

e only well-defined and stable social unit  
ough there are indications of a tendency for  
marriage to draw together in larger groups,  
al and material obligations—a tendency that  
e establishment of a real clan organization,  
e influence of the Russians.<sup>5</sup>

g man', *neusgat* means 'woman'. These terms  
d parties. Sometimes they say also *Endew-matalin*  
*sinaw-matalin* ('wife's aunt') (ibid.).

perhaps this relation may be considered as a sur-  
e, although at present group-marriage between  
y (ibid.).

gale, p. 761.

The tendency towards a wider social grouping is seen also in  
the custom of fraternizing with members of unrelated families.  
ochelson says that there is no formal rite accompanying the  
establishment of these friendships, that there is merely an ex-  
change of gifts between the friends. In former times members  
f such alliances were bound to help each other in war; nowadays,  
s wars are no longer waged, there are only certain obligations of  
utual material assistance. Women also form such friendships.<sup>1</sup>

In the old warlike days there was a class of slaves, about whom  
ochelson speaks as follows:

'The Koryak say that in ancient times the rich and the strong  
men held slaves. These remained at home and were employed  
for different kinds of housework, and under the supervision of the  
women. It is difficult to ascertain how far they were the property  
of the conquerors, and whether they could be bought and sold.'<sup>2</sup>

As in the case of the Chukchee, the Koryak have, in modern  
times, been grouped by the Russian administration into what the  
latter call 'clans'. These have no relation whatever to any  
original system of grouping according to family relationship.  
The modern clan system is territorial in origin, and is simply due  
to the mistake on the part of the Russians of confusing the social  
system of these people with the more developed form seen among  
the Tungus and Yakut. Even as a territorial group system the  
present nomenclature is misleading, for, since their original  
migration, many families have migrated to other districts. The  
men chosen by the Russians as chiefs of these 'clans' are not the  
natural heads of the community.<sup>3</sup>

Jochelson gives the following account of the Koryak custom of  
blood-revenge: 'The duty of avenging the murder of a relative  
fall upon the male members of a consanguineous group. Ac-  
cording to the account of the Koryak, the immediate avengers  
were the brothers; then followed cousins, nephews, and the more  
remote relatives on the father's or mother's side. In case there  
were no brothers, the father or uncle, unless impeded by age,  
would take their place. On the whole, however, vengeance by  
blood was considered by the Koryak to be the duty of all blood-  
relatives, and not of single individuals. A consanguineous group  
consisting of one or several families was also jointly responsible  
for a murder committed by one of its members, and in so far

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 763-4.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 766.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 767-8.



must be regarded as one juridical personality.<sup>1</sup> We know that the old men often attempted to check the spread of blood-revenge. For this purpose ransom was resorted to. Reindeer people would give reindeer to the family of the victim; while the ransom of the Maritime people would consist of skins, embroidered clothes, arms, and other articles.<sup>2</sup>

The family formed a group, bound by certain *taboos*. Thus the hearth, the family drum, and the fire-drill were *taboo* to all outsiders. The principle of seniority was preserved not only in the family but in the settlement. In the latter, as long as no stronger man appeared, the founder was considered the elder. Thus, by seniority we are to understand superiority not only in age but also in physical strength. The elder's dwelling was distinguished by having erected near it a post, known as the guardian of the settlement. The elder usually had many wives and children, and the respect in which he was held was extended to his family even after his death. He often possessed shamanistic powers, or else kept a shaman helper. Shamans were also held in great esteem in social life.<sup>3</sup>

The Koryak family is organized on the principle of seniority, the father being the head of the family. After his death, his brother or eldest son, or, failing these, his adopted son-in-law, married to the eldest daughter, takes his place as family head.<sup>4</sup> This principle of the authority of the senior obtains also among women. The mother is the head of the family, so far as household affairs are concerned; or, failing her, the wife of an adopted son-in-law, or the wife of the eldest son.<sup>5</sup>

With regard to the position of women, the following data are given by Jochelson: 'The men get the best pieces of food, the women receive what is left over. Thus among the Reindeer Koryak, only the men sit around the food which is served in the

<sup>1</sup> The last two rules would seem to show that the social organization of the Koryak, whether it was into larger family group or clan, was already fairly advanced, since responsibility for crime and punishment were no longer in the hands of individuals.

<sup>2</sup> Here we see a still more advanced stage of development of primitive law: peaceful settlement of blood-feuds by compensation. (Op. cit., p. 771.)

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 762.

<sup>4</sup> The bridegroom, however, very seldom goes to live in his father-in-law's house. Of 181 marriages registered by Jochelson, only 11 (6%) were cases in which the son-in-law was adopted into his father-in-law's family. (Op. cit., p. 744.)

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 744.

inner tent; and, besides the children, only the mother or the eldest wife is present, who distributes the food, or treats the guests. The other women and girls receive the leavings, which they eat in the outer tent. Among the Maritime Koryak, too, the women and girls eat separately, by the hearth, after the men have eaten.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, the husband will often consult his wife about affairs, and a daughter's preference is frequently consulted with regard to her marriage. Generally, the attitude towards a wife is one of kindly protectiveness; and Jochelson observed that Koryak families were for the most part united and happy.<sup>2</sup>

### TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY.<sup>3</sup>

<i>Yilyu-acice, yilyu-apa</i> ('linked grand-father') <sup>4</sup>	Great-grandfather.
<i>Acice</i> (Paren), <i>apa</i> (Kamenskoye), <i>apapel</i> (Reindeer Koryak)	Grandfather and great-uncle (paternal and maternal).
<i>Yilni-ana</i> ('linked-grandmother') <sup>4</sup>	Great-grandmother.
<i>Ama, ana</i> . . . . .	Grandmother and great-aunt (paternal and maternal).
<i>Eunio</i> (Chukchee, <i>endio</i> ) . . . . .	Uncle (paternal and maternal).
<i>Itcei</i> . . . . .	Aunt (paternal and maternal).
<i>Apa</i> (Paren), <i>tata</i> (Kamenskoye) <i>enpic</i> (Reindeer Koryak)	Father.
<i>Ellu</i> ( <i>euva, amma</i> , terms of endearment used by Reindeer Koryak) <sup>6</sup>	Mother.
<i>Enpiciket</i> (dual of <i>enpic</i> , 'the fathers')	Parents.
<i>Quitakabin</i> . . . . .	Brother.
<i>Eninlan</i> . . . . .	Eldest brother. <sup>5</sup>
<i>Etcani</i> . . . . .	Younger brother.
<i>Cakit</i> . . . . .	Sister.
<i>Enpici-cakit</i> . . . . .	Eldest sister. <sup>5</sup>
<i>Nenca-cakit</i> . . . . .	Younger sister.
<i>Yilalni-tumgin</i> (female cousin, <i>nau-yilalni-tumgin</i> )	Cousin (paternal and maternal).
<i>Kminin</i> , or <i>akik</i> ( <i>Quikminin</i> , 'boy')	Son.
<i>Yilni-kminin</i> ('linked-son') <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	Grandson.
<i>Narakik</i> . . . . .	Daughter.
<i>Yilni-narakik</i> <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	Granddaughter.
<i>Illawa</i> (niece, <i>nau-illawa</i> ) . . . . .	Brother's or sister's child.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 745.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 743.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 759.

<sup>4</sup> 'It is also of interest', says Jochelson, 'that the Koryak terms for grandson, granddaughter, great-grandfather, great-grandmother, are formed by a combination of the word "linked" with primary terms for son, daughter, &c.' (Op. cit., p. 760.)

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 760.

<sup>6</sup> That the eldest brother and sister are named by distinct terms shows the importance of their position in the family (ibid.).

TERMS OF AFFINITY.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Matalan</i> . . . . .	Father-in-law and brother-in-law.
<i>Nau-matalan</i> . . . . .	Mother-in-law and sister-in-law.
<i>Inticulpi</i> . . . . .	Son-in-law.
<i>Inte</i> . . . . .	Daughter-in-law.
<i>Takalnin</i> . . . . .	Husband of wife's sister.
<i>Nau-takalnin</i> . . . . .	Wife's sister.
<i>Naul</i> ('female friend') . . . . .	Term of address used by one wife to another wife.

## III. THE YUKAGHIR.

At the time of the Russian conquest the Yukaghir had a fairly well organized clan-system, which is, however, now in decadence. But there is no tribal unity among them<sup>2</sup>; and, as Jochelson points out, there are no traditions concerning a tribal ancestor in their myths, as there are in those of the Koryak.<sup>3</sup>

The Russians nominally accepted the clan organization of the Yukaghir as the basis of their administrative divisions of the tribe; but this was only in appearance, for they often joined into one fragments of different clans; and a Yukaghir clan of to-day, as arranged by the Russians, is composed of people who have nothing in common, says Jochelson, save 'the mutual obligation to pay tribute', the 'old man' of former days being replaced by an elder elected under Russian supervision.<sup>4</sup>

From an analysis of the clan-names of the Yukaghir, Jochelson comes to the conclusion that their original clans 'comprised not merely groups of consanguineous families, but also families connected only by the fact that they inhabited common territory'.<sup>5</sup> The testimony of the Yukaghir confirms the conclusion.<sup>6</sup>

Thus he says that the central consanguineous group in a clan traced their descent from a common ancestor often as far back as to the sixth or seventh generation, while outsiders constitute the territorial element in the clan. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the Yukaghir say that for purposes of marriage the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 760.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever feeling of tribal unity may exist is shown only in the fact that the clans never fight among themselves, except as a result of disputes about women, or in cases of blood-revenge: organized war is levied only against other tribes. (*The Yukaghir*, etc., p. 126.)

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus*, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> The Hare clan on the Yassachna River, for instance, is known as 'Hare clan', 'Hare descent', or 'Hare custom', while the same people are also called 'the people from the Yassachna River' (ibid.).

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 116.

fourth generation are no longer relatives, and yet the clansmen can trace their genealogies often for many generations.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the origin of Yukaghir clan-names, Jochelson observes: 'The animal names of some Yukaghir clans might lead us to suppose that they had some connexion with totemic cults, if it were not for a total absence of totemic conceptions among the modern Yukaghir. The name of the ancestor of the Yassachna Yukaghir, "Tabuckan" (Hare), might point towards his identity with an animal, the hare; but even that much cannot be said in regard to the names of the other two clans. The Yukaghir say that the Korkodon people were called the Fish clan, because they fed exclusively on fish, while the Goose clan owes its name to the incident that one of its shamans once turned into a stork (not as might be supposed, into a goose) and flew about with the birds. Thus these names do not seem to contain any indication of a former existence of totems among the Yukaghir.'<sup>2</sup>

Clansmen still preserve the memory of the common clan ancestor, although his cult is at the present day in decadence. The territorial element, which may even not be Yukaghir at all, but Tungus, Koryak, or Chuvantzy, has been assimilated and allowed to join in the cult of the ancestor of the consanguineous group. The process of assimilation has to some extent been assisted by intermarriage, though this has not affected the matter so much as it might have done if marriage among the Yukaghir were not endogamic (i.e. within the clan, not within the village).<sup>3</sup>

There were, however, other factors which advanced the assimilation of the inner and outer groups in the clan. These were the 'old man', the shaman, the 'strong man' with his warriors, and the first hunter with his group of inferior hunters. Of these, the 'old man' and the shaman belonged of necessity to the consanguineous group in the clan. The 'old man' regulated war, fishing and hunting expeditions, selecting the resting-places during the wanderings of the clan, and assigning the district for hunting, &c., to each group, if the clan separated for the purposes mentioned. 'He brought sacrifices to the spirit of the clan ancestor, presided at festivals, and enforced obedience to the established customs.' As a rule the oldest man of the clan was the 'old man', but in some cases the ablest elder was chosen. 'In all important matters, the "old man" of the clan consulted the oldest representatives of the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 117-18.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 119.

separate families, the *polutpe* (i.e. "the old men"), who constituted a council, and by whose advice the "old man" was not infrequently guided.<sup>1</sup> His wife held a similar position among the women, although the powers of government were in the hands of the 'old man', whom both men and women must obey. She superintended the division of the spoils of the chase.

The shaman's position was of almost as great importance as that of the 'old man'. Before any undertaking he had to perform various ceremonies, and he was the intermediary between the living and the dead. After his death he did not cease to be the protector of his clan. His corpse 'was dissected, the flesh being separated from the bones, which were divided among his blood-relatives. The "old man" received the skull, which was then attached to a wooden trunk. The idol, clad in precious garments, received the name "Xoil" and was worshipped as the guardian deity of the clan.'<sup>2</sup>

The duty of the 'strong man', with his warriors, was to defend the clan; neither he nor the hunter was necessarily of the same blood with the consanguineous part of the group. Sometimes the hunter and the 'strong man' were the same individual; but not always, for their duties were different: the hunter had to provide the animal food, and the skins for clothing for his clan. While at the present day the offices of 'old man', shaman, and 'strong man' are becoming little more than a tradition, that of the hunter, especially in the clans on the Korkodon and Yassachna Rivers, is still very important. The hunters have no special share, or larger share than anyone else, in the game they procure; their sole incentive to energetic pursuit of their calling is their communal instinct, which Jochelson found so strong in them that a sleepless night after the fatigues and anxieties of the day's hunting did not prevent them from being eager with the first light to set about the trying tasks of a new day. The hunter is working, he says, 'for the people of his own blood', though in fact, as we have seen, he need not be of the inner circle in the clan.<sup>3</sup> They believe also that the spirits will not help a hunter who hunts for his own gain and not for that of the clan.<sup>4</sup>

There was formerly among the Yukaghir a class of slaves called *po* (lit. 'worker').<sup>5</sup> For a hired labourer they have another word,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 121-5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

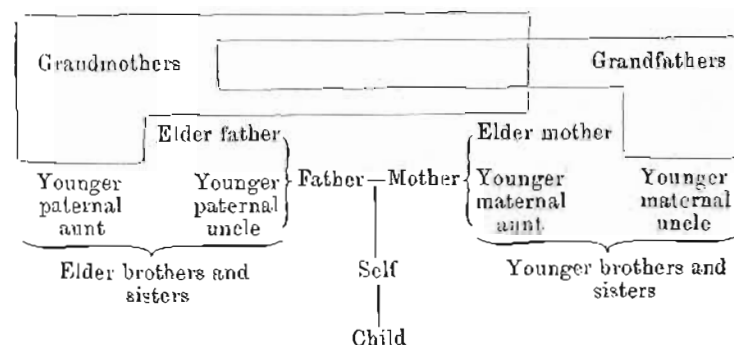
<sup>5</sup> The position of slaves among the Yukaghir is very similar to that of

*uicil*. The slaves were captives of war, and the position of women among them was better than that of the men, who could belong neither to the class of warriors nor of hunters. Their position is well described by Jochelson: 'The slave stayed in the house with the women, the old people, and the children, and did house-work on equal terms with the women. In addition, however, he was allowed to do such work as the fitting up of sledges and nets, and to participate in fishing parties.'<sup>1</sup>

Blood-vengeance was strictly exacted by the Yukaghir. They called it *lepud-uicil* ('blood-anger') or *cuboje-yono* ('heart-anger'). 'The avengers are the victim's relatives in the male line on the father's side. If the relatives of the victim on the mother's side found the culprit first, they had to disclose his hiding-place to the relatives on the father's side, and, in exceptional cases, assist them in carrying out the act of vengeance.'<sup>2</sup>

The Yukaghir language, according to Jochelson,<sup>3</sup> has three terms to describe their system of relationship, viz. (i) *coro-mimebonpe*, 'men of the clan'; (ii) *coro-monulpe*, 'relatives'; (iii) *lepul*, 'blood'—i.e. kinsfolk. The last term, which might be thought to apply to blood-relatives only, in fact includes also relatives by affinity.

#### SYSTEM OF CONSANGUINITY.



#### TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY.<sup>4</sup>

I. CLASSIFICATORY. *Emjepul* (*emje*, 'younger'): a general classificatory term comprising the whole group of brothers, the Kamchadal *koekchuck* of the time of Krasheninnikoff, and suggests a possible explanation of the real nature of these latter. This matter will be more fully discussed in the chapter on 'Shaman and Sex', and will be developed in a later work.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

sisters, and cousins, male and female, of the father and mother. These are further distinguished according to age.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Tala* (Kolyma dialect); *koidie* (tundra dialect): elder brother, elder male first-cousin.

2. *Paba*, *abuja*, or *abui*: elder sister, elder female cousin of different degrees.<sup>2</sup>

3. *Emje*: younger brother, younger sister, younger cousin. *Koyojed-emje*, younger brother; *payojed-emje*, younger sister.

4. *Ecie*: father, lit. 'guardian' or 'fosterer'—derived from the verb *ende*, 'to feed, to nourish'.<sup>3</sup>

5. *Emci*: mother; probably from *ame*, 'who does, produces, creates'.<sup>4</sup>

6. *Como-cie*: father's elder brother, elder first or second cousin, &c.—a contraction for *comojed-ecie*, 'big-father'. 'Big', here = 'provider', with reference to this person's position in the family.

7. *Ichielek*, or *edielek*: father's younger brother, younger first-cousin, &c. Lit. 'a little father' (diminutive).<sup>6</sup>

8. *Cemci* (contracted from *comoje-d-cmei*, 'big mother'): mother's elder sister, elder female cousins, first, second, &c. The elder sister takes care of her younger sister's children like a mother.

9. *Nimdielek* (Kolyma dialect), *yadie* (tundra dialect): mother's younger sister, younger female cousins, first, second, &c. Probably 'little mother'.

10. *Xoja*, *xojadie* (Kolyma), *xoujeidie* (tundra): mother's younger brother, younger male cousins of different degrees. *Xojadie* lit. = 'little grandfather'.

11. *Emjnodie* (Kolyma), *aijno* (tundra): father's younger sister, female first-cousin, &c. *Emjnodie* = 'little dear one'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brothers and sisters may be distinguished from cousins by the use of the term *unkenne*, 'birth-fellow', for the former, or by speaking of an 'elder-brother-by-birth', &c. (Op. cit., p. 69.)

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 69. <sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Uncles and aunts included under the general term *emjepul* in reference to the older generation of grandfathers and grandmothers, are not addressed by their nephews and nieces by any general name. (Op. cit., p. 70.)

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> As we have seen from the terms Nos. 6-11, the group of blood relatives of true and collateral uncles and aunts—who, like every other generation, form together in respect to the older generation, a younger generation of *emjepul*—is divided into separate sub-groups, according to age on the one hand, and according to kinship of the father and mother on the other hand. There are but one class of uncles and but one class of aunts, who do not form, by their names, a separate sub-group in their own generation: these belong, by their terms, to the group

12. *Xaxa* (Kolyma), *xaicie* (tundra): mother's elder brothers and elder male cousins of various degrees, as well as grandfathers (paternal and maternal) and all brothers and male cousins of different degrees of the latter.

13. *Epie* (Kolyma), *abucie* (tundra): father's elder sister and elder female cousins of different degrees, as well as the grandmothers (paternal and maternal), and the latter's sisters and female cousins of different degrees.<sup>1</sup>

'Among the female members of a family the father's elder sister occupies the first position, after the father's mother, in respect to the household; and the mother's elder brother, after the mother's father, is the head of the family.'<sup>2</sup>

Blood-relatives of the descending grades are denoted by terms which are merely descriptive and not classificatory:

II. DESCRIPTIVE.—14. *Aduo*, 'son' (*adil*, 'boy', and *uo*, 'child').

15. *Mapxidu* or *marxluo*, 'daughter' (*marxil*, 'girl', and *uo*, 'child').

'The descriptive terms for nephews and nieces, according to which group of brothers and sisters or cousins of the class *emjepul* their parents belong to, are as follows':<sup>3</sup>

16. Nephews: (i) *mettatu-d-aduo*, 'son of my elder brother (or elder male cousin)'; (ii) *metpabad-aduo*, 'son of my elder sister (or elder female cousin)'; (iii) *metemjed-aduo*, 'son of my younger brother or younger male cousin, or of my younger sister or younger female cousin'.

17. Nieces: (i) *mettata-marxil*; (ii) *metpaba-marxil*; (iii) *metemje-marxil*.

Similar descriptive terms are applied to grandsons, and granddaughters:

18. Grandsons: *metaduod-aduo*, 'son of my son'; *metmarxluod-aduo*, 'son of my daughter'.

19. Granddaughters: *metaduod-marxil*, 'daughter of my son'; *metmarxluod-marxil*, 'daughter of my daughter'.

of the elder generation, to the group of the grandfathers and grandmothers. Thus we have the following terms: (12 and 13). (Op. cit., p. 71.)

<sup>2</sup> The terms *xaxa* and *epie* are also used to denote old men and old women in general (op. cit., p. 73).

<sup>3</sup> 'This inclusion of the mother's elder brother or father's elder sister in one term with the grandfathers or grandmothers proves unmistakably that the terms do not denote various degrees of blood-relationship, but show the position of these persons in the family, or clan.' (Op. cit., p. 72.)

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 73.



20. Grand-nephews and grand-nieces are similarly designated; e. g. *mettatad-aduod-aduo*, 'son of the son of my elder brother, or of my elder male cousin'; *metpabad-marxluod-aduo*, 'son of my elder sister's, or of my elder female cousin's, daughter'; &c.<sup>1</sup>

#### SYSTEM OF AFFINITY.<sup>2</sup>

The elder<sup>2</sup> generation call the wife of a member of the younger generation<sup>4</sup> . . . . . *nial*.

The elder generation call the husband of a member of the younger generation . . . . . *pogil*.

The younger generation call the wife of a member of the elder generation . . . . . *yedie*.

The younger generation call the husband of a member of the elder generation . . . . . *pulei*.

A person calls the male relatives of the elder generation of his or her spouse . . . . . *pogil*.

A person calls the female relatives of the elder generation of his or her spouse . . . . . *pogil*.<sup>5</sup>

A person calls the male relatives of the younger generation of his or her spouse . . . . . *pulei*.

A person calls the female relatives of the younger generation of his or her spouse . . . . . *yedie*.

#### TERMS OF AFFINITY.<sup>6</sup>

The system of affinity is, like that of consanguinity, classificatory. The following four classes of terms for relatives by affinity are used by the Kolyma Yukaghir; each class including persons of different degrees of affinity: *pogil*, *nial*, *pulei*, and *yedie*. Among the Tundra Yukaghir the first two classes, *pogilpe* and *nialpe* (plural of *pogil* and *nial*), have become merged into one class, *nialpe*.<sup>7</sup>

I. *Pogil*:<sup>8</sup> (a) wife's father (father-in-law); (b) wife's mother (mother-in-law); (c) husband's father (father-in-law); (d) husband's

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> 'According to the above table it might seem that the confusion of *nial* and *pogil*, which is complete among the Tundra Yukaghir, has commenced among the other branch also. A few terms, like that for uncle's wife, have not been ascertained.' (Op. cit., p. 75.)

<sup>3</sup> Including the parental generation and elder brothers and sisters, and cousins.

<sup>4</sup> Including the generation of children and nephews and younger brothers and sisters.

<sup>5</sup> Here we should expect the term *nial*.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 74.

mother (mother-in-law); (e) daughter's husband (son-in-law); (f) younger sister's husband (brother-in-law); (g) wife's elder brother (brother-in-law); (h) husband of younger brother's, or male cousin's, daughter; (i) husband of sister's, or female cousin's (of various degrees), daughter; and (j) husband's elder brother.<sup>1</sup>

II. *Nial*: (a) son's or nephew's wife (daughter-in-law); (b) younger brother's or younger cousin's wife (sister-in-law); (c) wife of younger brother's, or younger male cousin's, son; and (d) wife of younger sister's, or younger female cousin's, son.

III. *Pulei*: (a) elder sister's or elder female cousin's husband; (b) wife's younger brother's or male cousin; and (c) husband's younger brother or younger male cousin.<sup>2</sup>

IV. *Yedie*: (a) elder brother's or elder male cousin's wife; (b) husband's or wife's younger sister.

Among the Tundra Yukaghir, *kelil*, and among the Kolyma Yukaghir, *saboyax*, form still another class of relatives by affinity: (a) husband of wife's sister or female cousin; (b) wife of wife's brother or male cousin; (c) husband of husband's sister or female cousin; and (d) wife of husband's brother or male cousin.

#### IV. THE GILYAK.

The Gilyak clan is called *khal*, literally 'foot-sack' (used in travelling). The real significance of this term is best seen in the answer that a Gilyak will give to the question, 'Why do you call such-and-such people your relations?' 'Because we have a common *ahmalk*, *yngi*, common fire, common mountain-men, sea-men, sky-men, earth-men; common bear, common devil, common *thusinil*, common sin.'<sup>3</sup>

I. *Common ahmalk*. The father-in-law of one clansman is the father-in-law of the whole clan; and the son-in-law of a clansman is the son-in-law of the whole clan. The men form the permanent element in the clan; the women either leave the clan or come to it from another. So the clan forms a society or union, cemented by common rights and marital duties of men related through

<sup>1</sup> Joehelson thinks that the word *pogil* is made up of *po* (a term formerly applied to captive slaves, who are now known as 'hired labourers'); *gi*, a possessive suffix, and *l*, a suffix used to form nouns from verbs. The term would thus mean 'his labourer'. The verb *pogilonu*, he says, means 'to serve for a girl at her parents' house'. Thus the term *pogil* comes to denote persons who serve, or are served, for a bride. (Op. cit., p. 74.)

<sup>2</sup> Brother, sister, cousin, being all *emjepul*.

<sup>3</sup> L. Sternberg, *The Gilyak*, 1905, pp. 78-9.

their fathers, taking their wives from another similar group, and giving their women in marriage to a third clan, all clans being thus exogamic and patriarchal in organization. In spite of the dominant patriarchal principle, Gilyak are related also through their mothers, for they have a common 'father-in-law' clan; and all women coming into a clan are to each other in the relationship of sister, aunt, or niece.<sup>1</sup> Sternberg says that the principle that a man must take his wife from his mother's clan, that the wife must be a blood-relative of her husband, is a religious principle, connected with the cult of ancestors, especially with mother-cult.<sup>2</sup>

No clansman need fear that at his death he will leave his family without support, for even while he lives his wife and children are nominally, often even actually, the wife and children of his brother; and at his death one of his brothers, chosen by the clansmen, is bound to undertake the rights and duties of father and husband towards his widow.<sup>3</sup>

The clan, of course, does not exist in its primitive purity at the present day. Natural causes, like epidemics, the dwindling of families, &c., have made it necessary, in order to prevent its extinction, for a clan to adopt individuals, and sometimes whole groups, from other clans or even from other tribes. Another means by which new blood was imported into the clan was: If two men married sisters, they were regarded as fellow clansmen, and often their children were considered as brothers and sisters.<sup>4</sup>

II. *Common fire.* The common fire is also a symbol of the unity of the clan. 'The chief owner of the fire,' whom they imagine as an old woman, is thus not only a good spirit who bestows the use of fire on living clansmen, but also an intermediary between the living and the departed ancestors who are the heroes of the clan. By being burned the dead are given to the 'owner of the fire', who has the power of choosing some of them to become also 'owners' of the clan-fire.<sup>5</sup>

Only a clansman has the right to kindle fire on the hearth of a fellow clansman, or to take fire out of his *yurta*. If a man from another clan lights his pipe in the *yurta*, he must finish smoking it before he goes out. Any infringement of these customary rules

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 82-3.

<sup>5</sup> People who have been struck dead by lightning, or have died from burning, are reckoned as worthy to be received into the society of the 'owners of the fire'. (Op. cit., pp. 84, 85.)

will bring misfortune on the clan, and the alien clansman who has brought it about may have to pay a fine in consequence. Each clan has its own firebrand, kept by the eldest of the clan, and only from this firebrand can the fire be made at which the bear meat is cooked at the bear festival. When a clan divides, the eldest of the clan breaks the firebrand in two, giving a half to the eldest of that portion of the clan which is removing. Then only is the clan regarded as formally divided.<sup>1</sup>

III. *Men of the Mountain, Sea, Sky, Earth.*<sup>2</sup> Those clansmen who die by drowning, are killed by wild animals, or those who are beloved by the 'owners' of the mountain, sky, sea, or earth, join the society of these 'owners' after death. All clansmen worship their ancestors, the 'owners' referred to, in sacrifices and festivals which are regularly held in their honour, and the 'owners' in return provide the clansmen with food: all that nature gives them is the free gift of the gods; hence it is a sin to be inhospitable, for it is not man but the gods who give food to a guest.<sup>3</sup> At the sea-hunting the master of the boat receives no greater share of the spoils of the chase than any one else; indeed, the products of the hunt are sometimes divided among the families of men who have not taken part in it.<sup>4</sup> As regards such objects as swords, shields, &c., of the more costly kind, though they are more than other things regarded as individual property, yet if a clansman needs them for *kalym*, for burial, &c., they give them freely. In the case of inherited property, the maxim *si suos haeredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento* is strictly observed. If there is no family (including labourers attached to the household) an inheritance passes to the next of kin on the father's side, even if there are much nearer relatives on the side of the mother. The latter can receive, but only by special bequest, certain objects known as *shagund*, which are private property. Iron *shagund* may be so given to the clan *ymgi*, since they will be returned to the surviving fellow clansmen of the deceased in the form of *kalym*; or fur *shagund* may be given to the clan *ahmalk*, in which case they will come back as dowry.<sup>5</sup>

IV. *Common bear.* It is the common duty of clansmen to feed the bear, and to take part in the bear-festival, when the bear, either tame or wild, is killed.<sup>6</sup> This festival has both a religious

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 85-6.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 87-8.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

and a social significance. In the former case, it is a religious duty to venerate the slain bear, for he may belong to the fraternity of the 'owners of the mountain', or be the incarnation of some remote fellow clansman's spirit, which has been received into that fraternity. Again, the bear is regarded as the intermediary between mortals and the 'owner of the mountain', so that sacrifices may be sent by the bear to that spirit; an important matter, for this 'owner' has power over all animals. This is the reason why the bear-festival plays such an important part in the life of the clan, and why, although clansmen from other groups may be present at the festival, the organization and management of the feast are in the hands of the clansmen, only sons-in-law besides being allowed to assist in this way. The expenses of the festival are shared by the clansmen.

Socially the bear-festival is also very important. It affords an opportunity for widely separated members of the clan to meet and share various social pleasures, the more so as the ceremonies are usually followed by games and sports of different kinds. Besides, it gives scope for the formation of friendships with other clans.<sup>1</sup>

V. *Common devil*: i.e., a common enemy in the person of a deceased clansman or a slain enemy. An individual who has quarrelled with his fellow clansmen, one whose death has not been avenged, or one who has been buried without due funeral rites, may become a hostile spirit and bring trouble upon his clan. The same may be expected from an offended individual belonging to another clan. In such cases<sup>2</sup> the shaman will be requested to appease the hostile spirit.

VI. *Common thusind*. This means compensation exacted in lieu of blood-revenge and compensation also for many other offences, such as the abduction of a woman, the dishonouring of a woman, theft, &c. The responsibility for payment of *thusind* rests with the clan as a whole, as does also the duty of exacting *thusind* from the offender on behalf of an injured clansman.<sup>3</sup> Compensation in money, however, is only a secondary, and a modern, consideration, and cannot always, even nowadays, replace the ancient duty of exacting blood-revenge for manslaughter. This latter offence often goes formally unpunished within the clan. The killing by way of blood-revenge of a fellow clansman would involve another act of vengeance on the part of

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 90-2.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

the family of that clansman, and this would lead to an internecine struggle. As a matter of fact, however, the killing of a fellow clansman does receive punishment. The murderer is shunned by the clan, and has to leave it. This involves the further penalty of being buried without due rites, for these can only be performed by members of his own clan. But crimes within the clan are rare, because, as Sternberg says, 'numerous prohibitions of speech lessen the opportunities for quarrelling, and liberal marital rights among the clansmen make the passion of jealousy milder and practically make any acts of violence against women unnecessary—such acts being the most frequent causes of blood-revenge among these people.'<sup>1</sup>

In clans which have intermarried with the Ainu, a people among whom strong traces of a matriarchate still exist, in cases of manslaughter the brother of the mother of the victim and the victim's father or brother receive compensation, which is divided between them equally.<sup>2</sup>

When a crime is committed against a member of the clan by an outsider, the offended clan will stand out very firmly for their rights. This holds good not only when a man is the offender—and it is indifferent whether his crime is intentional or not—but also even when an animal is. If a man is killed by a bear, he must be avenged by the death of the animal in question, or of another bear in its place; and the 'man (owner) of the mountain' must give *thusind* to the clan of the deceased by sending them many animals. There is a regular procedure for taking vengeance on the bear, and only when the animal is slain and its flesh eaten at a feast is the deceased accepted into the society of the 'men of the mountain'. His clansmen then offer sacrifice to him.<sup>3</sup> The soul of an unavenged victim cannot go to the land of the dead, but must remain near the living, incarnated as a bird-avenger, called *takhch*, and finally crumbles into dust. On the grave of a murdered man is placed the stump of a tree with the roots upwards, whereas the stump placed on an ordinary grave usually has the roots turned down. The roots they fashion into the form of a bird, or else place upon them the image of one. As the soul of a murdered man, like that of any other Gilyak, continues to exist only for three generations, so the obligation to take vengeance for his blood binds his fellow clansmen only till the third

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 94-5.



generation if the act of vengeance is not performed by a contemporary. Vengeance is never executed upon a woman, or upon the private property of the guilty person.<sup>1</sup>

Both clans are under a kind of martial law, between the time of the murder and that of the carrying out of the blood-vengeance. If the clans live near each other the matter is settled quickly, but if they are separated by a considerable distance a military expedition on a small scale is arranged.<sup>2</sup>

*Thusind* originated as an alternative to blood-vengeance, and has finally replaced it. Sternberg says<sup>3</sup> that as every clan was intimately connected with at least two others, *ahmalk* and *ymgi*, and often with others besides, it was always difficult, because of the protective attitude of the Gilyak towards their women, to put the custom of blood-revenge into practice, as the clans would be reluctant to involve women with whom they were so closely related in the horrors of war. Although a woman could neither take active part in inflicting vengeance for blood, nor herself suffer this punishment, she could play a rôle in the affair which, though passive, was still important. She might hide the object of the clansmen's vengeance; or, by abstaining from assisting them with supplies of food and water, or with fire for cooking, hinder them from carrying out their aim; for the law was strictly against the members of one clan making use of the food, water, or fire of another clan.

*Thusind* is accompanied by a complicated ritual, which includes an imitation of blood-vengeance. The most important participator in this ceremonial is the *khlay-nivukh* ('speaking-man', 'orator'), a personage somewhat resembling a barrister in his functions. He must be a rich and important member of a neutral clan. When the offended clan approaches the habitat of the murderer's fellow clansmen to demand *thusind*, a halt is made, and the *khlay-nivukh* goes forward alone to name the sum demanded. The clansmen of whom the demand is made do not at first agree, and the proceeding has to be repeated two or three times. This is followed by an imitation of the taking of blood-revenge. Two champions, one from each clan, accompanied each by his *khlay-nivukh*, advance between the two parties to the dispute, bearing shields. They engage in a combat, which is usually merely a feigned one, though it sometimes develops into a real fight, during which the two *khlay-nivukhs* do their utmost to calm the anger of the combatants. This over, two dogs, provided by the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 95-7.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 97-100.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 101.

two clans, are killed, and offered as a sacrifice to the bird-avenger. Then a feast is held, at which the *thusind* is paid and friendship re-established between the clans.<sup>1</sup>

VII. *Common sin.* Though all the Gilyak have certain common religious and social laws which must not be broken, there are, besides, certain prohibitions, the forms of which are peculiar to a given clan. The breach of these latter rules constitutes a 'sin' for that clan only. Some of these prohibitions, or taboos, are sexual, for besides marriage relations with an *ahmalk* or *ymgi*, sexual relations are permitted with certain persons and prohibited with others. This will be dealt with in the chapter on 'Marriage'. There are also speech taboos with the whole class of *turn* (*ruvn*), *achk* (mother and aunts of the wife). Other taboos are connected with the clan cult, and the breaking of them involves payment of *thusind* to the god. The breaking of such taboos by members of another clan requires payment of *thusind* to the offended clan. Not only is the breaking of a taboo a sin, but also failure to perform religious duties. The sin of an individual acts in such a case to the detriment of the whole clan; just as, on the other hand, the observance of socio-religious duties is essential to the preservation of the clan as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

Clansmen prefer to live together, but this is not always possible, and therefore the territorial group does not always correspond to the clan. In every such group each clan has its own special rights.<sup>3</sup> Clan-names are generally the names of localities where the clans formerly lived. Here and there we find names of animals as the origin of clan-names, but this occurs chiefly where there is a Tungus admixture.<sup>4</sup>

Both Chinese and Russians tried to impose upon the Gilyak clan rulers, and the ruler chosen was a sort of elder—not, however, a clan elder, but a village elder; an arrangement quite opposed to Gilyak ideas of government.

In the natural Gilyak social organization there is no trace of a despotic authority. The 'old men' (*ikheyvars*) of the clan decide questions of cult and clan-ship, for they are the repositories of the clan customs, traditions, and genealogies; and they have much authority in this respect. But apart from this they have no great influence or real authority or importance.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 102-6.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 106-8.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 111.

All the clans have some men known as *yz* ('host'), or *urdlanivukhi* (lit. 'good and rich'), who either through wealth, physical prowess, or some accomplishment such as oratory, have an important though unofficial standing in the clan. In time of need such men may be called upon to assume the responsibility of upholding the customary law; but the *khal* (clan) as a whole has supreme authority over them.<sup>1</sup>

As has been said, clans connected by marital ties, calling each other *pandf*, customarily formed friendly alliances. Not only was a clan thus friendly with its own *ahmalk* and *ymgi*, but the whole group formed by these three clans, together with others connected with *ahmalk* and *ymgi* by marriage, formed a friendly alliance. These alliances did not amount to a confederation such as we see among the Mongols, but that they did exist is clear not only from the traditions but also from certain present-day practices. One of the duties of an allied clan towards others in the alliance was that of hospitality or 'feeding'. An inter-clan maxim says: 'One must feed *ymgi*' ('sons-in-law'). This implies actual support of a son-in-law only in a few cases, but there remain even at the present day, says Sternberg, traces of a time when it was the custom for sons-in-law to go to live in the houses of their fathers-in-law.<sup>2</sup> A custom connected with the making of friendship with an *ymgi* is that of 'treading upon the threshold' with an exchange of gifts.<sup>3</sup>

The solidarity of the group formed by a clan with its *ahmalk* and *ymgi* is shown in bear-hunting, the trapping of sables, and the hunting of sea-animals.

The principle of mutual help is also seen in the hereditary rites, according to which the *ymgi* receives iron *shagund*, and the *ahmalk*, fur *shagund*, the iron *shagund* being afterwards returned as *kalym*. This exchange shows that the payment of *kalym* among the Gilyak is merely formal, and was not originally in the nature of payment for a wife.<sup>4</sup> Sternberg thinks that the origin of the *kalym* in the marriage of the Gilyak was as follows. When the clan of the mother could not provide wives enough for the clan of the father, a man would have to go to some other clan for his wife. This was an illegal proceeding; consequently a sort of *thusind* had to be paid to the clan, and the latter propitiated their clan-gods with it as compensation for the breach of socio-religious

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 119-22.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 125-6.

law. In modern times the custom of giving *kalym* has been extended to all marriages, and the origin of the custom forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

The bear-festival, one of the most important means of cementing inter-clan friendships, is held every winter in one or another of the villages. It plays among the Gilyak, says Sternberg, a rôle similar to that of the Olympic games among the Greeks.<sup>2</sup>

#### V. THE TUNGUSIC TRIBES.

Family and clan organization is relatively strong among the Tungus proper. 'Tungus families often separate from the clan in search of new hunting-grounds, but a single person never leaves his family; and even an isolated family will retain the memory of its connexion with the clan for a long time. The Lamut of the Chann country, who consist of stragglers from all the clans living farther to the south, still consider themselves as belonging to particular clans; though this connexion has at present no real office, because of the distance of their habitat from that of their clans.'<sup>3</sup> It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the Tungus clans of the present day are composed only of people related by blood. In many cases the clan is an artificial creation; and, as Middendorff<sup>4</sup> observes, if there is a group consisting of less than a hundred souls, they call themselves a clan; if above this number, they call themselves an *orda*.

The clan is called (according to Georgi) *lagaun*; and, being originally based on a system of blood-relationships, the members of a clan may not marry each other. A clan was governed by an elder, called *daruga*, whose office was hereditary. But in the middle of the eighteenth century the Russians introduced native administrators, elected for terms of three years, who were, in fact, Russian governmental agents for the collection of taxes.<sup>5</sup> The popular tradition is that the clan-names originated from the founders of the clan, or heroes, and such is certainly the case

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 537.

<sup>4</sup> Middendorff, *Sibirische Reise*, vol. iv, p. 1398.

<sup>5</sup> Patkanoff, *Essay on the Geography and Statistics of the Tungusic Tribes of Siberia*, 1906, vol. i, part ii, p. 91. Among some Tungusic tribes of the Trans-Baikal, there were, besides the clan elder (called sometimes *taysha*, *toyon*), family or sub-clan elders, known as *zaysan* or *oterikan*. According to Georgi, the words *daruga*, *zaysan*, *tayshan* are of Mongolic origin. *Oterikan* would appear to be of Tungusic derivation, since in Tungus *otrykan* (*atrikan*) means 'old', and *atyrkon* is 'man', 'husband'. (Patkanoff, op. cit., p. 91.)

with clans like the Kurkugirsk, Chemdalsk, Chapogirsk, all in the Yenisei district. A few clans derive their names from some river or hill of the district where they were formerly settled; some of these place-names being of Tungus origin, others Russian. Russian proper names like Davydkin, Nironoff, are occasionally found as names of clans; but, as Patkanoff observes, such names are not found in eighteenth-century writers, and are nothing but arbitrary appellations attached by the Russians to groups artificially formed by them from fragments of disintegrated clans.<sup>1</sup>

The Tungus clan is not an indivisible whole, but is composed of several sub-clans, and thus resembles a Yakut *nasleg*, for instance. Thus, e. g., the Lamunkhinsk clan of Tungus living in the Yakut district is made up of four sub-clans, Khorinsk, Dondakonsk, Lamunkhinsk, and Tugiasirsk. The first two sub-clans originally consisted of Mongol-Buryat, who since the seventeenth century have been living among Tungus, and thus have become tungusized. This shows, says Patkanoff, that even under a regular Tungus organization an alien element may sometimes be hidden.<sup>2</sup>

The clan organization has been preserved most pure among those Tungus who have remained in isolated districts, mixing with alien elements only on their borders; that is, it has remained in its purest state among the 'nomadic' and 'wandering' tribes, especially the latter. Christianity and a sedentary mode of life have been unfavourable to the preservation of their social structure no less than to that of their religious cults.<sup>3</sup>

In speaking of their mode of life, investigators so long ago as the eighteenth century had already divided them into three classes: Horse-Tungus, Reindeer-Tungus, and Dog-Tungus. Georgi in 1775 speaks of the Steppe (Horse) Tungus and the Forest (Reindeer and Fishermen) Tungus.<sup>4</sup> The present administrative classification of these people by the Russians is into Sedentary, Nomadic, and Wandering.<sup>5</sup> The Sedentary Tungus are less than one per cent. of the whole, and do not now differ greatly from the Russian immigrant peasantry, having intermarried with the latter for so long. They live for the most part in the Trans-Baikal district, and have forgotten their original language.<sup>6</sup>

The Nomadic Tungus are cattle-breeders, and change their

habitat according to the season of the year. Each clan has its own region assigned to it, land over which they can wander at will, and where no strangers are allowed to settle. They form about 50 per cent. of all the Tungus, and inhabit the Trans-Baikal and Yakutsk districts.<sup>1</sup>

The Wandering tribes are found all over Siberia except in the Trans-Baikal. They wander throughout the year, regardless of seasons, and have no special clan-districts assigned among them, but keep to long irregular tracts of country, without any definite frontiers, along the rivers. They form about 45 per cent. of all the Tungus proper, and pay even less in taxes than the Nomadic people. They have preserved their language and nationality better than any other section of this tribe.<sup>2</sup>

Since the clan as a whole has certain duties imposed upon it, such as that of keeping the roads in order, &c., and since the clan customarily separates in its wanderings, they find it difficult to carry out these obligations; hence some of these people have formed themselves into territorial groups, from which no such duties are required.<sup>3</sup>

A small number, about 4 per cent. of the Tungus, like some of the Buryat, have joined the regiment of Cossacks, and in consequence are exempt from the payment of taxes.<sup>4</sup>

## VI. THE TURKIC TRIBES.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes of Siberia have as their social unit the clan. The clans are joined in larger groups, which combine to form tribes. These again are grouped as nations, each of which claims descent from a common ancestor.

Formerly, says Kharuzin,<sup>5</sup> tribal elders in the Turkic tribes were elective, and their authority was limited by the tribal assembly and by the council of elders of the clan. The clan organization is still preserved with great strictness, especially among the Turkic tribes of the Altai.

*The Altaians.* The tribes of the Russian Altai have no common name, but are divided into three main groups: Altaians proper, Telengit, and Toyoles. These groups do not differ very greatly from one another in language, and form one nation. Their clans

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 92-3.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 93-4.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., pp. 200, 216.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 198, 215.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 197, 215.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> N. Kharuzin, *Ethnography*, 1901, vol. i, part ii, p. 231.

are known as *seoks* (in Russian, *kocmu*, 'bones') or 'generations'. The Altaians themselves reckon as many as twenty-four of these, but Potanin thinks that this number has some mystical significance and does not represent the actual number of these groups.

The members of one clan live among those of another, and they do not form separate encampments, as the Kirgis do, of each clan by itself.<sup>1</sup>

The people of a *seok* consider themselves related to each other. When a member of the *seok* Tolosh meets another Tolosh clansman older even by one day than himself, he addresses him as 'uncle'—*abagay*, if on the father's, *tay*, if on the mother's side. A fellow clansman younger than himself he will call 'nephew'—*achim*, for a paternal, *degnym* for a maternal 'nephew'. A woman older than himself he calls 'aunt', *tenge*; or *abionesh*, 'grandmother' (literally, 'old woman'), if she is much older.<sup>2</sup> *Siynym* (literally, 'girl') is the name for a younger sister, and *cdem* for an older.<sup>3</sup>

There is an interesting custom among these people, which is possibly a survival from an older family system. This is the presentation of *barkey*, i. e. a gift from the maternal uncle. Until a boy is seven years old his hair is braided into two tresses worn in front of the ears. When he reaches his seventh birthday, his maternal uncle sends to him saying: 'Come; I will restore to you *barkey*.' He goes, and his uncle cuts off the tresses, in return for which he is supposed to present the boy with a horse. If, as sometimes happens, he fails to do so, the family of the boy has the right to demand fulfilment of the duty through the proper tribal authority.<sup>4</sup>

*The Kirgis.* Among the Kirgis, where Mohammedanism has destroyed the religious side of the culture except the cult of the hearth, the social side has been much less affected, and the clan organization remains fairly strong. All the Kirgis of the Great, Middling, and Little *Ordas* (excluding recent admixtures, such as the Kara-Kalpak) count as their tribal ancestor the mythical Alash-Khan: all three *ordas* have the watchword *Alash*. Besides, each clan has as its special watchword the name of one of the remote clan ancestors, its special insignia, and its own genealogy.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, *Sketches of North-Western Mongolia*, 1883, vol. iv, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately Mr. Potanin does not give a full list of relationship terms, which are so important for a full understanding of social structure.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Potanin, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Kharuzin, op. cit., p. 232.

Potanin speaks of Kotan as the founder of the Kirgis nation, and of his three sons as the originators of the three *ordas*.<sup>1</sup>

In cases of blood-vengeance (*khuna*), the clan as a whole has the responsibility for exacting the penalty from the aggressor, while the latter's clan in similar manner assumes his guilt.

The authority of seniors and of their council is strictly preserved in their clans and *ordas*.<sup>2</sup>

*The Uriankhai.* The tribes of the Uriankhai inhabit chiefly the valley between the Sayan Mountains and the Tangnu-Oloy, from the Upper Kobdo to the Upper Bulguna River. One part of these people, living in the north of the Tangnu-Oloy, have become mongolized, speak a Mongol dialect, and like to be known as the Mongol Oliot (Oliut). Potanin speaks of them as the Kobdinsk Uriankhai.

The Uriankhai proper are a Turkic people, speaking a Turco-Tartar dialect. They call themselves Tuba or Tuva; Uriankhai is the Mongol name for them. Potanin heard some of them call themselves Tangnu Uriankhai, or Tangnu Tuvas.<sup>3</sup>

The Tangnu Uriankhai form five *khoshuns*. The head of each is called *ogurta* (*ogurda*, *gurta*). One such *ogurta*, older than the rest, is known as *amban*, and the others are subordinate to him. He, like the others, has one *khoshun* to govern. Each *khoshun* is divided into four *sumyuns*, except that of Kemchik, which is divided into ten. The *sumyn* from which the *ogurta* comes, gives its name to the whole *khoshun*, and the chief uses the same name, with the addition of the word *ogurta*. For instance, the *khoshun* governed by the *amban* is composed of four *sumyuns*, of which one is called *Uin*. Hence the whole *khoshun* is known as *Uin*, and the *amban* is called *Uin-Ogurta*. From this it appears that a *sumyn* is a clan, though Potanin thinks that the *sumyn* is further subdivided.<sup>4</sup>

*The Yakut.* The Yakut of to-day are grouped in clans (*agu-usa*), *naslegs*, and *uluses*.

A clan is composed sometimes of only a few individuals, sometimes of several hundreds. A *nasleg* comprises from one to more than thirty clans. The *ulus* often includes several *naslegs*. In former times the social group corresponding to the *nasleg* was called *aimak*, while an *ulus* corresponds to an older group known

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Kharuzin, op. cit., p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Potanin, op. cit., 1881, vol. ii, pp. 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Potanin, op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 10-12.



as *djon*. At present the largest *ulus* (*djon*) is the Djon Djakar of Ului, which comprises 11,000 souls.<sup>1</sup>

There appears to be some confusion in the use of the terms *ulus* and *nasleg*. Both are sometimes called *djon*, and a clan, *aimak*. But, however used, *aimak* always denotes a subdivision of a *djon*.

Thus the northern Yakut *uluses* of Verkhoyansk, Ustiansk, Elgetsk, Jigansk, and Kolymsk have only two strata in their social structure; with them *nasleg* and clan are one; and this is subordinate to the *djon* (*ulus*).<sup>2, 3</sup>

*The Clan.* Sieroszewski thinks that the clan composed of blood-relatives is the basis of Yakut social structure. The word *aga-usa*, he says, means literally 'father-clan'; but he could not obtain a completely satisfactory explanation of the term *usa* from the Yakut. One of the most satisfactory was that given him in the *ulus* of Namsk, in 1891: 'Take all the branches, knots, leaves, and buds which spring from one root, and you have an *usa*.'<sup>4</sup> Instead of *usa*, the Yakut often use the word *tördö*, i. e. 'origin', 'root'. They use the expression *kan-ät uruta* ('blood and flesh relationship') to refer to members of the same clan. That this was not an empty phrase Sieroszewski had ample opportunity of convincing himself. Especially in the north, from a mixed throng of people he was often able to pick out members of one clan by their strong resemblance to each other.<sup>5</sup> According to one account given to Sieroszewski, the Yakut reckon as members of a clan descendants only as far as the ninth generation, after which they speak of *sygan*. One is allowed to marry a *sygan*; and the saying is, 'A *sygan* is an *uru* ("degree of relationship") which it is not sinful not to save from drowning.'<sup>6</sup>

Of course, at the present time, blood-relationship within the

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, '12 Lat w Kraju Yakutów', p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> The term *nasleg* has not been in use long, and is Russian or Tungus in origin; even its pronunciation is strange to the Yakut tongue. The word *ulus* is known all over Siberia, and indeed throughout Asia: the Kirgis, Mongols, Buryat, Tartars, and even the Afghans use it, but with variations of meaning. Among the Mongols it means 'nation'; among the Tartars, 'society'; the Buryat and Tartars use it to denote a small territorial group, a subdivision of the clan; only the Afghans use it in the same sense as the modern Yakut, to signify a large confederation of clans. From a certain dislike to the term which Sieroszewski observed among the Yakut, and from the fact that it has only comparatively recently appeared in official documents, he thinks that the word was imported by the Cossacks from some other nation. (Op. cit., pp. 472, 473.)

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 480.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 246.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> Recorded by Sieroszewski in the *ulus* of Namsk, 1892.

clan is hardly more than a tradition.<sup>1</sup> When the Russians first came into contact with the Yakut, their clan system was quite highly developed, and the head of the clan (*bis-usa-toyono*)<sup>2</sup> had his power limited to that of judge and leader in war.

All economic and legal questions were decided by a council of elders (*ogonyor*)—fathers, uncles, elder brothers. Even now, according to Sieroszewski, a Yakut will not buy or sell without consulting his father, uncle, or elder brother.<sup>3</sup>

This form of social organization was intimately connected with the ownership by the Yakut of large herds of horses, the common property of the clan; but when they began to herd cattle, this involved a division of the tribe into smaller social groups, so that the memory of the old large herds of horses and large groups of people was only preserved in the ancient poems known as *olongho*.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in the new economic conditions, as Sieroszewski thinks, the family came to be the most important social unit, more stable than the old clans of the horse-breeders. Antagonism between family and clan shows itself nowadays in disputes which arise over questions of inheritance.<sup>5</sup> Failing a male heir, claim to property lapses to the clan, and even a married sister of the deceased receives nothing.<sup>6</sup>

The whole clan to which a murderer belonged was held responsible for the crime, and must make compensation either in blood or by payment of damages. Sometimes a blood-feud between clans became hereditary. An injury done by one member of a clan to another of the same clan, if such cases ever arose, was not held punishable. In the case of a dispute between members of different clans, the decision of a clan would always be given in favour of its own clansman. If a man killed a fellow-clansman, he was tied to a tree in the depths of a forest and left there to perish.<sup>7</sup>

Clans sometimes made alliances called *üyellakh* ('reconciled', 'peaceful'). Sieroszewski thinks that these alliances were made

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of *bis* is not quite clear. Some of the Yakut said that it is identical in meaning with *ulus*. The spirits invoked by a shaman are said to be divided into three *bis*: heavenly, earthly, and subterranean. Each of these *bis* is as large as three times nine *usa* (op. cit., pp. 471-2). This word, which is no longer in use, may be derived from the old Tumanian word *bigatch*, *biäs*, *bika*, meaning free, unmarried girl, noble woman (op. cit., p. 335).

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 305.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 252.

between clans more or less remotely related by blood, that they were compelled to enter into such pacts by their common need of defence against outsiders or by some economic cause, and that they cemented the alliance by common sacrifices and festivals. These latter were called *ysyakh*s; the most important being the lesser *ysyakh* in spring, and the great *ysyakh* at midsummer. *Ysyakh*s were also celebrated at weddings, peace-conferences, or simply as an expression of joyousness. They were sham fights or tournaments, trials of military skill, and by the results were decided the position that a particular clan should occupy in a confederation or alliance. Very often these tourneys ended in real fights.

Although nowadays the *ysyakh* is in a state of decadence,<sup>1</sup> nevertheless, so lately as 1880-81, Sieroszewski witnessed some of these festivals in Verkhoyansk, which were quite crowded and very lively. Formerly no *ysyakh* could be held without the presence of a shaman, and the drinking of *kumys* from a common cup was a very important feature of the festivities.<sup>2</sup>

All the traditions point to the great solidarity of alliances between the chiefs of clans; also to their independent attitude with regard to each other. Superior to them all was the council of the confederation.

'This, like the clan council, was composed of three circles. In the first sat the chiefs of the clans (*bis-usa-toyono*) and *seseny*<sup>3</sup>; in the second the nobles (*toyons*) and warriors (*batyrs*); and in the third the common people and the youths. Each clan was grouped behind its representative in the first circle, an arrangement still observed in the *ulus* councils, when they are held in the open air.'

The speeches of the orators were addressed to the whole tribe thus assembled in council. Here the watch-word of the alliance, *Urai!* (the same 'Hurrah!' whose sound has gone forth into all lands) often rang out; often the orators called upon the god of the allies, the father of all the Yakut, *Aiy-toyon*, to hear them from his milk-white throne. Here *toyon-kyl*, the eagle, symbol of the confederation, looked down upon them from his perch.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *ysyakh* was similar to the *tsagan-tsara* (white month) or New Year festival of the Mongols, to the *tailgans* of the Buryat, to the bear-festival of the Gilyak, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 260-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Sisen* or *sekhen*, an adviser or wise man (not necessarily old, but always inspired). (Op. cit., 257.)

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 260.

Each clan and each confederation of clans within the tribe had its own shout, or watchword, and badge and songs, but these are now almost forgotten by the Yakut.

*The Family.* The general term signifying relationship is *uru*. But *uru* means also 'wedding', 'relationship by marriage'. To denote blood-relationship the Yakut say *kan-ät urula* ('blood-and-flesh relationship'). There is no other word corresponding to the concept of relationship, unless it be *tördö*, 'root', 'beginning', 'origin', or *kürgän*, 'household'. This latter term, however, embraces even serving-men; while a son who leaves the house is no longer considered one of the *kürgän*.

There are two names for a clan: *Ye-usa*, 'mother-clan', and *aga-usa*, 'father-clan'. Nowadays *ye-usa*, whatever its original signification, is a 'mother-clan' only in name, being really subordinate to the *aga-usa*. In the *ye-usa* relationship is reckoned in the male line only to the ninth generation, as far, that is, as the traditional *sygan*, 'whom it is no sin to allow to drown'. Since in the *aga-usa* also, only nine generations are reckoned for consanguinity, the *sygan* again marking the limit, since, in both *ye-usa* and *aga-usa*, married females are not reckoned, and since, in both, descent is reckoned in the male line, it follows, at least in theory, that the two groups are identical. In practice they are identical if the *aga-usa* comprises only one *ye-usa*; but, as a matter of fact, usually it is composed of several. According to traditions recorded by Sieroszewski in the Namsk district, and according also to his own opinion, the distinction between *ye-* and *aga-usa* arose as follows: In comparatively recent times, until the coming of the Russians, indeed, the Yakut had the custom of polygyny. The offspring of a man by all his wives formed the basis of an *aga-usa*; while the offspring of each separate wife would form that of a *ye-usa*.<sup>1</sup> Each *ye-usa* has its own old name, better remembered than the official name given at baptism after some Russian clerk or merchant.<sup>2</sup>

#### TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.<sup>3</sup>

*Törüt* (*tördö*), 'origin'. *Törüt-türim*, 'my ancestors'.

*Äbügä*, 'forefather'.

*Asä*, father's father and his brothers. *Khos-äsä*, 'paternal grandfather'.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., Appendixes i. and ii. Also pp. 337-9.

*Äbä*, father's mother and her sisters. *Khos-äbä*, 'paternal grandmother'.

*Abaga* (*obaga*), father's elder brother and father's elder first cousin on the father's side; also mother's father.

*Aga*, literally 'older'; also used to denote a father. A Yakut will ask concerning the age of some person as compared with his own: 'Is he *aga* (older) or *balys* (younger)?'

*Agas* (*ädjg*), elder sister, paternal uncle's daughter, daughter of a first cousin on the father's side—in general, any woman older than the speaker, and belonging to the same *aga-usa*.

*Ubay* (*biy*), elder brother, elder male cousin on the father's side; younger brother of father and father's cousin in the paternal line, and their elder sons; generally any man older than the speaker and younger than his father, in the *aga-usa*.

*Ini*, younger brother, father's younger brother and his son; in general any man in the *aga-usa* younger than the speaker, but who could not be his son.

*Surdju* (?)<sup>1</sup> By this term women address a younger brother, younger sons of father's brothers, and the sons of these.

*Surus* (?)<sup>1</sup> This term is addressed by a woman to her father's brothers younger than herself.

*Sangas*, father's sister, father's female cousin in the male line; wife of father's brother, wife of elder brother, and of elder cousin in the male line; wife of brother's son; all being older than the speaker.

*Balys*, younger sister, younger cousin in the male line; father's sister younger than the speaker; generally, any woman in the *aga-usa* younger than the speaker.

*Siän*, grandson, brother's son; generally any relative in the third degree of relationship in the male line.

*Siän-chär*, great-grandson, cousin in the male line of the fourth degree of relationship; generally, any person in the fourth degree of relationship in the male line.

*Sygan* (?)<sup>1</sup>, the children and grandchildren of two sisters in their relations to one another; family connexions.

*Sy(g)*, remote relatives—so remote as not to come under the prohibited degrees of marriage. In the female line this term applies to the second generation. In former times, in the male line, the prohibitions included even the ninth generation, and nowadays reach to the fourth generation at least.

<sup>1</sup> The interrogation points are Sieroszewski's.

*Ychchat*, 'descendant'.

*Är*, 'man'; *ärim*, 'my man'—the colloquial name for a husband. *Ogonnior*, 'old', is another colloquial term for a husband, or a host.

*Oyokh*, 'wife'. *Ämähksin*, 'old', *ämähksin-em*, 'my old', are colloquial terms for a wife. *Djakhter*, 'woman', *djakhterem*, 'my woman', are other colloquial names.

*Yä*, 'mother' (literally 'womb', 'embryo'), used also in reference to mothers of animals.

*Tay*, mother's brother. *Ulukhan-tay*, mother's elder brother (*ulukhan*, 'big'). *Achchigay-tay*, mother's younger brother (*achchigay*, 'small').

*Tay-sangas*, wife of a maternal uncle. *Achchigay-tay* is the term for sons of a mother's brother older than the speaker; *chos-tay*, those younger than the speaker. The wife of an *achchigay-tay* is called *achchigay-tay-sungas*. The wife of a *chos-tay* is spoken of as *chos-kinit*. The daughter of a maternal uncle older than the speaker is called *tay agas*; younger than the speaker, *tay balys*. *Tay siän* is the name for a grandchild of a maternal uncle. The mother's older sister is also *tay agas*, and her younger sister *tay balys*; while their husbands are known as *tay-kütüü*.

*Toyon*, father of the husband. The literal meaning is 'master', 'chief'.

*Khotun*, husband's mother. Literally 'mistress'.

*Aga-kylyn*, father-in-law (wife's father), his brother, and his father. *Tängür* also means wife's father, his brother, or his father; the father of a son's wife or of a brother's son's wife, or of a grandson's wife. In a word, every man connected with the wife, including the match-maker, or the men representing the clan at the wedding.

*Büllakh*, remote relations or, rather, friends.

*Yu-kylyn*, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister or mother. *Khodogay* also means wife's mother, wife's mother's sister or mother; also the mother of a son's wife or grandson's wife; and, generally, every kind of remote female relative, match-maker, or female representative of an allied clan at the wedding.

*Uol-kylyn*, wife's brother, wife's male cousins on both sides.

*Agas kylyn*, wife's elder sister, wife's elder female cousins on the mother's side, elder daughter of wife's brother.

*Kürä balys*, wife's younger sister, wife's cousin on the mother's side, younger daughter of wife's brother.

*Kätüö* (?), husband of an elder sister.

*Kätüöt*, daughter's husband, husband of younger sister and of mother's younger sister.

*Kimit*, son's wife, wife of younger brother. The wife of an elder brother is *sangas*.

*Bärgän*, form of address of a younger brother's to an elder brother's wife.

*Badjja*, form of address of an elder brother's to a younger brother's wife.

*Kirängakh-aga*, stepfather. *Kirängakh-yä*, stepmother.

*Ogo*, child. Refers exclusively to age, and may be used also with reference to birds, animals, trees.

*Ogom*, 'my child', refers also to grandchildren and even to younger brothers. Colloquially this is used by older people in addressing younger ones, without any reference to relationship.

*Uol*, 'boy', 'son'. Sister's husband younger than the speaker. In general, different degrees in the descending line of male relationship, defined more exactly by the addition of various words.

*Kys*, 'girl', 'daughter'. Son's wife, and different degrees in the descending line of female relationship, with various defining terms added.

*Itükh uol*, adopted brother. *Itükh kys*, adopted sister.

*Igirä*, twins.

Sieroszewski says that the Yakut have no name for widow or widower.

From what has been said we see that the terms for 'mother' and 'wife' being definite and ancient, the concept corresponding to these terms must have originated in the mind of the Yakut before that of 'father' and 'husband'. Another curious fact in this connexion is that in the *olongo* we have frequent references to heroes who go forth to find their fathers.<sup>1</sup>

The terminology of relationship takes into account primarily sex and degrees of age. Thus Yakut society consists of two main groups, (a) men and women of the paternal line born earlier (*ubay*, *agas*), and (b) men and women of the paternal line born later (*ini*, *balys*).

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 338.

## VII. THE MONGOLIC TRIBES.

The Mongolic tribes of Siberia belong to the nomadic peoples, though their mode of life is becoming more sedentary. Mr. F. W. Leontovich,<sup>1</sup> who has made a special study of the Mongol peoples, says that they still preserve with great care their clan genealogies; and though they are widely dispersed, those living among alien groups keep the memory of the clan to which they originally belonged. The patriarchal type of clan-organization is universal among the Mongolic tribes.

The Mongols proper trace their descent from Biurte-Chino ('Blue-Wolf'), the ancestor of Djingis-Khan, and say that they are in the direct line of descent from the latter.<sup>2</sup> But many other Mongolic tribes make the same claim, e.g. the Buryat clan of Selenginsk.

Historically, the Mongols are divided into two groups, East and West Mongols. The latter were made up of four tribes, named after four brothers, Djungar, Turgut (Turgout), Khoshot, and Durbot (Dürbüt). They called themselves the Fourfold Confederacy, or the Four-Coloured Confederacy, from the four colours of their insignia, as distinguished from the East Mongols, who formed a Fivefold Confederacy of five groups corresponding to the five colours of their insignia.

In war they formed nine group-units, each with insignia of a particular colour, hence the name 'Nine-Coloured' ascribed to these people. In the clan, the rule of seniority is observed, so that among the Kalmuk for example, when a new halting-place is reached, they pitch their tents in an order depending on priority of age.<sup>3</sup>

*The Uriankhai.* The Kobdinsk Uriankhai, like the Darkhat and Baita, are Turki in origin, but use a Mongolic dialect and consider themselves as belonging to the old Western Mongolic branch of the Oliut.<sup>4</sup> The Mongols call them Uranga. They have no hereditary rulers, as the Turkic and Tangnu Uriankhai have, but are governed by two administrative officials called *ombo*. They are divided into ten *sumyins*, and are, according to Potanin,<sup>5</sup> the poorest and most disorganized of the Mongolic tribes.

<sup>1</sup> *The Ancient Mongolo-Kalmuk Code* . . .

<sup>2</sup> N. Kiaruzin, *Ethnography*, 1901, vol. i, part ii, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes spelt Eliut.

<sup>5</sup> *Sketches of North-Western Mongolia*, 1881, vol. ii, pp. 34-8.



*The Kalmuk.* Each Kalmuk family occupies a tent by itself; and several such tents occupied by related families form a *khoton* having a common household administration with an elder at the head. Several *khotons*, related to each other, and having a common wandering-ground, compose an *aymak*. A group of related *aymaks* form an *otok*, which was formerly mainly an administrative or strategic group. These old *otoks* are now represented by clans (*angi*), and the word *otok* is reserved for the common wandering-ground of the clan. An *ulus* is made up of related clans forming a 'confederation', sometimes called *orda*, and governed by an elder, known as *noyon*. The tribe (*tangatchi*) comprises several *uluses*, and is governed by an elder, called *taysha*.<sup>1</sup>

Kharuzin<sup>2</sup> says that the tribal elder was elected at a general assembly of the tribe. The result of the election was made known by placing the chosen man upon a sheet of felt, called *koshma*. Candidates must be in the line of direct descent from the clan of *Djingis-Khan*; so that in the Mongolian state, based on the clan system, one clan has precedence over all others. The descendants of this privileged clan call themselves 'white-bones' in contradistinction to all the other clans who are known as 'black-bones'. Noble ladies are known as 'white-flesh' and common women as 'black-flesh'.<sup>3</sup> At the present day the office of tribal elder is no longer elective, but hereditary, passing from father to son or to the nearest relative in the male line; hence it is not now a question of the ascendancy of a clan but of a family. The tribal elder is in modern times almost independent of any control in the exercise of his office; for the council of clan elders, which was formerly invested with the power of regulating his authority, has practically lost all significance. Still, the old patriarchal tradition prevents exercise of an unlimited despotism by the tribal chief over people who are of the same tribe or clan as himself; he may, however, be as despotic as he will towards the class of slaves.<sup>4</sup>

*The Buryat.* The Buryat form a branch of the Eastern Mongols. They speak a dialect of the Mongolian language, differing both from the spoken tongue of the true Mongols of Khalkas and from the language of Mongolic literature. It is also distinct from Kalmuk. According to some traditions, they are descendants

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> *Ethnography*, 1903, vol. iii, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> S. Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, part iii, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Kharuzin, *ibid.*

of the ancient Oyrat.<sup>1</sup> The north-western Buryat trace their descent from Bukha-Noyana, a mythical hero, while those of the south-west claim as their common ancestor the hero, Bargubator. The Selenginsk Buryat say that they are descended in direct line from Djingis-Khan. The Buryat of the Irkutsk Government, north-west of Lake Baikal, are called Bargu-Buryat; those from the south-west of the lake are known as Mongol-Buryat. The Buryat inhabiting the Amur basin have the name Aga-Buryat.

In ancient times the Buryat clan was known as *yagan*. The Russians have formed administrative clans, each composed of several *yaguns*. At the head of the clan is an elder, called *shelenga*. Several clans are combined to form an administrative group called in Russian *vicdomstva*, with an elder known as *taysha*. Among social events which help to preserve the unity of the clan, one of the most important is their institution of a co-operative hunt, in which all members of the clan, or of several allied clans, take part. It is called *zeyglä-aba* among the Bargu-Buryat, and by the Mongol-Buryat, *aba-khaidak*. The hunt sometimes lasts for several months, and is under the leadership of a *tubuchi*, whom every one obeys, and whose office is very often hereditary. Besides the *tubuchi* there are usually several *galshus* (*gal*, 'fire') whose duty it is to look after the fire and food; and two guides, *gazarish*. There are also other assistants of lesser importance called *yakhuly* and *malgo*.<sup>2</sup>

Another social event of great importance as a means for preserving the unity of the clan is the *tailgan*. In the description of this socio-religious festival we shall follow Klementz.<sup>3</sup>

The *tailgan* is a public sacrifice (as distinguished from a private one, called *kirik*) performed on behalf of the whole community. Sacrificial animals are supplied by several households, according to their means; and after the sacrifice the meat is divided equally among the participants. The *tailgan* is a popular or social festival, in which the youths engage in wrestling and jumping; formerly there was archery as well. *Tailguns* are celebrated in honour of the various *yaguns*, at certain definite seasons of the year: the

<sup>1</sup> N. Kharuzin in his *Ethnography* (1901, vol. i, part ii, p. 234) says that the Oirat are identical with the Oyrat and are Western Mongols. Other reliable authorities, such as Agapitoff and Khangaloff, and Klementz, class them with the Eastern Mongols. Pallas says that 'Oyrat are commonly called Kalmuk'. (Pallas, op. cit., p. 203.)

<sup>2</sup> 'The Buryat', Brockhaus and Ephron, *Encyclopaedia*.

<sup>3</sup> Klementz, Article 'Buriat', *E. R. E.*

*tailgan* to the western *Tengeris* in spring corresponds to the Yakut spring festival, *ysyakh*; that to the *Water-Khans* is in summer, and the one to the mother-earth, at the end of the latter season. The general character of all these festivals is the same, the only special features being connected with the character of the deities invoked. The commonest and widest-spread form of the ritual is that used at the sacrifices in honour of the western *Khans*.<sup>1</sup>

A large open space at the foot of a hill is selected by the people, who go out into the fields in a body.<sup>2</sup> The various utensils, the wine, and the sour milk provided for use at the festival, are fumigated beforehand with pine-bark. At the house of one of the more respected participants, the shaman sprinkles *tarasun* before the assembled company, who are in readiness to set out for the appointed spot. There, utensils with provisions are arranged in a row from west to east; the participants take their seats towards the south in a place called *turghe*—a name also given to branches of birch stuck in the ground in front of the utensils. There is also a place set apart for the sacrificial animals, and for big kettles in which the meat is to be boiled. Every participant has to provide a rope made of white hair intertwined with white and black ribbons. By means of the rope formed by joining these (a white hare-skin being then affixed to it) the tops of some birch-trees which are now planted in the ground are bound together and the trees supported with pegs to keep them in an inclined position. When this is done, the shaman reads a prayer, and the participants, at his command, pour out the contents of brimming cups, which they have been holding in their hands.<sup>3</sup>

This libation is thrice repeated, and the empty cups are thrown away. If a man's cup falls on its bottom, this is accounted a favourable omen, and he is acclaimed by all with shouts of '*Torokh! Torokh!*' Further libations are made, after the shaman has placed in each cup a branch of the *Picea sibirica* (*jido*), and sour milk is given to the sacrificial animals, which are then killed and their skins taken off with the heads and legs. The lungs, larynx, and heart are left with the skins, which are stuffed with

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Except the married women and widows, who in exogamic society are of a different clan. These remain at home. The participants in the festival are all men and girls.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

straw. Birch-twigs are stuck in the nostrils, and to the foreheads are fastened pieces of the bark of the *jido*. Each of the stuffed skins is hung on one of the birches prepared before, with the head turned in the direction of the dwelling of the deity invoked.<sup>1</sup>

The meat is now boiled and separated from the bones, which are collected, those of each animal in a separate heap, on little tables made of birch-sticks, and burnt. The ends of the animals' intestines are burnt in a separate fire.<sup>2</sup>

The principal rite is performed after this. Everyone takes a pail containing meat, and stands up, while the shaman invokes the western *zayans*. These come, each in his turn, and relate their own stories. When Bukha-Noin-Baobai<sup>3</sup> arrives, the shaman goes down on all fours, bellows like a bull, butts those present as if with horns, and tries to overturn the birch-trees tied with the white ropes, while several men hold up the trees against his attack. Unsuccessful in this, the *Khan* departs with fresh bellowings. The shaman next invokes another *zayun*, Nagad-Zarin; and then this rite, together with the whole ceremony, is concluded by petitions and entreaties to the western gods for various benefits.<sup>4</sup>

#### VIII. THE FINNIC TRIBES.

The <sup>*clan*</sup> among the Finnic tribes appears to have been in the past, even if it is not always now, the most important social unit. The terminology used within the clan in the Finnic tribes of the Votyak, Ostyak, Cheremiss, and Mordva, shows that family relationships are classificatory, and that degrees of age play an important part in these relationships. This is the conclusion reached by Mr. Kharuzin in his *Ethnography*.<sup>5</sup> As far as the evidence hitherto gathered goes, a similar system obtains among other Neo-Siberians like the Yakut and the Altaians, as well as among some of the Palaeo-Siberians, e.g. the Gilyak and Yukaghir, and, to a certain extent, the Chukchee and the Koryak.

*The Votyak*.—Thus the Votyak use the words *ay* and *mummy* for 'father' and 'mother' respectively, these terms also signifying

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Bukha-Noin-Baobai: 'Father-Master-Ox', the most popular of the western *Khans* and progenitor of a Buryat tribe. He is the second son of Budurga-Sagan-Tengeri (Klementz, 'Tengris or heaven-gods', § 4 of art. quoted).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Ethnography*, vol. ii, 1903, p. 36.

'male' and 'female'. The terms *nunia* and *agay* mean generally 'a man older than myself', whether father, elder brother, uncle, or nephew. The word *vyn*, meaning a 'man younger than myself', is similarly used. *Apay* and *akay*, signifying a 'woman older than myself', and '*suzer*', a 'woman younger than myself', are applied in a similar way to relatives.<sup>1</sup>

A Votyak clan comprises from ten to thirty villages. The clan is united by its descent from a common founder-protector, and by a common cult. At the present day, however, the group of villages is becoming more and more a territorial unit, known as *mer*, and less of a clan in the strict sense. The group of clansmen claiming descent from a common ancestor is known by the name *eli*.<sup>2</sup>

*The Ostyak.* Castren says that the Ostyak, like the Samoyed, are divided into clans, of which each is in fact a large family and an independent state.<sup>3</sup> The elder of the clan was called *urt*. They are sometimes mentioned in literature as *kniaz* ('prince'), a Russian word imported by the Cossacks, and by them applied indiscriminately to all sorts of native authorities. In ancient times the *urt* was very powerful, but in some matters he gave place to the oldest man of the clan in deference to the latter's greater age and experience.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of the Tartar dominance the Ostyak clans were called *volosti*. Since the Russian conquest the office of *urt* has been abolished, and it has become difficult to trace the clan genealogies. The northern Ostyak are still nomadic and pagan, and are occupied with reindeer-breeding. The southern division, living along the Irtysh, are more or less sedentary fishermen and tillers of the soil.<sup>5</sup>

From the old Ostyak tales and songs Patkanoff has drawn an account of their society as it was before the Tartar and Russian conquests. These people have never exhibited a tendency to unite into anything resembling a nation or even an organised tribe; they have always been grouped in clans independent of each other, each clan having its own chief, and there was seldom even anything

like an alliance of clans. The chief (prince) was the real ruler, but on certain important occasions there was an assembly, in which only the oldest members of the clans were allowed to take part in discussions. Every assembly began with a sacrifice to the gods, and a general feast to which the people were summoned by the slaves of the chief.<sup>1</sup> The chiefs (princes) and their families formed a strong aristocratic caste. They were probably chosen for their physical prowess and moral qualities, but this was before the time referred to in the songs and legends. They were a warrior class, whose duty it was to defend the land from foreign foes.<sup>2</sup> In time of peace they occupied themselves with hunting and tournaments.

The commoners (*mygdat-yaks*), although much more numerous, are but seldom referred to in the poems.<sup>3</sup> The slaves (*ley*, *ort*, 'male slaves'; *tey-nen*, *ort-nen*, 'female slaves') were probably obtained in war, and had various household occupations in the houses of the nobles. They were private property, and their owners could do with them what they would. They were often given as part of the *kalyim* for a bride. On the whole, the treatment accorded them was kind.<sup>4</sup>

When the Ostyak were at war with the Samoyed, and afterwards with the Tartars and Russians, they formed alliances among their clans.<sup>5</sup> During these wars they had, like the Vogul and Samoyed, the custom of scalping a slain enemy. Some of the songs tell also of the heroes eating the hearts of the foes they had killed.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> I. N. Smirnov, *The Votyak*, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Piervukhin, *Materials for the Archaeology of the Eastern Provinces of Russia*, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> Castren, *Reisvärningar aus den Jahren 1838-1844*, 1853, p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> Only the Obdorsk Ostyak have preserved their patriarchal institutions intact. (Castren, op. cit., p. 286.)

<sup>5</sup> N. Patkanoff, *The Ancient Life of the Ostyak*, 1891, vol. iv, p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 87.

## CHAPTER IV

## MARRIAGE

## PALAEO-SIBERIANS

## I. THE CHUKCHEE.

AMONG the Chukchee, especially among the reindeer-breeding portion of the tribe, unmarried people are extremely rare, and in most cases they are individuals with a certain sexual defect. This kind of deformity is called by the Chukchee *totainorkinc* ('thou acquirest a swelling on the *membrum virile*').<sup>1</sup>

In the Chukchee language there is no term for 'girl', for virginity is not required or expected. There is a word for 'woman' (*neusgat*), and for 'separate woman', i. e. a woman living alone (*yanra-naw*). There is also an expression 'not yet put in use' (*yep ayaaketeu*), probably nearly equivalent to our word 'girl'. In spite of this and of the sensuality of the Chukchee, which shows itself in private life and in their mythology, Bogoras<sup>2</sup> observes: 'Still, many of the Chukchee girls are chaste until their marriage; and in comparison with the other tribes of this country, the Chukchee are considerably more decent. Among the Russians and Russianized natives throughout the whole north-east from the Lena River to Kamchatka hardly any girl remains a virgin until marriage. Most of them begin sexual life with the first traces of maturity, being but fifteen or sixteen, and sometimes only twelve or thirteen years old, and quite immature. All kinds of cases of adultery and incest occur even in the families of the clergy, and are participated in by monks and missionaries.' We read that the Reindeer-Chukchee girl is shy and proud by nature, and 'would avoid flirting with a man wholly unknown to her'.<sup>3</sup> But if she has children before marriage they are treated in the same way as children born after marriage. If a very young girl bear children she is called 'the fawn mother' (some female fawns bearing young when they are one year old). On the whole, the

Chukchee have an idea that early marriages are bad for the health of the woman, and intercourse with one 'not having full breasts and the *menses*' is considered shameful.<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Melikoff, the violation of a girl not perfectly mature is a serious crime, and therefore is severely punished by the Council of the Elders.<sup>2</sup>

Marriage between relatives, especially between cousins, is the most frequent form among the Chukchee. Sexual intercourse between uncle and niece is considered incestuous, though Bogoras knew of two cases of such relations, one of which was a marriage. The husband in this latter case was ridiculed by the neighbours. The same writer observed two cases of sexual relations between father and daughter, and gives us many examples of Chukchee tales relating to marriage between brother and sister, which in actual life are considered incestuous.<sup>3</sup>

One tale about the country of Luren (a Chukchee village called Luren lies on the Pacific shore, north from Indian Point) says: 'The Maritime people living in that country were exterminated by famine. Only two were left: a full-grown girl and her infant brother. She fed him with pounded meat. When he grew up she asked him to marry her. "Otherwise we shall remain childless," said the sister. "We shall have no descendants, and the earth will remain without people. It cannot be peopled otherwise. And who sees us? Who will say 'shame'? Who will know about it in the world? We are all alone in the world." The brother said, "I do not know, I feel bad; it is forbidden." Then the sister began to think. "How can I do it? Our line of descent will break off with us." The young woman goes to a distant place, builds a house, quite different to their own, prepares everything belonging to it, and makes new clothes for herself. Then she returns and tells her brother that she has seen a house somewhere on the shore. The brother goes in search of this house and finds it. The sister is already there. She has changed her clothes, the expression of her face, the tone of her voice, and he takes her for another woman. After some hesitation he takes her for his wife. Then begins a life in two houses: the sister is here and there and plays with success her double rôle.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 573.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Melikoff's report is in manuscript. Bogoras, however, expresses some doubt with regard to the trustworthiness of Melikoff's interpreter, the Chukchee Eiheli. There is no Council of the Elders now and no punishment as a public institution, says Bogoras (p. 574).

<sup>3</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., p. 576.

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, J. N. P. F., vol. vii, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 572. <sup>3</sup> Ibid.



Finally, when she is pregnant, the brother ceases to think of his sister, and they live at the new place. One child is born, then another. The family multiplies and becomes a people. From them are born all the people in the camps and villages.<sup>1</sup>

There exists universally among the Chukchee a custom of marrying young children, who then grow up together and are very much attached to one another later on, when they are actually married. This is the case in marriages between relatives or between members of two friendly families.

While staying on the Dry Anui River, Bogoras heard of a marriage arranged before the birth of one of the children. One Chukchee had a son three years old. The wife of another was about to give birth to a child, and they were all convinced that it would be a daughter; so they settled that the marriage ritual should take place the first autumn after the birth of the girl. Sometimes families exchange their daughters.<sup>2</sup>

The most curious side of this custom is that the age of the persons whose relatives marry them by exchange is of no account. In a case he observed on the Oloi River, Bogoras states that a man, Qimaqai, gave his five-year-old son to be married to a girl of twenty, and in exchange for her he gave his niece of twelve years old to be married to a man who was over twenty years of age. The wife nursed the boy, waiting until he should grow up. In some cases of this kind the wife may have a male 'marriage-companion', and, having a child of her own, nurse it and her contracted husband together.<sup>3</sup> This is done, as the Chukchee say, 'to ensure the love of the young husband in the future.'<sup>4</sup>

*Marriage Ceremonies.* The most usual method of obtaining the wife is by serving for her. This is called among the Chukchee 'for wife herdsman being' (*naundourgin*). This term is also used by the Maritime Chukchee, although they have no herds. There the bridegroom lives in the house of the girl's father and works for him. But we find, especially in the myths, the description of another kind of marriage. When a man from one village seeks a wife from another, often at a great distance, he has to surmount

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 578.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> 'The marriage between a full-grown girl and a young boy', says Bogoras, 'occurs between many other people more civilized than the Chukchee. Until recent times they were very frequent in the villages of Great Russia, the rôle of actual husband in this case falling to the father-in-law. This is called *snokhachestro* (from *snokha*—daughter-in-law). Such intercourse the Chukchee consider improper.' (Op. cit., p. 578.)

many difficulties, either on the part of her parents or herself. In such tales the bride is sometimes described as being kept in a big iron box, and the suitor must set her free; sometimes the parents conceal the place where she is hidden. But there are also cases where the bride is the opposer, being described as a strong and proud girl. Thus, in one story, a girl caused her suitors to run foot-races with her, and the one who succeeded in distancing her she took in marriage. Sometimes a series of contests takes place before a man succeeds in obtaining his wife. Even at the present day such romantic marriages occur.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of serving for a wife the bridegroom makes preliminary inquiries through a friend or relative, a proceeding which is termed 'Thou askest for a wife' (*newew girkin*). This friend begins service as a representative of the suitor by bringing from the woods bundles of fuel. The father-in-law then has a conversation with him, in which the former shows anger and displeasure, either real or affected. The 'asking for a wife' lasts several days or even weeks, during which the representative must not only work, but try to please the family. When the father gives his consent, this is sometimes reckoned as the end of the courtship, and the suitor may take the girl; but in most cases, even nowadays, this only gives him the right to court her personally. Frequently he acts himself from the beginning without the help of an intermediary; the gathering of fuel is, however, an essential part of the procedure. Only then does the period of trial begin, and lasts from one to three years. Some of the old Chukchee refuse food and shelter to the poor suitor, and at any time he may be dismissed; but it is considered a disgrace to return home passively instead of resisting such treatment. After the first few months, the suitor is allowed to sleep in the inner room, and then usually he cohabits with his future bride. If he is a good herdsman, the father endeavours to postpone their departure, and 'when the son-in-law takes his wife home without quarrelling with her father he is usually given some reindeer, the number of which depends upon the quality of work done by the young man during his period of service'.

Bogoras was told that a wealthy Chukchee gives his son-in-law 'freedom of one day', which means that the bridegroom is free to catch as many reindeer as he can for himself on that day. As

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 580-3.

a rule it is considered improper to pay for a bride 'as if she were a reindeer', and the Chukchee always criticize the Tungus and Yakut on this point. A second wife is very rarely acquired through service; the suitor gives to the girl's father a few reindeer, not as payment, but as a so-called 'joyful gift'. Still, Bogoras knew of middle-aged rich men who already had families, and who had to serve several months in the families of the girls whom they wished to marry.<sup>1</sup>

The time of trial is much easier and shorter when the suitor is adopted as a son-in-law, called by the Chukchee 'continuous dweller' (*vata itilin*). The wife is withheld from him for several years to make his attachment stronger; but even after his wife has borne him a child, he may be dismissed at any time. 'Only after a stay of several years, when his work has left its mark on the common herd, and perhaps he has some reindeer marked with his own ear-mark, does his position become more stable, and then he receives a voice in the family affairs.'<sup>2</sup>

Some tales describe the ravishing of Chukchee girls performed by men of other tribes, by spirits, by an eagle, a whale, a raven, &c. Sometimes the ravishing was practised within the tribe, but this seldom occurs in modern times. 'In olden times . . . a company of young men would seize a young girl in the open, bind her hands and feet, and carry her to the house of one who wanted to have her for a wife. Not only the men of alien families, but even the relatives and the cousins, acted so after being refused by the father of the girl.'<sup>3</sup> After such an abduction the parents would sometimes receive another woman of the family in exchange for their daughter. Marriages by flight, in the case where parents refuse their consent, do occur, though rarely.

The Reindeer Chukchee sometimes like to take wives from other tribes—the Koryak, the Tungus, and the Yukaghir. The woman soon adopts Chukchee manners. As all the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Reindeer Chukchee are much poorer than the latter, they very readily give their daughters in marriage to rich Chukchee. A poor member of one of their tribes is thought very lucky if he is adopted as a son, and later on as a son-in-law, by a Chukchee reindeer-breeder.<sup>4</sup>

Bogoras knows of twenty cases of marriages between Russians and Chukchee, and supposes that here economic reasons play a

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 586.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 590.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 587.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 592.

certain part.<sup>1</sup> The Russian women adapt themselves very easily to the new life and like it, though it is difficult for them in the beginning. 'One knows neither the language nor the way of life'—said one of them to Bogoras. 'One feels a yearning to go back to the river, and weeps all the time. Then comes an old "knowing-woman" and performs an incantation, which takes away the sorrow and makes one more adapted to the new life.'<sup>2</sup> Referring to this, the Russian women on the river said that the Chukchee women, with their incantations, take out of the woman her Russian soul and put in its place a Chukchee soul. 'Therefore these women ever afterwards love life in the open.'<sup>3</sup>

Generally, mixed Russo-Chukchee marriages are without children. 'I should also mention', says Bogoras, 'that many Russianized families of the Lower Kolyma form actual combinations of group-marriages with Chukchee families; or, properly speaking, the Chukchee consider it as a group-marriage, and the Russians rather as a kind of prostitution. The Chukchee set great value on these relations, because they consider the Russians, notwithstanding all their hunger and need, as belonging to a higher civilization; and the Russians strive to get out of these relatives some reindeer-meat free of cost, also some cheap reindeer-skins and costly peltries of the tundra. So in several Russian families, even of clerks, merchants, and clergymen, there are children reputed to be of Chukchee blood. Thus the two eldest children of the church-beadle of Nishne-Kolymsk, a son and a daughter, are called by the neighbours "Chukchee offspring". I asked the mother about the origin of this name. "Of course they are Chukchee, paid for with many reindeer. In those years I fed the whole hungry neighbourhood." And this was true'—adds Bogoras—'because on the Lower Kolyma in times of hunger, every piece of food is divided among all.'<sup>4</sup>

Bogoras did not know of any marriages between the Chukchee and the Yakut, because, he explains, the Yakut do not suffer so much from hunger as the Russian creoles and the Tungus.

*Marriage Rite.* This occurs in the house of the groom, if he

<sup>1</sup> The Reindeer Chukchee of late years have removed to some fifty miles' distance from the nearest Russian village in order to restrict the coming of hungry river-men with their still more hungry dogs. But those who have married Russian girls cannot very easily go away from their relatives, and so they become poor. (Bogoras. p. 594.)

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 594.

takes the wife to himself, or in the house of the bride, if the bridegroom becomes an adopted son-in-law. The groom goes to the house of her father to fetch the bride; she drives her own reindeer, and is sometimes surrounded by her relatives. Then behind the tent, at a spot set apart for sacrifices, is placed a family sledge on which the tent-poles are usually carried, and on both sides of it at some distance stand the travelling-sledges of the bride and groom, on which fire-drills and charm-strings are placed. A sacrificial reindeer is killed, and other 'sacrifices, bloody and bloodless, are made to the dawn and the zenith. Then the couple is anointed with the blood of the reindeer, one or two members of the groom's family generally also undergoing the ceremony in order that the bride may not feel lonely; then the groom and the bride paint on their faces the family mark of the groom'.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the woman anoints the sledges with blood, feeds the holy objects of the household with reindeer-marrow, and sprinkles some sacrificial blood on the hearth, addressing it thus: 'Be well! (*Mimeleu gutvarkin!*)'.<sup>2</sup>

A second marriage-rite is performed after a few days or a few weeks, in the house of the bride's parents. It is called 'a journey out of loneliness' (*Alaranto uvgin*). The bride drives the reindeer, but never the same as used for her first journey. The wife, the groom, and his relatives, if they accompany him, bring to the bride's parents some reindeer, some meat-puddings, and other presents. But they insist that it is a present, not a payment for the bride, as it is given after the marriage-ceremony. 'On their arrival at the bride's camp, the bride and groom are again anointed, the bride's family mark is painted on their faces, and the bride makes a sacrifice to the hearth of her home.'<sup>3</sup> After a feast, they return the next day to the bridegroom's home, where the rite of anointment is once more repeated, and the husband's family mark is painted once more.

Marriage among them is not very permanent, however, and the wife is sent back to her parents on very light pretexts. Bogoras knew a family on the Dry Anui River, in which the eldest son had changed wives ten times in the course of three years. For one of them he had served three, for another four months.<sup>4</sup> Usually, however, if the union is severed, this occurs shortly after the marriage ceremony, and in most cases the marriage is broken by

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 595.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 596.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 599.

the bride's family, which reclaims her. The children who still require nursing go with the mother, the others go with the father. Sometimes the wife is carried away from her husband by her elder brother against her wish.<sup>1</sup>

Bogoras himself met a rich and gentle Chukchee on the Dry Anui River whose wife was taken away from him by her brother. When he went to claim her, the brother asked him, 'Will you promise not to refuse me your reindeer?' As the husband would not accede to this request, his wife was not returned to him.

In 1897, Bogoras, during the census preparations, found out that one-third of the women had been divorced several times.

The Reindeer Chukchee are mainly monogynists, but about one-third are polygynists. Many rich reindeer-breeders who have separate herds keep a wife with each herd, but frequently those who have only one herd have several wives. When a Chukchee has several wives in the same camp, he tries to give them separate tents, or separate sleeping-places in one tent, but there are also cases, met with chiefly in their tales, in which the husband sleeps between two wives. The first wife is generally much older and controls the others, who are more like servants.<sup>2</sup> If a wife has no children, she insists on her husband marrying another woman.<sup>3</sup> 'Cases are by no means rare, however, where the husband, enamoured of the second wife, becomes indifferent to the first, and even expels her from the house.'<sup>4</sup>

Precisely such a case is described in a popular tale, 'The Bigamist': 'There lived a man with two wives, an old one and a young one; when he took the young wife he abandoned the old one, did not love her or sleep with her any longer, he beat her all the time. In great grief she went out into the desert and came to a bear's haunt; she entered, the bear-mother was angry with her for entering; the woman said, "Why don't you kill me? My husband always beats me. It is better that you kill me." The woman stays with the bears and lives with them. When spring comes

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 598.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 159-60.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Dall (*Alaska and its Resources*, p. 381) says that if a Chukchee wife bear only daughters her husband remarries until he obtains a son; but Bogoras did not notice this as a rule, because a daughter can replace a son very easily among reindeer-breeding people. He saw some families consisting only of daughters—also in this case sons-in-law may be adopted. Among the Maritime Chukchee, however, a girl cannot replace a boy. (Op. cit., p. 601.)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

the bears let her go, with presents and incantations. She returns home, and by means of their incantations succeeds in regaining the favour of her husband, and persuades him to drive her rival from the house. The latter perishes from hunger and cold.<sup>1</sup>

Bogoras often saw women quarrel, and even fight, over the favours of their husband.<sup>2</sup> Similar examples of jealousy are described by Maydell.<sup>3</sup>

*Supplementary Unions.* The Chukchee form of supplementary unions, called by Bogoras 'group-marriage', sometimes consists of ten couples. The husbands belonging to such a group are called 'companions in wives' (*new-tungit*). A man has a right to the wives of all his companions, and may exercise this right when visiting the camp of any one of them. The husband in this case usually leaves the house for the night. In former times this custom embraced only members of the same family, except brothers; but now friends, unrelated, may join such a group, after which they become like relations, helping and supporting each other. As in the case of individual marriage, a similar rite is performed, consisting also in anointing each other with blood, first in one camp and then in the other, and sometimes the man will even serve with the herd in order to be received into the group.

People of unequal age and bachelors are not easily accepted. People living in the same camp seldom unite themselves into such a group, in which case, owing to the proximity of the tents, the custom might easily develop into one of regular instead of occasional intercourse. Poor people, however, who belong to such a union sometimes live in one tent, it is said; but Bogoras did not himself see an example of this. Sometimes such unions become polyandry, if a bachelor is accepted as a companion. Bogoras heard of certain cases in which each companion takes the wife of another and lives with her for several months, or even permanently. At the present time all Chukchee families take part in such organizations. In some cases all men have equal rights in each woman; in other cases a man may have several so-called marriage-companions, to whose wife he has a right, while these companions do not possess the same rights with regard to each other. Sometimes nowadays these unions are entered upon without any rite. It is possible to break the tie

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 601.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 602.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i, p. 164.

which binds the union, but in practice this is not done, unless there is a case of syphilis in the group. People of other tribes, e. g. the Tungus, are also received into such unions, and also Russians; of course, in this case the Russians see in the custom only an opportunity to profit by the loose conduct of women who desire payment in the form of slaughtered reindeer. Such relations with the Eskimo have existed for a very long time, and are undoubtedly due to trade intercourse; and so the American Eskimo has a temporary wife when visiting the Asiatic coast, and the Chukchee when visiting the American shores.<sup>1</sup>

'These marital ties with strangers', says Bogoras, 'lead us to the so-called "prostitution of hospitality"'. It cannot be positively ascertained whether in ancient times the custom existed among the Chukchee. According to Russian accounts of ancient times, it was customary for Russian merchants at the spring Chukchee fairs to visit the rich maritime traders. They would bring with them iron, kettles, tobacco in bags, and gave all this to the host as a present. The host, in return, offered his wife to the guests, having first covered the sleeping place with beaver, fox, and marten furs, numerous enough to cover the value of the present. Nowadays no such custom exists.<sup>2</sup> Cases in which the girl accepts the guest willingly for some small present are considered by the Chukchee as forms of supplementary marriage. Bogoras says he was never offered hospitality-prostitution, but was often asked to participate in what he calls 'group-marriage'.

After the death of one of several brothers, the next brother succeeds him, and acts as husband to the woman and father to the children, for whom he keeps the herd of the deceased. If the woman is too old, he does not exercise his right of levirate, which is here considered more as a duty than a right and only appertains to the younger brother, cousin, or even nephew, and never to the elder brother or uncle.<sup>3</sup>

Bogoras says that his information about the Maritime Chukchee is rather scanty. On the whole, however, the basis of marital union among the Maritime Chukchee and the Asiatic Eskimo is the same as among the Reindeer Chukchee. We find again the marriage of near relatives, marriage by exchange between families, woman for woman, and finally marriage with a strange family

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 602 and 607.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 607.

<sup>3</sup> The custom of levirate is widespread among the Amerinds and the Aleuts (Veniaminoff; Dall).



after a term of service. 'Group-marriage'<sup>1</sup> and the levirate are fully developed.<sup>2</sup>

The only difference between the marriage customs of the Maritime and Reindeer Chukchee is that the former are seldom polygynous, as they cannot support more than one family; in their tales, however, we frequently find examples of polygyny.<sup>3</sup> The marriage-rite among the Maritime tribe consists of sacrificing to the hearth and, generally, anointing with red ochre instead of blood. When Bogoras asked what marks the married couple painted on their faces, he received the invariable reply, 'It makes no difference.'<sup>4</sup> Perhaps they have themselves forgotten that it was in former times, as it is now among the Reindeer Chukchee, the family mark that is so painted.<sup>5</sup>

## II. THE KORYAK.

Contrary to the custom of all neighbouring tribes, Koryak girls must have no sexual intercourse before marriage. A young man who serves for a girl who has violated this rule is ridiculed, and her father and brother 'are angry', as the Koryak say.<sup>6</sup> It is considered shameful for a girl to bear a child before marriage; she must go out into the wilderness to be delivered, and afterwards she kills and buries the child. After she has reached puberty, she must not remove her combination garment during the night, especially when a stranger is in the house; she must

<sup>1</sup> The quotation marks indicate that I do not agree with Mr. Bogoras's use of the term. The Chukchee form of supplementary union does not correspond by any means exactly to any of the types of group-marriage instanced by Prof. Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage*.

<sup>2</sup> 'In regard to the prostitution of hospitality, it should be said that under the influence of American whalers, paid prostitution has developed among all the Maritime peoples on both coasts of Bering Sea. During the entire voyage, each ship has on board several young women from the Asiatic or the American shore. I have witnessed how, on the arrival of an American ship at the village Unisak, women in skin boats approached it from all sides, offering themselves quite openly. In order to be better understood, they would press their hands to their cheeks and close their eyes, symbolizing sleep.' (Bogoras, p. 610.)

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 611.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 610.

<sup>5</sup> When dealing with marriage among the Chukchee, we have limited our sources to Bogoras, because all other writers on the subject, namely, Resin, Maydell, Augustynowicz, and Diachkoff, give us similar, but not such exact descriptions. Thus Bogoras's writings include previous, as well as his personal, observations. Our action is sanctioned by the fact that such an authority as Maksimoff makes Bogoras the chief, if not the exclusive, authority in his work, *Contribution to the History of the Family among the Aborigines of Russia*, 1902, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, J. N. P. E., vol. vi, 1908, pp. 134-5.

also behave distantly to the man who is serving for her, and frequently she is sent away from home for that period.' Dittmar<sup>2</sup> says that a Koryak girl who has sexual intercourse before marriage is shot by her father, and similar statements are found throughout the Koryak mythology.<sup>3</sup>

When taking the census of the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak families, Jochelson did not find a single illegitimate child, while among the Yukaghir, northern Tungus, northern Yakut, and Russian settlers in northern Siberia, it was almost impossible to find a family not including such children. The chastity of Koryak girls is confirmed 'not only', says Jochelson, 'by the tales and assertions of the Koryak themselves and from my impressions obtained in Koryak homes, but also by the testimony of such experts in love affairs as the Gishiga Cossacks.'<sup>4</sup>

Jochelson gives the following table of *Marriage Prohibitions* (relatives between whom marriage is forbidden are quite numerous and may be divided into relatives by blood and relatives by affinity):

*Blood-relatives.* A man is forbidden to marry (1) his mother, (2) daughter, (3) own sister, (4) cousin, (5) father's sister, (6) mother's sister, (7) brother's daughter, and (8) own sister's daughter. Between all other blood-relations marriages are permitted. In answer to Jochelson's questions concerning second-cousins, some Koryak replied that they did not consider them relatives. 'From this the conclusion may be drawn that beyond that degree no blood-relationship is recognized, but, on the other hand, in direct ascending and descending lines, even very distant degrees, such as great-grandfathers, great-grandmothers, and great-grandchildren, are recognized as relatives.'

*Relatives by Affinity.* A man may not marry the following relatives by affinity: (1) stepmother; (2) sister of living wife (i. e. simultaneously two sisters); (3) cousin of living wife (i. e. simultaneously two cousins); (4) younger brother's widow; (5) deceased wife's elder sister; (6) nephew's widow; (7) sister of brother's wife (i. e. two brothers cannot marry two sisters); (8) cousin of brother's wife (i. e. two brothers cannot marry two

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Koräken*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Krasheninnikoff (*Description of the Country of Kamchatka*, ed. 1786, vol. ii, p. 163) mentions that among the Reindeer Koryak, the bridegroom sleeps with his bride during the period of service, but as this is not confirmed by any other authority it is probable that he has confused them with the Chukchee. Even Krasheninnikoff states that at the ceremony of seizure the bride's body is well wrapped up. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 736.

cousins); (9) simultaneously an aunt and her niece; (10) two brothers cannot marry, one an aunt and the other her niece; (11) two male cousins cannot marry, one an aunt and the other her niece; (12) an uncle and nephew cannot marry two sisters, two cousins, or two women of whom one is an aunt and the other her niece; (13) a step-daughter.<sup>1</sup>

To Jochelson's questions concerning these prohibitions, one Koryak said that 'relatives of the categories mentioned would die soon if they should enter into cohabitation with one another'.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, all our earlier evidence concerning the Koryak seems to point to endogamic marriage. In the 'Description of people living near Yakutsk, Okhotsk, and in Kamchatka', compiled by the local administration *circa* 1780, but published in 1792, we read that the Koryak 'do not take wives from another *ord*, and do not give their daughters for wives out of this *ord*, but marry among themselves'.<sup>3</sup> Though the term *ord* is not defined, one may suppose that it corresponds to a clan or local group. The statement of Krasheninnikoff is similar: 'They take their wives mostly from their own stock, first cousins, aunts, step-mothers; the only people whom they do not marry are sisters, mothers, step-daughters.'<sup>4</sup>

Jochelson<sup>5</sup> himself asserts that in Koryak mythology only marriage with a sister or a mother is held to be a crime, but there are many instances of marriages between cousins. Thus we may suppose that most of the marriage prohibitions are of later introduction.

All<sup>6</sup> the authorities agree on this fact, that the bridegroom has to serve his future father-in-law for a certain period and must often undergo severe tests. No one of them makes any mention of wife-purchase, or of the substitution of gifts or money for service for a wife. On the contrary, Krasheninnikoff states that the son-in-law, however rich he might be in reindeer, had to serve for from three to five years. Bogorodski<sup>7</sup> and Dittmar<sup>8</sup> say that if the man does not please his future father-in-law, he can be sent away even after five or ten years without receiving any reward for his

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 736-7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 395.

<sup>4</sup> Krasheninnikoff, ed. 1819, vol. ii, p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 738.

<sup>6</sup> Krasheninnikoff, ed. 1819, vol. ii, p. 222; Lesseps, *Reise von Kamtschatka nach Frankreich*, vol. ii, pp. 65-8; Kennan, pp. 152-5; Diachkoff, p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> Bogorodski, 1853, p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> Dittmar, 1856, p. 25.

service. Maksimoff<sup>1</sup> thinks that the custom of serving for the bride is the relic of a former custom by which a man went to live permanently in his father-in-law's house. As proof of his theory he quotes the formula used in arranging a marriage, as given by Yelistratoff.<sup>2</sup> The father of the suitor addresses the father of the bride: 'I come to you, my friend, to assist my son in his courtship. Here you have my son! I give him to you—if you wish, keep him as your son or as your workman.' Jochelson<sup>3</sup> considers that this custom of service provides a period of probation and test, especially as the son-in-law is not treated so well as an ordinary servant would be. 'The principal thought is not his usefulness, but the hard and humiliating trials to which he is subjected.' This opinion is confirmed by Koryak tales.

In former times, not only the bridegroom but also his 'match-maker' was obliged to serve in the house of the bride.

Before the man enters the service of the father-in-law he has chosen, the matchmaker, called by the Koryak 'the asking one', enters the home of the girl's father and the following dialogue ensues: 'Here I have come!' 'What for?' 'I am looking for a wife.' 'For whom?' 'For So-and-so' (mentioning the name). After some meditation, the host says: 'Well, we have girls, but they are bad, later on you may yet scold us.' 'No, it is all right.' 'Then let him come, I will not harm him'; and in these words the father gives his permission for the suitor to serve for his daughter. Very often the suitor goes to make the proposal himself, especially if his parents disapprove of his choice. The term of service varies from six months to three years, or even longer, after which the father announces to the suitor that he may take the girl to wife.<sup>4</sup>

The marriage ceremony itself, which gives the husband full right to his wife, is the act of 'seizing' his wife, described by all our authorities with only slight variations. Most of them agree with Jochelson that the bride must not surrender to the bridegroom without a struggle, nor will the bridegroom take her without encountering the usual difficulties.<sup>5</sup> The bride is wrapped up

<sup>1</sup> Maksimoff, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Yelistratoff, *West Coast of Kamchatka*, 1787, pp. 152-4.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 739.

<sup>5</sup> Jochelson (*The Koryak*, p. 742) quotes here Steller's explanation of the origin of this custom. He thinks it is an imitation of animals—a bitch, too, does not at once yield to the dog (Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, p. 347).

in various garments which cannot be removed without cutting. The bridegroom must attack her, cut and tear off her clothes, and touch her sexual organs with his hand. The girl herself resists, and tries to run away, and besides this, her girl friends attack and try to beat the bridegroom back; and if the girl does not care for the man she tries to hide among the neighbours, while her parents endeavour to keep her at home.<sup>1</sup>

Kennan relates that on the marriage day the friends and relatives are invited; and, to the accompaniment of the drum and songs, the bride runs round the *yurta*. The groom pursues her, and at each corner is attacked by the women, who try to stop him with their feet, and beat him unmercifully with branches of the alder-tree. Finally the bride slackens her speed, or she would not be caught at all, and then the man tears off her clothes and touches her body.<sup>2</sup> Jochelson, on the other hand, says that marriage is accompanied neither by feasts nor by shamanistic ceremonies. Sometimes the couple leave at once for the bridegroom's house, or they remain for some time still with her father. In certain places the bridegroom, after successful 'bride-seizing', leaves at once for his home, and sends his parents or relatives to fetch the bride. 'When the bride approaches the house of her bridegroom's parents, the latter come out with firebrands taken from the hearth to meet her.'<sup>3</sup> The bride brings with her no dowry, only her clothes; but she brings some presents to the bridegroom's mother and sisters. As soon as she enters the house she must prepare some meal. Among the Maritime Koryak this meal is eaten by the family, and among the Reindeer Koryak this is followed by a sacrifice to the Supreme Being and his son 'the Cloudman', the protector of married couples.

In former times there existed another rite called 'dyeing red', which consisted in anointing the bride's forehead and abdomen with blood. After a certain time the young couple visit her parents, and are again met with firebrands from the hearth, and this time the bridegroom brings presents.

In certain rare cases it is the son-in-law who comes to live with the bride's family. In such cases he is adopted into the family. The young wife coming to the house of her husband must join

<sup>1</sup> In former times, apparently, not only the women but also the bride's male relatives defended her from the groom (Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 743).

<sup>2</sup> Kennan, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-5.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 743.

him in the cult of his ancestors. Nevertheless, to a certain extent, she is always under the protection of her blood-relatives.<sup>1</sup>

Divorce is simple and easy, the daughters of the marriage remaining with the mother, and the sons with the father. Some Koryak men divide their reindeer equally between their children when the latter marry—others give more to the sons. On the father's death, daughters as a rule receive nothing; sons or, in their absence, brothers of the deceased, being the beneficiaries. A widow's reindeer become the possession of her brother-in-law, with whom she lives unless she has children, in which case the brother-in-law has only temporary charge of them.<sup>2</sup>

The Koryak levirate rules are as follows<sup>3</sup>:

1. The widow must be married to the younger brother, younger cousin, or nephew (son of sister or brother) of her deceased husband.
2. The widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin, or niece (daughter of sister or brother) of his deceased wife.

According to Jochelson, the Koryak levirate has for its object the maintenance of the union between two families. Thus, the brother of a married woman will very often court her husband's sister, and such marriages are preferred. Most frequently marriages are contracted between the inhabitants of neighbouring villages.

If the Koryak levirate aims at strengthening family alliances, why then cannot a widower marry his deceased wife's elder sister, and why cannot a widow marry her deceased husband's elder brother? To this question Jochelson suggests the following reply: That the elder brother and elder sister occupy the places of the mother or father in the family should either of the parents die, and so marriage of the widower with the elder sister of his former wife, and of the widow with the elder brother of her former husband, are held to be as incestuous as if these relations-in-law were actually the parents.

In Kamenskoye a younger brother *may* marry the widow of his eldest brother, and a younger sister *may* marry the widower of her eldest sister, while in other places they *must* do it. There are however, cases where the widow goes to live in the house of her dead husband's younger brother without becoming his wife.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 746.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 749.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp., 745-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 749-52.

Owing to the custom of levirate and the great desire for children, polygyny is frequent, and in the mythology we have tales of great warriors who had harems of women taken by force. The first wife is the mistress of the house, and the husband even sleeps between the wives, but the first always lies on his right.<sup>1</sup>

Supplementary unions were not found by Jochelson among the modern Koryak, and they themselves deny that the custom of exchanging wives ever existed among them.<sup>2</sup> The statements of Krasheninnikoff and Steller bearing on this point are slightly different. Steller says that among the inhabitants of Kamchatka men sometimes decided to exchange wives, but he does not say what people he refers to.<sup>3</sup> Krasheninnikoff relates that the Reindeer Koryak are very jealous, so that a man will kill his wife merely through suspicion, and if he find her with a lover, will rip open with a knife the abdomens of both offenders. Owing to this, married women make themselves as repulsive-looking as possible, having uncombed hair, unwashed feet and hands, and worn-out clothing.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, among the Maritime Koryak, as among the Chukchee, when friends exchange visits, or when guests come to the house, they sleep with the wife and daughters of the host, who leaves the house for the night, in some cases to spend it with the wife of the guest; in consequence of this the women are very careful as to their appearance.<sup>5</sup>

With regard to abnormal sexual relations, Krasheninnikoff says that the Koryak had no concubines, but that some of them kept *koekchuch* whom they called *keyev* (Jochelson writes *geveu*).<sup>6</sup> They did not occupy honourable positions, as among the Kamchadal, but were kept in subjection, and to be termed *keyev* was a great insult.<sup>7</sup> *Keyev* are not found among the Koryak of to-day, and 'transformed shamans', i. e. those who have apparently changed their sex, have now almost died out among these people, while the few that remain are, as Jochelson thinks, more closely connected with shamanistic exhibitions of power.<sup>8</sup> Even in the case of the Chukchee, who still occasionally have 'transformed

shamans', Bogoras found among 3,000 Kolyma Chukchee only five cases of men changing into women, and only two of them were 'married'. Krasheninnikoff mentions another 'marriage relation' which can be called abnormal or mystical. The Maritime Koryak have at times ordinary stones instead of wives. A man will put clothes on such a stone, put it in his bed, and sometimes caress it as if it were living. Two such stones were given to Krasheninnikoff by a man called Okerach from Ukinsk; one of them he called his wife, and the other his son.<sup>1</sup>

### III. 'THE KAMCHADAL.

According to Krasheninnikoff,<sup>2</sup> when a Kamchadal wished to marry, he looked for a woman in the next village, very seldom in his own. Having chosen one, he asks her parents to allow him to serve them for a certain period: this permission is easily obtained, and during the time of service he endeavours to win their favour. When the period is at an end, he asks to be allowed to take the woman, and if he has found favour in the eyes of her, her parents, and her relatives, he marries her; if not, they recompense him for his services. At times a man takes service in a strange village without disclosing his intentions, which remain unknown, unless revealed by a friend or cousin.

Having obtained permission to take his bride, he is still obliged to capture her, because now all the women of the village protect her from him. She is dressed in several heavy gowns and closely wrapped up so that she looks like a stuffed figure.<sup>3</sup> If he is fortunate enough to find her alone, or only a few women with her, he throws himself upon her, and, loosening the strings, he tears off her clothes until she is naked, for the whole marriage ceremony consists in his touching her sexual organs with his hand.<sup>4</sup> This is not always easy; because, although when clothed in this way she cannot defend herself, the women with her are very active in their defence of her.<sup>5</sup> There is a case on record of a man who for

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 754-5.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 756.

<sup>3</sup> Steller, p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> Krasheninnikoff, ed. 1819, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> It must be remembered that neither Krasheninnikoff nor any other author who mentions *koekchuch* explains precisely who these people were, whether men or women. It is only conjecture that they were men living *modo Socratis*. This question will be more fully discussed in the chapter on 'Shaman and Sex'.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>8</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 755.

<sup>1</sup> Krasheninnikoff, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., ed. 1819, vol. ii, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Steller's account on the whole agrees with that of Krasheninnikoff. He says that the essential part of the marriage ceremony consists in 'Einstecken des Fingers in die Schaam'. (Op. cit., p. 345.)

<sup>5</sup> It is only among the Koryak and Kamchadal in Siberia that this action constitutes the essential element of the marriage ceremony; but a similar rite is found among certain tribes of the north-western Amerinds.



ten years had been trying to obtain his wife, and his head and body were much disfigured by his struggles, which were nevertheless quite in vain. Sometimes, however, the bridegroom obtains an immediate victory, and then he must leave the woman as soon as possible and she must call after him in a caressing voice, 'Mi, Mi, Mi, Mi, Mi!' The same night he comes to sleep with her, and the next day he takes her to his home without any ceremony.<sup>1</sup> Only after some time does he come with her to her parents' house to celebrate their marriage.<sup>2</sup>

In 1718 Krasheninnikoff witnessed, near the River Ratuga in Kamchatka, the following marriage ceremony. 'The bride, and the bridegroom with his relatives, went to his father-in-law in rude boats. The women, including the bride, sat in the canoes, which were guided by the men, all quite naked. The women carried with them a quantity of prepared food. About 100 metres from the house, they landed and began to sing, and a shamanistic ceremony was performed over the head of a fish, which was afterwards given to the eldest woman of the company.'<sup>3</sup>

'Then over the bride's dress they placed more garments, so that she looked like a stuffed figure, and the bridal pair with their attendants returned to their boats. On reaching the landing-place near the house, the bride was carried into the dwelling by a young lad sent for her by her parents. A leather strap was placed round her body, and by this means she was let down from the roof into the *Yurta*. She was preceded by the oldest woman already mentioned, who placed the dried fish on the threshold so that the pair as well as all the company might step over it. Then the woman stamped on it and placed it on the wood for the fire.<sup>4</sup> All the guests sat down and the women removed the extra garments,

See F. Boas, *The Indian of the Lower Fraser River* (Brit. Ass. Adv. Sc., 1894) and J. Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, J. N. P. E., vol. i, p. iv; also the same author, *The Lillooet Indians*, J. N. P. E., vol. ii, part v.

<sup>1</sup> The other authority on the Kamchadal (*Itälmen*), Steller (*Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, 1774), agrees with Krasheninnikoff that the man must serve the woman's father ('er kann auf keine andere Art zu einer Frau kommen, als er muss sie dem Vater abdiene'), but he differs in stating that after the ceremony of resistance by the women the bridegroom comes to live in his father-in-law's house. Maksimoff (op. cit., p. 50) supposes that they are both right, in that both customs have existed among these people, or else that Steller describes the more ancient customs, and Krasheninnikoff those which are more modern and affected by Russian influence.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 167-9.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 168.

which were divided among the relatives; the latter also presented gifts. The next day the father-in-law entertained his guests, and on the third day all the company dispersed except the newly-married pair, who had still to work for some time for the father-in-law.'<sup>1</sup>

All these ceremonies are held only in the case of a first marriage. A widow marries a second husband without ceremony, but before any one takes her as a wife she must have intercourse with some one else, who is usually a stranger, as the fulfilment of the office is rather despised. Krasheninnikoff relates that in former times this fact prevented some widows from marrying a second time, but since the Cossacks were established there, they perform the office of a stranger.<sup>2</sup>

Marriage was forbidden only between a father and his daughter and a mother and her son. A son-in-law could marry his mother-in-law, and a father-in-law could marry his daughter-in-law. Marriage was also allowed between first cousins. Divorce was easily obtained, and it consisted in a simple separation. Re-marriage is allowed, in the case of the woman, without the ceremony of capture and without the intercourse above mentioned (termed by Krasheninnikoff a purification ceremony). A man could have two, three, or more wives according to his wealth. Sometimes each wife lived in her own *yurta*, sometimes all lived together, and each of them must be captured as above described. 'These people', says Krasheninnikoff, 'are not so jealous as the Koryaks. They do not look for virginity when marrying, and some of them told me that the son-in-law may even reproach his parents-in-law if his wife is a maid. This, however, I was unable to confirm. The women also are not jealous, as is seen not only from the fact that several wives of one husband live together quite peaceably, but that they acquiesce in the presence of the *kochchuch* whom some Kamchadal keep instead of concubines.'<sup>3</sup> Steller<sup>4</sup> confirms Krasheninnikoff in his statement about virginity not being regarded as essential in a bride.

#### IV. THE KURIL.

According to Krasheninnikoff,<sup>5</sup> the Kuril marriage ceremony was similar to that of the Kamchadal. A man would have several

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. <sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 169; Steller, op. cit., p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 169, 170. <sup>4</sup> Steller, op. cit., 1774, pp. 345-6.

<sup>5</sup> 1786, vol. ii, p. 133.

wives, but did not live with them, only visited them secretly by night. The other authority, Polonski,<sup>1</sup> confirms this, and adds that the man could avoid the capturing process by settling matters with the girl beforehand, and escaping with her to the next island; but whether wife-capture was really a custom of equal importance with that of resistance, or a violation of it, he does not say.<sup>2</sup>

#### V. THE YUKAGHIR.

Jochelson<sup>3</sup> observed no rites connected with puberty, nor any initiation ceremonies among the Yukaghir, but such rites may be inferred from his description of the marriage ceremony, and from certain taboos. For instance, a girl who has reached the age of puberty must observe certain taboos when her brother is absent on a hunting expedition. 'She must not look up above, but down on the earth, and on the earth she must not look at the footsteps of her brother; she must not inquire about the hunt, or listen to the tales of her brothers with regard to the hunting.'<sup>4</sup> She may not eat of the head or fore part of the game killed, nor look at the head of the animal. But this taboo affects only unmarried sisters, and if the girl violates it the expedition will suffer from lack of food.<sup>5</sup>

A boy becomes a man when he takes part for the first time in a hunting expedition for big game, such as the bear or reindeer. Then he is called 'four-legged-animal-killer-man' (*yelokun-no ineyebon kudeciye coromox*). The girl becomes a woman at menstruation, which is called by the Yukaghir 'red paint' (*keileni*). After this she has a separate sleeping-tent, and is free to receive visitors from the same local group at night. The visitor is, however, usually the same man, and if he finds a rival in the tent he fights with him; and that the Yukaghir distinguish between the girl who is faithful to one lover and one who is not, is shown by the terms, 'a girl with one thought' and 'a girl with many thoughts', the latter also having a special name *ayabol*. If a man wishes to marry an *ayabol*, it is not even necessary for him to serve her parents.<sup>6</sup>

There also exists the custom called by some anthropologists 'hospitality prostitution', by which the bed of an unmarried girl

<sup>1</sup> *The Kuril*, p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Maksimoff, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *The Yukaghir and Yukaghirised Tungus*, J. N. P. E., vol. ix, pp. 63-5.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 77-8.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 66.

is offered to a traveller. An old Yukaghir woman explained to Jochelson that this was due to the poor conditions of life among the people, and to the fact that the bed of a married couple was taboo, and hospitality demanded that a good bed be offered to the visitor. It did not follow that the girl yielded herself to him, for often she did not remove her apron if she disliked the man. Jochelson thinks that this custom cannot be reckoned as hospitality prostitution in origin, but has acquired this character under Russian influence.

'Men of authority or of wealth can choose any woman, married or unmarried. Officials, Cossacks, merchants, and even missionaries introduce these habits into the villages and camps of non-Russian tribes; and thus the custom may have sprung up among the Yukaghir of offering girls to travelling officials, merchants, and other Russian guests. . . . One must conclude, then, that what was first done by violence or at the orders of Russians, found favourable soil and in time became a custom.'<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jorgeson, a Swedish investigator, found that the natives believed this custom to prevail in Russian homes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that a Yukaghir does not look for virginity in his bride, and so long as a girl does not become pregnant the older people close their eyes to her lover's visits.<sup>2</sup>

*The Custom of Avoidance.*<sup>3</sup> This custom is very strictly maintained among the Yukaghir, and is called *ncxiyini*, which means 'they are bashful (in the presence) of each other'. It holds good between blood-relatives of the class *emjepul*, that is, brothers, sisters, male and female cousins.

Among relatives by affinity the following persons must avoid each other:

- a. The father and his son's wife.
- b. The elder brother or elder male cousin, and the wife of the younger brother or male cousin.
- c. The elder brother or the elder male cousin, and the wife of the younger brother's or younger male cousin's son.
- d. The elder brother or the elder male cousin, and the wife of the son of his younger sister or of his younger female cousin.
- e. The mother and her son-in-law.

Besides this, the father does not speak to his daughter's husband

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 75.

nor the elder brother to his younger sister's husband. Persons who are *nexiyini* should not address each other directly, should not look in each other's faces, and should not uncover their bodies in the presence of each other, nor even bare the legs above the knees. Men who are *nexiyini* to each other should not uncover their sexual organs or talk of sexual matters among themselves. The same girl must not be visited by two men who are *nexiyini* to each other. These rules are more closely observed among the relatives by affinity (*pogilpe* and *nialpe*) than among blood-relatives (*emjepul*).<sup>1</sup>

On inquiring as to the origin of this custom, Jochelson was told 'Our fathers did so', or 'Wise men know that it ought to be so'.<sup>2</sup>

One may suppose that these restrictions consciously aimed at exogamy, especially if we take into account the fact that some natives told Jochelson that when the parents are blood-relatives, the children die.<sup>3</sup> 'Wise people follow the custom of *nexiyini*,' said one Yukaghir.<sup>4</sup> At the same time cohabitation between near relatives at the present day does actually occur, and in this case a special blanket is used, having two bags for the feet of the couple instead of one.<sup>5</sup>

The violation of *nexiyini* is looked upon only as imprudent, and as soon as the couple are married this relationship is removed by means of certain ceremonies.<sup>6</sup>

The Yukaghir say that in former times marriage was forbidden only between first cousins, and that they do not consider second cousins as consanguineous relatives. The myths often refer to consanguineous marriages, especially between brother and sister. Jochelson himself knew of a marriage between a woman and her brother. Such cohabitation is at the present time secret, but marriages between cousins do occur.<sup>7</sup>

The custom of avoidance might perhaps prevent marriages between relatives in spite of the inclination of the Yukaghir towards consanguineous marriages, but it could not lead to a strict exogamy owing to the environment. 'As a hunting tribe they frequently have to scatter in various families, or groups of related families, in search of food. In such cases, being isolated and far away from other tribes or clans, they have had to satisfy their sexual desires within the group or even within the family.'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 82.

This could not be prevented even by the extreme shyness which, according to Jochelson, characterizes the social relations of the Yukaghir. Jochelson says that the exogamic Tungus and Yakuts were influenced by the Yukaghir marriage customs where they came into contact in the north, but we may just as well suppose that it was the influence of their new environment, so different from that in their original home in the south.<sup>1</sup>

When a man favours a girl, he begins to perform different services for her relatives. These are silently accepted or rejected without explanation. They are called *pogilomu* ('to serve for'), and form a test of the man's ability. The period of service is shorter if the groom is an able man, or if the bride becomes pregnant, or if the father feels that the man has already become sufficiently attached to his house.<sup>1</sup>

In former days the groom had to chop wood before the house of his future father-in-law. After three days of this work, if the fuel was accepted, it meant that he was accepted also. Then the father-in-law went with him to the wood and chose the thickest tree he could. The groom had to cut this down and drag it to his father-in-law's house, and then only was he accepted. Nowadays, says Jochelson, an intermediary is sent, and, in a standing posture, he says to the girl's parents:

'Father and mother, I have come to you on an errand. The old man [the name of the young man's father follows] sends his greetings, and wants me to tell you that he wishes to sit with you at one hearth.' [Free translation.]

But the bride's father answers diplomatically:

'Do not come to me with such propositions.' [Free translation.]

The matchmaker leaves the house, but returns on the following day, and says:

'Father, mother, my orphan-lad you to the hearth's warmth why not admit?'

The bride's father answers:

'I have to find out what the other relatives think of it.'

The matchmaker thanks him for his answer and retires, but returns again after some time, saying:

'My father, my mother, what words with, what thoughts with, do (you) sit? Your good word to hear, having come, (I) stand.'

The father of the girl invites the matchmaker to a seat by his side, saying:

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 88.

'I will say, the bridegroom shall be admitted to my house if he is willing to stay with me till the end of my life, till my death.'<sup>1</sup>

The matchmaker thanks him and goes away, and the next night, when the groom comes to the sleeping-tent of his wife, as he has done before, he brings with him his hunting implements and places them where they can be easily seen, thus formally becoming a member of the family. He must not, however, bring anything more than his clothes and weapons, 'for', say the Yukaghir, 'he comes to a ready-made bed.'<sup>2</sup>

Usually the young people settle the matter between themselves before this formal ceremony, but the father may sometimes object to having the young man as his son-in-law, which does not, however, prevent the girl receiving him at night.

The son-in-law occupies a very subordinate position. Only when he has his own children does he acquire the right to use some of the furs and other objects without permission. Only after the death of his father-in-law and other old men of the family, and when his wife's brothers go away to their fathers-in-law, does he become the head of the family.<sup>3</sup>

If the young man wants to leave his father-in-law, he can be prevented from taking his wife with him, unless he has his own children. Sometimes two families exchange their girls, and some families do not allow the youngest daughter and the youngest son to go away.<sup>4</sup>

The Yukaghir of the tundra, who have been in contact with the Tungus, combine their own custom of 'serving' for the bride with the Tungus' custom of purchasing her (*marxin-wolen*, i. e. 'the price of a girl') and taking her to the house of the bridegroom's parents.

The service for a wife lasts from one to three years; and if the parents reject the man, he leaves the house without receiving any compensation. The marriage ceremonies are here more complicated and better preserved. When the matchmaker comes to the house, he brings some presents of skins called 'the mouth-opener' (*anan loholercte*). After the parents have given their consent, he settles with them the price of the bride and the time when she can be removed to the house of her parents-in-law; when this

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> The son-in-law is *naxigini* to the parents and elder relations of his wife, but he is not bound by this custom in relation to the younger generation.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 90-2.

time comes, the bridegroom leaves the parents of the bride, and his parents frequently move their camp near to her home. The matchmaker and his wife come to fetch the bride; he states the price paid for her and inquires what her dowry is to be. On one of the sledges accompanying the bride are placed the wedding clothes for the bridegroom, which she has made with her own hands. But before the bride's train sets out on its journey, her father kills a reindeer, and with its blood the mother and the matchmaker's wife smear the girl. This is termed 'a washing' (*meciccum*). Concerning this custom, the Yukaghir say they wash the child 'before it is sent away to live with strangers'. After this, the bride is dressed in her best garments, her face being covered with a kerchief, and the matchmaker and his wife place her in the first sledge, they walking beside her. Some relative in the wedding party fires a gun to protect the bride from the attacks of evil spirits; this is called 'shooting into the eyes of the evil spirits'.

'On reaching their place of destination the train makes three rounds about the tent of the bridegroom's parents, stopping opposite the place where the nuptial bed is to be prepared inside. Nobody comes out to meet the bride, but a young girl lifts the door-flap of the tent, and the matchmaker leads in the bride. All the bridegroom's relatives are assembled in the tent. The kerchief is removed from the bride's face, and she bows to the parents and to all the relatives older than the bridegroom. Then the matchmaker's wife brings in the skins, the blanket, and other articles of bedding, prepares the nuptial bed in the place previously appointed, and sets the bride upon it. The costume sewed by the bride for the bridegroom is then brought in. He puts it on, and seats himself beside his bride. Then the matchmaker's wife brings the presents, consisting of kerchiefs, shawls, trinkets, knives, and other articles, and distributes them among the relatives.'<sup>2</sup>

The reindeer brought by the bride have their heads behind the antlers painted red, and are then turned in among the rest. Then the matchmaker and the groom take certain reindeer from the herd of the latter's parents, and, accompanied by the bride, they lead them to her father's house to serve as her purchase-price. 'The matchmaker has a long leather halter and the bridegroom a short one. The bride's father comes out of the tent to accept the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



reindeer, and the matchmaker gives him the long halter to symbolize that the reindeer now belong to him. The bridegroom, however, retains his short halter.<sup>1</sup> They then return home, announcing the success of their mission, and the bridegroom's father sends the matchmaker to invite the parents and relatives of the bride to the wedding feast. A separate place is prepared for the couple on the skins which form their bedding. After the feast, the father of the bridegroom, with the help of the matchmaker, distributes presents to the bride's father and other relatives. These presents usually consist of spoons, plates, arrows, and axes. Then the guests disperse, and the married couple are left in the tent, which they do not leave for three days. On the fourth day they go to visit the bride's parents.<sup>2</sup>

If we take into consideration the fact that the reindeer and other presents exchanged during these ceremonies are fairly equal in value, we cannot regard any of them as the purchase-price of the bride, as is the case among the Tungus; neither do we find here, either actually or symbolically, any trace of marriage by capture.<sup>3</sup> Jochelson says that among the Christianized Yukaghir the Church ceremony is performed one or more years after the native wedding.<sup>4</sup>

We do not find open polygyny in the present marriage customs of the Yukaghir, but it existed previously, though only to a limited extent. Of course, as a man went to live in his father-in-law's house, he could not very well bring another woman there; unless, as some facts indicate, the wives were sisters, and in this case the custom of *neriyini* was violated.<sup>5</sup> Good hunters, strong warriors, and shamans, who did not as a rule live in the houses of their fathers-in-law, frequently had more than one wife. We find also that in some cases a man played the part of son-in-law in one house for one part of the year, and in another house for the rest of the year. Jochelson met a Yukaghir on the Korkodon River who told him that his father had lived in this way.<sup>6</sup> In those parts where the Chukchee have come into contact with the Yukaghir, the latter have adopted a form of supplementary union called by certain authors 'group-marriage', in which members of one group visit and may cohabit with the wives of another group, with certain restrictions.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 95.<sup>3</sup> Maksimoff, op. cit., p. 43.<sup>4</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 96.<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 110.<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 111.<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 112.

Although we see in the Yukaghir marriage some matrilineal arrangements, it does not follow that we have here an instance of matriarchy; for the children are called by the name of the father, they reckon their descent from their father's male ancestors, and the duty of blood-revenge is incumbent on paternal relatives. According to an old Yukaghir, there once existed the custom of reckoning the first son and daughter among the relatives of the mother and the rest among those of the father; but, as Jochelson observes,<sup>1</sup> this was probably in order to keep the son-in-law in the house of his wife's parents. At the present day, Russian law calls all children born previous to the Church marriage after the mother, and the rest after the father.

## VI. THE GILYAK.

Among these people a girl is not necessarily a virgin until she marries, and if the parents are careful of her behaviour it is for two special reasons: (a) they fear that the girl may be united to a man who is not of her own social position; (b) they fear that a child born of the union may be out of the marital class to which it ought to belong. In this case, as well as in that where the father is unknown, the child must be killed.<sup>2</sup> A man 'without father' is called *ytk-khavrnd*, and is a pariah, who does not belong to the marital class, cannot associate with women, &c. But there are, in fact, very seldom such men; for as soon as a girl is observed to be pregnant, she is forced to tell the name of her seducer. He is then called upon to marry the girl, and usually consents very readily, as the *kulym* in such circumstances is a small one. Only when the girl refuses to tell the name of the father of her child is the infant killed to save the clan from shame.<sup>3</sup>

But a Gilyak woman will very seldom have intercourse with a man of a forbidden matrimonial class, i.e. with a man who is not of the class of *pu* (husband) to her, and Sternberg says that they condemn Russian women who sell themselves for money.<sup>4</sup>

The marital classes of the Gilyak are based strictly on relationship, and are interwoven with the regulation of sexual relations. Age plays here no part, for we sometimes find old men and young lads in the same class.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 112-13.<sup>2</sup> Sternberg, *The Gilyak*, 1905, p. 25.<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 82.<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 26.

There are four main social classes :

- I. *Ite*, father's fathers.
- II. *Ymk* (mother) and *ytk* (father).
- III. *Angey* (wife) and *pu* or *ivn* (husband).
- IV. *Tuwn*, brothers and sisters, real and classificatory.<sup>1</sup>

The Gilyak calls not only his own mother *ymk*, but also all her sisters and all the wives of his father's brothers, real and classificatory, as well as the sisters of these women. He calls not only his own father *ytk*, but also the husbands of his mother's sisters, and his father's brothers; though in certain tribes, e.g. in Sakhalien, the term is applied only to the younger brothers of his father. A Gilyak woman names by the term *pu* not only her husband, but his brothers and the husbands of her sisters. The Gilyak calls not only his wife *angey*, but also the wives of his older brothers (real and classificatory), and these wives' sisters, and similarly all sisters of his wife. He used the same term for all daughters of his uncles (proper) and all daughters of the brothers of the women whom he calls *ymk*.<sup>2</sup>

These classes could only originate under a rule by which all men in one class, A, had to take wives from another class, B, so that the men of class A are destined from birth to marry the daughters of their mother's brothers. This most important regulation of Gilyak marriage is implied in their saying: 'Thence, whence you came forth—from the clan of your mother—you must take your wife.' Although this regulation is not strictly kept at present, it still exists in their terminology, the woman who is not of the mother's clan being called *yokh*, i.e. the woman with whom sexual relations are forbidden (the elder brothers among the eastern Gilyak, who are forbidden to have intercourse with their younger brothers' wives, call them *yokh*). Also the woman who is a relative on the mother's side is called *angey*;

<sup>1</sup> This term for the class of brothers and sisters, real and classificatory, appears in print in four different forms: *ruer*, *ruf*, *rurn*, *tuwn*. As Dr. Sternberg uses the term *tuwn* (see pp. 22, 26, and 106 of Sternberg's work) more often than *rurn*, we prefer to follow the former spelling, rather than the spelling *ruf*, which occurs in some works in English. *Ruer* appears to be a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> There is, however, a difference between western and eastern Gilyak in this respect. Among the former a man terms his 'wives'—*angey*—all his brothers' wives; while among the latter only the wives of the elder brother are addressed as *angey*, the wives of the younger ones being called *yokh* (forbidden class). See op. cit., pp. 22-3.

while even to-day the correct marriage is one with the daughter of the mother's brother (real or classificatory). On the other hand, marriage with the daughter of the father's sister, or the interchange of daughters, is forbidden.<sup>1</sup> When Sternberg made his registration of families he discovered how greatly this custom preponderates even now.

During the census which Sternberg undertook in order to study the Gilyak family and gens structure, he was impressed by the large number of married women in one gens who call themselves 'sisters' and the older women 'aunts', and who in the latter case were actually in that relation to the older women. Thus, in spite of great changes in the social structure of these natives, the old marriage regulations are still quite strongly preserved.<sup>2</sup>

The following schematic table showing the original marriage regulations of three family-gentes, forming one clan, is given:

Gens A.	Gens B.	Gens C.
Male A marries female B (sister of male B). Their sons marry daughters B; and their daughters marry sons C.	Male B marries female C (sister of male C). Their sons marry daughters C; and their daughters marry sons A.	Male C marries female A (sister of male A). Their sons marry daughters A; and their daughters marry sons B.

Inside the clan there is an endogamic arrangement, while each gens is exogamic. The gens B, which gives wives to the gens A, is called *ahmalk* (i.e. father-in-law); and towards gens C, which takes wives from gens A, it is in the relation of *tuyma ahmalk* (remote father-in-law). Gens C, in relation to A, is called *ymgi* (son-in-law). All three clans call each other *pandf* (cognate).

In some cases, if the brother has only one daughter, and the sister several sons, or vice versa, not every man can have a wife.<sup>3</sup> This holds, of course, only with regard to having an individual wife; but all people who are in the relation of *angey* and *pu* have really the right of sexual intercourse, not only before, but also after, the individual marriage. In the absence of her husband, a wife can have intercourse with any man who is *pu* to her. Frequently it is the brothers of the husband, or those *pu* who live in the same village, that take advantage of this privilege. Sometimes a man from a distant part, hearing that an *angey* of

<sup>1</sup> People who cannot marry or have sexual intercourse are under the law of avoidance. Even brothers and sisters are forbidden to speak to or look at one another.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 32.

his is living in a certain village, will come to claim his right. A Gilyak accompanying Sternberg came with him from the west to the east coast and found there an *ungey* in one of the *yurta*.<sup>1</sup>

If a wife is discovered having intercourse with a man who is not her *pu*, this involves a fight or the severe punishment of the man; but if the individual husband finds a *pu* with his wife, only the expression of his face reveals that he is not indifferent, for he cannot take any action.<sup>2</sup>

If a Gilyak woman has a son, she usually asks her brother to betroth the boy to his daughter. The boy's father ties a dog's hair round the wrist of the girl in token of the betrothal. When the girl is five or six years old, she usually passes to the house of her future husband, with whom she grows up, and whose wife she becomes at maturity.<sup>3</sup>

The typical Gilyak marriage-right includes cousins (though it is exogamic), and marriages are arranged in childhood. The custom of payment for a wife exists, but this is either merely a formality, or what is received is divided among relatives.<sup>4</sup> There are now, however, a great many marriages concluded without regard for the rules, for Schrenck<sup>5</sup> speaks of the *kalym* as the one and only condition of marriage. This Gilyak custom of 'buying a wife'—*umgu genych*—he considers similar to the Neo-Siberian (Tungus, Ostyak, Samoyed, Tartar, Votyak) marriage customs. In this case the marriage is concluded, and the groom can take his bride

<sup>1</sup> This type of supplementary union is in most cases equivalent to polyandric marriage, and may be accounted for by the unequal proportion of the sexes in the population. According to the last (1912) statistics of Patkanoff, for 2,556 Gilyak men there were only 2,093 women.

<sup>2</sup> A. N. Maksimoff, in his work *Group-Marriage*, 1908, pp. 41-2, questions whether the Gilyak have any regular custom of supplementary unions, called by Sternberg 'group-marriage'. He quotes statements like the above, which show that the collateral *pu* enjoys a husband's rights only when the individual husband is away. Or, that when the husband finds his wife in *flagrante delicto* with her *pu*, the expression of his face reveals that he is not indifferent; and he remarks that among the Amur Gilyak the husband feels no less anger against a *pu* than against any other man in such circumstances (L. Sternberg, 'The Gilyak of Sakhalin,' *E.R.*, 1893, No. 2, p. 26). If a *pu* had a right to the wife of his *ruf* (brother), the husband would probably sink his jealousy before that consideration. Maksimoff thinks that there is no right in question; it is merely that if a woman betrays her husband with his *ruf*, this is considered less blameworthy than if she had done so with a stranger (op. cit., p. 41). See Sternberg, *The Gilyak*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> *The Natives of the Amur Country*, vol. iii, pp. 2-7.

home as soon as the *kalym* is paid. Sometimes the high price of a wife compels a man to abduct her from some remote village; but such an act is usually followed by blood-revenge.<sup>1</sup>

The higher the price of a wife, the greater is the respect paid to her in her husband's family.<sup>2</sup>

A Gilyak will usually have two or three individual wives; rich people have more.<sup>3</sup> After the death of a husband, his wife passes, without any *kalym*, to one of his younger brothers, according to the decision of the clan. Of course, nominally and even actually, she was already her husband's younger brother's wife, and her children his children<sup>4</sup>; but after the husband's death another husband is chosen for social and economic reasons.

If there are no younger brothers, an elder brother of the deceased is chosen to support the widow and her children, but he has no right to live with her as his wife.<sup>5</sup> The children belong wholly to the father, and succeed to his property at his death. After the birth of the first child, the father ceases to be called by his own name, and is known as 'the father of So-and-so'.

## VII. THE AINU.

Marriage among the Ainu is generally considered to be exogamic, and indeed in one of the tales recorded by Pilsudski,<sup>6</sup> a young man goes outside his own village to visit a young woman he desires to marry, and who, he says, has been 'reared for him'. Another suitor (who in the sequel turns out to be a sea-god) he finds has preceded him, and the parents of the girl are puzzled to know to which of the two they shall give their daughter, for by their inlaid pipes and other marks, the two suitors appear to be from one village, in the same neighbourhood as that of the girl.

On the other hand, in his article on the Ainu in Ephron and Brockhaus's *Encyclopaedia*, Pilsudski says that the Ainu tries to find a girl for his wife as near by as possible, even in the same village and among near relatives.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Sternberg, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Sternberg met in the village of Tangi a family in which two brothers lived regularly with one wife, the union being based only on sentiment, for the younger brother was rich and could buy a wife for himself (pp. 24-5).

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., pp. 81-2.

<sup>6</sup> B. Pilsudski, *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folk-Lore*, 1912. Tale No. 20, pp. 172-6.

Batchelor<sup>1</sup> also states that the Ainu marry cousins, and in some cases, nieces, as well as a deceased brother's wife, but they cannot form unions with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. There is a firm belief that violation of this rule will be punished either by death or by failure to have issue.

This restriction, however, does not imply true oxogamy, because, as we see from the following quotation,<sup>2</sup> people often marry within the village.

'If the young woman herself or her parents have been the main movers in the business'—proposals of marriage—'the bridegroom is removed from his own family to take up his abode close to the hut of his father-in-law; he is, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing, or his parents were the prime movers, the bride is adopted into his family. Or if a woman of one village chooses a man of another, he, if agreeable, goes to live with her; or if a man chooses a woman who resides at a distance, she, if agreeable, goes to live with him.<sup>3</sup> Persons who marry in their own villages are all called *uriruak*, "blood-relatives", "brethren", but those who remove from their homes to be married into some distant family are called *uritutak*, "relations taken away", or "distant relations", "brethren brought in".'

Betrothal of children exists, but it does not compel these children to marry, if they are unwilling to do so on reaching maturity. 'The boy and girl exchanged clothes, and, I believe, homes,' says Batchelor,<sup>4</sup> 'until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents, or at least, in her village.'

The general method among the Ainu of obtaining a wife is by serving for her; and Pilsudski says that if purchase of a wife occurs either in real life or in the myths, this is usually in places where the Ainu have come into contact with the Gilyak and are influenced by them.<sup>5, 6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore*, 1901, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> According to a personal communication from Mr. Pilsudski, the Ainu do not like to give their daughters into another family, but prefer to adopt the son-in-law. His position, though, is much better in such a case than among the Gilyak.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 227-8.

<sup>5</sup> Pilsudski, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> In a personal communication from Mr. Pilsudski, he says that the follow-

Batchelor<sup>1</sup> says that if a girl courts a young man, she 'may enslave herself to his parents as a price for their son'. Pilsudski,<sup>2</sup> however, states that though the custom of women trying to win men did formerly exist, it is no longer observed, and Ainu women 'are even very much displeased at any hint of such a thing'. Their mythology ascribes this custom to Tungus women. It is called among the Ainu *kojajjoskire*, 'to make the first advances'.

A girl, until she marries, is quite free in her intercourse with men. Some of the myths<sup>3</sup> mention that some time after a girl was married to a man, she married him again 'for good'. In this case we must understand the first 'marriage' as in fact a betrothal, accompanied by sexual intercourse; while the second marriage referred to was the real marriage, after which the woman was called *macipi*, 'the wife'. While she is betrothed, and if she is younger than her *fiancé*, she is called '*cireske maci*,' 'the brought-up wife'; and if she is about the same age, she is termed *ukoreske maci*.<sup>4</sup>

Batchelor gives the following description of the betrothal of an adult man:

'The bridegroom's father takes a small sword, and, placing it in the hands of the father of the bride, says: "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the goddess of fire." Then, having received the sword, he worships the fire, saying: "We have here and now settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou goddess of fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness, and watch over them till they grow old." The bridegroom's father then receives the sword, and worships in like manner.'

The marriage ceremony consists in a feast and exchanging of presents, the old men making fetiches for the new 'heart of the house'.

'Soon after marriage the bridegroom makes a knife-sheath, a spoon, a shuttle, and a weaving-loom, and presents them to his bride. This . . . is called *mat-eikara*, i. e., "making my wife". The bride then makes a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklacc, and

ing fact will show how foreign the idea of wife-purchase is to the Ainu mind: If an Ainu wishes to purchase a wife, the only way he can accomplish his end is to form illicit relations with another man's wife. If the fact becomes known, a divorce follows, and the Ainu is compelled to pay damages to the aggrieved husband.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Pilsudski, op. cit., p. 236; also p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 63.



a headdress, which she presents to her husband; this is called *hoku cikara*, "making my husband".<sup>1</sup>

Polygyny is practised; and according to Batchelor a man's wives 'live in separate houses, and are not on speaking terms with one another'.<sup>2</sup>

Polyandry is unknown among the Ainu<sup>3</sup>; occasional cases only occur in districts bordering on Gilyak territory.

Divorces are of frequent occurrence. The matter is settled by the eldest of the clan; the children being either divided between the two parties, or all given to the one who is considered innocent.<sup>4</sup> Among the grounds for divorce, according to Batchelor, are, on the part of the man, 'want of love towards her, or of her towards him; incompatibility of temper; general disrespect on the wife's part; idleness, and failure to keep the hut supplied with fuel and vegetable food; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. A woman might dissolve her connection with her husband for the reason of adultery, dislike to him, idleness, inability to keep the larder supplied with fish and animal food. . . . When a man divorced his wife, he merely made her a present and sent her back to her parents, and when a woman wished to be free from her husband, she simply walked off and left him to shift for himself. In cases which have occurred under my own eye, the subject was made more of a family affair, and the presents were sent to the parents of the women who were divorced, and were not given to the women themselves.'<sup>5</sup> Unfaithfulness is usually punished by beating.<sup>6</sup>

Both Sternberg<sup>7</sup> and Pilsudski<sup>8</sup> agree that the Ainu are the only people of north-eastern Asia among whom strong traces of mother-right are found. Pilsudski says that they are just at the stage of transition from mother-right to father-right. As traces of matriarchy he cites the superior position of women among the Ainu as compared with neighbouring tribes, e.g. the Gilyak. This is especially evident during pregnancy, when she is surrounded

<sup>1</sup> Batchelor, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Pilsudski, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Pilsudski, *The Ainu*, Ephron and Brockhaus's *Encyclopaedia*.

<sup>5</sup> Pilsudski, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> Pilsudski, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Batchelor, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

<sup>7</sup> *The Gilyak*, 1905, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Pilsudski, 'Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Gilyaken und Ainu)', in *Anthropos*, 1910, pp. 762-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

with every care, and even regarded with veneration. Marriage is never by purchase. If the husband does not go to live in the house of his wife's parents, the wife goes to him, but the first few years after marriage are usually spent with her parents, in whose house her first child is often born.

Relationship through the mother is of more importance than that through the father, the maternal uncle being very often the most important member of the family.<sup>1</sup> Another evidence of this state of things may be cited from Batchelor, who, however, curiously enough, considers it a mark of the inferior social position of women after marriage: 'When not called by her own maiden name (a wife) is merely called So-and-so's wife . . . as long as her husband is living. Should he die, she is always known by her name as a maiden, or called So-and-so's mother, should she have a son or daughter.'<sup>2</sup>

#### THE NEO-SIBERIANS.

#### VIII. THE TUNGUSIC TRIBES.

The Tungus proper, Christians and non-Christians, customarily begin sexual intercourse with their wives long before official marriage; as soon, in fact, as a certain portion of the *kalym* (ten reindeer, more or less) has been paid to the father of the bride.<sup>3</sup>

The Tungus of the Yeniseisk Government practise polygamy. According to Patkanoff,<sup>4</sup> a girl is free to choose her husband; and if her father does not approve of her choice, she elopes with the man she has chosen. Samokvasoff<sup>5</sup> says that among the Tungus of Nerchinsk and Verkhneudinsk, there exists a custom of interchange of children, one family giving a son in exchange for a daughter from another family. In this exchange, however, the father of the bride still receives a small *kalym* from the groom.<sup>6</sup> The Tungus give as a daughter's dowry a new suit for the husband, a cover for the *chum* (tent), some reindeer, and some household

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 763-4; see also *The Ainu*, Ephron and Brockhaus's *Encyclopaedia*, by the same author.

<sup>2</sup> Batchelor, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> A. Sgibnieff, *The Tungus of the Sea-Coast Territory*, 1859, p. 42; see also Patkanoff, *Essay on the Geography and Statistics of the Tungusic Tribes of Siberia*, 1906, part ii, p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

<sup>5</sup> Samokvasoff, *A Code of Customary Law among the Aborigines of Siberia*, 1876, p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

utensils. The Trans-Baikal Tungus give a complete house.<sup>1</sup> The *kalym* usually consists of reindeer. If, after paying the whole *kalym*, the bridegroom should die before taking home his bride, his rights in the woman pass to a brother or other near relative, who has to pay no further *kalym*. This, however, is conditional upon the claimant's being not more than twenty years older, or ten years younger, than the bride.<sup>2</sup>

If an elder brother dies, his wife goes to a younger brother; or sometimes a father will take the wife of a deceased son, it being considered that he bought her with the *kalym* he paid for his son.<sup>3</sup>

If a wife is taken in adultery with her lover, both receive corporal punishment. The lover, if he does not belong to the same gens, has besides to give up his horse to the offended husband.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of this rule, it must be observed that a Tungus husband will often wink at illicit relations between his wife and, e.g., American fishermen, since this is found profitable. This partially accounts for the fact that the husbands themselves are quite frequently unfaithful to their wives.

The Tungus proper are exogamic; but on this point there is a lack of detailed information, beyond the fact that they purchase their wives from another gens (clan). The Tungus who have migrated to the Arctic region very often marry within the clan.

The Tungusic tribe of Goldi has a custom under which the bride must avoid the bridegroom from the time of the match-making until the last moment of one of the marriage ceremonies, called *dansari*. At the *dansari* there is a certain ceremony called 'first meeting of the two' (*dyrelacho-uri*). After this a feast is held for the guests, and afterwards, when every one is going to bed, the bride is led to the bridegroom, and they are placed beneath the same blanket, even though she may be quite immature. No sexual act takes place at this time, however. After this the bride remains some time longer in her parents' house, and is not taken to the house of the bridegroom until the time for the performance of the next ceremony, *khosodabgaliku*.<sup>5</sup> She receives as her dowry various garments, carpets, household utensils.<sup>6</sup> Only rich people can afford to have more than one wife.

<sup>1</sup> P. Tretyakoff, *The Country of Turukhansk*, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Samokvasoff, *op. cit.*, p. 45. <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 65. <sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> P. Shimkevich, 'Moments of Goldi Life,' *E. R.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

Another Tungusic tribe—the Orochi—have collective marriage existing alongside of individual marriage similar to that of the Gilyak. They have a classificatory system, the terms of which correspond with the norms of sexual relations, and they preserve considerable traces of cousin-marriage. The difference between the Gilyak and Orochi is that a man's elder brothers are included in the same class as his father's younger brothers. Hence a man can marry the wife of his father's younger brother, or his niece. Two-sided cousin-marriage is allowed. Owing to their nomadic life, however, these rules are not very strictly preserved.<sup>1</sup>

An Orochi generally has only one wife, though rich people may have several. Poor men often carry off other men's wives, but this is usually followed by bloodshed. Patkanoff says that a custom exists among them of giving their wives and daughters to honoured guests for the night.<sup>2</sup>

The custom of avoidance binding the wife, sometimes the bridegroom, with regard to the relatives on the side of each respectively, which prevails among the Finnic, Mongolic, and Turkic tribes of Siberia, does not seem to have been observed among the Tungus.

## IX. THE TURKIC TRIBES.

### A. THE YAKUT.

It would seem at first sight that the Yakut girl is fairly free in her relations with men before the official marriage. In the southern provinces of the Yakut district, says Priklonski,<sup>3</sup> a *fiancé* has the rights of a husband towards the girl after he has paid the first instalment of the *kalym*. Whenever he pays her a visit he must make her a gift, and then only her parents give tacit consent to his spending the night with her. But we read also in the same author that among certain families there still exists the following ancient custom: At the head of the bed where the betrothed lie together (in the girl's home, if the *kalym* is not fully paid up, in the man's, if it is) is placed a cup of *salamata*.<sup>4</sup> The man, if he is satisfied with his *fiancée*, eats up the *salamata*; if not, he leaves it untouched. The parents secretly inspect the cup;

<sup>1</sup> Sternberg, *The Turano-Ganowanian System and the Nations of N.E. Asia*, Int. Congr. Am., 1912, London, pp. 326-7.

<sup>2</sup> Patkanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Priklonski, 'Three Years in the Yakutsk Territory,' *L. A. T.*, 1891, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Salamata*, i. e. meal fried in melted butter.

and it is considered most disgraceful for the girl if her *fiancé* has not eaten the contents. This would seem to show that the Yakut attach some importance to the conduct of a girl before marriage.<sup>1</sup>

Sieroszewski describes what he calls the barbaric means which the Yakut employ to keep girls chaste. This consists of a chastity girdle, a kind of leather trousers, differing from a man's in that they open only at one side, and secured by many leather straps about the loins. This garment is worn constantly, not being removed even at night.<sup>2</sup>

It cannot be said, then, that the Yakut take no care to preserve the chastity of their young women; though it would seem that their regard for this matter is largely regulated by concern about the *kalym*. If this has been partly or fully paid, the parents do not take any further interest in preserving the girl's chastity. In other words, the real legal marriage precedes the actual official wedding ceremonies sometimes by several years; and, in fact, is accomplished when the suitor formally hands over to the father of his bride a certain portion of the *kalym*. During this time the husband has to visit his wife in the house of her family, and any children born in this period live with the mother.<sup>3</sup>

In the marriage ceremonies of the Yakut several stages may be distinguished: (i) the matchmaking; (ii) the compact; (iii) the betrothal; (iv) the bringing home of the bride. They betroth their children often when only one or two years old, but the bride is not given away until a certain part of the *kalym* has been paid. As a matter of fact, the Yakut do not employ the term *kalym*, which they think to be a Russian word; they say *suwu* (*sulu*), or *kurmu*, terms which describe the two most important factors in the *kalym*<sup>4</sup>: *suwu* (*sulu*), the payment to the parents, and *kurmu*, that to the family (gens). Other parts of the *kalym* are: *uos assar*, 'the opening of the mouth', which is never returned, and is paid at the beginning of the matchmaking proceedings to propitiate the father of the bride; and *hoinohor*<sup>5</sup> *käsi*, 'the gift for the night'. The *kalym* is made up of horses, cattle, furs, meat, &c.

The marriage ceremonial consists essentially in an exchange of gifts; for while the bridegroom pays *kalym*, the bride on her part

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.      <sup>2</sup> Sieroszewski, *12 Land or Krasia Yakutów*, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> Langens, *The Yakut*, 1824, pp. 146-7. Similar statements are to be found in the works of N. Kostroff, *Customary Law of the Yakut*, p. 280, and N. S. Shchukin, *The Yakut*, 1854, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 325.      <sup>5</sup> Maak writes *hoinosor*.

brings to his house her dowry, *ännä*. The matchmaker, in the person of the bridegroom's father or some other respected person, goes to the house of the bride. This is called *tiungnur tiuser*, 'the arrival of the matchmaker'. Afterwards there follows a visit from the mother of the bridegroom, referred to as *hodohoi tiuser*, 'the arrival of the matchmakeress'. She spends two or three days with the bride, is well entertained with rich feasts, as her husband had been, and, when she departs, presents are given to her train.<sup>1</sup> These, however, are usually returned when the bride goes to her new home.

Maak says that after this follows the bringing home of the bride; but Sieroszewski describes another ceremony which probably precedes the visits of the prospective father-in-law and mother-in-law. This is the betrothal, called *kitlegan*. Two or three of the most honoured male relatives of the suitor accompany him to the house of the girl's father, where they sit for two days on the *billiryk*.<sup>2</sup> After this they leave the house, but return in a short time without the suitor, ask the father on his behalf for his daughter's hand, and arrange with him the amount of the *kalym*. During all this time the girl must be absent, and but seldom is her opinion asked. She, however, often observes the groom without being perceived by him. No one sends matchmakers to a house where a suitor has been refused for a whole year after the refusal.<sup>3</sup> During the time of her *fiancé's* first visit to a girl he must avoid the rest of her people, being compelled to remain behind a hanging which cuts off her special sleeping-place from the rest of the *yurta*.<sup>4</sup>

When the marriage compact is concluded this is referred to as *sinnakh khongoruta*, 'they have given their word'.<sup>5</sup>

At last the father and mother of the bride assemble their relatives and conduct her to the bridegroom's house. This is called *tiungnur hodohoi tiuser*, i.e. 'arrival of the matchmaker and matchmakeress'. Horses with richly decorated saddles, called *charummi*, bring the bride's *ännä*. Her clothes are known as *ännä*

<sup>1</sup> Maak, *The Viluyk District of the Yakutsk Territory*, 1887, part iii, pp. 93-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Billiryk* is a bench in the quietest and warmest nook of the wall in the side of the *yurta*. The most honoured guest—the shaman who is called in to perform his office, or the matchmaker—is placed upon it. This *billiryk* must be distinguished from another called 'left' *billiryk*, the bench on which the women and girls sit and sleep.

<sup>3</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., pp. 328-30.

<sup>4</sup> Parlinoff, *Marriage Law of the Yakut*, 1871, pp. 300-4.

<sup>5</sup> Priklonski, op. cit., p. 54.

*tanguha*, and the cattle she brings as *ännü siekhi*. The meat and other food that come with her are called *kys kesit*, 'gifts of the bride'. In her retinue the men ride first, and the horse on which she is mounted, as richly caparisoned as she herself is richly dressed, is led by the bridle by one of her train. Among them is usually a highly skilled horseman. As the cavalcade approaches the house of the bridegroom there comes thence another good rider, and the two ride a race. The loser is tied to the saddle of the poorest girl in the bride's train, and during the wedding-feast he has to wait upon the guests. This custom is known as *ken kersier*, 'the race of the youths'. The bride does not at once enter the *yurta*. Three men who can drink much *kumys* are first sent in, and are given large quantities of this liquor, which they must drink up. Only then does the matchmaker lead into the *yurta* the bride and all her train.

Then comes the ceremony of 'the sacrifice to the fire', which is strictly observed even by Christian Yakut.<sup>1</sup>

Priklonski<sup>2</sup> says that the bride approaches the fire from the north, and throwing into it three sticks brought from her own *yurta*, and a piece of butter, pronounces these words: 'I come as mistress to rule the hearth'. Then she bows to her father-in-law and mother-in-law, and the feast begins, the young couple being seated apart from the rest of the company. After the feast, the married pair retire to the sleeping-place prepared for them.

For three days the bride's gens is entertained by the gens of the groom; various gifts are then exchanged, and they depart to their homes.

The marriage ceremonies of to-day are without dances or songs, says Sieroszewski;<sup>3</sup> but he was told by several Yakut that formerly the bride was welcomed to her new abode by a shaman, and that a sacrifice was performed by him on her behalf.

A Yakut wife in her husband's house is surrounded by various prohibitions, which affect both her and the other inmates mutually in their relations to each other. The prohibition which binds the woman is with regard especially to her father-in-law, but refers also to other older male relations. It is known as *kinitti*, and according to this she (i) is not allowed to pass in front of the fire of the father-in-law and other older male relatives, but must pass

behind it from the north-west; (ii) must not talk in a loud voice, nor use words with a double meaning; (iii) must not call her father-in-law by his name, and even if his name signifies an object in common use, she can only name this object by means of a periphrasis—e. g. if he is called 'Flint', she must say 'fire-stone', when speaking of a flint; (iv) must not eat of the head of any animal, for the father-in-law is head of the house; (v) must, when addressing her father-in-law or mother-in-law, draw her cap down as far as possible over her eyes; (vi) must not show her hair to her father-in-law, or bare her feet or any part of her body before him.<sup>1</sup>

Sieroszewski<sup>2</sup> says that the custom of *kinitti* was formerly much more strict. The bride was forbidden to show herself for seven years after her marriage to her father-in-law or brothers-in-law, or to any male relative of her husband. The married pair lived on the left (women's) side of the *yurta* behind a special partition. From there, through a crevice, the young woman could observe the men of the household, and so as to avoid meeting them, must pass in or out through the pig-sty entrance of the *yurta* and not through that used by the other inmates. If she could not avoid a meeting, she must cover her face: so that sometimes a bride might die without any of the men of the household having seen her features. At the marriage ceremony the bride's sister must not show her head, or so much as her hair, to the bridegroom or to any of his male relations.<sup>3</sup>

The men of the household must also observe certain rules. Formerly they had to avoid the bride altogether, saying, 'Ah, poor child, she is bashful.'<sup>4</sup> Nowadays they need do no more than keep a guard upon their language, so as not to say anything unseemly in her presence, for the Yakut customarily use great freedom in conversation. They must not show in her presence any part of their bodies bare—the arm above the elbow, or the leg above the ankle. The bride enjoys the care and protection of everybody, and it is said that sometimes she does no work for a whole year after marriage, but only eats and sleeps. Her dowry is her personal property and inalienable.<sup>5</sup>

A Yakut usually takes his wife from another clan (*aga-usa*).

<sup>1</sup> Priklonski, op. cit., pp. 60-1.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 337-41. <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Gorokhoff, *Kinitti*, E. S. S. I. R. G. S., 1887, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Priklonski, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>1</sup> Maak, op. cit., pp. 94-5.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 219.



Sieroszewski knew of only one case of a man taking a wife from his own gens, and when the woman shortly after marriage grew blind, it was said that this was a punishment for breaking an old custom.<sup>1</sup> Gorokhoff states that rich Yakut look for their wives not only outside their own clan, but outside the *nasleg*, i. e. in another *ulus*.<sup>2, 3</sup>

When the Cossacks first came among the Yakut, they found polygyny fully developed; but nowadays, as the Yakut have become poorer, and the *kalym* is somewhat large, it is not so much practised. Another reason for the decline of the custom is that girls die in infancy more frequently than boys, as they are not so carefully tended. The less civilized an *ulus* is, the fewer women it contains.<sup>4</sup> Jochelson says: 'The Arctic Yakut, having come into contact with the Yukaghir, must have fallen under the influence of their marriage customs; for the Yakut living in the northern part of the Kolyma district, near the tundra Yukaghir, do not observe at present their old exogamic custom.'<sup>5</sup>

We suggest that the decline of exogamic custom among the Yakut, ascribed by Mr. Jochelson to Yukaghir influence, may be rather the result of environment, which, causing the people to disperse, forces men to take wives from among their own gens. On the other hand, the custom of exogamy among the Yakut is not of an indefinitely ancient date. The following facts may be adduced in support of this assertion: (i) In their legends and traditions there are frequent references to unions between people of the same clans, even between brother and sister; (ii) the existence of regulations enforcing avoidance of each other among members of the same family; (iii) the terminology of relationships.

Some of the allusions in the traditions mentioned above are as follows:

'Thy sister was thy wife; thy mother was thy wife; the wife of thy brother was also thy wife.'<sup>6</sup> 'Of old when the youth could draw the bow he took to wife his sister and led her to a quiet place.'<sup>7</sup> 'In ancient times when an older or younger sister was

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Gorokhoff, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> An *ulus* is composed of several *naslegs*.

<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., pp. 332-3.

<sup>5</sup> Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus*, J. N. P. E., 1910, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Recorded in the *ulus* of Bayagantay in 1885. Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 335.

<sup>7</sup> Recorded in the *ulus* of Namsk, 1891. Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 335.

given in marriage into another clan, the brothers did not let her go before they had lain with her (custom of *chotunnur*). . . . When strangers take to wife from her brothers a woman who is still a virgin, the brothers account it a shame for themselves.<sup>1</sup> The expression *chotunnur* is still used to denote having sexual intercourse with a woman, and also making a hostess of her. In the old folk-ballads, *olongo*, we have allusions to a hero being in danger, and his sister-lover going to his rescue.<sup>2</sup>

If young women have sexual relations with men before marriage, it is always within their own clan, and there is a decided tendency towards such relations. In the *ulus* of Kolymsk, in a village called Andalykh, in the autumn the older girls, with the knowledge of their parents, go at night to small houses on the lake, where they receive boys from the neighbourhood. One night in 1883, Sieroszewski lost his way, and found himself in one of these houses. He heard also of other places in this neighbourhood where girls spent their time in fishing through the ice, and receiving boys of their clan by day and by night.<sup>3</sup>

This tendency is restricted by different prohibitions, such as that boys between the ages of ten and twelve must sleep apart from their sisters, in spite of the fact that this entails additional expense for beds. This is not to be accounted for by any considerations of mere modesty, for it is not unusual for the girls to appear quite naked in the presence of their brothers.<sup>4</sup>

The terms of relationship, which will be more fully treated later, are characterized by an absence of any words for 'husband' and 'father'. The term *aga*, corresponding to our 'father', literally means only 'older': in inquiring some one's age people say, 'Is he *aga* (older) or *balys* (younger)?' The term *erim*, corresponding to our 'husband', means in fact 'my man'. While the ordinary word for wife is *oyokh*, there is a special term for 'my woman'—*djakhater-em*.<sup>5</sup> The term for 'mother' is *ye*, literally, 'womb', 'embryo'. In the *olongo* the heroes often go on journeys to find out who their fathers are. That the relation of the child was primarily regarded as being only with the mother is shown by the older name of the clan, *ye-usa*, which remains now only as the name of a subdivision of the clan (*aga-usa*). The members of *ye-usa* must be of the same blood, while the *aga-usa* may include

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 336-7.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 342.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 337.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 338.

others also. Thus *ye-asa* has retained only a part of its old significance.<sup>1</sup> The above considerations seem to point to a transition from a matrilineal, matriloal, and perhaps matripotestal endogamic organization to one which is patrilineal, patriloal, patripotestal, exogamic.

#### B. THE ALTAIANS.

Wierbicki,<sup>2</sup> the Russian missionary, describes the marriage ceremony among the Altaians as it was at the end of the nineteenth century. He distinguishes two types of the ceremony, as it obtains among (a) the southern, and (b) the northern Altaians.<sup>3</sup>

He says that among the northern Altaians the wife is still usually obtained by capture. From his description it is evident that this form of marriage is so sanctified by public opinion that the capture is now at the stage of becoming practically symbolic; for in the Altai marriage ceremonies we see at the present day nothing more than symbolic traces of original marriage by capture.

According to the southern form of marriage custom, a young man sends to his prospective father-in-law matchmakers, one of whom, kneeling before the father-in-law, delivers the following eloquent speech: 'I come, bending my knee upon your threshold. I come, bowing to your beliefs. I come, in admiration of your way of life. I come to ask you for a head! May the union that I come to make be as inseparable as two cheeks; may it be as impenetrable as a warrior's breastplate. May our kinship be as close as the rings in a birch-trunk, or as stitches of silk in a garment! I come to ask of you a haft for a haftless knife. Nine generations ago there was war: I come to make peace.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Wierbicki, *The Natives of the Altai*, 1893, pp. 81-5.

<sup>3</sup> By southern Altaians Wierbicki understands the so-called Kalmuk of Altai. But the name Kalmuk is not correctly applied here, for it implies that these people are Mongolic, whereas, linguistically at least, they are a Turkic tribe. The second tribe included by Wierbicki among the southern Altaians is that of the Kalmuk-Uriankhai, who have more of a Mongol admixture. Still another group, according to him, are the Telut. The northern Altaians he takes to include the Tartars of Chern, *chern* being the name of the dense, dark forest which covers the northern slope of the Altai. These so-called Tartars show little trace of Tartar origin, and are the result of a mixture of Turkic and Mongolic tribes. All these people have in common, however, the Turkic language and traditions. (Wierbicki, op. cit., pp. 5-7.)

<sup>4</sup> Priklonski says that among the Yakut when a matchmaker comes to a family with whom his principal was formerly at feud, he must bring

I come in admiration of your way of life. I come to make a union between us. What answer will you give me?'

With these words the matchmaker, still kneeling, offers to the father a pipe filled with tobacco, turning the mouthpiece towards him. Meanwhile a second matchmaker holds ready a piece of burning fungus, to present it to the father as soon as he shall stretch out his hand to take the pipe.

The taking of the pipe is a sign of acceptance of the offer; but the compact is not immediately concluded, for the father may say that he must consult with his family upon the matter, or the question of *kalyim* has still to be settled. After this only is the pipe of peace and acceptance smoked. Then the other matchmakers, preserving always a solemn mien, bring *kumys* and wine, which they drink together. After this the matchmakers return to the suitor, and inform him of their success, and of the amount of the *kalyim*; whereupon a second feast is held. When everything is ready, two young men, friends of the bridegroom, arrive at the bride's *yurta*, each holding a rod of birch. Between these a sort of screen<sup>1</sup> is stretched. The bride mounts a horse, which has been prepared for her, and the two men ride at her side, holding the screen before her, until they arrive at the house of the groom. During the journey she ought not to see either the path or the new *yurta*, until she enters it. She is followed by a long train.<sup>2</sup>

Before the girl leaves her own *yurta*, a ceremony of 'blessing the bride' (*algyshe-sz*) is held there. Her parents give her their blessing, with instructions as to her behaviour in her new home, and then seven old men appear, who bestow their blessing upon her in poetic diction. During this ceremony a bright fire is burning, before which she must bow. When she reaches the *yurta* of the groom she must bow before his hearth-fire too, and place in it a piece of meat and some butter.<sup>3</sup>

Potaniin,<sup>4</sup> in describing the marriage ceremony among the Telut of the Kuznetsk and Biisk districts, says that at the

presents and pronounce these words: 'May your tongue utter no more such words as it did before, and may your mind return to its former kindly thoughts.' (Priklonski, *Three Years in the Yakutsk Territory*, 1891, p. 54.)

<sup>1</sup> This screen is called *kōshōgo*.

<sup>2</sup> This must be regarded as a symbolic survival of original marriage by capture.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 81-4.

<sup>4</sup> Potaniin, *Sketches of North-Western Mongolia*, 1883, vol. iv, p. 627.

marriage festival there is a custom called *ail-bazar* ('destroying the house'). First they remove the door of the *yurta*, and through the doorway a relative of the bride, richly dressed and mounted on a richly caparisoned horse, tries to ride out of the house. The opening being small, he attempts to enlarge it by breaking away portions of the neighbouring walls. The occupants of the *yurta* do everything they can to prevent the man's escape. They cling to his stirrup, to his dress, and to the trappings of his horse. Whatever is torn away from him in the struggle is presented to the bride, and is called 'the bride's luck'.

According to the custom of the northern Altaians,<sup>1</sup> the bridegroom is supposed to capture the bride. As a matter of fact, the girl has been apprised beforehand of his intention, the matter is settled with her, and she gives to the young man's envoy a kerchief from her head as an earnest of the fulfilment of her part of the compact. Then the bridegroom comes with one or two friends on good horses, and carries her off at night. They take her to the *ulus* of the groom,<sup>2</sup> and in the morning the young men begin to build an *odakh* for the couple. This is composed of nine poles of birch, each about ten metres in length, planted in the ground so as to come together to a point at the top, where some leaves are left so as to give the appearance of a broom at the summit of the framework of the *yurta*. The walls are formed of birch-bark. The bridegroom on entering the new abode must kindle a new fire with his flint and steel, for no coals can be brought into the *yurta* from any other fire for the purpose. From the manner in which the sparks fly the future life of the young couple is augured.

While her husband is tending the fire the bride offers to each of the builders of the *odakh* a copper ring; for she has been collecting rings for this purpose since her childhood, and has sometimes got together as many as a hundred. The *odakh*, or green *yurta*, stands for three days, and during all this time the young couple must not leave it. After three days the *odakh* is pulled down, and the birch-poles are taken away into the forest, where they remain until they rot. Nobody may borrow fire from the *odakh*.

The feasts held on the occasion of a marriage are known as *bayga*. The first is given by the bridegroom, and is held around

<sup>1</sup> Wierbicki, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> This is an indication that marriage among these people is exogamic.

the *odakh*, but the four following ones are given at the home of the bride.

Five or ten days after the 'capture' of the bride, the groom, with some of his relatives and a considerable food-supply, comes to the father-in-law to make peace and agree upon the amount of the *kalym* he must pay for the bride he has carried off. A rich son-in-law pays his *kalym* at once, a poor one in instalments covering several years.

Sometimes the bride's parents give the whole *kalym* as a dowry to their daughter, and even make it larger by adding presents from themselves.

To enable the bridegroom to pay the *kalym*, his bachelor friends help him by making each a small offering from his store. But the larger the *kalym*, the worse is the position of a woman in her widowhood. Her father-in-law treats her as property bought for much money, and if she wishes to marry again, he demands from the suitor as large a *kalym* as the deceased husband formerly paid for her. Sometimes the widow marries her brother-in-law.

Marriages are usually celebrated in spring. The first *bayga* is not held until the voice of the cuckoo is heard, even if a marriage takes place before that time.

One month after the marriage the 'tobacco *bayga*' is held, at which the relatives of the bridegroom make presents of tobacco to the bride's relations.

The third, or 'meat *bayga*', takes place, among the rich, after the harvest: among those not so wealthy, it is not held until from one to two years after the wedding. The poorest class celebrate this feast whenever they can afford it.

At the last *bayga* a horse is killed and eaten. Each *bayga* is accompanied by dances, games, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Marriage is exogamic among all the Altaians; and a wife has to observe various prohibitions with regard to her father-in-law. She must not show him her head or feet, or give him any object with her hands. The father-in-law has to avoid her also, never make any jokes in her presence, and run away when she does her hair.<sup>2</sup> Among the Teleut the custom of avoidance holds also with the relatives of the bridegroom.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Radloff, *Ass Sibirien*, p. 314. See also T. Shvetzoff, *Ideas of the Asiatics and Kirgises on Custom and Law*, W. S. S. I. R. G. S., p. 9.

## X. THE MONGOLIC TRIBES.

## A. THE BURYAT.

It is usually the parents who arrange marriages among the Buryat, betrothing their children in infancy. There is also a custom of interchange of children, by which one family will exchange a daughter for the daughter of another family. In this case, as soon as a girl reaches marriageable age, the parents make a final compact called *khäl*, and fix the day for her wedding to a son of the family into which she comes by exchange. If a family contains only sons, they must acquire daughters-in-law by the payment of *kälym*, which consists of cattle and *mal'kyk*, i. e. calves still unborn.<sup>1</sup>

Buryat girls receive as dowry, clothes, household utensils, a riding-horse with full equipment, and a *yurta*.<sup>2</sup>

Potanin<sup>3</sup> states that a father not only bestows on his daughter at her marriage a dowry consisting of cattle, household utensils, &c., but makes similar gifts to his son-in-law, so that the value of the dowry together with these other gifts offsets that of the *kälym*.

Sometimes betrothal takes place between adults.

The Buryat are exogamous, and a symbolical representation of the capture of the wife is the essential feature of the wedding ceremony. On the day when the bride is to be taken to the bridegroom, friends and relatives assemble at her parents' house. But the bride hides herself within a ring which her girl friends form around her, holding hands, and strengthening the chain with their kerchiefs. When men try to break through the ring, the girls do their best to prevent them, weeping and shouting aloud.

During this time preparations are being made in the bridegroom's house for the arrival of the bridal party. First a birch is planted in front of the *yurta* as a symbol of the hoped-for growth and development of the new family, and on this tree are hung fur coats and *ongons*. As the party conducting the bride approach her new home, they send forward a group of riders called *turushi*, one of whom holds in his hand an arrow barbed with iron, and with a bit of white cloth, called *kadyk*, at the other end. This *turushi*,

<sup>1</sup> Samokvasoff, *Code of Law among the Aborigines of Siberia*, 1876, pp. 74-5.

<sup>2</sup> M. Khangeloff, 'Customary Law among the Buryat,' *E. R.*, 1894, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Potanin, *Sketches of North-Western Mongolia*, 1883, vol. iv, p. 36.

on coming near, dismounts, leaving his horse to be held by some of his companions, runs into the *yurta* without greeting any one, and sticks the arrow in the west *tenge*, or partition which shuts off the family sleeping-place from the fire, so that the arrow points westward. Then he occupies the place usually given to the most honoured guest, roughly turning out the occupant, if there happens to be one, even if he should be a person held in the greatest honour; and then only does the *turushi* greet the matchmaker. The bridegroom's friends and relatives now go to meet the approaching bridal train, and the feast is begun there in the road; then a feast is held in the house of the bridegroom's parents, and another in that of the matchmaker. The bride, with her mother and some other women, is taken into a special *yurta* of the matchmaker. After the feast two shamans perform certain ceremonies, one shaman in the *yurta* where the bride is, and the other in that where the bridegroom is for the time being. In their performance they mention certain spirits, first *Bukha-Noind*, and at the end, *Bodon-Khatun*. Then the bride is dressed in the costume of a married woman, and various ornaments are put upon her. Her face is covered with a veil, in which are holes for the mouth and eyes. She is then taken out of the *yurta*, has to bow to the newly-planted birch, and is led round the *yurta* where are the bridegroom and his friends, while the matchmaker cries aloud, 'Give us the man who is under sentence!' The bridegroom is thus summoned thrice, but only appears at the third call, this being his first appearance during the whole of the proceedings. The matchmaker puts into his right hand one end of the handkerchief, giving the other end to the bride. Thus the marriage is concluded. Now an old man, not a shaman, makes a speech for their benefit, and gives them a blessing. The bridegroom enters the *yurta* to put some grease in the fire; and when the bride and her party follow him in, grains of corn are thrown upon their heads.

After the feast the bride goes into the bridegroom's *yurta*, and then at last the veil is removed from her head.

Before parting the two families exchange presents; and the bride returns to her parents' home, where she remains for some time longer.

Langans<sup>1</sup> says that after the wedding a wife remains with her

<sup>1</sup> *The Buryat*, 1824, vol. i, p. 59.



husband for a month; then he lets her go for six months to her parents, and during this time is not allowed to visit her. Khangaloff,<sup>1</sup> a recent investigator, says that nowadays the wife does not come to live with her husband until several months have passed after the wedding, which is held in his house. Potanin states similarly that after the wedding-feast the wife leaves her husband with the guests, and goes for six months to her parents. Then she spends one month with her husband, and returns again to her parents, after which follows another visit to her new home. The visits to her husband become more and more frequent, until at last she settles down with him for life.<sup>2</sup> From the myths which relate to marriage reform, under which the husband came to live with his wife, as well as from accounts of marriage customs such as those given above, Maksimoff<sup>3</sup> rightly concludes that in former times the husband always went to live in the home of his wife's parents.

The bride has to observe the following restrictions: (i) she must never address her father-in-law or mother-in-law by name; (ii) all relatives of her husband older than he, and her father-in-law as well, she must call *khadam*; (iii) in the presence of a *khadam* she must never be without her cap and face-covering; (iv) she must not remove or change her dress in his presence; (v) her sleeping-place should be in a separate *yurta*; (vi) if she meets a *khadam*, she must not cross his path, but pass behind him; (vii) she must not ride in the same wagon with him, and, generally not be close to him.

He, on the other hand, must not dress or undress in her presence, nor sit or lie down on her sleeping-place. He must not utter any indecent language before her; and before entering the *yurta*, must make a signal to her of his approach, in order that she may have time to put her dress in order.

These customs of avoidance are known as *sörkhöhö* (*sör*, sin; *khöhö*, to do).<sup>4</sup>

After the death of a husband, the widow passes to his brother or other near relative, or to her father-in-law. If, for some reason, both parties are unwilling, her father, or other near relative,

<sup>1</sup> Some Data concerning the Mode of Life of the North-Western Buryat, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Potanin, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Contribution to the History of the Family among the Aborigines of Russia, 1902, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Khangaloff, 'Customary Law among the Buryat,' E. R., 1894, p. 140.

marries the woman to some one else, and turns over the new *kalyim* to her first husband's family.

If a husband does not wish to live with his wife, he does not recover the *kalyim*; and if a wife is unwilling to live with her husband, then her relatives have to return the *kalyim* to him. If, however, she was acquired through the custom of interchange of daughters, her relatives have to make up a *kalyim*, which is paid to the husband. When the marriage is dissolved by the mutual consent of husband and wife, neither party has to restore any *kalyim*, but the wife has the right to demand from her husband one riding-horse, with full equipment, one summer and one winter suit.<sup>1</sup>

#### B. THE KALMUK.

'Not having had an opportunity of being present at any of the marriages of the Kalmucks,'<sup>2</sup> says Pallas,<sup>3</sup> 'I can only speak from hearsay. Many betroth their children, not only in their earliest infancy, but in the womb. This (latter) betrothing is, however, sacredly performed, and conditionally, i. e. provided that such a one has a boy and such a one a girl. The young couple are joined at fourteen years of age, or later. Two years before marriage a bridegroom is allowed to take many little liberties with his bride, but should pregnancy happen before the day of marriage, an atonement is made to the bride's parents, by presents.<sup>4</sup> Prior to the wedding, the bridegroom agrees with the girl's father as to the portion he is to have with her, which consists in a certain number of horses and cattle; and the father of the young man, in return, presents the bride with a new white felt tent, some household furniture, bedclothes, and ornamented foot-pillows, covered with cotton or silk, and laced.'

Other authors say that the *yurta* and other things which the girl receives are provided from the *kalyim* which the bridegroom gives for her.<sup>5</sup>

'The *gellung* is consulted with respect to the day of marriage, and he searches, by astronomical calculations, for a propitious one.

<sup>1</sup> Samokvasoff, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Pallas calls Kalmuk, the Torgout, Syungorian, and Durbat tribes. (Op. cit., p. 204.)

<sup>3</sup> Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, part i (vol. iii. of Trusler's *Inhabitable World Described*), London, 1788, p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 278.

<sup>5</sup> Jytecki, *Sketch of the Mode of Life of the Kalmuk of Astrakhan*, pp. 21-2. See also Tereshchenko, *The Ulus of Khoshotsk*, 1854, p. 49.

The new tent is then erected; the bride, with her parents and relations, goes to the bridegroom, who, with the *gellung*, or priest, accompanies them to the tent, where he reads some few prayers and orders the bride's tresses to be undone and braided in the manner of married women, into two tails. He next takes the caps of the married couple, retires with them and his *gadsul* outside the tent, smokes them with frankincense, says a prayer, then returns to the couple, blesses them, gives the caps to some of the persons present to put them on the bride and bridegroom's heads, and the ceremony concludes with a feast. For a certain time the bride is not permitted to leave her tent, and no one is supposed to see her but her mother and the married women of her acquaintance.

'At the nuptials of princes, great entertainments are given. A large banquet is prepared, and those who carry the eatables to table,<sup>1</sup> served up in large wooden vessels, are preceded by a herald or carver riding on a fox-coloured horse, splendidly dressed, having over his shoulders a long tippet of fine white linen, and his hat trimmed with black fox or other fur. On the wedding-day all the priests of the *ulus* read prayers, and the day is concluded with a variety of amusements, as horse-racing, wrestling, shooting with the bow, &c.'

The bride is obliged to keep certain rules of behaviour with regard to her father-in-law and the older male relatives of her husband. She must not sit down while they remain in the *yurta*. She enters their *yurtas* only when invited; on going out she must cross the threshold with her face turned towards the interior of the *yurta*. These rules, however, says Jytecki,<sup>2</sup> bind not the bride only, but all the younger members of the household. Other rules concern her alone; e.g. the one that she must not address her husband's parents or other older relatives by their own name, but must invent names herself for them. This custom holds even with regard to the parents' dog.<sup>3</sup>

Tereshchenko<sup>4</sup> writes that the bride throughout her life must not show her bare feet or head to her father-in-law or male relatives older than her husband; and, according to Lepekhin,<sup>5</sup> the bride is not allowed to see these people.

<sup>1</sup> Pallas, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Diary of a Journey*, vol. ii, p. 371.

# XI. THE SAMOYED.

In the time of Pallas<sup>1</sup> (end of the eighteenth century) the marriage customs of the Samoyed were as follows:

'When a Samojede (Samoyed) wants a wife, he looks for one in some other family than his own. He never cares for beauty, but chooses one equal to himself in rank and property. Having appointed a negotiator of the business from among his own friends, whom it is customary to reward with a reindeer for his trouble—with this man and his relations he goes to the habitation of the girl's father, and being arrived, no one presumes to enter the hut, but ranging all their sledges in a row, each man sitting on his own, while the negotiator waits upon the father of the young woman and inquires whether the young man can have her. If the father refuses, which is but seldom the case, he gives the negotiator a basket, which is the token of refusal, and nothing more is said, the whole suite returning as they came. But if the father accepts the proposal, the negotiator settles the *kaly*, or price to be paid, which is attended with more difficulty than among the Eastjaiks (Ostyak), for such is the covetousness of the father that he will keep the whole train a long time on their sledges, that he may get as much for his daughter as he can.'

F. G. Jackson, a recent traveller among these people, says that the matchmaker takes a gift (e.g. a good fox-skin) from the suitor to the *chum* of the girl's father. On his second visit the negotiator brings with him a stick marked with as many notches as the suitor proposes to give deer. If the price is accepted, the stick is broken in two, each party retaining one half. 'After this there is nothing left but the round of gluttonous enjoyment of raw flesh and bibulous dissipation in blood which accompanies their marriage festivities.'<sup>2</sup> Jackson adds that among the Yurak Samoyed the suitor accompanies the matchmaker, and during the negotiations cooked meat and vodka are consumed. Waiting for the final settlement, the suitor sits outside in his sledge, while the deer he has perhaps presented is being consumed. The matchmaker, however, mindful of his client, brings him out some of the meat.

<sup>1</sup> S. Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, part iii. (vol. iv of Trusler's *The Habitable World Described*, London, 1788), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Notes on the Samoyed of the Great Tundra, collected from the journals of F. G. Jackson by A. Montflore, *Journal of the Anthropol. Institute*, vol. xxiv, Aug. 1894-May 1895.

For a rich supply of materials and bibliographical suggestions I owe thanks to various Russian scholars, especially to Dr. Sternberg, Mr. Maksimoff, Mr. Jochelson, and Mme. Kharuyina. Mr. Jochelson has shown endless patience in aiding me in my search for data, and in resolving my doubts on various points.

To two of my own countrymen, Mr. Piłsudski and Mr. Sieroszewski, Poles who have spent many years in close personal contact with Siberian natives, I gladly take this opportunity of offering my cordial thanks for their help.

A grant from Somerville College enabled me to start the work in the autumn of 1912. Grants for its continuation have also been twice made to me by the Reid Trust of Bedford College, London (in 1912 and 1913). The trustees of this research fund have thus shown a very active and generous interest in the work of one who is twice a stranger, being both of another college and of foreign nationality. I wish to express my special thanks to them.

The task of improving my imperfect English was very kindly undertaken by my friends Miss Hilda Walton and Miss Katherine Menke of Somerville College, and Miss Agnes Dawson and Mr. H. U. Hall, of the London School of Economics and Political Science. Mr. F. H. Nixon kindly attended to the final stage of proof-correcting after my departure from England. I am indebted for the photographs to Mr. Piłsudski, Mr. Stroyceki, Dr. Sternberg of the Imperial Russian Academy of Science, and Prof. Franz Boas of Columbia University.

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The *kalym* generally consists of a variety of clothes, household necessities, reindeer, and small articles purchased from the Russians. The father, indeed, can keep but part of this *kalym* to himself, it being usual to give some of it to his relations.

'As soon as the youth has paid the *kalym*, the father-in-law loads him and his company with reindeer meat, and during the feast the young man and the bride's father sing to each other, the father advising in his song the son to love his wife, and the son recommending himself as well as he can to his new father. It is then settled when the bride's portion is to be paid, and when the bride shall be ready to give her hand. For a father always gives with his daughter in marriage a certain quantity of clothes.'

Islavin<sup>2</sup> and Schrenck<sup>3</sup> say that the Samoyed bride of the present day receives as her dowry a *chum* (tent), some reindeer, sledges, harness, clothes, and meat, altogether amounting in value to that of the *kalym*.

'On the day appointed, the bridegroom waits on his bride with a number of strange women to fetch her. On this occasion small presents are demanded from those relations that share the *kalym*. The bride is then forcibly placed on a sledge by these women, tied on, and all the sledges with the presents and gifts (the first three or four of which the father must cover with good cloth, and the rest with reindeer skins) then set off—the bride's sledge first and all the rest following—and return to the young man's hut, where it is the business of the bride to make his bed, in which she sleeps by her husband, but undisturbed for the first month. Both Eastjaks (Ostyak) and Samojedes (Samoyed) make the bride's mother a present, if it turns out that her daughter, when married, was a virgin.

'Some time after marriage the young wife pays a visit to her father, and stays with him a few weeks, during which time she has the liberty to receive her husband. At their taking leave, the father must make her a number of presents, and do the same at every visit; so that the young woman for a length of time shall have no occasion to apply to her husband for anything. In cases of divorce the *kalym* is returned. Should the woman die soon after

her marriage, the widower claims a return of the *kalym*, if respect to the deceased does not prevent it.'

Maksimoff, basing his observations on the researches of Islavin, says that though the bridegroom himself brings the *kalym* to the house of his future father-in-law, he does not remain there as a guest, but erects his own *chum* near by. First, a feast is held in the *chum* of the father-in-law; then they pass to the bridegroom's *chum*, and thither bring the bride. The young couple sit side by side, and the bridegroom feeds her with meat and wine. This is held to be the essential symbol of the consummation of the marriage. The feast over, the guests depart, leaving the married pair alone. After midnight, the bridegroom is expected to leave the *chum* unobserved, harness his reindeer, and set out for home. The bride does not go to her husband's home until some time has elapsed. When she arrives certain ceremonies are held which symbolize the capture of the bride.<sup>2</sup>

None of these authors makes any mention of a custom of avoidance among the Samoyed.

F. G. Jackson,<sup>3</sup> from whose 'Notes' quotation was made above, found that polygamy was 'not in disfavour' among the Samoyed, though it was rare to find a Samoyed with more than two wives. The *kalym*, he says, with which a wife is purchased amounts sometimes to one hundred reindeer. This *kalym* is recoverable, and the wife is returned to her parents, if the husband finds her unfaithful, or has other good grounds for dissatisfaction during the first year of marriage. He also states that a Samoyed will sometimes sell his wife for a few teams of reindeer, or barter her for another man's wife.

## XII. THE FINNIC TRIBES.

### THE OSTYAK.

Pallas's<sup>4</sup> account of the marriage customs of the Ostyak refers to these people in general, but especially to those settled on the Ob near Beresowa at the time of his journey, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. His observations follow:

'The Eastjaks (Ostyak), especially beyond Beresowa, who still adhere to Paganism, take as many wives as they can afford. They

<sup>1</sup> Pallas, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *The Samoyed, their Home and Social Life*, 1847, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Schrenck, *Reise nach dem Nordosten des Europäischen Russland*, p. 476.

<sup>1</sup> Pallas, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Maksimoff, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> S. Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, part i (vol. iii of *Travels through the Habitable World Described*, London, 1788), p. 302.



are fond of marrying sisters of other families; and believe<sup>1</sup> that a man's marrying with a wife's sister brings good luck, and by doing this they pay the father only half the price, or *kalym*, first paid. They hold it sinful and disgraceful to marry relations of the same name; yet they attend only to the male line. If a woman has married into another family, and has borne a daughter, the brother of the mother, or his children, may legally marry that daughter. In short, all marriages are legal, if only the fathers of the bride and bridegroom respectively are of different families.

When an Eastjak (Ostyak) goes a-courting, he chooses from among his nearest relations and friends some companions of his own age, and one to be the negotiator; goes with them to his sweetheart's dwelling, and enters the hut without ceremony. A father who has a marriageable daughter, seeing such a company arrive, readily guesses the reason; therefore makes no question, but treats them with what his tent will afford. When the guests have filled their bellies they retire to another tent, and from thence the bridegroom sends his suitor with the proposals, and inquires the *kalym*, or price to be paid. The negotiation being entered into, the poor suitor runs to and fro, from one tent to the other, to settle matters between the two, till the agreement is concluded. Then the bridegroom goes himself and pays part of the *kalym*, the whole being seldom paid at once, it being proportioned to the fortune the father gives with his daughter.<sup>2</sup> A rich Ostyak girl is not married without a gift of one hundred reindeer and an assortment of all kinds of furs. The first instalment being paid, the bridegroom directs the father to have a bed prepared for him in his hut, and to have his daughter ready. If the father-in-law agrees to this and accepts the first payment, the bridegroom comes that night, and lies on the bed, or spot, appointed for him. Some time after, the bride lies down near him, on a separate bench, and covered with a particular fur, till the fires are put out. Next morning the girl's mother inquires of the bridegroom whether he is satisfied with her daughter. If he replies in the affirmative, he must present the mother with a garment and a reindeer; and the mother then cuts the reindeer-skin on which the young couple lay into pieces, and spreads it around in triumph; but should the bridegroom be dissatisfied,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 304.

the mother gives him a reindeer. The bridegroom, after this, sleeps with his bride, but cannot take her home till the whole of the *kalym*, or purchase-money, is paid.

When a bridegroom visits his bride before the *kalym* is fully paid, says G. Novicki,<sup>1</sup> he must observe a certain custom of avoidance with regard to his father-in-law. Should he meet him by accident the bridegroom must turn his back or cover his face; and he must make his way as quickly as possible to his bride, and as quickly return from her.

'Sometimes', continues Pallas,<sup>2</sup> 'it will happen that, when the father is weak or ill and cannot follow, the husband shall take away his wife, before the sum agreed on is paid; in such cases, the father takes the opportunity, at some future time, when his daughter comes to pay him a visit, to detain her, and force the husband to pay what is owing.'

The woman's dowry, according to Patkanoff,<sup>3</sup> is provided, strangely enough, from the *kalym* which has been paid for her, and consists of garments, bedding, &c.

To return to Pallas's account<sup>4</sup>: 'No married woman can appear before her father-in-law whilst she lives; nor the bridegroom before his mother-in-law until he has children. They must avoid them as much as possible; and if they chance to meet them must turn their backs and cover their faces.' Girls in Eastjak (Ostyak) families have no names; the husband therefore calls his consort "wife" (*jemi*); and the woman calls her husband "man" (*tahe*).

Though the uncivilized Eastjak (Ostyak) does not consider his wife but as a necessary domestic animal, and scarcely favours her with a good word for all her hard labour, yet he dares not strike her, even for the greatest crime, unless he has consent of her father; for, in such a case, the provoked wife would run to her parents and persuade her father to return the *kalym* to his son-in-law, and she would marry some other man.

<sup>1</sup> *A Short Description of the Ostyak Nation*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>2</sup> Pallas, op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Irtysh-Ostjaken*, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Pallas, op. cit., p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> More recent accounts than that of Pallas state that for several days following the wedding the young couple must not so much avoid as take care to cover their faces if they should meet their respective parents-in-law. The woman, however, has to cover her face before her father-in-law, or other male connexions on that side, during the whole of her married life. (S. Patkanoff, *Die Irtysh-Ostjaken*, vol. i, p. 139. See also A. T. Dmitrieff-Mamonoff and K. M. Golodnikoff, *Note-book of the Tobolsk Government*, 1884, pp. 19-20.)

'These people know little about jealousy.'

Among the Ostyak of Yenisei the young couple live with the husband's father-in-law for about a month after the wedding, and only then does the husband take his wife home.<sup>1</sup>

The custom of avoidance is binding upon the bride as well as her brothers-in-law. There are also certain restrictions governing the relations between a girl and her brothers. After she has reached the age of thirteen she may not eat with them or talk to them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Mordvinoff, *The Natives of the Turukhansk Country*, I.R.G.S., 1860, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Tretyakoff, *The Country of Turukhansk*, 1871, pp. 388-91.

## CHAPTER V

### CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH BIRTH

#### PALEO-SIBERIANS.

##### I. THE KAMCHADAL.

THE most reliable information concerning the Kamchadal is still that imparted by Krasheninnikoff, although it dates from the end of the eighteenth century. He says they are not a prolific people, and he had never heard of a woman who had had eight or nine children. Except in rare cases, the women have easy delivery at child-birth. 'The shamanesses attribute the cause of difficult labour to the father, who must have built sledges or bent wood while the child was being born.'<sup>1</sup>

A woman gave birth to her child kneeling and in the presence of all the villagers without regard either to sex or age. The new-born child was wiped with, and wrapped in, a grass called *touchitch*; a stone knife was used to cut the umbilical cord, and the placenta was thrown to the dogs. Then all the inhabitants of the camp rejoiced in the infant, nursing and fondling it, but no further ceremonies were remarked by Krasheninnikoff.<sup>2</sup> An old woman assisted at the accouchement, but she was not a professional midwife; any one, often the mother of the woman concerned, performed this office. A woman who wished to become pregnant had to eat spiders; some of them also for this purpose would eat the umbilical cord together with a grass called *kiprei*. On the other hand, if a child was not desired, there was a widespread custom of causing abortion by shock or by killing the child in the womb. Old women specialists in these matters were found, but they frequently caused the death of the mother. If the undesired infant did not die before birth, the mother strangled it or gave it, living, to the dogs to eat. In order to induce sterility, a drink made from a grass called *konlakhion* was taken.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Krasheninnikoff, *Description of the Country of Kamchatka*, 1819, p. 171. In this statement Krasheninnikoff again mentions only female shamans in accordance with his general theory.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 172-3.

The practice of infanticide was also sometimes due to certain beliefs—for instance, that one of a pair of twins must be killed, and that a child born during a storm must be killed, though in the latter case incantations might avert the evil. After the delivery the mother was fed with soup called *opana*, made from fish and a plant called *hale*, and after a few days she was at work again.

The father gave to the child the name of one of his ancestors, but, according to Krasheninnikoff, without ceremonies. Among the men's names mentioned by this author are Kemleia—'never-die'; Chihouika—'spider'; Birouteh—'he who was burned alive'; Kene—'mischievous spirit'.<sup>1</sup>

## II. THE YUKAGHIR.

All the cases of child-birth which Jochelson<sup>2</sup> observed among the Yukaghir and Yakut were very difficult, and the barbarous practices attendant upon them produce nervous diseases and premature age in the mothers.

The foundation of these practices is the belief that difficult labour and unfortunate birth are caused by the entrance of an evil spirit into the woman (supernatural cause)<sup>3</sup>; this is the case also among some Turkic and Mongolic tribes. At the same time the Yukaghir also attribute difficult labours to a 'natural' cause—either to the failure of the mother to observe certain taboos or to the ill-will of the child itself; they therefore do not allow two pregnant women to inhabit the same house in case the two unborn children should communicate and decide which mother should die.<sup>4</sup> This does not prevent the co-existence of a further belief, that is, that before the birth the spirit of an ancestor enters the child in the womb. Not only is successful labour dependent on the behaviour of the mother and child, but in some cases the presence of the father is necessary in order to 'loosen that which he fastened'.<sup>5</sup> The midwife asks the sick woman, married or unmarried, 'Who was the cause of your pregnancy?' Jochelson was present when the husband of a woman who was suffering terribly placed his arm about her abdomen, and thereupon she gave easy birth to the child; though some of those present knew

that he was not the real father, the general feeling was that this showed that she had spoken the truth in naming him as the father of her child.<sup>1</sup>

The taboos connected with birth affect not only the mother but also her husband and the rest of the household. Some of these taboos are: the pregnant woman must not eat the fat of the cow or reindeer, or larch-gum, because all these things are believed to thicken or 'freeze' in the stomach, and to fasten the child to the inside of the womb; but butter of the cow or horse's fat may be eaten, for it will melt in the stomach.<sup>2</sup>

A pregnant woman must be active and energetic so that the child also shall have these qualities and issue easily and quickly from the mother.<sup>3</sup>

She ought in walking to raise her feet high, and on finding stones or lumps of earth in her path she should kick them away, symbolizing the removal of obstructions at child-birth. After setting out for a certain place she must on no account turn back before she has reached it, otherwise the delivery will be checked in the middle.

The other members of the household must refrain from shouting and talking loudly in her presence, otherwise she will shout during child-birth. No one may cross her path or stop her in her walk, as this may cause delay in delivery; in the last few days when she is unable to observe the active taboos, her husband and relatives perform them in her stead.<sup>4</sup> At the first attack of labour-pains the wife, the husband, and the midwife must loosen all the fastenings of their garments that the child may not be hampered in any way; except the father and husband of the woman, no men are allowed to be present. The woman is forced to walk about the room in order to facilitate the delivery—then she is placed on the knees of her husband or her father, who squeezes and presses her abdomen on all sides with his arm, sometimes assisted by the women; sometimes another man assists the first, to add more pressure upon her abdomen.<sup>5</sup> Frequently the woman dies under this treatment, a result which was witnessed by Jochelson himself on one occasion. After the child

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*, J. N. P. E., vol. ix, 1910, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Jochelson says the Yukaghir knew nothing of horned cattle before the arrival of the Yakut in the north, so that this custom must have been borrowed from the latter people.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 101.

is born, the midwife massages the abdomen of the mother or forces her to walk about. Then she is dressed and lies down 'to allow the bones disjoined during the birth to come together again';<sup>1</sup> but she begins to walk outside the house the very next day. 'For the first three days she must not touch anything in the house. On the fourth day the midwife washes her, and she, in turn, washes the hands of the midwife and wipes them with fresh shavings of willow or with a piece of newly-prepared reindeer-skin. Braids of women's hair also serve for this purpose. Then the midwife purifies the woman by means of smoke. Dry grass is kindled on the floor of the house, and the woman passes through the smoke, stopping a while and shaking her body. Then she may attend to her household duties, but is still considered unclean for forty days. The husband must have no intercourse with her, and she must not have anything to do with the hunting and fishing implements.'<sup>2</sup>

Similar taboos are observed during menstruation. The birth of a child is a very important event, for the celebration of which, called *pacil*, the whole village is invited, whereas a marriage has no special ceremonies connected with it.<sup>3</sup> A name was formerly not given to the child until it could speak, but now it is given soon after birth; the former arrangement allowed the child to give the name of the ancestor *aibi* of whom he is the reincarnation and whose name he ought to bear. It is still customary for the parents, after the birth of the first child, to be known by its name—thus, 'the Father and Mother of So-and-So.' Jochelson knew a blacksmith on the River Nelema, whose Christian name was Basil, but who changed his name to 'the Father of Chotini' after the birth of his first child.<sup>4</sup>

Sterility is a punishment and a sign of disfavour on the part of dead relatives.<sup>5</sup> A barren woman may ask the help of a shaman, who descends to the world of the deceased and persuades the soul of a relative to enter the woman's body, but such a child very often dies.<sup>6</sup>

In the old days, says Jochelson, new-born children were killed if the mother died.<sup>7</sup> Children as a rule are much desired, as is shown in the following tale:

'There was once a hunter, who could not procure any game for

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. <sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 105.

a long time. He and his wife and a suckling babe were starving. When the husband became so exhausted that he could not leave the tent, the woman killed the child and began to feed the husband at her breast, while she herself fed on berries. When the husband reproached the wife for killing their child, she replied: "If you had died of hunger, I and the child would have died too, but now, if I restore you to health again, we shall have other children." This satisfied the husband. He was soon on his feet again, began to procure food, and finally had other children.'<sup>1</sup>

### III. THE CHUKCHEE.

The Chukchee are one of the most prolific tribes in north-eastern Asia, the census of 1897 showing that many families have five, seven, or even nine children alive.<sup>2</sup> 'The Chukchee women are delivered with little trouble. Custom strictly forbids the woman to groan, or to give way to the pain by any audible sign. Nor may help be given by other women. The woman who has been delivered has to attend to her own needs herself, and to those of the new-born infant. She cuts the navel-string and puts away the placenta. The woman who accepts help in these operations will be mocked her whole life long, and even her husband will occasionally receive the nick-name "the helped one". Accordingly a large pelvis, because it eases delivery, is considered one of the chief features of womanly beauty.'<sup>3</sup> The couple begin to keep certain taboos as soon as the wife knows she is with child; one of them being that each morning the two get out of bed together, dress as hastily as possible and go out to look at the rising dawn, after which they walk round the tent in the direction of the sun's path. The infant's garments are prepared in secret, and when mentioned are called by a special name. Relations between husband and wife do not cease until the last moment, and are then interrupted for ten days, unless the child dies, when they are resumed before this period has elapsed, as this is supposed to be conducive to another conception.<sup>4</sup>

During the time of labour no stranger, especially of the male sex, may enter the inner room. 'It is feared that some evil but invisible influence will cling to them and try to approach the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, J. N. P. E., vol. vii, 1909, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, 1907, p. 509.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



lying-in woman.<sup>1</sup> During the actual birth everybody must go away, even the female members of the family, except one old woman, who, in case of absolute necessity, may render her assistance. If no one else is there the patient is assisted by her husband. Captain Charles Hall<sup>2</sup> mentions the fact that, similarly among the American Eskimo, the husband is not allowed to stay with his wife, and only one old woman may remain. After the birth the mother cuts the navel-cord with a sharp stone 'skin-scraper', which will serve her for this purpose all her life, and which she keeps in her clothes-bag. The mother is fed frequently and abundantly for two weeks. Among the Reindeer Chukchee, a young doe is killed for the purpose and much broth is made.<sup>3</sup> After delivery the woman is tightly bound round the hips with a cord, which must remain thus for three days in order to bring her bones back into position. On the fifth day the ceremony of blood-painting is performed, before which no person from outside may enter the house. Even the father of the child has to subject himself to certain incantations before he can enter. This prohibition is repeated when the child is ill, or in the case of an infectious disease, and at such times nothing from the house may be given away. Bogoras himself was forbidden several times to enter a house for this reason.

The woman also may not leave the tent before the performance of this blood-painting ceremony, as she may thus bring on a violent snowstorm. 'The after-birth is placed on the ground in the corner of the tent, three small sticks are tied together in imitation of the three principal poles of the tent-frame, and are set over the after-birth; when the camp is left, a piece of leather is wrapped around them to represent the tent-cover. The Maritime Chukchee and the Koryak place the after-birth and its small tent outside the house in the open country.'<sup>4</sup>

The blood-painting ceremony begins with the conveyance of the mother and child and the reindeer on the family sledge to the sacrificial place behind the tent. The reindeer is slaughtered, and with its blood the faces of the mother, child, and other members of the family are smeared.<sup>5</sup> After this comes the name-giving ceremony. The mother holds a divinatory object (either a stone or some part of her own or the child's dress) suspended before her,

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, 1907, p. 509.

<sup>2</sup> *Life with the Esquimaux*, part II, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 511.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

and recites the names of the family ancestors. At the mention of the name which the child is to bear, the divinatory object loses its balance. Sometimes the name is chosen from indications received in dreams. Or the mother may name the child from the first object she comes across after the delivery, but even then it is usually the name of an ancestor.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the name is changed one or more times if the child does not thrive, but it is only a shaman or 'knowing person' who can perform the necessary ceremony.<sup>2</sup>

Many protective incantations are pronounced during the child's early years, and are generally accompanied by the tying of necklaces or pictures of 'guardians' to the child's garments. This is especially advisable when the first child has not survived, and in case he has left traces for the second one to follow. The period chosen is that of the new moon, but in the daytime, and Bogoras gives us the following description of this curious ceremony: 'A small fire is built up before the entrance, and a number of plates laden with various meats, cooked or dried, are placed on both sides of it. The performer gives each of the parents a small piece of red stone wrapped in leather formed into a necklace. Then he pronounces an incantation, of which the following may serve as a fair specimen:—

*'You are not on this earth, you are within this stone. No wind may reach you; no iceberg may crush you, but it will break in pieces against the edges of the stone. You are not on this earth. In the open ocean there lies a big sea-animal born at the same time with the earth and the world. This animal is a sea-lion. Its back is like an island, it is covered with earth and stones. You are on its back.'*<sup>3</sup>

If the woman dies in child-birth the infant is usually smothered and buried with the mother, but sometimes the people try to rear the child.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Similar methods of naming children are in use among the Asiatic Eskimo. (Bogoras, *ibid.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 512.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 513.

<sup>4</sup> Among the Asiatic Eskimo 'a child born prematurely is put into the soft skin of a big sea-bird. This skin, taken off whole and turned, has the feathers inside. Then it is tied up very securely, and hung over a big lamp in which a small flame is kept constantly burning. In this position the babe is kept from a week to four weeks, during which time it is fed with small quantities of oil as well as with mother's milk drawn from her breasts. Little by little the portion of milk is increased, and at last the babe is allowed to suckle.' (Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 514.)

## IV. THE KORYAK.

'The Koryak tribe,' as Jochelson says, 'taken as a whole, is at present, after the Chukchee, the healthiest of all the tribes of eastern Siberia.'<sup>1</sup>

Mortality among infants up to the age of one year is, however, enormous. The Koryak believe that the souls of children are timid and therefore more subject to attacks from evil spirits, hence they are placed under the special protection of the good spirits of the household.

The soul (*uyicit*) of some ancestor is sent by the Supreme Being into the child in the mother's womb. These souls are hanging on the cross-beams of the house of the Supreme Being. The duration of the life of the person who will reincarnate the soul is indicated by the length of the strap which is attached to the soul's neck or to its thumb. When the child is born the father gives him the name of the ancestor whose soul has entered him. This is done in the following way: 'The father of the new-born uses a divining-stone called "Little-Grandmother" (*An-apel*) to discover whose soul has entered the child. The divining-stone is hung by a string to a stick, the latter is lifted and the stone begins to swing; or it is hung from a tripod made of small sticks. The father of the child enumerates the names of the deceased relatives on his and his wife's side. When the name of the relative whose soul has entered the child is mentioned, the divining-stone begins to swing more quickly. Another way of determining the identity of the soul is by observation of the behaviour of the child itself. A number of names are mentioned. If the child cries when a name is pronounced it shows that it is not the name of the soul reborn in the child. When the proper name is pronounced the child stops crying, or begins to smile. After the name has been given, the father takes the child in his arms, carries it out from the sleeping-tent into the house, and says to his people: "A relative has come" (*Qaitumnin yeti*). On one occasion, during our stay in the village of Kamenskoye, a child was named after the deceased father-in-law of Yulta's son. The latter lifted the child and said to the mother:<sup>2</sup> "Here, thy father has come." Sometimes if the child does not thrive it is taken as a sign that the wrong name was

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, J. N. P. E., 1908, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 100.

given to it, and with special divination ceremonies the name is changed.

Jochelson was never present at a confinement, but he gives us a description of taboos observed, as he was informed, by the people. The woman is regarded as unclean for a month after confinement, she must not remove her shoes in a strange house nor in her own house in the presence of strangers, and during the whole year she must observe certain food taboos. She is forbidden to eat whale-meat during the autumn, but may do so in the winter; neither can she eat the flesh of the ringed seal, white whale, fresh fish, nor of the raw thong-seal, though this latter she may eat if it is caught in the river and boiled. These taboos are chiefly in connexion with sea-animals, which are one main source of sustenance, for, on the other hand, she may eat reindeer-meat in any form. A newly-born child must not be taken out of the house all the winter. In cases of necessity the mother must keep it in her arms under her coat and must not take it out in a strange house. The after-birth is placed in a bag and hung on a pole at some distance from the village.<sup>1</sup>

## V. THE GILYAK.

According to Schrenck,<sup>2</sup> the Gilyak woman 'never dares' to give birth to a child at home; she must, in spite of severity of season or stormy weather, go out of the hut for this purpose. In late autumn or in winter they build a special hut for the woman, but a very uncomfortable one, so that the mother and the child suffer the cold and feel the wind. He himself witnessed this custom in 1885 in the village of Kuik.

To help the woman in labour they carve a wooden figure in the act of delivery, and to it they sacrifice different foods, trying by this means to placate the evil influences which are at work.<sup>3</sup>

Access to the hut where the woman is being confined is only free to the midwife or other women who may be helping her. To cut the umbilical cord they use special knives called *kysmrk* or *kyssk dyakko*. The child receives its name at once, or very soon after birth, either in the evening of the same day or in the morning following the night when the child is born. 'This', says Schrenck, 'is not followed by any ceremonies, the father or any

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *The Natives of the Amur Country*, 1903, vol. iii, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 12.

other Gilyak announces the name.<sup>1</sup> No shaman is present either at the birth or at the giving of the name. Only wealthy people have a feast on this occasion, to which they invite all their friends.<sup>2</sup>

The woman returns to the house on the eighth or twelfth day after her confinement, but no purificatory ceremonies were observed by Schrenck.

Dr. Seeland<sup>3</sup> says that the custom of driving the woman out of the house before the delivery recalls another custom, that of carrying dying people out of the house; both practices show that the Gilyak are afraid of the dead body in the house, and a woman in confinement is in grave danger of death.

Schrenck himself, however, never saw this custom of carrying a very sick person out of the house (except the woman at delivery), and he even doubts whether Gilyak always leave or destroy the house where a death has occurred.<sup>4</sup>

A woman who wishes to have a child carries various amulets round her neck, such as a dog's tooth, &c. Generally, says Schrenck, 'there are many superstitious customs in order to assure to a woman a happy delivery.'<sup>5</sup>

#### NEO-SIBERIANS.

##### VI. THE BURYAT.

Among the Buryat of Alarsk (Government of Irkutsk), during the delivery the women of the family are gathered near the mother and take the child in order to drop it in a horizontal position on to the floor, which has been made soft and easy for it, after which it is washed and wrapped up. Two or three days later a feast is held to which all the villagers come,<sup>6</sup> without waiting for an invitation. The parents slaughter a ram, a cow, or an ox, according to their wealth. Then the ceremony of wrapping up the child begins. One of the young boys or girls present is chosen to reply to the questions put by a temporary 'mother', who holds in her hands an arrow and a bone with some flesh on it, from the right haunch of an animal. She asks the chosen child: 'Whom have I to wrap up? the newly-born one or the bone?' To which the reply comes, 'The newly-born.' 'With the head up or down?' 'Up,' is the answer. These

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 13.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid.      <sup>3</sup> *Die Ghiliaken*, 1882, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Schrenck, op. cit., p. 11.      <sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Potanin, *Sketches of N.W. Mongolia*, vol. iv, pp. 26-7.

questions and answers are repeated three times; then a name is given to the child. The feast ends with the making of a fire in the place where the birth occurred; the guests, including the father, surround the fire, and from their mouths they squirt into it a liquid called *salamata*, which has been prepared from meal and oil, and all in one voice exclaim: 'Give more happiness! Give a son!' This is repeated three times. General excitement prevails, and they vie with each other in smearing their friends' faces and clothes with oil, ashes, and fresh animal excrement.

The Buryat fears to be without children, and a childless man says sadly, 'The fire of my hearth will go out.' The strongest Buryat oath is 'May my fire be extinguished!' <sup>1</sup> Among the Buryat of Alarsk, if the first children die, the parents catch a brown owl and feed it, thinking that this owl will send away the bad spirit *Anakhai*, when the child cries in its cradle. Besides this they prepare an *ongon* called *useten* in the following way. All the neighbours are invited as well as the *kam* (shaman). The women prepare a figure and the men a box for it. The woman in whose interest all this is done carries during this time a child's swaddling clothes or a specially made doll, and pretends to feed it at her breast. Those present ask her sympathetically, 'How is your child? Is he quiet? Have you much trouble with him?' Then the guests take turns in nursing it, and if the woman should leave the hut, they will call to her to return because the child is crying. Among the same people there exists, in connexion with the rearing of a child, the custom of becoming *naydji* with a shaman. The word *naydji* really signifies 'friend', but in this case it simply indicates the intimate relations which exist between the parents and a shaman.<sup>2</sup>

When, after the birth, a sheep is killed, a portion of the animal is sent to a shaman, to indicate that he is invited to become *naydji*, and soon after this he is actually called to the house. On his arrival he orders a *chorbo* (shaman's staff) to be prepared and places it across the threshold; then he hangs an amulet round the child's neck. This visit is called *sakülh bayuga*. During the following year the child is under the care of the shaman.<sup>3</sup> If the child is slightly unwell, or his teeth trouble him, or he has a slight fever, the shaman is at once called in to pacify him. Sometimes he will spend three whole days carrying the child in his bosom.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 29.

At the end of the year this *sakukh* (probably the amulet) is returned to the shaman. Then the parents prepare fine new garments and other presents, sometimes even a horse, and take them to the shaman's house, where they are hospitably received. One shaman can have at the same time as many as twenty *naydji*, and when he wishes to consecrate a new drum the *naydji* give him sheep and the other requisites for the ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Buryat of Idinsk, if there are no children in the family, a feast is arranged to which the shaman is invited; the women and girls dance, and afterwards all sit down and the shaman, taking his staff (*khoro*), sings a hymn to the Bear *ongon*, and then strikes the cheeks of those present. The ones who receive the hardest blows will become parents.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Uriankhai (Tuba) in the Ulukhem district, when the first children die young, the newly born is hidden under the cooking cauldron, on the top of which is placed *ag-prenya* (an *ongon* made from the skin of a hare) and also a figure representing the child, made from barley-meal. Then the *kam* (shaman) is called, and begins to shamanize over this figure. According to the Uriankhai who related this to Potanin, the figure then comes to life, its abdomen is cut open, the blood begins to flow, and the sufferer cries. Then its body is cut into three parts and buried far away from the house. This ceremony will protect the child from death.<sup>3</sup>

The Diurbiut have a similar ceremony to protect the child from death. Soon after birth it is stolen by some relatives and hidden under a cauldron, where it remains for three days, well fed and tended. At the same time these relatives make an image of grass and throw it into the tent of the parents, who, when they find it, pretend to see in it their own dead child and bewail and bury it with much ceremony. This is to persuade the evil spirit (*chitkur*) who wished to harm the child that the latter is dead and buried.<sup>4</sup>

#### VII. THE ALTAIANS.

Among the Altaians the child is born before a great assembly of people who shout and fire their guns. A name is given to the child by the head of the family, who usually chooses the name of the first person who enters the *yurta* after the delivery. Generally

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 28.

such names signify different objects, e. g. *moutik* (a gun), but if the first children die, they try to give the next a name implying worthlessness or humility, e. g. *It-koden* (the haunch of a dog). The fire of the *yurta* where the child is born must not be taken out of it for forty days—the more superstitious even lengthen this period to a year.<sup>1</sup> Potanin<sup>2</sup> says that when the first-born of the Altaian parents die, the parents steal a child from some one so that the real mother does not know where it is for three days, and a month later the parents of the stolen child go to redeem it with presents. To protect a boy from evil spirits an arrow and a branch of a thorny plant are hung over his cradle.<sup>3</sup> Among the Teleut those who desire a child do not steal one, but buy it from its parents and return it after a while.<sup>4</sup>

#### VIII. THE YAKUT.

According to Sieroszewski,<sup>5</sup> Yakut marriages are generally fruitful, averaging ten children to a woman, but becoming less so towards the northern districts, although the Yakut are everywhere more prolific than the Tungus. The lack of children they ascribe entirely to the woman—as their proverb says, 'If there are no children, the woman is to blame.'<sup>6</sup>

According to Jochelson,<sup>7</sup> women from the north have very difficult delivery. The Yakut regard the pain of child-birth as sickness caused by evil spirits, and therefore, if the assistance of a midwife or of the goddess of fertility *Ayisit* is of no avail, a shaman is called in to fight the evil spirits, *abassylar*. Jochelson thinks the Yakut appeal to the shaman not in order to save the mother and child, but to prevent the evil spirit from winning a victory. 'No consideration is shown to either mother or child; for women possessed of evil spirits are regarded by the Yakut as no less perilous to society than those infected with epidemic germs. This accounts for the entire absence of compassion, and for the cruelty manifested by the Yakut towards women suffering the pains of labour.'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wierbicki, *The Natives of the Altai*, 1893, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Potanin, op. cit., p. 627.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> 12 *Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, 1900, p. 413.

<sup>6</sup> Out of 140 Yakut couples F. Kohn (*Fiziologiczne i biologiczne spostrzeżenia nad Yakutami*, p. 64) found one woman who had had thirty, another twenty-one, and a third seventeen children.

<sup>7</sup> *The Yakaghir and Yakaghirized Tungus*, J. N. P. E., vol. ix, 1910, p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 102.



In 1895 Jochelson himself witnessed such cruel treatment in the district of the Kolyma River, as a result of which the woman died; and a similar case was related to him by the Russian criminal exile Gebler.

The customary measures for hastening delivery are as follows: 'Two small posts are driven into the ground and a third one is fastened across the top of them, forming thus a bar like that used by a blacksmith in shoeing a horse. The woman kneels down in front of this bar, and throws her arms over the crosspiece far enough to bring the latter under her armpits. One man from behind holds her shoulders and another in front holds her hands to prevent any possibility of her resisting the obstetric operations of the midwife. The latter kneels in front of the patient and presses upon her abdomen, at the same time imploring the aid of the benevolent goddess *Ayisit*, who is believed to be present at child-birth and to assist the patient.'<sup>1</sup>

Maak<sup>2</sup> says that the reason why the Yakuts do not take care of their lying-in women is that they believe the goddess is perfectly capable of protecting them herself. The only protective measure of which Maak could hear was the food taboo observed before child-birth; the woman must eat neither swan's flesh nor the eggs of wild birds, because the child might otherwise be deaf and imbecile. *Ayisit*, sometimes called *Anikhyl*, leaves the woman on the third day. This is known as *Ayisit-atarar Kiune* (i. e. 'the protectress leaves the birth-giving woman').<sup>3</sup> Among the Yakut of the district of Kolyma Jochelson found a belief similar to that of the Yukaghir—that the labour will be eased if the woman names the father of her child. Usually she tells the truth, but sometimes she does not wish to betray her lover and refuses to answer, especially if she is the daughter of rich parents and the man a poor servant, because then the child will be called 'the execrated child'.<sup>4</sup>

On the occasion of a birth the Yakut make holiday on the first and the third days. The first day they prepare a large quantity of fat, which they eat and drink, sacrificing a portion to the fire. On the third day the friends and relations visit the mother and child, and it is customary for the former to serve the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *The Viluyok District of the Yakutsk Territory*, 1887, vol. iii, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 101.

guests herself. Nowadays it is not fat but meat which forms the principal dish.<sup>1</sup>

Sieroszewski describes the coming of *Ayisit* to the woman at child-birth as being similar to her appearance at the fertility festival held in spring. Nine chaste boys and nine men are actually present to attend on her, and, in imagination, many other spirits help to form her retinue. A rich Yakut kills a domestic animal at her appearance, and the head and entrails are sacrificed to the goddess, while the rest of the beast goes to the old woman who has been tending the mother and to the relatives and guests. As soon as the child is born, the old woman approaches the fire and pours some fat on it, saying 'Thank you, *Ayisit*, for your gift, we ask you for more in the future'. If the woman is to die, *Ayisit* does not come at all. For the three days that *Ayisit* is present the woman must lie on straw in the *yurta* and no man is allowed to enter. Only at the end of that time does she return to her sleeping place. The straw, with the placenta, is taken to the forest far away from the *yurta* by the old woman, who places it high up on the trunk of a tree.<sup>2</sup>

Jochelson<sup>3</sup> says that similar ceremonies are performed by the Yakut at the birth of cattle. Severe measures are employed to deliver the animals; a benevolent goddess is believed to be present, and a special shaman is called in to pronounce an incantation. The following is the formula used at the birth of a calf: 'Lax! Lax! Lax! Be faster than an arrow, lighter than a hair, as usual march through a white straight road.'<sup>4</sup>

#### IX. THE FINNS AND LAPPS.

Norwegian missionaries as early as the eighteenth century described curious purification ceremonies in connexion with birth among the Lapps.

After Christian baptism<sup>5</sup> the child received another—Lapp—name in the ceremony called '*same nabma*'. This name was usually that of an ancestor, and had been revealed to the mother in a dream or during shamanistic performances. The name-giving ceremony was usually performed by a woman—often by the mother herself. During child-birth the woman was under the protection of a goddess called *Sarakka* (Creator-woman).

<sup>1</sup> Maak, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., pp. 413-14.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Kaarle Krohn, *E. R. E.*, 'Birth', vol. ii, 1909, p. 647.

A woman (*risem-edne*), who seems to have corresponded to the modern godmother, presented the child with a brass object<sup>1</sup> called *nabma-skiells*, which was used during the ceremony, and afterwards placed on the child as a charm, under the arm if the child was a boy, and on the breast if it was a girl. The child was dedicated to the goddess *Sarakka*. Later, if the child did not thrive, this ceremony could be repeated and the name changed. The name-giving ceremony is similar to that found all over Siberia, but wherever water is used we may, with Krohn, assume that this is due to Christian influence. 'As late as 1534 the Finns under the dominion of Novgorod (the Chudes) had oraclesmen whom they summoned to give a new-born child its name—a ceremony which they performed "in their own peculiar way".'<sup>2</sup>

'The magician of the Finno-Ugrian Mountain Cheremiss adopts the following method in bestowing the name. Taking the child in his arms as it is on the point of screaming, he begins a list of names, swaying the child to and fro as he speaks, and that name which he happens to be uttering when the crying ceases is the one selected. Among the adjacent Chuvasses the magician is called in to the child, and is received with tokens of the greatest respect by the domestics and the assembled guests, who with one voice express the desire that he will give the child a name of good omen. He takes a bowl of water in his hand, mutters certain words over it, and gives both the mother and the child to drink. Then he works himself into an ecstasy, and at last bestows upon the child a name which he professes to have received by divine revelation.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The brass object must have been borrowed from Scandinavia, and Krohn (*ibid.*) suggests that this custom is not genuine Lapp.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 648.

## CHAPTER VI

### DEATH, BURIAL, FUTURE LIFE, AND ANCESTOR-WORSHIP

#### PALAEO-SIBERIANS.

##### I. THE KAMCHADAL.

AMONG the Kamchadal at the time of Krasheninnikoff<sup>1</sup> a corpse was treated in the following manner: Leather thongs were bound round the throat and the body dragged out of the *yurta* and left at a short distance from the door to be eaten by dogs, the idea being that the person whose corpse was thus eaten would have power to drive those animals in the future life; the house in which a person died was always deserted, and its inhabitants at once removed to another dwelling at a certain distance. With the corpse, his clothes were also thrown away, and any one who should wear these afterwards was believed to be in danger of an early death. There existed also certain purification ceremonies for anything with which the dead had come in contact. Children were buried in hollow tree-trunks.

##### II. THE YUKAGHIR.

Among the Yukaghir the dead were formerly placed on platforms raised on poles. Those of the Kolyma district used to distribute the flesh and bones among the relatives, who would dry the portions they received and place them in leather bags.<sup>2</sup> These were used as amulets, called 'Grandfathers', and were considered very effective in sympathetic magic.

##### III. THE KEREK.

Among the Kerek, who live near the mouths of the rivers emptying into the Pacific Ocean between Capes Anannon and Barykoff, and who have no timber or driftwood for building pyres,

<sup>1</sup> *Description of the Country of Kamchatka*, 1755, vol. ii, pp. 135-6.

<sup>2</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, 1907, p. 517.

the corpses, dressed in funeral attire, are let down into the ocean; they tie them to long poles, tow them out to sea, and then push them into the water with poles.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. THE CHUKCHEE.

Among the Chukchee the whole of the funeral rites are a series of protective magical ceremonies against the evil influences of the dead. Though the latter are sometimes benevolent, the idea that they work harm to the living is much more prevalent. 'The most dangerous are the double dead, the completely dead. They are beyond being reborn into this world, and hence they become evil spirits in the other world. They live on the very border of the country of the deceased people, and walk along the water's edge together with the *kelet*. During the funeral ceremony, some such dead are overturned with the sledge and fall face downward,' said a native to Bogoras.<sup>2</sup> Directly after death the body is stripped of its apparel and laid between two leather skins in the sleeping-chamber, care, however, being taken to cover the genitals and the face. The corpse is deserted by all except for one man by day and two by night, who must watch in case the dead should come to life. This watch usually lasts only twenty-four hours, during which time ceremonies are performed by a man or woman, called a 'fortifier' (*tano mnalin*), because he is supposed to fortify the house and people against the influences of the deceased.<sup>3</sup> Some other people, called 'the followers', wash and dress the body with special ceremonials, keeping the head of the corpse turned towards the exit. The dress for the dead is also prepared with ceremonies. For three days after the death no drum is beaten, and noisy domestic work by the women, such as the scraping of pans, ceases. The body is then either burned or exposed on the ground in some lonely spot, the latter being most usual.<sup>4</sup> During these ceremonials the corpse is questioned as to its choice of manner of burial and the disposing of its goods, and the questioners pretend to obey its will. The body is usually drawn up through a hole in the roof, or in the back of the tent, and then all traces of the passage are removed to prevent the possible return of the dead. All his private property is conveyed on the same

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, J. N. P. E., 1908, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, J. N. P. E., 1907, p. 518.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 519-20.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 524.

sledge and attached to the body. On arrival at the appointed place, the sacrificial reindeer is killed and the sledge, which is usually specially made for the occasion, is broken up, and, with all other objects used in the ceremony, is formed into a pile on which the broken bones of the reindeer are placed. The followers next transform themselves into ravens or foxes, making appropriate noises, the straps which held the body to the sledge are torn in pieces, and the clothes torn off and placed beside the body, which is then covered with pieces of reindeer flesh. 'Then "the fortifier", or nearest relative of the deceased, proceeds to rip up the body. He does it with a long knife, carefully avoiding touching the body with his hands, though they are protected with mittens or with gloves of special form (that is, those with three fingers only). With two strokes of the knife which cross each other, "the fortifier" opens the breast and lays bare the internal organs. Of these the liver and the heart are also split with the knife, and "the fortifier", on inspecting them closely, will proclaim to the bystander the probable reason of the death.'<sup>1</sup> Sometimes this reason is merely the evil spells of an enemy.<sup>2</sup> Before leaving the body, which now forms part of the pile, 'the fortifier' cuts its throat. Bogoras was told that in former days the flesh of the deceased was distributed and eaten by relatives; now each relative takes a small piece of fur from the clothes of the deceased and adds it to the string of such pieces which form the ancestor charms (sympathetic magic).<sup>3, 4</sup> When the body is not exposed, but burned, the entrails are not always inspected, but the throat is always cut, and the face and genitalia are always covered. The fire is produced by a fire-drill specially prepared for the occasion, which is left on the pyre.<sup>5</sup> On the return journey the people change their order of progress and perform many protective incantations, e.g. 'the fortifier' throws behind him a few small stones which shall turn into mountains. The funeral train are received on their return by the two oldest women of the place, who meet them with charms.<sup>6</sup>

Next day the relatives perform the ceremony of 'visiting the dead' or 'fetching of iron', the latter title being due to the fact

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 528.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 517.

<sup>4</sup> It is curious to note that, on p. 518, Bogoras states that the dead body or any portion of it is especially harmful and is used in preparing dreaded spells. It appears that according to the quality of the incantation the dead body or its clothes may be either harmful or protective.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 532.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 528.

that the iron implements are brought away from the pyre and wooden ones left in their stead. If they find that the body has been disturbed by wild beasts they feel more secure. The iron objects are purified before being carried home, and the reindeer's antlers are left as a sacrifice.<sup>1</sup>

The funeral rites, like the birth rites, terminate on the fifth day; the corpse is again visited 'to see if wild beasts have at last mutilated the body';<sup>2</sup> and, on returning from this visit, the antlers ceremony is performed (even if it is out of season), and then the whole family remove their tent to another spot. 'Especially is this the case if the corpse was carried out, as sometimes happens, through the usual entrance.'<sup>3</sup> The following year the family leaves some more antlers on the pyre, or a communal sacrifice of antlers for the dead in general is performed, and in this way arise high mounds which are termed 'Antler Stores', and are associated with the family rather than the individual.<sup>4</sup> Of course, in the case of the Maritime Chukchee, we do not find so many sacrifices of reindeer and antlers, but the general forms are the same. The ceremony of the sacrifice to the dead is performed in a special place called 'Hearth Enclosure', except when the dead has perished in the sea, when it is performed in a special place on the shore. 'A man who is supposed to have perished at sea, but who in the end escapes and lands on shore, must undergo a purifying ceremony.'<sup>5</sup>

There are several places of abode for the dead, where life similar to the earthly is led by the inhabitants, who are often called either 'Upper People' or 'Lower People', that is, inhabitants of several worlds situated either above the earth or underground.<sup>6</sup> 'Children that die here are born there and vice versa.' While some of the dead are in the upper worlds, their usual abode is under the ground.<sup>7</sup> A dead person has to traverse difficult paths before reaching the other world; he has also to pass through the country of dogs, and a man who has ill-treated these animals will be severely injured by them. His dead relatives will assist him in finding the way, and he must not take with him any stolen article in case the rightful owner should

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 530-1.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 532.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 533.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 536.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>7</sup> Besides these worlds there exists one in each direction of the compass. These are receiving-places for sacrifices. There is also a separate world under the water. (Op. cit., p. 331.)

meet him. In the other world the sacrificed animals form large herds belonging to the dead.<sup>1, 2</sup>

'The Aurora Borealis is chiefly the place of abode for those who die a sudden or violent death. The whitish spots are the people who died from contagious diseases; the red spots are those stabbed with a knife; the dark spots are those strangled by the "spirits" of nervous diseases; the changeable rays are deceased people running about and playing ball with a walrus-head, which is alive.'<sup>3</sup>

Deceased women who had no husbands go to a world of their own situated in the lower portion of the sky. 'They live there catching reindeer with nooses and nets.'<sup>4</sup>

## V. THE KORYAK.

Among the Koryak a person is declared dead when breathing ceases. This is considered to signify that the chief soul (*uyicit*), being attacked by the *kalan*, deserts the body, although death can also be sent as a punishment from the Supreme Beings.<sup>5</sup> There is, however, another soul called 'breath' (*wuyivi*), and still another called 'shadow' (*wuyil-wuyil*).<sup>6</sup> When the Koryak says that the *kala* eats the soul, he understands that the spirit eats the human flesh, being particularly fond of human liver, although the body really remains untouched until it is burned. The soul does not immediately quit the earth, but wanders about for some time, and it is possible for a very clever shaman to bring it back. Yulta, a Koryak from Kamenskoye, told Jochelson that his father after one death had been brought back to life by a shaman and lived for some years before his second death.<sup>7</sup>

According to Jochelson, among the Koryak there exist two conceptions of the abode of the departed. One soul of the deceased may rise to the Supreme Being, this idea being very indefinite, but another one goes to the underground world, that of 'people of the ancient times', *penimelan*, and the description of the future life of the departed is based on their life in this world.

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras notes that this description does not harmonize with the assertion that people when they die are killed by the *kalei*, who also eat their souls. (Op. cit., p. 336.)

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 330-6.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Of a belief in this kind of death we have, however, no further evidence, while all funeral rites take into account death by the *kalan*.

<sup>6</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, J. N. P. E., 1905, p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., pp. 1-2.



The *peninetau* live in the underground world in similar villages and in a similar way to their manner of life on earth, and the new-comer at once finds his place among his relatives. At the entrance to this underworld are found dogs as guardians, and a person who used to beat his dog during his life on earth will be stopped by them, though, in order to propitiate the guardians, he can carry in his mittens the fins of fishes, of which they are very fond.<sup>1</sup> Communication between the underground world and the earth was formerly much easier, and on the occasion of the burning of a corpse advantage is taken of the opportunity by many people to place presents for their relatives on the same pyre. 'In olden times, children killed their aged parents. This custom, which still prevails among the Chukchee, is now completely abandoned.'<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, if the dying man is able to eat he is given the choicest morsels; if the agony lasts long he is turned on to his left side, because they think that thus he will die sooner. Immediately on the death of a person the news is spread in all directions by messengers, and all the villagers begin to make incantations to protect themselves from the evil influence of the deceased. 'One of the relatives of the deceased holds the head of the dead on his knees until all the inhabitants of the village have been informed'<sup>3</sup>; and only then is the deceased placed on his bed and his face carefully covered. In former times, the whole settlement ceased work on the occasion of a death, but this is now done only by the members of the household who are entirely occupied in their preparations for the funeral. The men prepare the pyre, the women the clothes. The funeral garment is elaborately embroidered. This has been secretly made during the man's lifetime by a woman, and it must not be shown to any one or finished before death has occurred, as such action would hasten the end.<sup>4</sup> As soon as the clothes are ready, within three days at most, the body is taken out of the house and burned; until this is done the relatives behave as if the man were alive, they are not even allowed to show sorrow. In dressing the corpse certain differences are made, such as placing the cap on the head front to back.<sup>5</sup> 'The Reindeer Koryak do not carry out their dead through the usual door, but under the edge of the tent-cover, which is lifted up.'<sup>6</sup> Some families have special places for the funeral ceremonies, and in

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 103.<sup>2</sup> Ibid.<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 104.<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 105.<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 109.<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., pp. 110-11.

certain parts, as in Kamenskoye, women do not accompany the body.<sup>1</sup> All the personal belongings of the man are placed on the pyre with the corpse, the reindeer are slaughtered and eaten by the company, and only the remains left on the pyre.<sup>2</sup> Jochelson related that at one funeral where he was present the grandfather walked round the pyre, first from right to left and then from left to right, in order to confuse his tracks so that the dead might not follow him. He then took a few steps in the direction of the house, drew a line on the ground, jumped over it and shook himself, the whole company doing likewise; this was supposed to have the effect of forming a large river between the village and the funeral pyre.<sup>3</sup> Like the Chukchee, the Reindeer Koryak, especially those of the Palpal Ridge, dissect the body of the dead in order to find out the probable cause of death. Among other Reindeer Koryak of the Taiganos Peninsula, and among the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay, the custom exists of stabbing the corpse with a knife as it lies on the pyre; this is to prevent the child who will reincarnate the soul from having the same illness as the deceased.<sup>4</sup> The sleeping-place of the dead man is destroyed, but for ten days his position is taken by one of his relatives, so that the *kala* may believe that he was not successful in obtaining the soul of the deceased; this relative is known as *inenjulan*, and if he leaves the house some one else must take his place: sometimes an effigy formed of dried grass plays the rôle of an *inenjulan*. The finale of the funeral ceremony is the beating of the drum, which takes place among the Reindeer Koryak immediately after the burning of the body, and among the Maritime Koryak at the end of ten days.<sup>5</sup> Annual sacrifices for the dead are still performed among the Koryak, and consist either in slaughtering reindeer or in placing antlers on the spot where the body was burned, though some Koryak content themselves with sending presents to their dead relatives on the occasion of another funeral. Jochelson thinks that some traditions point to another form of funeral rites according to which the body was left in the deserted house.<sup>6</sup>

## VI. THE GILYAK.

According to the Gilyak, death always results from the action of bad spirits, who usually do not continue to persecute the deceased;

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 111.<sup>2</sup> Krasheninnikoff, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 166.<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, J. N. P. E., 1907, p. 112.<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 130.<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., 130.<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 114.

but before the soul can find its resting-place (*Mly-vo*, the habitation of the dead) it requires much care and attention from its relatives on earth. The body is clothed in fine new garments, beautifully embroidered, that of a man receiving one, three, or six gowns, and that of a woman, two, four, or eight; they also prepare most elaborate weapons, and during this time the corpse is entertained in a sumptuous manner; from morning till evening many people feast in the *yarta*, giving portions of the rich food to the corpse, and laughing and shouting, because it is not well that silence should reign where the dead lie.

When everything is ready, the corpse is tied to the sledge with leather straps. The dead man's favourite dog is placed next him for a time, and will receive and keep for a few months a portion of his master's soul. During this time the dog lies in the sleeping-place and receives the best food; this ceases when the portion of the soul returns with all the other souls to its master in *Mly-vo*.<sup>1</sup> When the corpse is brought to the spot chosen for the funeral it is put on the top of a symmetrical pyre, with its face towards the west; the ceremonial fire is obtained by friction, and all the company, even small children, assist in making the fire burn more quickly. Four men, one at each corner, stand with poles stirring the fire, and many objects such as weapons, sledges, and pans, are broken up and, with the sacrificial dogs, are cast upon the pyre.<sup>2</sup> Schrenck<sup>3</sup> says that the widow sets light to the pyre, and that the skins of the sacrificed dogs are made into a coat for her. Part of the flesh of the dogs is eaten by the company, small pieces of it being scattered in all directions.<sup>4</sup> A few weeks later, near the place of the funeral, a toy house is built with a window and a door, a small figure of a man dressed in silk is placed inside, and above this a representation of the cuckoo, which in Gilyak mythology is the emblem of the goddess of love; with the doll are placed food and smoking apparatus.<sup>5</sup> Schrenck says that the small house—called *raff*—is built over the spot where the relatives have placed a vessel containing the ashes of the dead, and that a small part of the clothes, hair, and skull is kept inside it. Not every dead person has a *raff*; the corpse of a small child is not burned, but

<sup>1</sup> 'It is interesting', says Sternberg (p. 75), 'that this portion of the soul, sometimes termed "little soul", has always, for the Gilyak, the shape of a small egg.'

<sup>2</sup> Sternberg. *The Gilyak*, 1905, pp. 76-7.

<sup>3</sup> *The Natives of the Amer Country*, 1899, pp. 136-44.

<sup>4</sup> Sternberg, op. cit., p. 77. <sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 78.

buried at once, as its soul does not wander after death; again, that of a person killed by a bear is placed in a shed called *chyr-nyykh*, near the place of the accident, and food is brought thither several times.<sup>1</sup> His soul, however, goes to the forest, and becomes transformed into a bear.<sup>2</sup>

According to Sternberg, for a few months, and according to Schrenck, for a year, the relatives visit the *raff* with presents of food.

*Mly-vo* is reached by the soul passing through a hole in the earth, the exact location of which is unknown to the living. This realm is a counterpart of the physical world, and the dead live in the same way as they did on earth—fishing, hunting, marrying, and having children—except that the poor man becomes rich there and the rich man poor. They have sickness and death, after which the soul goes to the third world. Some souls are transformed into birds and gnats and finally into ashes, but some are reborn into this world. The souls of those who die a violent death do not go to *Mly-vo*, but to *Tlo*, which is in the sky.<sup>3</sup>

## VII. THE AINU.

Among the Ainu, 'when a person is about to be buried, whether man, woman, or child, the spirit is still spoken to as if it were present in the corpse, and is supposed to partake of the burial feast together with the mourners.' The possessions of the dead and his hut are burned. Batchelor<sup>4</sup> says that after death the Ainu 'look for judgement', the 'worthy' go to *Kanun-Kotan* or *Kanun-moshiri* ('the land' or 'country of gods'), and the 'wicked' to *Tei-nei-pokna-moshiri* ('the wet underground place').<sup>5</sup> But as the common word for dying is *ra-i-oman*, i. e. 'going to the lower place',<sup>6</sup> and as, during the ceremonies of sacrificing to ancestors, they pray: 'O ye ancestors now dwelling in the underworld',<sup>7</sup> it seems that the former ideas of a future life were associated rather with the underworld.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, there exists among them at present the notion of the vertical division of the universe into six worlds above and

<sup>1</sup> Schrenck, op. cit., p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Sternberg, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Batchelor, 'The Ainu,' *E. R. E.*, vol. i, p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. <sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Batchelor (p. 251) says there are other terms for death such as 'to pierce the skies', 'to sleep the other sleep', but they are not in common use.

six below the earth. Batchelor calls these six heavens and six hells.<sup>1</sup>

The future life will be very much like the present: the same work and pleasures. To prevent the spirit of the dead from coming to disturb his relatives, prayers and sacrifices are made to him. These are the most regular ceremonies in the Ainu religion; even women, who do not join in religious ceremonies as a rule, take part in the sacrifices for dead husbands and ancestors.

'The ceremony of ancestor-worship is called *shinnurappa*, i.e. "libation-dropping", and takes place outside the huts, by the east-end window and a little towards the west.' Meals and fetishes are offered and prayers are said. Batchelor quotes the following prayer: 'O ye ancestors, now dwelling in the underworld, we offer you beer and lees, receive them and rejoice. Your grandchildren have met together specially to offer these things. Rejoice! Watch over us and keep us from sickness. Give us a long life so that we may continue to offer such gifts.'

#### VIII. THE ESKIMO.

Although the Eskimo do not ethnographically belong to the group of Palaeo-Siberians, they do geographically, and for the purpose of making comparisons it will be advisable to consider their beliefs concerning death.

When the Eskimo anticipate the death of one of their fellows, they build a small snow-hut or erect a tent, according to the time of the year, and place the sick man therein. He is carried in through an entrance specially made at the back, all signs of which are afterwards removed. Food and drink are placed in the dwelling, but no one remains there to attend to him, although his relatives visit him from time to time. At the approach of death, however, they retire, carefully closing the entrance and leaving him to die alone.<sup>2</sup> The Eskimo of Greenland obtain their chief supplies of food from the sea, and they imagine that the place of the departed is below the floor of the sea, and that communication between it and the earth is by way of the caves in the rocks. It is the country where Torngarsuk and his mother live, and where it is always summer and always day. Fresh water to drink, abundance of fish, birds, seals, and herds of reindeer, which are easily caught, as well as stocks of food ready for eating kept in

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Boas, quoted by Mikhailowski, *Shamanism*, 1892, p. 17.

huge cauldrons, make life very comfortable. It is very difficult for the soul of the departed to find his way to this country. It must wander for five days on very hard rocky roads sloping downwards and often covered with blood, and in the winter the way is especially trying owing to violent storms. In some cases the soul here dies the 'second death'.<sup>1</sup> In connexion with the future life, Rink says that the Greenland Eskimo believe in two abodes of the dead, one in the sky and one below the earth; of the two, the latter is preferred, because the former is cold and deficient in food. Here the inhabitants occupy themselves by playing ball with the head of a walrus, and this game causes the Aurora Borealis.<sup>2</sup> The American Central Eskimo, on the other hand, imagine that the warm plenteous land, called Kudlivum or Adlivum, where there is no ice and snow, is in the sky, and that the cold, dark land, called Adilparmiut, is below the earth.<sup>3</sup>

#### NEO-SIBERIANS.

#### IX. THE TUNGUS.

Among the Tungus, according to Shashkoff,<sup>4</sup> the corpse is sewn up in a reindeer's skin, and hung upon a tree together with the dead man's armour and a cooking-vessel, the bottom of which is pierced. Patkanoff<sup>5</sup> also mentions the sewing of the corpse into a reindeer's skin, but states that it is then placed in a wooden coffin, together with many other things which belonged to the dead man, except his armour and a cooking-vessel, which are hung on a neighbouring tree; the coffin is then placed on high posts in the forest. During the funeral ceremony, a reindeer and a dog are killed; the flesh of the former is eaten, and its bones, together with the dog, are tied to a post or a tree near by. The widow preserves silence during the ceremony, but at the conclusion she throws her arms round the tree and weeps. These ancient funeral ceremonies are celebrated for people who die in the *tayga*, and, indeed, most deaths occur there. The pastoral people of the Baikal province bury their dead in the ground.<sup>6</sup> Mordvinoff states that, as they return from the funeral ceremony, the relatives

<sup>1</sup> Cranz, vol. i, p. 258, quoted by Mikhailowski, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Boas, p. 113. <sup>3</sup> Boas, pp. 588-90.

<sup>4</sup> Shashkoff, *Shamanism in Siberia*, 1864, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Patkanoff, *Essay on the Geography and Statistics of the Tungusic Tribes in Siberia*, 1906, vol. i, part ii, p. 282.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

try to obliterate the tracks they have made in the snow, or else cut down trees so that they fall across the way, in order to prevent the return of the dead.<sup>1</sup> Maak gives the following description of a Tungusic grave in the western part of the Viluy district: The corpse lay with its head towards the north-east, the coffin was made of four planks of wood and placed on two tree-trunks about eight feet high; on the right side of the corpse lay the *palma* (a long knife with a wooden handle), and a very elaborate sheath containing six arrows, on the left-hand side, a bow; beside the knees was a small wooden box containing some arrows of copper or of mammoth-bone, beside the feet there lay a copper cooking-pan with a pierced bottom in which had been placed the stomach of a reindeer filled with the flesh of that animal—the bottom must be accurately pierced, though Maak could not discover the significance of this. A few paces from this grave, stumps were fixed in the ground, and on them the skin of the sacrificed reindeer was exposed.<sup>2</sup>

The Olchi Tribe, who are akin to the Tungus, believe that all the dead, irrespective of the manner of dying, go to the country of *Bun*, which is not, like the Gilyak *Mly-vo*, situated in the centre of the earth; but its exact location Schrenck could not discover.<sup>3</sup> This future life is arranged in much the same way as the present. They have summer during our winter and vice versa: certain prominent shamans can reach this country alive. The Olchi as well as the Orochi, who are akin to them, expose their dead in a little shed somewhat larger than the Gilyak *raff*; the corpse is put in a coffin which is placed on a platform in this shed, and the face must be turned to the sea or a river. The Tungus, says Schrenck, never burn their dead.<sup>4</sup>

#### X. THE BURYAT.

Among the Buryat, the corpse of a shaman is either burned, and the remains placed in the trunk of a birch-tree called *bögi-narhan*, 'the birch of a shaman' (and any one who cuts down such a tree dies immediately), or the body is exposed on an *aranga* (platform). A grove of shaman-birches is taboo or *alkha*.<sup>5</sup> Klementz thus

<sup>1</sup> Mordvinoff, *The Natives of the Turukhansk Country*, 1860, part ii, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Maak, *The Viluy District of the Yakutsk Territory*, part iii, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Schrenck, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 131-2.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 144-5.

<sup>5</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff, *Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia*, 1883 p. 153.

describes the burial of a shaman. A dead shaman's body is kept in the *yurta* for three days, dressed in a new costume, over which his *orgoy* is put. The young people, his nine 'sons', compose and sing hymns to his memory, and fumigate his body with sacred herbs. Thereupon the body is put on the back of the horse named by the deceased, one of those present sitting with the body and supporting it on the horse's back. When the horse has been led three times round the *yurta*, the dead body is taken into a wood, to the cemetery for shamans. His relatives and clients accompany the dead man, making libations, and at a place half-way to the cemetery they set a table with eatables. On arrival at the cemetery the dead body is placed upon a felt mat, and the ninth arrow is discharged in the direction of the house, the remaining eight, with quiver and bow, having been placed with the body to enable the deceased to defend good people from evil spirits. All the other marks of the shaman's calling are either broken or burnt. A pyre is then erected, they set the body on fire, kill the horse, and return home.

On the third day they return to collect the shaman's bones, put them into a sack, and, having made a hole in a thick pine, put the sack into it, cover the hole, and plaster it over. Sometimes the shamans' bodies are not burnt, but placed upon a scaffolding erected for the purpose in a wood.<sup>1</sup> The custom of burning, now restricted to dead shamans, was formerly general. A dead man was attired in his finest raiment and given a knife, bow and arrows, and a supply of food. A fire was arranged in the form of a square, and the corpse and these objects were placed on it, the head resting on the dead man's saddle. Sometimes his horse was burned with him. After the fire was kindled the relatives returned home, and only on the third day did they go back to collect the remains, which they placed in a rough vessel made of birch bark, and then buried the whole.<sup>2, 3</sup>

At the present time the Buryat do not burn their dead, owing to the prohibition of the practice by the Russian Government. The corpse is washed, dressed in its best clothes, and provided with money, a pipe, and tobacco. Sometimes it is placed in a

<sup>1</sup> Klementz, 'The Buriats', *E. R. E.*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff, op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff say that the clay urns now found in some graves in places where the Buryat now live, belong not to them but to some other people of higher culture who inhabited the district before them, and were acquainted with the art of making pottery, which is not known to the modern Buryat. (Op. cit., p. 158.)



coffin, but often it is laid in the grave with only a saddle-cloth under the head; sometimes the cloth, saddle, and a slaughtered horse are burned near the grave. If the horse is not slaughtered, it is set free, and should it return home it is driven away, because they fear it. Such a horse is called *kholgo*.<sup>1</sup> Gmelin<sup>2</sup> says that the horse is consecrated by the shaman during its owner's life and is never ridden. A broken cart (*arbu*) belonging to the dead man is placed on the grave with other broken or burned objects, such as weapons and tools. These heaps are visible at a distance, for a Buryat cemetery is usually on the slope of a hill at the summit of which is a shaman's birch-grove. For three days after the death they do no work, and remain at home; these mourning-days are termed *khanra-boro*. During this time the soul of the deceased wanders round his former habitation. On the third day the relatives hold a feast for their friends.<sup>3</sup>

The Buryat fancy that the soul is quite a different being from the body, and that sleep and illness are periods of temporary separation of the two, and death a permanent separation. The soul is material and visible to human beings, and usually takes the form of a bee. A Buryat story relates how a man saw a bee issue from the nose of his sleeping friend, fly round and outside the *yurta*, return, and nearly drown itself in a vessel of water, but then recover and return to his friend by the same way. The latter when he awoke related a dream he had had, the details of which coincided with the movements of the bee in every way. Such stories tend to strengthen these beliefs. During an illness the soul is held captive by spirits sent by the Supreme Being, and to discover which spirits are at work, the shaman performs incantations with the scorched shoulder-bone of a sheep. While these spirits are persecuting the soul, the latter tries to escape by taking the form of different animals—thus a woman's soul frequently assumes the form of a magpie. It is especially dangerous to sneeze during sleep, for then the soul springs momentarily from the body, and the evil spirits who are on the watch seize it before it can hide.<sup>4</sup> A good shaman can, however, recover the soul of a sick person even if it has been captured by *Erlik Khan* himself.<sup>5</sup>

The future life is very similar to the present. There are

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, *Sketches of N.W. Mongolia*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Agapitoff and Khunguloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 160-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

feasting and marriage ceremonies, and people are dressed well or badly according to the condition of their burial garments.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this similarity the soul of the dead man acquires new qualities. It is visible to the living, but leaves no tracks on the ashes of the hearth and passes noiselessly over dead leaves; it can be killed, and it then takes the form of a pelvis, but it has the power to become a soul again after three days unless prevented by a slight burning of the pelvis; in some parts there is a belief that the soul disappears after its second death without leaving any trace.<sup>2</sup>

When a man dies, the souls of his dead relatives anxiously await his arrival in the other world and prepare a feast for him; he, however, finds it difficult to realize that he is dead, and only after three days (during which the other souls make him pass over the ashes on the hearth of his living friends in order to see that he leaves no tracks) is he persuaded of the fact. According to Klementz, the Buryat believe that souls of the dead which become harmful belong to different categories: as, for example, the *dakhlutz*, which may be the transformed souls of poor people and are harmful only to little children, and *mu-shu-lu* ('malicious bird'), which may be the transformed souls of girls and young women.

With regard to ancestor-worship, Klementz states that only distinguished persons are venerated after death. In former times the old people were deprived of life—'aged men and women were dressed in their very best clothes, were seated in the place of honour, in the circle of their relatives and friends, and after conversation and libations of wine, were made to swallow a long strip of fat, which naturally resulted in their death from suffocation.'<sup>3</sup> This custom was established by Esseghe Malan Tengeri, who was one of the most popular of the Western (good) Tengeris, and quite recently Klementz heard of a Buryat who drove his aged grandfather into a wood and left him to die. This explains the existence of numerous stories of parents killing their children to avoid being maltreated by them later on.

<sup>1</sup> The idea of judgement after death is absent from pure Shamanism, so that where it is found it must be considered as borrowed from Buddhism. (*Op. cit.*, p. 165.)

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Klementz, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

## XI. THE YAKUT.

'Send me some melted butter, some vodka and some meat, if you have it, for I am dying, and would once more enjoy the good things of the earth'; such was the message sent to Sieroszewski<sup>1</sup> by a poor Yakut, Tarsatyng, who lived near him. The behaviour of several people at whose death this writer was present corresponded to that implied in the above message. The only thing which a Yakut really cares for before death is to be certain that an animal will be slain directly after he dies, in order that, accompanied by this animal, his soul may make the journey to the abode of the departed. On the death of a man a bullock or a horse is killed, on the death of a woman, a cow or a calf; if the deceased was rich the animal is fat and able to be ridden, otherwise the soul must either drive it in front of him or drag it by the horns. The flesh of the dead animal is eaten by the gravediggers and all the funeral company. The custom is called *khailyga* or *khailige*. In the north, where these customs are more strictly practised, even the poorest man will kill his last cow to fulfil the conditions. When a Cossack asked some Yakut to place a monument on the grave of his brother who had died at Kenurakh Station while on a journey, they said, 'If you wish to hire us you must first slay an animal, for there was no blood shed on the grave of your brother and we fear to work there.'<sup>2</sup>

When a man dies, the body is clothed in a rich garment and placed in a corner of the dwelling, where it lies for three days; on the third day it is placed in a wooden coffin, which is drawn to the grave by a horse or bullock. No one but the gravediggers accompany it, and even they hasten to complete their work and return home; on their way back they do not stop or look behind, and when they enter the gate of the village they and the animal must pass through a fire made from the straw on which the dead man lay and the wood left from the making of the coffin. Other things which have been in contact with the dead, such as the shovel, are also broken and burnt. On the death of a child, its cradle is left on the grave and its toys hanging on the nearest tree.

Pripuzoff says that, while in former times at the burial of an important man his riding-horse with all its trappings, rich furs, and provisions for a journey, as well as a servant, were buried

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, *12 Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, 1900, p. 616.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 617.

alive with him, this is now restricted to the killing of the best horse.<sup>1</sup> The Yakut have great fear of a corpse before it is burned: it is supposed to be able to disturb the forces of nature, producing great storms, and the influence of the corpse of a shaman is even more powerful. A great wind is held to be favourable, as it will smooth out the tracks on the way to the place of the funeral, otherwise many of the living will follow the dead. Sieroszewski says that in olden times the Yakut exposed the dead on a tree or on a platform placed on two poles called *arangka*.<sup>2</sup> He saw such platforms on which skeletons still remained, but he thinks that this custom has been borrowed from the Gilyak or Yukaghir. There is, however, still another form of burial among the Yakut, which consists in leaving the dead in the house with all the utensils belonging to him.

There existed formerly the custom that an old or very weak person requested his relatives to bury him. All the villagers were invited to a three days' feast, during which the old man, attired in his finest garments, occupied the chief position. On the third day his relatives took him to the forest, where a grave had been prepared, and one of them would suddenly strike him down. With him in the grave were placed food and his weapons. Sometimes husband and wife were buried together, or a living animal was buried with the person or was tied to the nearest tree (*surge*). Sieroszewski tells how a Cossack brought an old woman from a grave in the forest who lived for some years afterwards. Until the corpse is buried the soul remains near the house and endeavours to remind the relatives of its existence. Some souls never leave the earth and are never quiet; such souls are called *yor*. The souls of those who have died young or suffered death by violence, or who were buried without ceremonies, as well as of the shamans and great people, become *yor*.<sup>3</sup>

## XII. THE ALTAIANS.

Among the Altaians the corpse is treated in different ways. It is sometimes exposed on a raised platform or buried in a mountain with the best horse of the deceased person; sometimes it is burned or exposed on a tree.<sup>4</sup> Potanin says that in former times the body

<sup>1</sup> Pripuzoff, *Materials for the Study of Shamanism among the Yakut*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Sieroszewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 616-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Wierbicki, *The Natives of the Altai*, p. 68.

was laid on the ground and covered with boughs of trees.<sup>1</sup> The corpse is elaborately dressed, a cap placed on the head, and in a pouch different kinds of food.<sup>2</sup> It receives a cup and a spoon, says Potanin, but there is no feasting after the death.<sup>3</sup> Yadrintzeff mentions that among the Altaians during the seven days following the death the relatives pray to *Tin Shaitan*. The father and mother of a dead child may not enter any one's *gurtia* till after the expiration of forty days.<sup>4</sup> Among the Uriankhai the corpse of a shaman is exposed on a raised platform and his drum and coat are hung above its head. The corpse of an ordinary person is placed in a hollow tree-trunk. Near its head is placed a pole, the top of which is carved in the form of a cup. A rich man's corpse wears a fine new coat, but a piece of an old coat is attached to the new one. A fire is made near the place, and portions of flesh, meal, and oil are burned. The relatives for the next seven days must not carry anything out of the *gurtia* either to sell or to give away, but they may dispense hospitality within; this custom is called *shirlikh*, and we find the same restriction as to carrying things out of the house during a certain period among the Mongols, who term the custom *kerektey udur sertey*, but it is not associated with burial.<sup>5,6</sup>

If the death occurred by lightning, then the Uriankhai prepare a *ser*, i. e., a raised platform, for the corpse. The flesh of an animal struck by lightning is never eaten.

### XIII. SAMOYEDIC AND FINNIC TRIBES.

Among the Samoyed, according to Castren, there is no belief in a future life for the ordinary man. The dead, with whom many of his belongings are buried, is supposed to exist still for a short while, and during that time food is brought to the grave and the

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, op. cit., 1882, vol. ii, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Wierbicki, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Potanin, vol. iv, 1883, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Yadrintzeff, *The Siberian Aborigines*, 1891, pp. 110-20.

<sup>5</sup> Potanin, vol. iv, 1883, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Among the Buryat of Alansk this custom is observed after the sacrifice to the fire and is called *khurir* or *serotey*; among the Darkhat and the Diurbiut, during the period reserved for cattle-breeding. Among the Diurbiut this prohibition holds good on the day of death and on any day the number of which contains the number of the day of death; e. g., if the death occurs on the 3rd, the prohibition holds on the 13th, 23rd, &c.

Similar numerical arrangements in connexion with the custom of not carrying things out of the house are found to hold good on other occasions, such as sacrificing a horse to a god. (Potanin, vol. iv, ed. 1883, p. 37.)

sacrifice of the reindeer is repeated several times, but when the body has once turned to dust there is nothing beyond. Only the *tadibcy* (shaman) attains to the privilege of a future life.<sup>1</sup>

Death is usually ascribed to the power of a bad female spirit, *Namsya Barussi*, who steals the soul, but a good shaman can sometimes recover the soul and return it to its owner.<sup>2</sup> In former times the Samoyed used a special incantation to prevent the return of the dead, and when the body was taken away from the *chum* (dwelling-house) the women of the *chum* jumped over the body.<sup>3</sup>

Krohn, who is a great authority on the subject, believes that among the Finnic tribes the cult of the dead and ancestor-worship is common to them all, and is their oldest form of religion. 'Their places of sacrifice frequently stand in close proximity to their places of burial; their images are chiefly representations of the dead, their offerings are to be explained by the needs (food, clothes, &c.) of the dead; and their whole system of magic seems to aim at a union with the spirits of the dead.'<sup>4</sup>

Among the Vogul, at the moment of death the relatives place in the mouth of the dying a small stick to prevent the closing of the teeth, and immediately afterwards the head of the corpse is covered. The body is then attired in its best clothes and is laid again in the sleeping-place. All this is performed in silence. Then the women loosen their hair and begin to bewail the dead and extol his virtues, his great power as a hunter, his goodness in the family; sometimes the men assist them, but they are usually busily engaged in making the coffin and preparing the grave. The body is placed in the coffin by members of its own sex. Sometimes they draw with charcoal on the lid of the coffin the form of a bird or a fish. Then the eldest woman of the family slightly raises the coffin. If it is heavy, she promises to sacrifice to the spirits. Then each member of the family, first the women and then the men, in each case beginning with the youngest member, slightly raises the coffin. After this the coffin is carried or driven to the grave.<sup>5</sup> Usually the body is buried on the day of death, and it is carried out through a window of the house, or if it is a *chum*, through a specially-made hole. The graveyard, among

<sup>1</sup> Castren, *Reiseerinnerungen aus den Jahren 1838-77*, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Tretyakoff, *The Country of Turukhansk*, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Lepelkin, *Diary of a Journey*, part iv, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Krohn, 'Cult of the Dead,' *E. R. E.*, vol. i, p. 467.

<sup>5</sup> N. L. Gondatti, *Traces of Paganism among the Aborigines of N.W. Siberia*, 1888, p. 44.

the Vogul and their nearest neighbours, the Ostyak, is usually in a forest; the body is either carried or drawn by reindeer, which animals must later be killed on the grave in the following manner. A loop of rope is placed round the neck and the other end of it tied to a tree. The animal is then beaten with sticks, and in attempting to escape it chokes itself with the rope. Then only is a wooden spear driven into its heart; the flesh is eaten at the grave, the bones placed with the corpse, and the skin buried close at hand.<sup>1</sup> Among the Vogul and the Ostyak of the Upper Obi, the graves are no deeper than three or four feet and the sides are lined with wooden planks or branches of trees, the body is placed in the grave, either in a small boat with flattened ends and covered with branches, or, if no boat is available, in a coffin made somewhat in the form of a boat. Above the grave a small roof is erected slightly sloping, with its sides about a foot from the ground and formed of interlaced branches of the birch-tree. Three or four feet above this another similar roof is erected. The small belongings of the dead man are placed in the grave, and the larger, such as the oars and boat and skis, outside it. It is interesting to note that if a Vogul man dies away from his home while on a fishing or similar expedition, exactly the same ceremonies are performed for him in his village. After the corpse has been buried the relatives hold a feast, some of the food is placed on both sides of the grave, and then a cooking-vessel with a pierced bottom is placed inside the grave.

Among the Samoyed and the Ostyak of the Lower Obi, similar funeral ceremonies are performed, but the grave is not dug. They place the body on the ground, and cover it with the inverted skis; among the same people there exists the custom that the wife of the dead man makes a figure which represents her husband, from portions of the boat, skis, branches, &c. This figure, which is dressed and adorned like the deceased, and whose features even are sometimes made by a careful widow to resemble him, is treated as the husband for six months after the death; it is placed in the most important seat, is fed by and sleeps beside the wife. No widow is expected to marry during this period of mourning. The external signs of mourning of some of the natives of north-west Siberia consist in loosened hair among the men for five days and the women for four days, or in wearing the hair in plaits in front of

<sup>1</sup> N. L. Gondatti, *Traces of Paganism among the Aborigines of N.W. Siberia*, 1888, p. 44.

the face, the men for five months and the women for four months. The men sometimes also wear a cord round the neck with hanging ornaments.<sup>1</sup> The soul (*lili khel mkholas*) of the deceased passes into the body of a newly-born child of the same stock, or, at least, of the same clan or nation. As to the shadow (*is*), it must climb high mountains and cross streams of fire. To assist it in this, one must burn the portions of hair and nails which were cut and preserved during his lifetime, together with a few feathers of spring birds. The implements placed in the grave, and the food which is taken thither from time to time, are also destined to assist it on this terrible journey. Sometimes the shadow of the deceased takes with him the shadows of some relatives who will therefore die soon. The land of future life is situated under the ground in the Arctic Ocean beyond the mouth of the Obi, where it is ruled by the underground god Kul-Odyr. Here the shadow lives as long as the man lived on the earth, and follows similar occupations: if the man were a fisherman, his shadow is the same in the shadow-land. Towards the close of its life the shadow begins to diminish in size and becomes as small as a black-beetle (*ker-khomlakh*). According to some natives, it does become a black-beetle, and finally disappears. People who have lived evil lives have to work continually in the other land, and their work will not be successful.<sup>2</sup>

*Kul-Odyr* has to take away the shadows of people according to the command of the heavenly god Numi-Torum, and drives them with a big stick through the tundra to his land; if by mistake he takes a shadow too soon, then at Numi's request he gives it back: thus is explained a fainting fit.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 42-4.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 39-40.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 41.



## PART III. RELIGION

## CHAPTER VII

SHAMANISM<sup>1</sup>

SHAMANISM is understood by some people to be a primitive form of religion or religio-magic practised by the aborigines of northern Asia as well as by all other aborigines in other parts of the world. This opinion is held by Mikhailowski, Kharuzin, and some other Russian scientists. Others hold that Shamanism was only one form of expression of the religious cult of northern Asia, practised in order to avert the evil spirits. This opinion is found in the writings of Jochelson and Bogoras. There is still another view put forward, which it is well for us to consider. This view we find expressed very clearly in the following extract from Klementz:

'One must not lose sight of the fact that in the various beliefs of the Siberian tribes a very close connexion is noticeable, and, likewise, there can be observed an uninterrupted identity in the foundations of their mythology, and in their rites, even extending as far as the nomenclature—all of which gives one the right to suppose that these beliefs are the result of the joint work of the intellectual activity of the whole north of Asia.'<sup>2</sup>

In the writings of the Buryat scientist Banzaroff we find a very similar statement: 'The old national religion of the Mongols and the neighbouring nations is known in Europe as "Shamanism", whereas among those who are not its followers it has no special name.

'After the introduction of Buddhism among the Mongolic nations, they called their old religion "The Black Faith" (*Khara Shadjin*), in contradistinction to Buddhism, which they called "Yellow Faith" (*Shira Shudjin*). According to Father Jakiuv, the Chinese call Shamanism *Tao-Shen* (gambolling before the spirits).

<sup>1</sup> For certain suggestions as to the construction of this chapter I am indebted to my friend, Miss Byrne, of Somerville College.

<sup>2</sup> *Enc. Rel. and Eth.*, 'The Buriats,' p. 26.

These names, however, do not give any idea of the true character of Shamanism. Some are of opinion that it originated alongside with Brahminism and Buddhism, while others find in it some elements in common with the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Lao-Tze. . . . Finally some hold that Shamanism is nothing but Nature-worship, likening it to the faith of the followers of Zoroaster. Careful study of the subject shows that the Shamanistic religion . . . did not arise out of Buddhism or any other religion, but originated among the Mongolic nations, and consists not only in superstitious and shamanistic ceremonies . . ., but in a certain primitive way of observing the outer world—Nature—and the inner world—the soul.'<sup>1</sup>

Of course, Banzaroff speaks especially of the Shamanism of the Mongols. We cannot agree with him that Shamanism is limited to these people. We find it all over northern and part of central Asia.

As we see them now the Palaeo-Siberians may be considered as possessing the simplest, and the Neo-Siberians the most complex, form of Shamanism. Thus among the former we see more 'Family' than 'Professional' Shamanism; that is, the ceremonials, beliefs, and shamans are practically limited to the family. Professional Shamanism, that is, ceremonies of a communal kind performed by a specialized or professional shaman, is here only in its infancy, and, being weaker, has been more affected by Christianity.

Among the Neo-Siberians, where professional Shamanism is strongly developed (for example, the Yakut), family Shamanism has been more affected by European influences. We cannot, however, argue from this that the Palaeo-Siberian form is the more primitive. Professional Shamanism may be a development of family Shamanism, or it may be a degenerate form, where environment is such that communal life is no longer possible.

That the dissimilarity between the Shamanism of the Palaeo- and Neo-Siberians is no doubt due to the differences in the geographical conditions of northern and southern Siberia seems to be proved by the result of a careful study of certain Neo-Siberian tribes (Yakut) who migrated to the north, and of certain Palaeo-Siberians (Gilyak) who migrated to the south. The ease with which they absorbed the customs and beliefs appertaining to

<sup>1</sup> Banzaroff, *The Black Faith*, pp. 4-5.

their new surroundings shows that there was no fundamental difference between their shamanistic practices. The differences, being due to environment, disappear in migration. It cannot be said that the change is due to contact, since this, in many cases, is very slight. Indeed, Shamanism seems to be such a natural product of the Continental climate with its extremes of cold and heat, of the violent *burgas* and *burans*,<sup>1</sup> of the hunger and fear which attend the long winters, that not only the Palaeo-Siberians and the more highly cultivated Neo-Siberians, but even Europeans, have sometimes fallen under the influence of certain shamanistic superstitions. Such is the case with the Russian peasants and officials who settle in Siberia, and with the Russian Creoles.<sup>2</sup>

According to the official census, only a small part of the aborigines are 'true Shamanists', but, as a matter of fact, we see that though they are registered as Orthodox Catholics and Buddhists, they are in reality nearly all faithful to the practice of their old religion.

In psychological terminology, Shamanism consists of animistic and preanimistic conceptions; although most of the people at present engaged in research work on Siberia have been so much influenced by the Tylor theory of Animism that they misuse the word 'soul', and the phenomena that they describe as animistic are very often in a different category altogether.

The reader must decide for himself whether Shamanism appeals to him as a cult peculiar to this region, or whether it is part of a very general primitive magico-religion. It appears to the author personally to be as difficult to speak in general terms of primitive religions as it would be to speak of Christian religions. This might be the task of a separate work—to determine whether Shamanism in its conception of the deities, nature, man, and in its rites, forms a special 'sect' in the Animistic Religion.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter on Geography.      <sup>2</sup> See Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 417.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SHAMAN

As among all primitive religions, the rôle of the priest, as the repository of religious beliefs and traditions, is of the greatest importance; therefore we shall first proceed to the study of the shaman himself.

The organization of the shamanhood varies slightly in different tribes. In some cases this office is hereditary, but everywhere the supernatural gift is a necessary qualification for becoming a shaman. As we should expect from the generally higher culture of the Neo-Siberians, their shamanhood is more highly organized than that of the Palaeo-Siberians. The family shamans predominate among the Palaeo-Siberians, and the professional shamans among the Neo-Siberians, though Bogoras says: 'In modern times the importance of family shamanism is losing ground among all the tribes named, with the exception of the Chukchee, and there is a tendency to its being replaced on all occasions by individual shamanism.' These individual or professional shamans are called among the Chukchee 'those with spirit' (*enenilit*), from *enen*, 'shamanistic spirit'.<sup>1</sup>

Although hysteria (called by some writers 'Arctic hysteria') lies at the bottom of the shaman's vocation, yet at the same time the shaman differs from an ordinary patient suffering from this illness in possessing an extremely great power of mastering himself in the periods between the actual fits, which occur during the ceremonies. 'A good shaman ought to possess many unusual qualities,<sup>2</sup> but the chief is the power, acquired by tact and know-

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> In the district of Kolyma, Sieroszewski used to meet a young but very skillful shaman, who could do most of the difficult shamanist tricks: he swallowed a stick, ate red-hot coals and pieces of glass, spat coins out of his mouth, was able to be in different places at the same time—and in spite of all this he was not considered a first-class shaman; whereas an inspired old woman-shaman, who could not perform all these tricks, was held in great esteem and fame. (*Op. cit.*, p. 631.)

ledge, to influence the people round him.'<sup>1</sup> His reserved attitude has undoubtedly a great influence on the people among whom he lives. He must know how and when to have his fit of inspiration, which sometimes rises to frenzy, and also how to preserve his high 'tabooed' attitude in his daily life.<sup>2</sup>

In speaking of the shaman's vocation, we do not include the family shaman of the Koryak, Asiatic Eskimo, Chukchee, and Yukaghir, whose position and capacity are rather vague, as we see from the following description of his duties: 'Each family has one or more drums of its own, on which its members are bound to perform at specific periods: that is, to accompany the beating of the drum with the singing of various melodies. Almost always on these occasions one member at least of the family tries to communicate with "spirits" after the manner of shamans.'<sup>3</sup> Sometimes he even tries to foretell the future, but he receives no attention from his audience. This is done in the outer room and in daylight, whereas the 'shaman's', or professional shaman's, actions are performed in the inner room and at night.

'Besides this, every adult Chukchee will occasionally take his drum, especially in the winter, and beat it for a while in the warm shelter of the sleeping-room, with the light or without it, singing his melodies to the rhythm of the beats.'<sup>4</sup>

We see from the above that one member of the family has the duty of beating the drum during certain ceremonials, and amuses himself sometimes by shamanizing, just as he amuses himself by beating the drum at any time, apart from ceremonials. Of course, we cannot call this member of the family a shaman, but a master of the ceremonies, &c., who imitates the shaman; we can call shamans only those individuals having special skill and vocation, whether or not they are shamans by heredity.

However, the same Koryak, Asiatic Eskimo, Chukchee, Yukaghir, &c.—practically all the Palaeo-Siberians—possess the professional shaman, sometimes in decadence,<sup>5</sup> but still there is no

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, 12 *Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, 1902, p. 630.

<sup>2</sup> He must also have good manners, as we see from the following: 'The shaman Yetilin had an incessant nervous twitching in his face, [and] the Chukchee said laughingly, that he was probably "with an owl kele" (spirit), comparing his affliction to the jerking motion of the owl's head when it devours its prey.' (Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 428.)

<sup>3</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., p. 413.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> During the stay of Jochelson among the Koryak (1900-1) he had the opportunity of seeing only two shamans. Both were young men, and neither enjoyed special respect on the part of his relations. (Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 49.)

doubt of his existence. Krasheninnikoff,<sup>1</sup> who travelled through the land of the Kamchadal in the middle of the eighteenth century, says that 'among the Kamchadal there is only one great annual ceremony, in November, and the chief rôles at this ceremony belonged to old men'.

The same author says: 'Among the Kamchadal there are no special shamans, as among other nations, but every old woman and *koekchuch* (probably women in men's clothes) is a witch, and explains dreams.'<sup>2</sup>

From this meagre information we can scarcely decide whether among the Kamchadal of the time of Krasheninnikoff there was or not a family shaman, because as the old men played the rôle not at ceremonials in separate families, but at communal ceremonies, we must rather call them communal shamans. But there was some form of professional shamanism, though not specialized, since every old woman could shamanize. On the other hand, the following quotation shows that there were certain qualifications necessary for the shaman:

'The female sex is nicer<sup>3</sup> and probably cleverer, therefore there are more women and *koekchuch* among the shamans than there are men.'<sup>4</sup>

Thus Krasheninnikoff. Jochelson says<sup>5</sup>: 'Both Steller and Krasheninnikoff assert that the Kamchadal had no professional shamans, but that every one could exercise that art, especially women and *Koekchuch*; that there was no special shaman garb; that they used no drum, but simply pronounced incantations and practised divination (Krasheninnikoff, iii. p. 114; Steller, p. 277), which description appears more like the family shamanism of the present day. It is impossible that the Kamchadal should form an exception among the rest of the Asiatic and American tribes in having had no professional shamans.'

In support of Jochelson's opinion just quoted, it may be said that, in spite of Krasheninnikoff's statement to the contrary, professional shamanism does seem to have existed, at least in germ, among the Kamchadal, alongside of the communal shamanism

<sup>1</sup> Krasheninnikoff, *Description of the Country of Kamchatka*, ed. 1775, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> This epithet is somewhat vague, but for this I am not responsible, as the original has a similar vague expression.

<sup>4</sup> Krasheninnikoff, p. 15, quot. Trishchanski.

<sup>5</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 48.

which was in the hands of the old men. This appears clear from Krasheninnikoff's own words quoted above. That those who could shamanize most effectually were women, 'nice and clever', points to the fact that some sort of standard was already set up for those who aspired to be special practitioners of this extra-communal shamanism, and that women most nearly approached this ideal.

#### A. THE SHAMAN'S VOCATION.

Whether his calling be hereditary or not, a shaman must be a capable—nay, an inspired person. Of course, this is practically the same thing as saying that he is nervous and excitable, often to the verge of insanity. So long as he practises his vocation, however, the shaman never passes this verge. It often happens that before entering the calling persons have had serious nervous affections.<sup>1</sup> Thus a Chukchee female shaman, Telpina, according to her own statement, had been violently insane for three years, during which time her household had taken precautions that she should do no harm to the people or to herself.<sup>2</sup>

'I was told that people about to become shamans have fits of wild paroxysms alternating with a condition of complete exhaustion. They will lie motionless for two or three days without partaking of food or drink. Finally they retire to the wilderness, where they spend their time enduring hunger and cold in order to prepare themselves for their calling.'<sup>3</sup>

To be called to become a shaman is generally equivalent to being afflicted with hysteria; then the accepting of the call means recovery. 'There are cases of young persons who, having suffered for years from lingering illness (usually of a nervous character), at last feel a call to take up shamanistic practice and by this means overcome the disease.'<sup>4</sup>

To the believer the acceptance of the call means accepting several spirits, or at least one, as protectors or servants, by which means the shaman enters into communication with the whole spirit world. The shamanistic call sometimes manifests itself through some animal, plant, or other natural object, which the

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras met several shamans who were always ready to quarrel, and to use their knives on such occasions; e.g. the shaman Kelewgi wanted to kill a Cossack who refused to buy furs from him. (Bogoras, op. cit., p. 426.)

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 428.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 421.

person comes upon at the 'right time', i.e. when very young, often in the critical period between childhood and maturity (or else when a person more advanced in age is afflicted with mental or physical troubles). 'Sometimes it is an inner voice, which bids the person enter into intercourse with the "spirits". If the person is dilatory in obeying, the calling spirit soon appears in some outward visible shape, and communicates the call in a more explicit way.' Ainanwat after an illness saw several 'spirits', but did not pay much attention to them; then one 'spirit' came, whom Ainanwat liked and invited to stay. But the 'spirit' said he would stay only on the condition that Ainanwat should become a shaman. Ainanwat refused, and the 'spirit' vanished.<sup>1</sup>

Here is an account by a Yakut-Tungus shaman, Tiuspiut ('fallen-from-the-sky'), of how he became a shaman:<sup>2</sup>

'When I was twenty years old, I became very ill and began "to see with my eyes, to hear with my ears" that which others did not see or hear; nine years I struggled with myself, and I did not tell any one what was happening to me, as I was afraid that people would not believe me and would make fun of me. At last I became so seriously ill that I was on the verge of death; but when I started to shamanize I grew better; and even now when I do not shamanize for a long time I am liable to be ill.'

Sieroszewski tells us that Tiuspiut was sixty years of age; he hid his shamanistic gift nine years, and had been shamanizing thirty-one years when Sieroszewski met him. He was a man of medium size, thin, but muscular, with signs of former beauty. In spite of his age he could shamanize and dance the whole night. He was an experienced man, and travelled a great deal both in the south and in the north. During the shamanistic ceremonies his eyes had a strange expression of madness, and a pertinacious stare, which provoked to anger and excitement those on whom his look rested.

'This is the second shaman with such strange eyes whom I have met in the district of Yakut. Generally in the features of a shaman there is something peculiar which enabled me, after a short experience, to distinguish them from the other folk present.'<sup>3</sup>

A similar statement is made about the Chukchee shamans by Bogoras: 'The eyes of a shaman have a look different from that

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Sieroszewski, *12 Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



of other people, and they explain it by the assertion that the eyes of the shaman are very bright (*nikeragen*), which, by the way, gives them the ability to see "spirits" even in the dark. It is certainly a fact that the expression of a shaman is peculiar—a combination of cunning and shyness; and it is often possible to pick him out from among many others.<sup>1</sup>

'The Chukchee are well aware of the extreme nervousness of their shamans, and express it by the word *ninirkilqin*, "he is bashful". By this word they mean to convey the idea that the shaman is highly sensitive, even to the slightest change of the psychic atmosphere surrounding him during his exercises.'

'The Chukchee shaman is diffident in acting before strangers, especially shortly after his initiation. A shaman of great power will refuse to show his skill when among strangers, and will yield only after much solicitation: even then, as a rule, he will not show all of his power.'<sup>2</sup> 'Once when I induced a shaman to practise at my house his "spirits" (of a ventriloquistic kind) for a long time refused to come. When at last they did come, they were heard walking round the house outside and knocking on its walls, as if still undecided whether to enter. When they entered, they kept near to the corners, carefully avoiding too close proximity to those present.'

The shamanistic call comes sometimes to people more advanced in years:

'To people of more mature age the shamanistic call may come during some great misfortune, dangerous and protracted illness, sudden loss of family or property,' &c. 'It is generally considered that in such cases a favourable issue is possible only with the aid of the "spirits", therefore a man who has undergone some extraordinary trial in his life is considered as having within himself the possibilities of a shaman, and he often feels bound to enter into closer relations with the "spirits", lest he incur their displeasure at his negligence and lack of gratitude.'<sup>3</sup>

Katek, from the village of Unisak at Indian Point, entered into relations with the 'spirits' when he was of mature age, during a terrible adventure he had while hunting seal.

He was carried away on the piece of ice on which he was standing, and only after a long time of drifting came upon an iceberg, on to which he climbed. But before he encountered

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 421.

the iceberg, he had tried to kill himself with his belt-knife, when a large walrus-head suddenly appeared out of the water quite close to him and sang: 'O Katek, do not kill yourself! You shall again see the mountains of Unisak and the little Kuwakak, your elder son.' When Katek came back home he made a sacrifice to the walrus-head, and from that time on he was a shaman, much respected and very famous among his neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

However, very old people are not supposed to hear the shamanistic call. In a Koryak tale,<sup>2</sup> when Quikinnagu (who had already a grown-up daughter) unexpectedly makes for himself a drum out of a small louse, and becomes a shaman, his neighbours say sceptically: 'Has the old Quikinnagu really become a shaman? From his youth up he had no spirits within his call.'

But young people when they get into trouble also call for the help of 'spirits'; when the latter come to them, such youths also frequently become shamans.

'A man, Yetilin by name, who belonged by birth to an Arctic maritime village, but afterwards married into a reindeer-breeding family on the Dry Anui River, and joined its camp, told me that in his early childhood his family perished from a contagious disease (probably influenza), and he was left alone with his small sister. Then he called to the "spirits". They came and brought food and said to him: "Yetilin, take to beating the drum! We will assist you in that also."<sup>3</sup>

The Chukchee tales contain accounts of poor and despised orphans, who were protected by 'spirits', and turned into shamans.

The vocation of the shaman is attended with considerable danger: 'The slightest lack of harmony between the acts of the shamans and the mysterious call of their "spirits" brings their life to an end. This is expressed by the Chukchee, when they say that "spirits" are very bad-tempered, and punish with immediate death the slightest disobedience of the shaman, and that this is particularly so when the shaman is slow to carry out those orders which are intended to single him out from other people.'<sup>4</sup>

We have similar statements from the more advanced tribes. 'The duties undertaken by the shaman are not easy; the struggle which he has to carry on is dangerous. There exist traditions

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., p. 424.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 417.

about shamans who were carried away still living from the earth to the sky, about others killed by "spirits", or struck down at their first meeting with the powers whom they dared to call upon. The wizard who decides to carry on this struggle has not only material gain in view, but also the alleviation of the griefs of his fellow men; the wizard who has the vocation, the faith, and the conviction, who undertakes his duty with ecstasy and negligence of personal danger, inspired by the high ideal of sacrifice, such a wizard always exerts an enormous influence upon his audience. After having once or twice seen such a real shaman, I understood the distinction that the natives draw between the "Great", "Middling", and "Mocking" or deceitful shamans.<sup>1</sup> Although exposed to danger from supernatural powers, the shaman is supposed to be safer from human anger than any other person.

One Chukchee tale says: 'She [the murderer] came to her neighbour, a woman who was busy with her fireboard, trying to make a fire. She stabbed her from behind. But the girl continued to work on the fire, because she was a shaman-girl, a woman able to stab herself [in a shamanistic performance]. Therefore she could not kill her, but only severed the tendons of her arms and legs.'<sup>2</sup>

A man who can pierce himself through with a knife, so that its end shows at his back,<sup>3</sup> or cut his head off, put it on a stick, and dance round the yurt,<sup>4</sup> is surely strengthened sufficiently against an enemy's attacks. Yet the shaman, Scratching-Woman, when he refused to drink the alcohol offered to him by Bogoras, and which he had previously demanded, explained as follows: 'I will be frank with you. Drink really makes my temper too bad for anything. Usually my wife watches over me, and puts all knives out of my reach. But when we are apart, I am afraid.'<sup>5</sup>

On the whole, the shamans are very much attached to their vocation, in spite of the persecutions which they have to suffer from the Government. Tiuspiut was many times punished by the Russian officials and his shamanistic dress and drum were burned; but he returned to his duties after each of these incidents. 'We have to do it, we cannot leave off shamanizing,' he said to Sieroszewski, 'and there is no harm in our doing it.'

Another shaman, who was old and blind, affirmed that he had

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 639.    <sup>2</sup> Bogoras, *Chukchee Materials*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 598.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 428.

been a shaman some time before, but after he became convinced that it was a sin he stopped shamanizing, and 'although another very powerful shaman took from him the "sign", *āmāgyat*, still the spirits made him blind'.<sup>1</sup>

In the village Baigantai Sieroszewski met with another instance of a shaman who, however many times he vowed to abstain from shamanism, still returned to it when the occasion arose. He was a rich man, who did not care for gain, and he was so wonderful that 'his eyes used to jump out on his forehead' during shamanistic performances.

Tiuspiut was poor and pined for money, but he was proudly regardful of his reputation, and when some of his neighbours called in another shaman, one who lived farther away than Tiuspiut, he became quite offended.

Bogoras never met shamans among the Palaeo-Siberians who could be said 'to live solely on the profits of their art. It was only a source of additional income to them.'<sup>2</sup>

Among the Tungus and Yakut the shaman is recompensed only when his arts are successful; and now, since Russian money has come into use, he receives from one to twenty-five roubles for a performance, and always gets plenty to eat besides.

The shamanistic call among the Tungus of Trans-Baikalia shows itself in the following manner: A dead shaman appears in a dream and summons the dreamer to become his successor. One who is to become a shaman appears shy, distraught, and is in a highly nervous condition.<sup>3</sup>

Similar instances are to be found in the records of all Siberian tribes.

As to the shamanistic office being hereditary, this is the case wherever a descendant of a shaman shows a disposition for the calling.

Among the Ostyak, the father himself chooses his successor, not necessarily according to age, but according to capacity; and to the chosen one he gives his own knowledge. If he has no children, he may pass on the office to a friend, or to an adopted child.<sup>4</sup>

The Ostyak shaman occasionally sells his familiar spirit to another shaman. After receiving payment, he divides his hair

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 425.

<sup>3</sup> Anonymous article in *Siberian News*, 1822, pp. 39-40.

<sup>4</sup> Bielawewski, *A Journey to the Glacial Sea*, pp. 113-14.

into tresses, and fixes the time when the spirit is to pass to his new master. The spirit, having changed owners, makes his new possessor suffer; if the new shaman does not feel these effects, it is a sign that he is not becoming proficient in his office.<sup>1</sup>

Among both the Yakut and the Buryat, although the office is not necessarily hereditary, it is usually so in part; for it will generally happen that the shamanistic spirit passes from one to another of the same family.<sup>2</sup>

The Altaians believe that no one becomes a shaman of his own free will; rather it comes to him *volens volens*, like a hereditary disease. They say that sometimes when a young man feels premonitory symptoms of the call, he avoids shamans and shamanistic ceremonies, and by an effort of will occasionally cures himself. The period when the shamanistic call comes to the descendant of a shamanistic family is known as *tes bazin-yat*, 'the ancestor (spirit) leaps upon, strangles him'.<sup>3</sup>

## B. THE SHAMAN'S PREPARATORY PERIOD.

### I. Palaeo-Siberians.

*The Chukchee.* The Chukchee call the preparatory period of a shaman by a term signifying 'he gathers shamanistic power'. For the weaker shamans and for female shamans the preparatory period is less painful, and the inspiration comes mainly through dreams.

But for a strong man this stage is very painful and long; in some cases it lasts for one, two, or more years. Some young people are afraid to take a drum and call on the 'spirits', or to pick up stones or other objects which might prove to be amulets, for fear lest the 'spirit' should call them to be shamans. Some youths prefer death to obedience to the call of spirits.<sup>4</sup> Parents possessing only one child fear his entering this calling on account of the danger attached to it; but when the family is large, they like to have one of its members a shaman. During the time of preparation the shaman has to pass through both a mental and a physical training. He is, as a rule, segregated, and goes either to the forests and hills under the pretext of hunting or watching the herds, 'often without taking along any

<sup>1</sup> Tret'yakoff, *The Country of Turukhansk*, 1871, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Sieroszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 395; Potanin, *Troshehanski*.

<sup>3</sup> Wierbicki, *The Natives of the Altai*, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 450.

arms or the lasso of the herdsman'<sup>1</sup>; or else he remains in the inner room the whole time. 'The young novice, the "newly inspired" (*turanc nitvillin*), loses all interest in the ordinary affairs of life. He ceases to work, eats but little and without relishing his food, ceases to talk to people, and does not even answer their questions. The greater part of his time he spends in sleep.' This is why 'a wanderer . . . must be closely watched, otherwise he might lie down on the open tundra and sleep for three or four days, incurring the danger in winter of being buried in drifting snow. When coming to himself after such a long sleep, he imagines that he has been out for only a few hours, and generally is not conscious of having slept in the wilderness at all.'<sup>2</sup>

However exaggerated this account of a long sleep may be, we learn from Bogoras that the Chukchee, when ill, sometimes 'fall into a heavy and protracted slumber, which may last many days, with only the necessary interruptions for physical needs'.<sup>3</sup>

*The Koryak.* The mental part of the training consists in coming into contact with the right spirits, i. e. with the spirits who are to be the shaman's protectors in his shamanistic practice. 'Every [Koryak] shaman', says Jochelson, 'has his own guardian spirits, who help him in his struggle with disease—inflicting *kaluu* in his rivalry with other shamans, and also in attacks upon his enemies. The shaman spirits usually appear in the form of animals or birds. The most common guardian spirits are the wolf, the bear, the raven, the sea-gull, and the eagle.'<sup>4</sup> One of the two shamans whom Jochelson met among the Koryak related to him how the spirits of the wolf, raven, bear, sea-gull, and plover appeared to him (the shaman) in the desert—now in the form of men, now in that of animals—and commanded him to become a shaman, or to die. Thus we see that, while they are in solitude, 'the spirits appear to them in visible form, endow them with power, and instruct them.' But Bogoras describes the mental training of a new shaman differently. 'The process of gathering inspiration is so painful to young shamans, because of their mental struggle against the call, that they are sometimes said to sweat blood on the forehead and the temples. Afterwards every preparation of a shaman for a performance is considered a sort of repetition of the initiative process: hence it is said that the Chukchee shamans during that time are easily susceptible to haemorrhage, and even to bloody sweat.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

Bogoras himself saw two cases of nose-bleeding and one of bloody sweat among the shamans; but in the last instance he suspected the shaman of smearing his temples with the blood from his nose.<sup>1</sup>

As to the physical training of a novice, he must learn singing, dancing, various tricks, including ventriloquism, and how to beat the drum.

'The beating of the drum, notwithstanding its seeming simplicity, requires some skill, and the novice must spend considerable time before he can acquire the desired degree of perfection. This has reference especially to the performer's power of endurance. The same may be said of the singing. The manifestations continue for several weeks, during which time the shaman exercises the most violent activity with scarcely a pause. After the performance he must not show any signs of fatigue, because he is supposed to be sustained by the "spirits", and, moreover, the greater part of the exercise is asserted to be the work of the spirits themselves, either after entering the shaman's body or while outside his body. The amount of endurance required for all this, and the ability to pass quickly from the highest excitement to a state of normal quietude, can, of course, be acquired only by long practice. Indeed, all the shamans I conversed with said that they had to spend a year, or even two years, before sufficient strength of hand and freedom of voice were given to them by the spirits. Some asserted that, during all this preparatory time, they kept closely to the inner room, taking up the drum several times a day, and beating it as long as their strength would allow.'<sup>2</sup>

Of course a certain diet must be adhered to during the time of the training and before each individual ceremonial.

Have the novices any teachers? One would suppose that they must have, if only to learn the difficult magical tricks, but it is hard to get any detailed information on this point, because the natives ascribe all the cleverness of the shaman to the 'spirits'.

'There are many liars in our calling', the shaman Scratching-Woman said to Bogoras.<sup>3</sup> 'One will lift up the skins of the sleeping-room with his right toe and then assure you that it was done by "spirits"; another will talk into the bosom of his shirt or through his sleeve, making the voice issue from a quite unusual place.' Of course he himself was ready to swear that he never did such tricks.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 424.

<sup>3</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 426.

Sometimes the old men teach the young shamans. 'The man who gives a part of his power to another man loses correspondingly, and can hardly recover the loss afterwards. To transfer his power, the older shaman must blow on the eyes or into the mouth of the recipient, or he may stab himself with a knife, with the blade of which, still reeking with his "source of life" (*telkeyun*), he will immediately pierce the body of the recipient.'

Bogoras did not hear of any transferring of shamanistic power while he was among the Chukchee. He found it, however, among Eskimo women, who were taught by their husbands, and whose children were taught by their parents. In one family on St. Lawrence Island the shamanistic power has been retained through a succession of generations, evidently having been transferred from father to son.<sup>1</sup>

*The Gilyak.* Sternberg<sup>2</sup> says that although shamans do not play so important a rôle among the Gilyak as among some neighbouring tribes, still their power among this folk is almost unlimited. Sternberg was told by a Gilyak shaman that before he had entered on his vocation he had been very ill for two months, during which time he was unconscious, lying quite motionless. Sometimes, he said, he almost regained consciousness, but sank again into a swoon before recovering his senses. 'I should have died', he explained, 'if I had not become a shaman.' During these months of trial he became 'as dry', he said, 'as a dry stick.' In the night he heard himself singing shaman's songs. Once there appeared to him a bird-spirit, and, standing at some distance from it, a man, who spoke to him in these words: 'Make yourself a drum and all that pertains to a shaman. Beat the drum and sing songs. If you are an ordinary man, nothing will come of it; but if you are to be a shaman, you will be no ordinary one.' When he came to himself he found that he was being held by head and feet close to the fire by his friends, who told him that they had thought him already dead, carried off by the evil spirits (*kekhn*). Forthwith he demanded a drum, and began to beat it and sing. He felt half dead, half intoxicated. Then for the first time he saw his spirit-protectors, *kekhn* and *kenchkh*. The former told him, 'If you see any one ill, cure him. Do not trust *kenchkh*. He has a man's face, but his body is a bird's. Trust us only.'

Sternberg himself was once witness of a first manifestation of shamanistic power.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Sternberg, *The Gilyak*, p. 72.



Koinit was a little guest of Sternberg's, a boy of twelve. In spite of his youth he had two souls, being the son of a great shaman, Chamkh, who had as many as four souls (one from the mountains, another from the sea, a third from the sky, and a fourth from the underworld). Once on being suddenly awakened from sleep, Koinit began to throw himself about, and to shout aloud in different pitches or intonations of the voice, as shamans are accustomed to do. When this was over, the boy's face looked worn and tired, like that of an old man. He said afterwards that, during the sleep which had preceded his outbreak, two *kekhs* had appeared to him. He knew them for his father's *kekhs*; and they said to him: 'We used to play with your father—let us play with you also.'<sup>1</sup>

## II. Neo-Siberians.

Passing from the Palaeo- to the Neo-Siberians, we notice that the shaman's protectors among the latter are highly developed beings.

Three kinds of 'spirits' are associated with a Yakut shaman, namely, *ämägyat*, *yekyua*, and *kaliany* (Sieroszewski). *Ämägyat* is the indispensable attribute of every shaman.

But *ämägyat* is also the name of the iron breast-circle, the sign of the shaman's dignity.

Even the weakest shamans possess *ämägyat*<sup>2</sup> and *yekyua*—the latter is 'sent from above, animal picture, bewitching spirit, devilish devourer' (*Yekyua oïun abassyuah, simah abassyuah, üssüt-tan ongorudh*).

The *yekyua* is carefully hidden from the people. 'My *yekyua* will not be found by any one; it lies hidden far away, there, in the rocky mountains of Edjigan.'<sup>3</sup>

Once a year, when the snow melts and the earth is black, the *yekyua* arise from their hiding-places and begin to wander. They hold orgies of fights and noises, and the shamans with whom they are associated feel very ill. Especially harmful are the *yekyua* of female shamans.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 73-4.

<sup>2</sup> Sieroszewski, in speaking about the division of the shamans into three kinds, says that the last or third kind are not real shamans, as they have not *ämägyat*, but are sorcerers and other people in some way peculiar (12 *Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, p. 628).

<sup>3</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 626.

The weakest and most cowardly are the *yekyua* of dogs; the most powerful are those of enormous bulls, stallions, elks, and black bears. 'Those shamans who have as their animal incarnation a wolf, bear, or dog, are the most unfortunate; these animals are insatiable; they are never satisfied, however much the shaman may provide for them.' The dog especially gives no peace to his two-footed fellow; he 'gnaws with his teeth the shaman's heart, tears into pieces his body'.<sup>1</sup> Then the shaman feels sick and suffers pain. The crow is also a bad *yekyua*; the eagle and hairy bull are called 'devilish fighters and warriors' (*abassy keiktah*). This title is the most flattering one for a shaman.<sup>2</sup> When a new shaman appears, the other shamans recognize him at once by the presence of a new *yekyua*, whom they have not seen before. Only wizards can see *yekyua*; to ordinary people they are invisible.

Troshchanski<sup>3</sup> says of the *yekyua*: 'Among the protectors of the shaman, the most important rôle is played by the *yekyua* (literally, "mother-animal"). It is said that the shamans incarnate their *kut*<sup>4</sup> in certain animals, e.g. in stallions, wolves, dogs, and that these animals are thus the *yekyua* of shamans.

'If one of these animals kills another of its species, then the corresponding shaman will die.' Troshchanski thinks that the shaman incarnates his *kut* only during the time that he is actually shamanizing.

Whereas this 'black' animal-protector seems to be of a totemic and personal nature, to a certain extent 'of one blood and flesh' with his protégé, on the other hand *ämägyat* strikes us as being a more impersonal power.

Sieroszewski<sup>5</sup> explains that it is in most cases 'the spirit of a deceased shaman', or, in some rare cases, one of the secondary heavenly beings. But it seems that the term 'spirit' is used here quite vaguely; e.g., we read further on: 'The human body cannot contain the power of great gods, and so the spirit-protector remains always near the beloved man (outside of him) and willingly comes at his call; in difficult moments it helps him, defends him, and gives him advice.'<sup>6</sup> 'The shaman sees and hears only through his *ämägyat*', says the shaman Tiuspiut.

*Ämägyat* comes to a shaman through an accident, or as a

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Troshchanski, *The Evolution of the Black Faith*, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> The part of the soul which, according to the Yakut, is common to animals and men.

<sup>5</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 626.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

heavenly destiny. 'When I was travelling in the north,' says Tiuspiut, 'I came upon a heap of wood (*saiba*) in the mountains, and as I just wanted to cook some dinner, I set this on fire. Now under this heap was buried a well-known Tungus shaman (Tiuspiut was a Yakut), and so his *ämägyat* leapt into me.'<sup>1</sup> If the great shamans at death take their *ämägyat* to heaven, they are transformed into heavenly beings; but if the *ämägyat* is not removed to heaven, then it will appear on the earth sooner or later.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the two so-called spirits mentioned above, there comes to the Yakut shaman, during shamanistic performances, still another kind of spirit, a rather mischievous one, which forces the shaman to talk and to imitate various, often indecent, gestures. These spirits are called *kuliany*, and their representatives may be a Russian devil, a devil's daughter with a devilish groom, who, being blind, is in the habit of groping about in the dark, &c.

Thus Sieroszewski, on the mental training of the novice. Further light is thrown on the question by Troshchanski.<sup>3</sup> Following out his main idea of treating black and white shamans separately, he says: 'Not every one can become a shaman, either white or black; only a person whose *sür* has obtained a suitable education.

'The *sür* of a white shaman is educated under the care of one of the *ay*, and the *sür* of a black shaman studies with an *abassy*. How the *sür* of a white shaman is educated among the Yakut is not known to us. The *sür* of a black shaman lives with his tutor on the ninth floor (underground—in their ideal division of the universe). If the *sür* is educated on the ninth floor, then a most powerful shaman will arise from it; if on the eighth floor, then the shaman will be of medium power; if on the third floor, then the shaman will be only a sorcerer.'

The education consists in the *sür*'s learning 'the habits, character, and behaviour of *abassylar* and shamans.'

As to the education of a shaman himself, and his initiation, the Yakut shaman is taught by an older shaman, who consecrates him by 'placing on him the *ämägyat*.'<sup>4</sup> This sign is taken away by the shaman from a person who does not wish to be a shaman any longer. There is in the Yakut language a word *usu*, which

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 627.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Troshchanski, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Troshchanski, op. cit., p. 147.

means to teach the art of shamanizing and to consecrate a shaman.

Pripuzoff<sup>1</sup> describes the consecration of a shaman among the Yakut as follows: 'The old shaman leads his pupil up a high mountain or into a clearing in the forest. Here he dresses him in a shaman's garment, gives him a rattle, and places on one side of him nine chaste youths, and on the other nine chaste maidens. Then the shaman puts on his own garment, and directs the youth to repeat after him certain words.' He demands of the novice that he shall give up all that is most dear to him in the world, and consecrate his life to the service of the spirits who shall come at his call. He tells his pupil where certain 'black' spirits dwell, what diseases they cause, and how they may be propitiated. Finally the young shaman must kill a sacrificial animal, and sprinkle himself with its blood. The flesh is eaten by those who have been present at the ceremony.

A child chosen to be a shaman is recognized among the Buryat by the following signs<sup>2</sup>: 'He is often absorbed in meditation, likes to be alone, has mysterious dreams, and sometimes has fits during which he is unconscious.' According to the Buryat beliefs, the soul of a child is then in process of being trained, among the 'West Tengeris' if he is to be a 'white' shaman, among the 'East Tengeris' if he is to become a 'black' one. Living in the dwelling of the gods, his soul, under the tutelage of deceased shamans, learns the various secrets of the shaman's vocation; the soul must remember the names of the gods, the places where they live, the means by which they may be propitiated, and the names of the spirits which are subordinate to the high gods. After a period of trial the soul of the child returns to the body, which for a time resumes its normal life. But on his reaching adolescence, peculiar symptoms show themselves in the person who has undergone these experiences. He becomes moody, is easily excited into a state of ecstasy, leads an irregular life, wandering from *ulus* to *ulus* to watch the shamanistic ceremonies. He gives himself up with great earnestness to exercises in the shamanistic arts, for which purpose he segregates himself, going to some high mountain or into the forest, where, before a great fire, he calls on the spirits,

<sup>1</sup> Pripuzoff, *Materials for the Study of Shamanism among the Yakut*, pp. 64-5.

<sup>2</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff, *Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia*, pp. 42-53.

and afterwards falls into a swoon. In the meanwhile, to prevent him from doing himself an injury, his friends keep watch over him unobtrusively.

While the novice is preparing himself for his new life, his relations call in a good shaman, who makes a sacrifice to propitiate the spirits and induce them to help the young shaman-to-be. If the future shaman belongs to a poor family, the whole community helps to procure the sacrificial animals and other things which are indispensable for the ceremonies.

The preparatory period lasts for several years, its length depending largely on the capacity of the young man. He cannot, however, become a shaman until he reaches the age of twenty. Finally he undergoes a purification ceremony. One such ceremony does not confer all the rights and powers of a shaman; there are, in fact, nine. But very few shamans go through all these purifications; most only undergo two or three; some, none at all, for they dread the responsibilities which devolve upon consecrated shamans. To a fully consecrated shaman the gods are very severe, and punish his faults or mistakes with death.

The first consecration ceremony is preceded by a purification of water. For this an experienced old shaman, called the 'father-shaman', is chosen, together with nine young men to be his assistants. These are spoken of as his 'sons'. The water for the ablution must be drawn from a spring—sometimes from three springs. They go in the morning of the day of consecration to fetch the water, taking with them *tarasun*<sup>1</sup>, with which they make a libation to the master- and mistress-spirits of the spring. As they return, they pluck up from the earth birch-seedlings, of which they make a broom, and take it to the house of the novice. Next the water is heated over a fire, and into it are thrown certain herbs and pieces of bark. Then from the ears of a he-goat prepared beforehand they cut pieces of hair, and some shavings from its horns and hoofs, and throw these also into the pot. The he-goat is then killed in such a manner that its blood drips into the pot. Then only is the water ready for the consecration ceremony. The flesh of the goat is given to the women present, who cook and eat it.

Now the father-shaman foretells the future from a sheep's shoulder-blade. He summons the shamanist ancestors of the

<sup>1</sup> A native Buryat drink, composed of milk and wine, called also 'wine of milk'.

novice, and offers libations of wine and *tarasun*. Then he dips the birch-broom into the water and beats the candidate on the naked back, as do also the nine 'sons' of the 'father-shaman', saying at the same time: 'When thou art called to a poor man, ask little in return for your trouble, and take what is given. Take care of the poor always, help them, and pray to the gods to defend them against the power of evil spirits. If thou art called by a rich man, go to him riding on a bullock, and do not ask much for your trouble. If thou art called at the same time by a poor and by a rich man, go first to the poor.' The candidate repeats these precepts after the shaman, and promises to observe them.

Then follows a libation of *tarasun* to the guardian spirits; this closes the ceremony.

The purification of a shaman by water is performed at least once a year, but sometimes once a month, at the new moon; or else at any other time when he considers himself to have been defiled, e. g. by touching some unclean object. If the defilement is especially gross, then purification is performed with blood. The shaman also purifies himself after a death has occurred in the *ulus*.<sup>1</sup>

This ceremony is followed after some time by the first consecration, called *khereg-khulkhe*, the expenses of which are shared by the community. Again a 'father-shaman' and nine 'sons' are chosen, and they, accompanied by the novice, ride on horseback from *gurma* to *yurta*, collecting offerings. Before each *yurta* they stop and announce their coming with a shout. They are hospitably entertained, and offerings of different kinds—votive handkerchiefs, which are tied to a birch staff carried by the novice, and sometimes money—are brought to them. They buy wooden cups, little bells tied to horse-staves, wine, &c. The day before the ceremony a certain number of stout birches are cut from the groves by the 'sons' under the direction of the 'father-shaman'; from the straightest of these they make horse-staves. The grove from which these are taken is one in which the dead of the *ulus* are buried, and for the propitiation of the spirits there they make offerings of mutton and *tarasun*. At the same time they prepare the shaman's accessories, and meanwhile other shamans of similar standing with the 'father-shaman' summon the spirits.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

In the morning of the day of the consecration the birch-trees cut the day before are planted. The stoutest birch, which has its roots still attached to it, they plant in the south-west corner of the *yurta*, where the ground is left bare for the fire; the top of the tree projects through the smoke-hole above. This birch represents symbolically the porter-god who allows the shaman ingress into heaven. It points the way by which the shaman can reach the sky, and remains permanently in the *yurta* as a sign that the dwelling is that of a shaman. The other birches are planted in front of the *yurta* in the place where sacrifices are usually offered, in the following order, from west to east:

(i) A birch under which, on a carpet of felt, is placed some *tarasun*. To the branches of this ribbons of black and yellow are tied if the shaman is to be 'black', of white and blue if he is to be a 'white' shaman, and of all four colours if he is to serve both kinds of spirits.

(ii) A birch to which are tied a big bell and the sacrificial horse.

(iii) A fairly stout birch which the novice has to climb.—These three trees are planted with their roots, and are called *serge* (posts).

(iv) Nine saplings, in groups of three, the saplings in each group being bound together with a rope made of white horsehair. To these are tied ribbons of different colours in the following order—white, blue, red, yellow, and so on again. On the saplings are hung skins of animals.

(v) Nine posts to which sacrificial animals are tied.

(vi) Some stout birches to which the bones of the sacrificial animals are tied after being bound up in straw. These birches form a row.

From the principal birch in the *yurta* to all those which stand outside are led two ribbons, red and blue. This is a symbolical representation of the path of the shaman to the spirit-world. To the north of the row of birches are placed nine pots for cooking the sacrificial meat.

When everything is ready, the novice and the others who take part in the ceremony don their ceremonial dress. Then the shaman's accessories are blessed, after which the horse-staves are said to turn into real horses. All the morning the assembled shamans have been summoning the spirits and sprinkling *tarasun*. The 'father-shaman' now calls upon the guardian gods, and the novice repeats after him the words of his invocation. The candi-

date climbs the birch inside the *yurta*, gets on to the roof, and from there summons the spirits in a loud voice. When the moment comes for leaving the *yurta*, four shamans take hold of a certain felt carpet, each by a corner.<sup>1</sup> Just outside the entrance to the *yurta* a fire is made, and various herbs are thrown into it: everybody and everything which passes over the fire is purified by it.

The people leave the *yurta* in the following order: first the 'father-shaman', then the candidate, then the nine 'sons', and finally the relatives and guests.

The ceremony ends with feasts and sacrifices.<sup>2</sup>

Among the *Samoyed* and *Ostyak* of the Turukhan country the future shaman spends his youth in exercises which stimulate his nerves and excite his imagination.<sup>3</sup> At the consecration of a novice, according to Tretyakoff,<sup>4</sup> he must stand with his face towards the west, while the officiating shaman asks the Dark Spirit to help the candidate and to give him a spirit to serve him. At the end of the ceremony the shaman sings a hymn in praise of the Dark Spirit, and the novice repeats it after him. The beginner is tested by the spirits, who require of him certain sacrifices, as of his wife or son, and he has to promise them various other sacrifices.

Both *Castren*<sup>5</sup> and *Islavin*<sup>6</sup> speak of the special training of the novice by an old shaman. One of the *Samoyed* shamans told *Castren* of how he was entrusted to the care of an old shaman for training, when he was fifteen, as he (the candidate) came of an

<sup>1</sup> According to Potanin, the felt carpet alluded to by Agapitoff and Khangaloff provides the means of performing what is considered the most essential part of the ceremony. The novice is carried on it, by the four shamans mentioned, out of the *yurta* to the row of nine birches. Of the moment of his elevation on the carpet, they say *bo begde*, 'the shaman ascends'. On reaching the birches, the shaman must leap from the carpet on to one of them, which he climbs. From the top of this birch he must jump to that of the one next to it, and so on to the end of the row, whence he must return in the same manner to his starting-point, and is then again placed on the carpet. After this ceremony the new shaman begins to shamanize, to foretell the future, and to heal the sick—but all this without the use of the drum. This accessory he is not permitted to acquire until after the third year from his consecration. (Potanin, *Sketches of North-Western Mongolia*, vol. iv, pp. 58-9.) According to Agapitoff and Khangaloff (op. cit., p. 141), the custom thus described by Potanin is peculiar to the Buryat of Balagansk.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Biczayewski, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Tretyakoff, *The Country of Turukhansk*, pp. 210-12.

<sup>5</sup> Castren, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> Islavin, *The Samoyed, their Home and Social Life*, p. 109.



old shamanist family. The means of education was as follows: Two *tadibey* (shamans) blindfolded him with a handkerchief, and then beat him, one on the back of the head and the other on the shoulders, till his eyes were dazzled as with too much light, and he saw demons dancing on his arms and feet. It must be remembered, of course, that he had been taught beforehand about the Samoyed world of spirits.<sup>1</sup> In former times Lapland was a school of shamanism, and all neighbouring tribes sent youths thither to be trained as shamans.<sup>2</sup> At present only among Russian Lapps are *noyda* (shamans) to be found, and they are but degenerate copies of their predecessors.

<sup>1</sup> Castren, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Schefferus, *Laponia*, p. 120. N. Kharuzin, *The Noyda among the Ancient and the Modern Lapps*.

## CHAPTER IX

### TYPES OF SHAMANS

#### Palaeo-Siberians

In this chapter, which deals with the different types of shamans, the duties of a shaman will be enumerated. In nearly all the more advanced tribes we shall see that certain shamans specialize in one sort of duty or another, while among the more primitive peoples each performs many different kinds of duties—a state of things made possible by the less complex nature of those duties. The high conception of a shaman's duties among certain tribes may be seen from Banzaroff's ideal picture of a Buryat shaman. He is (a) priest, (b) medicine-man, and (c) prophet.

(a) 'As a priest, he knows the will of the gods, and so declares to man what sacrifices and ceremonies shall be held; he is an expert in ceremonials and prayers. Besides the communal ceremonies at which he officiates, he conducts also various private ceremonials.'<sup>1</sup>

(b) As medicine-man, the shaman performs certain ceremonies to expel the evil spirit from the patient.

(c) As a prophet, he foretells the future either by means of the shoulder-blade of a sheep or by the flight of arrows.

This ideal type of shaman was probably rare even in Banzaroff's time, for he himself says that the shaman was not present at all communal sacrifices.<sup>2</sup> It is the same with some family sacrifices: the *ongons* are fed by the master of the house; and certain other sacrifices, as, for instance, those offered at child-birth, are made without the assistance of the shaman.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that a communal or family ceremony is sometimes presided over by the head of the commune or family, or that a private individual occasionally performs divination, does not alter the fact that the original type of Buryat shaman had the performance of all these rites in his hands.<sup>4</sup> They had among the

<sup>1</sup> Banzaroff, *Black Faith*, 1893, pp. 107-15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Klementz, *E. R. F.*, 'The Buriats', p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Mongols in the time of Djingis Khan, when the shamans were at the height of their power.<sup>1</sup> We cannot therefore agree with Mr. Mikhailowski, who says, 'Of all the actions of the shaman, the most characteristic of his calling is what is known as *kamlanie*,' i. e. invocations of spirits.<sup>2</sup> Although it may be that in the decadence of his office a shaman is sometimes nowadays no more than a medicine-man, even now in certain places shamans are present, not only at communal, but also at family rites, and even when not so present we find in the rites traces of their original participation.

*The Koryak.* Among the Koryak, as among the Palaeo-Siberians and most Neo-Siberian tribes, we may distinguish<sup>3</sup> (1) family shamans, and (2) professional shamans.

Family shamanism is connected with the domestic hearth, whose welfare is under its care. The family shaman has charge of the celebration of family festivals, rites, and sacrificial ceremonies, and also of the use of the family charms and amulets, and of their incantations.

Professional shamans are those who are not definitely attached to a certain group of people. The more powerful they are, the wider is the circle in which they can practise their art.

'There is no doubt that professional shamanism has developed from the ceremonials of family shamanism', says Jochelson.<sup>4</sup> It seems, however, necessary to add another category of (3) communal shamans, forming a transitional class between family and professional shamans. These shamans have to deal with a group of families taking part in important ceremonials. The admission of this third category must not be taken to mean that we agree unconditionally with the idea that the professional shaman is a development from the family, or the communal, shaman, though many practices, and the opinions of such serious investigators as Jochelson and Bogoras, lend some weight to this notion.

It was among the Koryak that professional shamans were first affected by Christianity.

*The Chukchee.*—Among the Chukchee, the above division into family and professional shamans needs to be supplemented, since we find<sup>5</sup> that there exist three categories of professional shamans:

<sup>1</sup> Mikhailowski, *Shamanism*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 430-1.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

(A) Ecstatic shamans, (B) Shaman-prophets, (C) Incantation shamans.

Of course, the duties of the shamans of all these categories merge into each other; still, a certain specialization is to be observed.

A. The ecstatic shaman communicates with 'spirits' and is called *kalatkourgin*.

'This includes all kinds of intercourse with "spirits" which become apparent to the listeners; that is, the voices of "spirits" talking through the medium of the shaman, ventriloquistic performances, and other tricks—generally speaking, the whole spectacular part of shamanism, which forms the main content of the shamanistic *séances*.' As observed above, 'all this is often considered merely as a kind of jugglery. For performances of this sort, young people are said to be better adapted than older ones. With increasing years some of the shamans discontinue most of these tricks.'<sup>1</sup>

B. The shaman-prophet, i. e. one who is 'looking into', *helol-tirgin*.

'This branch of Chukchee shamanism is held in the highest veneration, because the shaman possessing it has the faculty of seeing the danger lying in wait for the people, or the good in store for them, and accordingly he is able to advise them how to avoid the first and to secure the second. Most of the instructions given are of a ritualistic kind, and refer to certain details of such and such a ceremonial, which must be arranged after a certain manner in order to secure the desired result.'<sup>2</sup>

There are shamans who, though they have *kilet* at their disposal, cannot give any advice; while others, on the other hand, cannot communicate with 'spirits', but 'give magical advice as a kind of internal subjective inspiration, after self-communion for a few moments. These, notwithstanding the simplicity of their proceedings, usually enjoy the highest consideration of their neighbours.'<sup>3</sup>

For instance, the shaman Galmuurgin was said by the Chukchee to be '(with) only his (own) body' (*em-wikilin*), because no other beings helped him with their inspiration.

'When giving a *séance*, he began by beating a drum and singing, but in a few minutes he would leave off the exercise,

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 431.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

and drawing a few long, almost hysterical breaths, would immediately proceed to foretell the future. He talked to many people present, one by one. When he was through with one case, he would stop for a while, as if recollecting himself, and then, after several deep-drawn sighs, would pass on to the next applicant.<sup>1</sup>

C. Incantation shamans (*ewganva-tirgin*, 'producing of incantations'), who carry on the more complicated practices of shamanism.

Incantations, together with spells, form the greater part of Chukchee magic. The incantations may be of a benevolent or malevolent character. Hence there are two types of shamans in this class:

1. 'Well-minded' (*ten-cimmlin*), who ply their art in order to help sufferers.

2. 'Mischievous' (*kurg-enenilit*, or *kunich-enenilit*, literally 'mocking shamans'), who are bent on doing harm to people.

Good shamans have a red shamanistic coat and had shamans a black one. The same colours are used by the Yukaghir shamans.

The majority of shamans, however, combine in themselves the gifts of all these categories and in the name of 'spirits' perform various tricks, foretell the future, and pronounce incantations.

#### The Neo-Siberians.

The Yakut. Troshchanski<sup>2</sup> suggests that the division of shamans into black and white is the most essential division among all Siberian tribes, though many travellers speak of shamans in a general way as if there were only one kind. It would seem, however, that Troshchanski overlooks the distinction between the religious conceptions of the Palaeo-Siberians and those of the Neo-Siberians. They live under different environmental conditions; and, besides, the Neo-Siberians have undoubtedly been to some extent influenced by contact with the higher Asiatic religions.

It is among the Neo-Siberians that magico-religious dualism appears more distinctly. Again, within the class of Neo-Siberians themselves differences are found. Among the Yakut<sup>3</sup> the black shamans predominate, the white hardly existing; while among

the Votyak the white are almost the only shamans now to be found, as the cult of the bright god has almost entirely displaced that of the black.

The Yakut white shamans are called *aiy-öuna*. They take part in the spring festivals, marriage ceremonies, fertilization rites, and the curing of diseases, in cases where *kut* has not yet been taken away from the patient.<sup>1</sup>

We read in a certain tale that at one wedding there were present nine *aiy-öuna* (white men-shamans) and eight *aiy-udagana* (white women-shamans).<sup>2</sup> White shamans also ask, in cases of the sterility of women, the *maghan sylgylakh* to descend to earth and make the woman fertile. At the autumn fishing, in former times, they lighted torches made of wood cut from a tree struck by lightning, purged the waters of all uncleanness, and asked the *ichchi* (spirit-owner) of the lake for a benefit. This, he considers, was certainly done by white shamans, if only for the reason that the ceremony was held in the daytime.<sup>3</sup> But, on page 105 of the same work, Troshchanski writes: 'Only the spring festivals were called *aiy-ysyakh*; the autumn festivals were known as *abassy-ysyakh*.' Hence the ceremony of fertilization of the lake must have been performed by black shamans, *abassy-öuna*, in spite of the fact that this ceremony was held in the daytime.

As to the characters of the two kinds of shamans, Gorokhoff says that he knew personally several *aiy-öuna*, who were very good people indeed, quiet, delicate, and really honest, while the *abassy-öuna* were good for nothing.<sup>4</sup> But Troshchanski says that the 'black shaman' among the Yakut is only professionally 'black', that his attitude has no specially evil character, and that he helps men no less than the white shaman does. He is not necessarily bad, though he deals with evil powers, and he occupies among the Yakut a higher position than among other Neo-Siberians.

Black shamans offer sacrifices to *abassylar* and shamanize to maintain their prestige. They foretell the future, call up spirits, wander into spirit-land, and give accounts of their journeys thither.<sup>5</sup>

At the present day there are among the Yakut special storytellers and also special sorcerers (*aptah-kisi*).

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> Troshchanski, *The Evolution of the Black Faith*, 1902, p. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Khudiakoff, *Turkoyansk Anthology*, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Troshchanski, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Gorokhoff, *Yurung-Uolan*, E. S. S. I. R. G. S., 1887, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Troshchanski, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

According to the degree of esteem in which they are held by the people, Sieroszewski<sup>1</sup> classifies Yakut shamans as follows:

- (1) The Great Shaman—*uluhan-öün*.
- (2) The Middling Shaman—*orto-öün*.
- (3) The Little Shaman—*kenniki-öün*.

A 'great shaman' has the *ümägyat* from *Ulu-Toien* himself.

A shaman of middling power also possesses *ümägyat*, but not of so high a quality or to so great an extent as the former.

A 'little shaman' does not possess *ümägyat*. He is not, in fact, really a shaman, but a person in some way abnormal, neurotic, or original, who can cure trifling illnesses, interpret dreams, and frighten away small devils only.

With regard to the classification of shamans into 'white' and 'black', Troshchanski puts forward the hypothesis that these two classes of shamans originated and developed independently:

'One might imagine that the class of white shamans came into existence first, and that it derived from the class of heads of families and clans. The custom of the choice of one leader (shaman) for common ceremonies or sacrifices may have helped in this evolution of the white shaman from the heads of families. The wisest and most respected member of the community would probably have the best chance of being chosen, as he could please not only the people but also the spirits.'<sup>2</sup>

The same persons might then have been chosen repeatedly, and presently a class of white shamans might arise for the communal cults and sacrifices. In the meantime the head of the family could still keep his priestly power in his own home, until the professional shaman took his place, as we see at the present day among certain tribes, e.g. the Yakut.<sup>3</sup>

Why should we regard the head of the family as the prototype of the white shaman? We shall find in Troshchanski's book no more satisfactory reply to this question than is contained in the following short passage:

'I think we are right in saying that the heads of the family, or the chosen priests, in their practice and prayers do not address themselves to the evil spirits, which in Yakut are called *abassylar*; hence it is here that we find the origin of white shamans.'<sup>4</sup>

If we follow Troshchanski, we must draw the conclusion that

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 628.

<sup>2</sup> Troshchanski, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 113.

among the Neo-Siberians, e.g. the Buryat and the Yakut, the white shamans form a quite distinct class, although we see that on certain occasions the head of the family may take the place of the white shaman:

'*Tailgan* is a communal sacrifice in which the whole family or clan takes part. This ceremony is designed to show humility: the Buryat call it the "asking ceremony". The performer of *tailgan* may be the shaman, or the whole group of family heads without the assistance of a shaman.'

Among the Palaeo-Siberians there is no class of white shamans, and the family cult is in the hands of the father, assisted by the mother, the participation of professional shamans being often prohibited. Among the Gilyak the assistance of shamans at sacrificial feasts, e.g. the bear-ceremonial, is even forbidden. Is this because there is no white shaman among these people? Or is it an indication that, after all, family and professional shamanism have developed separately?

Among the Yakut, from the observation of whom Troshchanski formed his hypothesis, the white shaman may be a woman, in cases where the woman stands as family head.<sup>2</sup>

Now as to the black shamans, they were originally women, says Troshchanski, and he draws attention to the following linguistic and sociological particulars which are made to act as evidence in support of his hypothesis.

What is the essential meaning of the word shaman? In Sanskrit *śram* = to be tired, to become weary; *śramana* = work, religious mendicant. In the Pali language the word *samana* has the same meaning. These two latter words have been adopted by the Buddhists as names for their priests.<sup>3</sup> But, according to Banzaroff, the word *shaman* originated in northern Asia: *saman* is a Manchu word, meaning 'one who is excited, moved, raised'; *šamman* (pronounced *shuman*) and *hanman* in Tungus have the

<sup>1</sup> Aganitoff and Khangaloff, *Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia*, L. S. S. I. R. G. S., p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> How this may occur, in the patriarchal Yakut family, Troshchanski explains as follows: 'Each wife of a polygynous Yakut lived separately with her children and relations and cattle; during the frequent absences of her husband she was actually the head of the family, and performed family ceremonials. Several such *ye-üsa* (matriarchal families) formed one *aga-üsa* (patriarchal family)' (p. 116).

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted for this information to Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, Lecturer in Tamil and Telugu in the University of Oxford.



same meaning. *Samdambi* is Manchu: 'I shamanize', i.e. 'I call the spirits dancing before the charm.'<sup>1</sup>

From the above we see that the essential characteristic of a shaman is a liability to nervous ecstasy and trances. Women are more prone to emotional excitement than men: among the Yakut most of the women suffer from *menerik* (a nervous disease, one type of the so-called 'Arctic hysteria').<sup>2</sup>

Thus Troshchanski. But the only conclusion—if any—that he could draw from this would be that women are by nature more disposed to shamanizing than men. And why should this make her the original *black* shaman? Only one piece of evidence is adduced to connect women with 'black' shamanizing, and that is taken from Kamchadal life, not from that of the Yakut, upon which chiefly he grounds his hypothesis. Among the most primitive Kamchadal, where there were only women (or *koch-chueh*) shamans, these practised only black shamanism, summoning evil spirits.<sup>3</sup>

As to the linguistic evidence:

Among the Mongols, Buryat, Yakut, Altaians, Torgout, Kidan, Kirgis, there is one general term for a woman-shaman, which has a slightly different form in each tribe: *utagan*, *udagan*, *udaghan*, *ubakhan*, *utygan*, *utiugun*, *iduan* (*duana*); whereas the word for man-shaman is different in each of these tribes.

In Yakut he is called *oim*; in Mongol, *buge*; Buryat, *buge* and *bö*; Tungus, *samman* and *hamman*; Tartar, *kam*; Altaian, *kam* and *gam*; Kirgis, *baksa* (*basky*); Samoyed, *tadibey*.

From the above Troshchanski concludes that during the migration of the Neo-Siberians they had only women-shamans, called by a similar general name; and that the men-shamans appeared later, when these people scattered, settling in lands distant from one another, so that the term for man-shaman originated independently in each tribe.<sup>4</sup>

Of course this linguistic evidence concerns only the Neo- and not the Palaeo-Siberians.

Troshchanski gives us further the following religio-social evidence, drawn exclusively from the Yakut, in support of his

<sup>1</sup> Zakharoff, *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*, 1875, p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> Troshchanski, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Krasheninnikoff, *Description of the Country of Kamchatka*, pp. 81-2.

<sup>4</sup> Troshchanski, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

hypothesis of the evolution of the 'black' man-shaman from the 'black' woman-shaman:

(a) On the Yakut shaman's apron there are sewn two iron circles, representing breasts.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The man-shaman dresses his hair like a woman, on the two sides of the head, and braids it; during a performance he lets the hair fall down.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Both women and shamans are forbidden to lie on the right side of a horse-skin in the *yurta*.<sup>3</sup>

(d) The man-shaman wears the shaman's costume only on very important occasions; in ordinary circumstances he wears a girl's dress made of the skin of a foal.<sup>4</sup>

(e) During the first three days after a confinement, when Ayisit, the deity of fecundity, is supposed to be near the woman who is lying-in, access to the house where she is confined is forbidden to men, but not to shamans.<sup>5</sup>

How the female black shaman was displaced by the male black shaman Troshchanski explains as follows, again using exclusively Yakut evidence:

The smith who made the ornaments for the female shaman's garment acquired some shamanistic power. He was in contact with iron, which was of magical importance, and power came to him through this contact. (The smiths were, like the shamans, 'black' and 'white', but among the Yakut one hears more of 'black' smiths than of 'white'.) Thus the similarity between the vocation of a shaman and that of a smith becomes close, especially when the calling of smith descends through many generations in the same family. Smiths come to be considered as the elder brothers of shamans, and then the differences between them finally disappear, the smith becoming a shaman.

The woman, then, since she could not be a smith, had eventually to give up her place to the man.

In modern times, as there are no longer any 'magical smiths', new shamanistic garments cannot be made.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Krasheninnikoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Troshchanski, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Troshchanski, *op. cit.*, p. 123. It will be interesting to quote here what Siemczewski says about the vocation of the smith: 'Those who approach most nearly to the shamans in their office, and are partially related to them, are the smiths. "The smith and the shaman are of one nest", says a proverb of the Kolyma district. The smiths also can cure, advise, and foretell the future, but their knowledge does not possess

This hypothesis of women being the first black shamans is, however, not borne out by the evidence. Even if we allow that the above quotations, especially that containing the linguistic evidence, tend to show that women were shamans before men, it does not follow that they were the first *black* shamans. There is not enough evidence in Troshchanski's book to support his hypothesis of two separate origins and developments for black and white shamans.

On the other hand, the evolution which Troshchanski ascribes to black shamans might be ascribed to professional shamanism, if we reject Jochelson's and Bogoras's view that professional developed out of family shamanism.

*The Altaians.* Wierbicki<sup>1</sup> says that among the Altaians, besides the shaman, called *kam*, there are also (i) *rynchi*, 'who, during attacks accompanied by pain, can foretell the future'; (ii) *telgochi*, or 'guessers'; (iii) *yarinchi*, or those who can divine by means of the blade-bone; (iv) *koll-kurechi*, who divine from the hand; (v) *yadachi*, who control the weather by means of a stone, *yada-tash*, which is found in narrow mountain defiles, where winds blow continually. To obtain these stones a *yadachi* must swear away all his possessions. Hence he is poor, lonely, and usually a widower.

*The Buryat.* Among the Buryat, according to Shashkoff,<sup>2</sup> shamans are divided into (a) hereditary shamans and (b) shamans of the first generation. Another division is into (a) real, (b) false

a magical character; they are simply clever people, who know much, and who possess "peculiar fingers". The profession of smith is generally hereditary, especially in the north. It is in the ninth generation that a [hereditary] smith first acquires certain supernatural qualities, and the more ancient his ancestry, the more marked are these qualities. The spirits are generally afraid of iron hoops and of the noise made by the blowing of the smith's bellows. In the Kolyma district the shaman would not shamanize until I [Sieroszewski] removed my case of instruments; and even then his bad luck in shamanizing was explained by him as due to the fact that, as he said, "the spirits are afraid of smiths [in this case Sieroszewski], and that is why they do not appear at my call." Only a smith of the ninth generation can, without harm to himself, hammer out the iron embellishments of the shamanistic dress, the iron for the drum, or make *ämägyat*. If the smith who makes a shamanistic ornament has not a sufficient number of ancestors, if the noise of hammering and the glare of the fire does not surround him on all sides, then birds with crooked claws and beaks will tear his heart in pieces. Respectable hereditary smiths have tools possessed of "spirits" (*ichchilak*) which can give out sounds by themselves." (Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 632.)

<sup>1</sup> *The Natives of the Altai*, pp. 44-6.

<sup>2</sup> Shashkoff, *Shamanism in Siberia*, W. S. S. I. R. G. S., p. 82.

shamans. Again there are (a) white (*sagan-bö*) and (b) black (*harvin-bö*).

The white and black shamans, the Buryat say, fight with each other, hurling axes at one another from distances of hundreds of miles. The white shaman serves the West *tengeri* and West *khats*, and has charge of the ceremonies held at birth, marriage, &c. He wears a white coat and rides a white horse. A famous white shaman was Barlak of the Balagansk district, at whose grave his descendants still go to worship.

The black shaman serves the *tengeri* and *khats* of the East. These shamans are said to have power to bring illness and death upon men. They are not liked, but much feared, by the people, who sometimes kill black shamans, to such a point does this dislike develop.<sup>1</sup> The grave of a black shaman is usually shaded by aspens, and the body is fastened to the earth by a stake taken from this tree.

According to Agapitoff and Kangaloff, there are also a few shamans who serve both good and bad spirits at the same time.

*The Samoyed.* Lepekhin<sup>2</sup> says that the Samoyed shamans are not divided into distinct classes, black and white, as among the Buryat, but serve both for good and bad ends, as occasion arises. The Lapps likewise make no strict distinction between good shamans and bad. Some of the Lapp *noydu* (shamans) are known as 'Big', and others as 'Little', *noyda*.

*The Votyak.* The whole Votyak hierarchy arose from the white shamans. The chief of the shamans is the *tuno*. At the present day the *tuno*<sup>3</sup> is the chief upholder of the old religion.

As the soul of a *tuno* is 'educated' by the Creator, he is without doubt a white shaman. Besides the *tuno*, there are priests, chosen either by himself or by the people under his advice. 'In most cases the profession and knowledge of a *tuno* descend from father to son, although any person who has the opportunity of acquiring the knowledge necessary to a *tuno* can become one.'<sup>4</sup>

Among the Votyak there is a classification of shamans into (a) permanent and (b) temporary. The latter are chosen to perform some particular sacrifice. Besides these there are

<sup>1</sup> Agapitoff and Kangaloff, op. cit., pp. 85-6.

<sup>2</sup> Lepekhin, *Diary of a Journey*, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> Bogayewski, *A Sketch of the Mode of Life of the Votyak of Sarapul*, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 126.

secondary priests appointed by the *tuno* and called *töre* and *parchis*.

In former times black shamans also were to be found among the Votyak, but they have given way to the white, just as among the Yakut the white shaman has been largely displaced by the black.

The Votyak black shaman of former times has been converted into an ordinary sorcerer. He is called *pellaskis*, and 'he can aid the sick, and find lost cattle through his incantations; but all this without any connexion with the deities'.<sup>1</sup> Another kind of sorcerer is called *velin*. He is feared and hated by all.<sup>2</sup>

When the *tuno* has finished his education under *Kylchin-Inmar* (the Creator), the latter takes his pupil to a place where the candidates for the position of sorcerer reside. He examines them, and to those who answer satisfactorily he gives permission to enchant and destroy men.

<sup>1</sup> Bogayewski, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 126.

## CHAPTER X

### THE ACCESSORIES OF THE SHAMAN

In everyday life the shaman is not distinguishable from other people except by an occasionally haughty manner, but when he is engaged in communicating with spirits he has to make use of a special dress and special instruments. Of these the most important and the one in most general use is the shaman's drum. It may be said that all over Siberia, where there is a shaman there is also a drum. The drum has the power of transporting the shaman to the superworld and of evoking spirits by its sounds.

Authors of the eighteenth century, like Pallas and Krasheninnikoff, pay great attention to the shaman's accessories. Though they have probably only been attracted by their picturesque side, yet their descriptions are very valuable in view of the modern attempt to reach the primitive mind through its symbolical forms of expression.

Shashkoff<sup>1</sup> enumerates the following items as indispensable to the shaman's dress all over Siberia—the coat, the mask, the cap, and the copper or iron plate on the breast. The Samoyed *tudibey* substitute for the mask a handkerchief tied over the eyes, so that they can penetrate into the spirit-world by their inner sight. This use of a handkerchief is also mentioned by Wierbicki, who says that the shamans of northern Altai wear one round the forehead to keep the hair out of the eyes.

These four accessories—the coat, the mask, the cap, and the iron plate—are used by the Neo-Siberians only, since among Palaeo-Siberians the dress is much less complicated.

Each tribe has, moreover, some particular object which plays the chief part in the shamanistic ceremony.

Gmelin,<sup>2</sup> describing the Tungus shaman's costume, says that over the usual shamanistic garment an apron, adorned with iron, is also worn; his stockings, likewise remarkable, are made of skin

<sup>1</sup> *Shamanism in Siberia*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Reise durch Sibirien*, ii, 193.

ornamented with iron. Among the Gilyak and the Olchi it is the shaman's girdle which is of the greatest significance;<sup>1</sup> among the Buryat,<sup>2</sup> the horse-staves, &c. Iron and copper objects seem also to be especially associated with the Neo-Siberians.

The whole costume with its appurtenances used during shamanistic performances throughout Siberia has, according to Mikhailowski,<sup>3</sup> a threefold significance:

1. The shaman wishes to make a profound impression on the eyes of the people by the eccentricity of his costume.

2. The ringing of the bells and the noise of the drum impress their sense of hearing.

3. Finally, a symbolic meaning is attached to these accessories and adornments, a meaning known only to believers, especially to the shamans, and closely connected with the religious conceptions of shamansim.

Thus Mikhailowski. But this interpretation does not bring out the whole importance of the relation of these objects to the spiritual world. They are of great importance, for the spirits will not hear the voice of the shaman unless the right dress and implements are used, and the drum beaten; they are sacred because of their contact with a supernatural and often dangerous power.

Being sacred, these accessories must not be used by any one but a shaman, otherwise they are impotent to produce any result. It is only a good shaman, a real one, who can possess the full shaman's dress.

Among the Palaeo-Siberians it is usually the shaman himself who makes all accessories, and that only when the spirits give their permission. Among the natives of Altai it is not all shamans who have the right to wear *manyak* (the coat) and the owl-skin cap.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Yakut even the blacksmith, who undertakes the ornamentation of the costume, must have inherited the right. 'If the blacksmith who makes a shamanistic ornament has not a sufficient number of ancestors, if he is not surrounded on all sides by the noise of hammering and the glow of fire, then birds with crooked claws and beaks will tear his heart in pieces.'<sup>5</sup> For this

<sup>1</sup> Schrenck, *The Natives of the Armer Country*, iii, 124-6.

<sup>2</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff, *Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia*, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Shamanism*, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Potanin, *Sketches of North-Western Mongolia*, iv, 53.

<sup>5</sup> Sieroszewski, *The Yakut*, p. 632.

reason the blacksmith's vocation comes next in importance to the shaman's. In modern times it is practically impossible among the Yakut for the shaman's coat to be made, since there is now no class of hereditary blacksmiths. In his description of the Tungus shaman's garment, Gmelin relates how the shaman whom he saw had no cap because the old one was burnt and the spirits would not grant him a new one.<sup>1</sup> Of the Buryat shamans he observes that many of them do not possess drums, since the spirits withhold permission to make them, and two long sticks which are struck crosswise against each other are therefore substituted at the performance.<sup>2</sup> Mikhailowski quotes the above statement in explanation of the fact that Khangaloff had seen only one drum among the Buryat shamans.

'With the degeneration of shamanism', says Mikhailowski, 'the number of people who know how to prepare the sacred instrument with due regard to magical custom is decreasing.'<sup>3</sup> This, however, is not the true explanation of the disappearance of the drum among the Buryat, for the importance of the other chief Buryat accessory, the horse-staves, which demand equal care in the making, must also be taken into account. Without them the shaman cannot perform any of the principal rites. They are usually made of birch-wood, no one but a shaman who has passed his fifth consecration being allowed to use iron horse-staves.<sup>4</sup> The Lapps take great care of their drum and keep it covered up with furs. No woman may touch it.

#### A. Palaeo-Siberians.

*The Chukchee.* Among Palaeo-Siberians there are no strict regulations as to the shape and quality of the shaman's dress. Originality of costume is what is most sought after, and Bogoras tells us that the Chukchee shamans sometimes adopt some old coat brought from the American shore. 'The Chukchee have nothing similar to the well-known type of coat covered with fringes and images, which is in general use among the Yakut and Tungus, and which probably was borrowed from the latter by the Yukaghir and perhaps also by the Kamchadal.'<sup>5</sup>

The absence of a peculiar shaman's dress among the Chukchee

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> These are probably what are called by later writers 'horse-staves'.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Klementz, *E. R. E.*, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *The Chukchee*, pp. 457-8.



may be accounted for by the fact that the shamans perform their ceremonies in the darkness of the inner room of the house, in an atmosphere so hot and stifling that they are obliged to take off their coats and to shamanize with the upper part of the body quite naked.

The only shamanistic garments that Bogoras speaks of are a coat and a cap. 'As far as I know,' he says, 'among the other neighbouring tribes also female shamans have no outward distinguishing mark, nor do they use the special shamanistic garb which is assigned only to the male shamans.'<sup>1</sup>

After this statement the custom among certain tribes of the adoption by the male shaman of the clothes and manner of a woman appears still more strange. The shamanistic coat is characterized by a fringe round the sleeves a little above the opening, or round the neck a little below the collar. This coat may be adopted by the shaman or by the patient. Besides the fringe there are slits ornamented with cured leather. 'These slits and fringes are usually said to represent the curves and zigzags of the Milky Way.'<sup>2</sup>

But if we remember the many other ways in which the Chukchee shaman imitates the Tungus shaman, we may conclude that both slits and fringes in the shamanistic coat are but another instance of the same imitation. The garment represented in Bogoras's book has in front of it an image of *tetkeyun*, that is, 'vital force', which resides in the heart and assumes its form. It is made like a leather ball and filled with reindeer-hair. The other figure, likewise of leather, represents a *rekken*, or 'assisting' spirit of the shaman.<sup>3</sup>

The shamanistic cap is also supplied with fringes, with a tassel on the top and a long double tassel on the left side. The tassels are of the type adopted for magic purposes, that is, they are formed of alternating pieces of white and black fur. 'Another cap with the opening on top, and likewise fringed and tasselled, was used by the shaman as a remedy against headache.'<sup>4</sup>

In addition to these garments, the Chukchee shaman uses in his performances many small instruments, such as the knife, the handle of which is embellished with magical objects, and a small flat piece of ivory, which is said to be usually employed when cutting open a body. The ivory of the shaman, 'Scratching-Woman', had three

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 458.    <sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 459.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid.    <sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 460.

leather images fastened to it. 'One was said to represent a *kele* from the "direction" of the darkness, with the arms longer than the legs. The middle image with only one arm and one leg, and with the two eyes one above the other, represented the *kele lumctun*. The third image represented a crawling "spell" sent by an enemy of the shaman, who intercepted it on the way and thoroughly subdued it so that it began to do his bidding.'<sup>1</sup> These different amulets, in the form of pendants and tassels, are made of skin and beads by the shaman himself, and are fastened to various parts of the body or dress. Such are also the 'round patches of skin, often with a tassel in the centre',<sup>2</sup> which are considered highly effective amulets among the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Asiatic Eskimo. They are sewn to the coat, on the breast or on the shoulders, or against the affected part of the body. An image of the 'guardian' is placed in the middle, and is often replaced by an ornamental figure of a woman, of a dancing man, or of a warrior. These objects, as well as those already mentioned, serve both a magical and an ornamental purpose.

The most important object in shamanistic performances all over Siberia is the drum. Thus the Chukchee use the drum which is common to both Asiatic and American Eskimo.

The drum used by the Reindeer and Maritime Chukchee is different from that adopted in north-western Asia by the Yakut, Tungus, Koryak, Kamchadal, and Yukaghir, which is rather of a southern type.

The southern drum is large and somewhat oval in shape, and is held by four loose bands, which are fastened to the hoop of the drum on the inner side. The other ends of these bands meet in the middle, where they are tied to a small wheel or a cross, which is without any other support. When these are grasped by the hand the drum hangs loosely, and may be shaken and its position changed at will. The drum-stick is made of wood and covered with skin or with cured leather.

The Chukchee drum has a wooden handle<sup>3</sup> which is lashed with sinews to the wooden hoop. The diameter of the hoop, which is nearly circular in shape, is from 40 to 50 centimetres. The head is made of very thin skin, usually the dried skin of a walrus's stomach. In order to stretch the skin it is moistened with water or wine, and the edge is then tied with sinew cord. The ends of

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 468.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mr. Henry Balfour this shows Eskimo influence.

this cord are fastened to the handle. The drum is very light, weighing from half a pound to a pound and a half. The drum-stick varies according to its purpose. It is either a narrow, light strip of whalebone from 30 to 40 centimetres long, or a piece of wood from 60 to 70 centimetres long, which is sometimes adorned with fur tassels. The former is used during the magical performances held in the inner room at night, the latter during ceremonies performed in the outer tent during the day.<sup>1</sup>

When the family is moving from place to place, the cover of the drum is removed, folded, and fastened to the hoop to be replaced when needed. In the winter house the drum remains in front of the sleeping-place, and in the summer tent it hangs near the sacred fire-board.

*The Koryak.* The shaman accessories of the Koryak, another Palaeo-Siberian tribe, are described by Jochelson as follows: 'The Koryak shamans have no drums of their own; they use the drums belonging to the family in whose house the shamanistic performance takes place. It seems that they wear no special dress; at least the shamans whom I had occasion to observe wore ordinary clothing.'<sup>2</sup>

One embroidered jacket, which was sold to Jochelson, as an Alutor shaman's dress, is very much like the ordinary man's dancing-jacket used during the whale ceremony, but more elaborate. The Koryak drum belongs not to the shaman but to the family. It is used both as a musical instrument and as a sacred object in the household. Everybody who pleases can beat the drum, but there is usually one competent person who knows how to shamanize with it.

The Koryak drum, *yyai*, is oval in shape and covered with reindeer-hide on one side only, its diameter being 73 centimetres. The drum-stick is made of thick whalebone, wider at the end with which the drum is struck, and this end is covered with the skin of a wolf's tail.

Inside the drum at four points in the rim a double cord of nettle fibre is fastened and joined below to form the handle. These cords run towards one side of the drum. On the top of the inside rim is attached an iron rattle. Jochelson says that this custom of attaching the rattle has been borrowed from the Tungus and that not all Koryak drums possess it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 356-7.

<sup>2</sup> *The Koryak*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 58.

*The Kamchadal (Itelmen).* Among the Kamchadal there is apparently no shamanistic garment or drum. Two early travelers to their country, Steller and Krasheninnikoff, say that everybody, especially women, could shamanize, and hence this occupation was not professional enough to demand a special dress.

*The Yukaghir.* The Yukaghir drum is a rough oval. It is covered with hide on one side only. Inside the drum there is an iron cross near the centre, which serves as a handle. The ends of the cross are fastened with straps to the rim, to which four iron rattles are attached.<sup>1</sup> There is a great similarity between the Yukaghir and the Yakut drum, not only in the iron rattles, iron cross, and general shape, but also in the small protuberances on the outer surface of the rim, which according to the Yakut represent the horns of the shaman's spirits. The stick is covered with the skin of a reindeer's leg. In Yukaghir traditions the drum without metallic additions is still traceable, the iron pieces having been borrowed from the Yakut.

The Yukaghir word for drum is *yalgit*, which means 'lake', that is, the lake into which the shaman dives in order to descend into the shadow-world.<sup>2</sup>

*The Eskimo.* This is very much like the conception of the Eskimo, the souls of whose shamans descend into the lower world of the goddess Sedna. The Eskimo drums are not large; the largest are to be found at Hudson Bay. They are either symmetrically oval or round, and a wooden handle is fastened to the rim. J. Murdoch<sup>3</sup> says that such drums are used by the Eskimo from Greenland to Siberia. The Eskimo as well as the Chukchee beat the lower part of the drum with the stick. The Koryak drum also is struck from below, and is held in a slanting position. Other Asiatic drums are mostly beaten in the centre. Among the Indians living south of the Eskimo we find broad-rimmed drums used for purposes of shamanism, as well as in dancing-houses.<sup>4</sup>

*The Gilyak.* The most important accessories of the Gilyak shaman are the drum, *kas*, and the shaman's girdle, *yangpa*. Schrenck gives us the following description of them: 'One night when I was sitting in a tent in the village of Yrri, they brought in two shamans' drums and other accessories, and at my request

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *A Point Barrow Eskimo*, 1887-8, p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 58.

they allowed me to be present at the preparation for the ceremony. First of all the drum was heated by the fire, to make the hide taut, so that the sound might be more sonorous.<sup>1</sup> The drum was made of the skin of a goat or reindeer, and whilst it was being prepared the shaman made ready. He took off his outer garment, put on the so-called *koska*, a short apron, and tied round his head a band of grass, the end of which hung over his shoulders like a tress of hair. Then he took the shaman's leather girdle, with many iron plates,<sup>2</sup> copper hoops, and other metal pendants, which produce a loud clanking noise during the shamanistic dances.' This girdle is called in Olcha dialect *yangpa*. Its chief pendant is a large copper disk with a small handle ornamented in relief, showing Manchu influence; this circle, called *tale*, makes the most important sound. There are also many iron links called *tasso*, and many irregular pieces of iron called *kyirc*, which make a very loud noise; a few rolled iron plates called *kongoro*, and, finally, some small copper bells without tongues, called *kongokto*. When the girdle is put on all these objects hang together at the back. This shamanistic girdle is of considerable weight.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Gilyak belong to the Palaeo-Siberians, the metal accessories seem to be of Tungus origin, as are some other features of their culture. We read in Gmelin's<sup>4</sup> description of the costume of a Tungus shaman that he wears over the ordinary dress an apron ornamented with iron. This suggests that this apron-form of the shaman's coat was borrowed either by the Gilyak from the Tungus, or vice versa.

#### B. The Neo-Siberians.

Among the Neo-Siberians all their philosophy of life is represented symbolically in the drum, and great significance is also attached to various parts of their dress.

*The Yakut.* Among the Yakut even those who, like the blacksmith, help in the adornment of the shaman's garment, occupy a half-magical position, being credited with 'peculiar fingers'.<sup>5</sup> The hereditary blacksmiths have tools with 'souls', *ichchylakh*, which can give out sounds of their own accord. The black-

<sup>1</sup> Exactly the same preparations are mentioned by Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the leather apron hung with jingling iron pieces worn by Manchu shamans. [Suggestion of Mr. Henry Radford.]

<sup>3</sup> Schrenck, op. cit., iii. 126.

<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski, *The Yakut*, p. 632.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 193.

smiths are those who approach most nearly to the shaman in their office, and are, in a way, related to them. 'The blacksmith and the shaman are of one nest', says a proverb of the Kolyma district, cited by Sieroszewski. 'The smith is the elder brother of the shaman' is another saying quoted by Troschchanski. Blacksmiths can sometimes cure, give advice, and foretell the future, but their knowledge is simply a matter of cleverness and does not possess magical value. The profession of blacksmith is mostly hereditary, especially in the north; in the ninth generation the blacksmith first acquires certain supernatural qualities, and the longer his line of descent, the greater his qualities. The spirits are generally afraid of the iron hoops and of the noise made by the smith's bellows. In the district of Kolyma the shaman would not shamanize until Sieroszewski had removed his case of metal instruments, and even then attributed his bad luck to them: 'The spirits are afraid of the blacksmith (Sieroszewski), and that is why they do not appear at my call.'<sup>1</sup>

The shaman's dress, according to Sieroszewski, consists chiefly of a coat. It is of cowhide, so short in front that it does not reach the knees, but touching the ground at the back. The edges and the surface of this coat are ornamented at the back with different objects, each having its own name, place, and meaning. The shaman's coat, which is not an indispensable part of the ritual costume among Palaeo-Siberians, is most elaborate among the Neo-Siberians.

Linguistically also there is a curious point connected with the terms for coat and drum. While the drum has a common name (with dialectic differences) among most Neo-Siberians, *tünür*, *tängür*, &c., the term for the shaman's coat varies: *kumu*, *ereni*, *manyak*.<sup>2</sup> This seems to show that the ceremonial coat is a comparatively newer invention than the ceremonial drum.<sup>3</sup>

Sieroszewski<sup>4</sup> gives us an account of the meaning of the coat ornamentation, which he heard from an old Yakut. It is as follows:

1. *Küngeta* (the sun), a round, smooth, shining disk, the size of a small saucer, hanging between the shoulders, on a short strap of leather which passes through the hole in the middle of the disk.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Wierbicki, *Altaiian Dictionary*, p. 487.

<sup>3</sup> Troschchanski, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 632.

<sup>5</sup> Troschchanski (p. 145) says that according to Piekarski there is no

2. *Oibon-Kūnga* (hole-in-the-ice sun), a disk of the same shape and size as the first, but with a larger hole in the middle. It hangs above or below the first plate on a long leather strap.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Kondei kyhan*, rolls of tin about the size of a thumb, but longer, hanging at the back on the metal rings or loops.

4. *Chilliryt kyhan*, flat plates as long as fingers, hanging in great numbers at the back, above the waist.

5. *Hobo*, copper bells without tongues, suspended below the collar; like a crow's egg in size and shape and having on the upper part a drawing of a fish's head. They are tied to the leather straps or to the metal loops.

6. *Bürgüne*, two round flat disks, similar to those which adorn the woman's cap, *tusakta*, but without any design on them; they are tied like an epaulet on the shaman's shoulders.

7. *Oiogos timiria*, two plates about the breadth of four fingers and a little shorter, fastened on both sides of the body.

8. *Tubylaua*, two long plates two fingers broad, which are fastened to both sleeves.

9. *Ämäggyat*, *abaggyta ämätat* (in many places called *emchet*), a copper plate as long as the first finger and half as wide as the palm of the hand. It is covered either with a drawing of a man, 'with feet, hands, head, nose, mouth, eyes, and ears',<sup>2</sup> or with an engraving in relief on a copper medallion, having a man's figure in the middle.

'Only a blacksmith who has nine generations behind him can,

such word as *kūngeta*; it is, he says, *kūnäsä*, or *kūsānā*, but the meaning of *kūnäsä* is uncertain. However, Troshchanski thinks that the Yakut word *kūn*—'sun'—is not etymologically connected with *kūnäsä*. Khudyakoff translates the Yakut word *kūsānā* as 'hell'. According to Katanoff, *kūsānā* means (1) 'oracular time' (?), or (2) 'iron circle' fastened to the shaman's coat and representing the sun.

<sup>1</sup> Troshchanski (p. 144) converts this term into *oibon-kūnäsūtā* (hole-in-the-ice circle). *Kūnäsūtā* is the genitive of *kūnäsä*; the genitive form is used to show that these objects belong to the shaman's coat. Priklonski (*Three Years in the Yakutsk Territory*, 1891, p. 54) calls it *kūlar-kūsānat* (happy, joyous sun), which, according to Troshchanski (p. 144), is also wrong. He says it ought to be *kūlar kūsānā* (laughing circle). Potanin (op. cit., iv. 51) states that among the Mongolians of north-western Asia there are sewn on the back of the shaman's coat two round copper disks, called by the Altaians *kusungy*, or *kuler-kusungy*, and sometimes two others on the breasts. Tretyakoff (op. cit., p. 214) informs us that the shamans of Dolgan have a disk hanging on the breast, which represents the chief evil spirit called *kuganna*. Troshchanski (op. cit., p. 145), however, suggests that *kuganna* is simply the Yakut *kūsānā*, and is not a term for an evil spirit, but for the disk.

<sup>2</sup> Sieroszewski quotes a native description of it, op. cit., p. 634.

without danger to himself from the spirits, make an *ämäggyat*, a copper plate such as has been described, which the shaman, when he begins to shamanize, hangs on his breast.<sup>1</sup> What exactly *ämäggyat* means, whether it is a personal or an impersonal power, it is difficult to determine. We shall go on to review the various references to this subject, since the word *ämäggyat* is used in the double sense of (1) an invisible power and (2) of a visible symbol. In this chapter we shall confine ourselves to the latter. The absence of *ämäggyat* differentiates the less important shamans, called *kenniki oyuun*, from those who possess it and who are known as *orto oyuun*. The power of those in partial possession of *ämäggyat* varies according to 'the strength of their *ämäggyat*'.<sup>2</sup> The great shamans are those whose 'spirit-protector was sent them by Ulu-Toyen himself' (*ämäggyatitiah ulutoör ulutoönton ongoruluh*).<sup>3</sup>

Describing the shaman in action, Sieroszewski<sup>4</sup> says that the shaman implores the assistance of his '*ämäggyat* and of other protecting spirits'; and it is only when the *ämäggyat* descends upon the shaman that he begins his frenzied dances.

Whenever a family numbers a shaman among its members, it continues to do so, for after his death the *ämäggyat* seeks to re-embody itself in some one belonging to the same clan (*agu-usa*).<sup>5</sup>

'*Ämäggyat*', says Sieroszewski in another place,<sup>6</sup> 'is a being quite apart; in most cases it is the soul of a departed shaman; sometimes it is one of the secondary supreme beings.'

The human body cannot endure the continuous presence of a power equal to that of the great gods; hence this spirit-protector (if *ämäggyat* can be so called) resides not within, but close beside the shaman, and comes to his assistance at critical moments, or whenever he needs him.<sup>7</sup>

'The shaman can see and hear only with the help of his *ämäggyat*',<sup>8</sup> said the shaman Tiuspiut to Sieroszewski.

Possession of the *ämäggyat* does not in any way depend upon the shaman; it comes either by an accident or by a decree from above. Tiuspiut obtained his *ämäggyat* (of Tungus origin) quite accidentally.

The great shamans at death take their *ämäggyat* with them, and thus change into heavenly beings, most of whom are ex-shamans;

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 632.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 628.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 642-3.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 625.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 626.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 627.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.



if the *ämägyat* does not depart in this way, then sooner or later it will show itself on the earth.

Troshchanski says that the most important ornament of the Yakut shaman's coat is *ämägyat*, which represents a man. On one of the coats that he reproduces there is an *ämägyat* on the left side made of molten copper. On another coat *ämägyats* were on both sides of the breast and made of tin.<sup>1</sup>

*Ämägyat* is the sign of the shaman's vocation, which is always given by the old shaman to the new. It is quite possible, thinks Troshchanski, that it represents the shaman's ancestor and protector.<sup>2</sup>

Speaking of the preparatory stage of the shaman, Troshchanski says that the Yakut shaman is taught by an older shaman, who initiates him by suspending round his neck the *ämägyat*. This symbol is taken away from the shaman who no longer wishes to shamanize. An old blind Yakut, however, told Sieroszewski (p. 625) how he gave up his shaman's vocation, thinking it a sin, and although a powerful shaman removed the *ämägyat* sign from him, nevertheless the spirits made him blind.

In the Mongolian language *ämägäldzi* signifies the figure of the protective genius of the house, family, and goods, and is made of tin. According to Katanoff, this word is derived from *ämägän*, grandmother.

10. *Balyk-timir* (the fish), a plate a metre long, two fingers wide, made in the form of a fish with head, fins, tail, and scales. It hangs on a long leather strap. In some places, like the district of Kolyma, it drags on the ground to entice the secondary spirits, which run after it and try to catch it.<sup>4</sup>

11. *Choran*, small hollow copper balls, fastened to the ends of long leather straps reaching to the heels and hanging like a fringe from the lower edge of the coat. This fringe is called *bylgrys* (the weed).

The coat is plain in front, and fastens on the breast with leather straps, and under the chin with a buckle in the form of a colt's tongue (*kulun tyl kurduk*). On the front of the coat are sewn figures of animals, birds, fishes; various disks; images of the sun, moon, and stars; and also some iron representations of the human skeleton and bowels.

In the north, in case of the absence of this costume, the shaman

<sup>1</sup> Troshchanski, op. cit., p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski, p. 634.

wears the woman's *sangyniah*, a coat of calf's skin, with the hair outside, on the feet of which are occasionally hung some of the most important iron accessories, like the two 'suns' (or sun and moon), the fish and the *bärgäne*; sometimes two round circles, which represent the breasts, are hung in the front.

A good shaman's dress requires about 35 to 40 pounds of iron.

In the north the shaman wears a woman's travelling cap with ear-flaps, but this is not to be seen in more southern regions, where the shaman is in most cases bareheaded.

According to general belief, the iron and the jingling pendants of the shaman's coat have the power to resist rust, and possess a soul—*ichchitc*.<sup>1</sup>

The shaman wears his magical coat next his skin, and receives it from the hand of a *kuturuksuta* (page, assistant), i.e. the man whose duty it is to shout during the performance: *seb! kirdik! choo! o o!* ('well! true! choo! o o!'), and who helps the shaman in other ways, such as preparing the drum.

The Yakut drum is called, according to Sieroszewski, *tüngür*,<sup>2</sup> and according to Troshchanski,<sup>3</sup> *tünür* or *dünür*.

The drum is always egg-shaped, and is covered with the hide of a young bull. Its longest diameter is 53 cm., the width of the rim 11 cm., and the length of the stick 32 cm. The wider part of the stick is covered with cowhide. According to Jochelson, there are twelve raised representations of horns on the drum.<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski<sup>5</sup> says that they are always found in odd numbers, 7, 9, or 11. The cross inside is attached to the rim by means of straps. Little bells, jingling trinkets, and other rattles of iron and bone are attached inside round the rim, especially in the places where the straps are fastened.

The term *tüngür* seems to be a universal name for the drum among most of the Neo-Siberian tribes; sometimes *t* changes to *d*, giving the form *düngür*.

In Manchu the drum is called *tunken*; in Mongol *düngür*; in Altaian *tüngur*; in Uriankhai *donkür*; in Soiot and Karagass *tüngur*.

Among the Yakut, as has been said, there are two names, *tünür* and *dünür*. Muak<sup>6</sup> records that the Yakut of Viluy

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 635.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 635.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> The Koryak, pp. 56-7.

<sup>5</sup> Sieroszewski, p. 635.

<sup>6</sup> The Viluy District of the Yakutsk Territory, iii, 118.

explained to him that 'the shamans in addition to the *tünür* (drum) have also a stringed instrument, *dünür*'.

The word *tünür* among the Yakut means also kinship through marriage: *tünürättär*, 'match-making'.

Troshchanski<sup>1</sup> thinks that this double meaning is not accidental, and that as the shaman was originally the head of a family, the drum might be regarded as the bond of unity between the shaman and the community, as well as between the shaman and the spirits.

Besides the drum, the shaman uses two other musical instruments, one of which is a stringed instrument like the Russian *balalaika* (a kind of banjo), the other an instrument like that known as a jews' harp, a small frame with a long wooden or metal tongue, which is moved by the finger; the narrow end of the instrument is held between the teeth, so that the mouth acts as a sounding-board.

Among the Yakut the jews' harp, called *homus* (*hamys*), is apparently not a shaman's instrument, though the shamans of other Neo-Siberians have been known to use it.

Among the Buryat from Irkutsk, this instrument is called *khur*, and is used only by the shamans.<sup>2</sup> This is also true of the Uriankhai. The Soiot call it *komus*, but the Altaians (using the term in the narrowest sense), who also have the word *komus*, use it to designate the stringed instrument resembling the Russian *balalaika*, which only shamans play.<sup>3</sup> The Kirgis call the shaman's drum *kobuz*.<sup>4</sup> According to Wierbicki, the Altaians use the two-stringed *kabys* or *komus* as an accompaniment to the recital of heroic tales.<sup>5</sup>

There are sometimes minor shamanistic performances without the drum and without the special garments. The shaman sits in his everyday dress on a small chair in the middle of the room and holds in his hands a branch ornamented with bunches of white horsehair, of which there may be three, five, or seven, but never an even number. The fire is not put out for these performances, and some of the horsehair is thrown on to it. The shaman does not dance, but sings and whirls about.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Katanoll, *A Journey to Karagass in 1890*, I. R. G. S., 1891, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Wierbicki, *A Dictionary of the Turkic Language*, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Troshchanski, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> *The Natives of the Altai*, p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 635.

Troshchanski<sup>1</sup> thinks that, among the Yakut, white and black shamans have different coats. The coat of the white shaman has no animal pictures on it, because their spirit-protectors belong to the *aiy* (good spirits), which are not symbolized by animal pictures. The coat of the black shaman should not (according to Troshchanski) have representations of the sun, for these are peculiar to white shamans. The drums of the two shamans also differ. When Troshchanski showed an old Yakut woman, who knew a great deal about the shaman dress, a certain drum (op. cit., fig. II, b), she at once recognized it as a white shaman drum, since horsehair was fastened round the iron rim inside it.

Tribal and clan differences exist in the shaman's coat, and it would be difficult to say whether a sharp line can be drawn between black and white shamanistic garments. Troshchanski is much influenced by this conception of dualism, but from the materials in our possession, a few very imperfect photographs, it would be unwise to come to a decision. It should be remarked, however, that neither of the writers on the Palaeo-Siberians in describing shaman instruments makes this division, and but few of the writers on the Neo-Siberians.

Potanin<sup>2</sup> describes how, on a shaman's coat of the Uriankhai tribe, among other properties, there was a small doll with a minute drum in its left hand. On the same string to which the doll was tied there was another small figure of an animal resembling the sacrificial animal of the real shaman. The significance of this is, of course, obvious. The shaman's ancestor resides in a symbolic form in the shaman's coat. Thus the small doll of the Uriankhai shaman's coat takes the place of the *ämägyat* among the Yakut, if we are to take *ämägyat* as the symbol of the shaman's ancestor.

The skeleton figuring on the shaman's coat in Troshchanski's book must probably also be ascribed to the shaman's ancestor, for quite near it are sewed hawks' wings, and none but a shaman can fly or be represented by wings.

One might suppose from what has been said above that we have here to deal with three ways of representing the shaman ancestor: by the doll, the *ämägyat*, and the skeleton. It would be interesting to know, however, whether or not the *ämägyat* is to be found side by side with either of the other symbols. If so, it

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., iv. 100.

is possible that *āmāgyat* is not a symbol of the ancestor spirit, but has a meaning of its own. On the Yakut coat the skeleton exists independent of *āmāgyat*. On the Altaian coats described by Potanin, the doll is found side by side with the *āmāgyat*. Both Troshchanski and Sieroszewski describe *āmāgyat* as an indispensable ornament of every shaman's coat.

The coat possesses an impersonal power of itself. It is said to bear the names of *ongor* (Mongol) and *tanara* (Yakut) in addition to the classified names for the coat.

By assuming this coat the shaman receives supernatural power, which allows him to go to the upper- and under-worlds to meet spirits and deal with them. It is called 'shaman's horse' among the Yakut.

The coat as a whole is a *tanara* of the shaman, and each symbolic picture on the coat is also his *tanara*, i.e. protector.<sup>1</sup>

Another interpretation of the coat is given by Pripuzoff.<sup>2</sup> The picture of a perforated sun and a half-moon, he says, represents the dusk which reigns in the kingdom of the spirits. The strange animals, fishes, and birds which hang on the coat point to the monsters that are said to inhabit the spirit-land.

The iron chain hanging on the back signifies, according to some, the strength of the shaman's power, and according to others, the rudder which he uses in his journeys through the spirit country. The iron disks are there to defend the shaman from the blows of the hostile spirits.

Potanin<sup>3</sup> gives us an interesting description of the shaman's garment among the natives of Altai and north-western Siberia. According to him, it is in comparatively good preservation among the natives of Altai.

*Natives of Altai.* The shaman's coat is made of goat or reindeer hide. All the outer side is covered with pendants of varying length in serpent form, and has pieces of many-coloured stuff stitched on to it. The pendants, which terminate in serpents' heads, hang freely. Bundles of reindeer leather straps are also attached here and there. The term *manyak* is applied by the natives of Altai to the small pendants as well as to the coat as a whole.

There can further be found on the coat various symbolic figures and jingling pendants, such as iron triangles, a small bow and

<sup>1</sup> Troshchanski, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., iv. 49-54.

arrow to frighten hostile spirits, &c. On the back and sometimes on the front of the coat there are sewed two copper disks. One *kam* (shaman) had four empty tobacco-bags hanging on his coat with imaginary tobacco inside, which he offers to the spirits whilst he is wandering in their country.

The collar is trimmed with owl's feathers. One *kam* had, according to Potanin, seven little dolls on his collar, which, Potanin was told, were heavenly maidens.

A few bells are sewed on here and there; the more prosperous shamans have as many as nine. The ringing of the bells, a *kam* told Potanin, is the voice of the seven maidens whose symbols are sewed to the collar calling to the spirits to descend to them.

The cap<sup>1</sup> of the Altaian shaman is formed of a square piece of the hide of a reindeer calf. On one side there are two buttons and on the other two loops. On the top, bunches of feathers are sewed, and from the lower edge hangs a fringe made of string and shell-fish. This is placed on the head with the two sides buttoned to the back, thus forming a cylindrical cap on the shaman's head. If the hide is hard, the top of the cap with its feathers sticks up like a coronet.

Among some shamans of the Telent, the cap is made of brown owl skin; the feathers remain as ornaments, and sometimes also the bird's head.

It is not all shamans who can wear the *manyak*; and the owl-skin cap. The spirits generally announce to the chosen man when he may wear them.

Among the Tartars of Chern the shaman wears a mask (*kocho*), with squirrels' tails for eyebrows and moustaches. Among the same people Yadrintzeff noticed the use of two crutches; one of them was a crook, the other was supposed to be a horse, similar to the horse-staves of the Buryat.

All the drums which Potanin saw among the natives of Altai and north-western Mongolia were round in shape.<sup>2</sup> Yadrintzeff says that the Tartars of Chern have oval drums resembling the egg-shaped drum of the east Siberians.

The Altai drum has a hoop as large as the palm of one's hand, covered on one side with hide. Inside the drum there is a vertical wooden stick and a horizontal iron *chord* with rattles

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., iv. 44, 679.

attached. The drum is held by the wooden stick, and not at the intersection of the stick and the iron crossbar.

The wooden vertical stick is called *bar* by the natives of Altai. Among other north-western tribes it has various names. The *bar* has a man's head and feet at the two ends. The upper part is often carved, the eyes, the nose, the mouth, and the chin being cut with great exactness. The horizontal iron stay is called by the Altaians *krish*, and from it hang various iron rattles called *kungru*. The number of *kungru* varies according to the ability of the shaman. It is a guide to the quantity of *chayru* (Potanin translates this word 'spirits', but it seems rather to mean 'spiritual power') possessed by the shaman, since the more *chayru* the shaman possesses, the more *kungru* are found in his drum.

Under the chin of the figure on the wooden *bar* are fastened long strips of gaudy material called *yauusua*. Radloff<sup>1</sup> calls this *yaluma*.

On the hide of the drum, sometimes on both sides, sometimes on the inner side only, circles and crosses and other lines are drawn with red dye.<sup>2</sup>

Some Altai drums have drawings of animals on them, like those on the drums of the North-American Indians.<sup>3</sup>

The drums of the Chern and Kumandinsk Tartars differ from those of the Altaians; instead of *bar*, *krish*, and jingling plates there are here representations of the two worlds, above and underground, separated by a horizontal line, which divides the drum into two parts, an upper and a lower.<sup>4</sup>

On the outer side of the drum of the Chern Tartars, pictures of animals and plants are found. On the upper and larger part an arch is drawn, with indications of sky, inside of which are two trees with a bird on each. To the left of the tree are two circles—the sun and the moon—light and darkness. Below the horizontal line are pictures of frogs, lizards, and snakes.<sup>5</sup> These drawings have a particular importance, since the symbols described show more than any others the shamanistic view of the natural and the supernatural.

There is unfortunately very little material of a reliable character, the studies of Potanin and Klementz being the most valuable. On the whole, it is safe to say that the drums of the natives of

<sup>1</sup> *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Potanin, iv. 40-9.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, i. 58-9. <sup>4</sup> Potanin, op. cit., iv. 680.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., iv. 44-5.

north-west Asia, especially in the southern parts, are adorned with representations of the upper and lower worlds divided by a horizontal line.<sup>1</sup>

The following interpretation of this same ornamentation is given by Klementz in his study of the drums peculiar to the neighbourhood of Minussinsk.<sup>2</sup> His information was given him by a *kam* of high standing.

Although by no means all drums are ornamented in the same way, yet in this account we may perceive certain traditional rules embodying the Altaian and Mongolian conception of the meaning of the drum and its decoration.

A. The lower part of the drum :

1. *Bai-Kuzyn* (painted in white), 'a rich birch'—alluding to the birches round which annual sacrificial ceremonies are held.

2. *Ulug-bai-kazyn* (in white)—two trees growing in Ulu-khan's country.

3 and 4. *Ak-baga* ('white frog') and *Kura-bagu* ('black frog'), the servants of Ulu-khan.

5. *Chskity-us*, spirits associated with seven nests and seven feathers.

6. *Chskity-kyz* ('seven maids'); these bring seven diseases on man.

7. *Ulgere*, to whom prayers are offered for the curing of toothache and of earache.

8. *Ot-imeze* ('Mother of the fire').

B. The upper part of the drum :

1. *Souban-ir*. The *kam* translated this 'aurora' (whether with the meaning of dawn or the aurora borealis is impossible to decide from Potanin's description).

2. *Kyun*, 'sun'.

3. *Ike-karagus*, two black birds, flying as messengers from the shaman to the *shaytans*.

4. *Aba-tyus* (the bear's tooth).

5. *Sugyznym-karagat*. According to the *kam*, this means 'the horses of Ulu-khan'.

6. *Kyzyl-kikh-khan*, to whom one prays when beginning any undertaking.

The other figures drawn in white paint are animals, which Kyzyl-kikh-khan is hunting.

<sup>1</sup> Mikhailowski, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Types of Drums of the Minussinsk Natives*, E. S. S. I. R. G. S., p. 26.



Many other authors also comment on this method of dividing the pictures on the Neo-Siberian drum. Wierbicki,<sup>1</sup> describing the *tüngür* of the natives of Altai, says: 'On the outer side the hide is painted with red ochre; on the upper part are represented the sky, a rainbow, sun, moon, stars, horses, geese, the *kam* on a horse, and, on the lower part, the earth.'

According to Dr. Finsch's description<sup>2</sup> the drums of the Samoyed and of the Ob-Ostyak are, like the Altai drums, round in shape, broad-rimmed, covered on one side only, and have a diameter of from 30 cm. to 50 cm.

The Ostyak drums described by Potanin<sup>3</sup> have the same division of the drum into lower and upper parts representing lower and upper worlds, as among the Tartars of Chern.

*The Buryat.* The Buryat shaman's costume was first described by Pallas.<sup>4</sup> It belonged to a female shaman, who was accompanied by her husband and two other Buryat, each of them holding a magical drum.<sup>5</sup> She herself held in her hand two sticks, ornamented at the top end with a carving of a horse's head surrounded by small bells. [This implement is called by recent travellers 'horse-staves'.] From the back of the shoulders reaching to the ground hung about thirty snakes, made of white and black skin, in such a way that the snakes seem to be composed of white and black rings. One of the snakes was divided into three at the end, and was accounted indispensable to each Buryat female shaman. The cap was covered with an iron casque having horns with three branches, projecting on both sides like those of a deer.

Gmelin<sup>6</sup> saw a costume of another old and revered female

<sup>1</sup> *The Nations of the Altai*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Finsch, *Reise nach West-Sibirien*, p. 550 (Berlin, 1879), quoted by Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, iv. 680.

<sup>4</sup> *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches*, 1777, pp. 102-3.

<sup>5</sup> The more recent accounts deny the existence of the drum among the Buryat. Khangaloff saw it only once, and this was in the case of a young and inexperienced shaman. Klementz states that the drum is very seldom in use among the Buryat. Nevertheless he says: 'At great shaman ceremonies, in which a shaman and his nine sons take part (some of which the writer witnessed on the estuary of the river Selenga, among the Kuda Buryat), one of the assistants holds in his hands a small tambourine, but neither the meaning of the tambourine nor the rôle of the assistant is quite clear.' Curiously enough, Pallas, writing in the eighteenth century, agrees with the contemporary witness in describing the assistants' use of the drum.

<sup>6</sup> ii. 11-13.

shaman near Selenginsk. Her costume was hanging in her *yurta*, but, according to her account, was not complete. Among other things he mentions a box, full of strips of cloth, small stones, thunderbolts, &c., which she used for magical purposes.<sup>1</sup> There was also a felt bag full of various felt idols.

In the exhaustive work of Agapitoff and Khangaloff there is a description of the old shaman costume among the Buryat—a costume of a kind which, however, is very rarely to be met with at present. According to them, the coat (*orgoy*), the cap, and the horse-staves (*morini-khorbo*) are the chief appurtenances of a shaman.

1. The *orgoy* is of white material for the white shaman, and of blue for the black shaman. Its shape does not differ from that of the ordinary coat.<sup>2</sup>

Klementz<sup>3</sup> says that the old-fashioned *orgoy* was shorter than that of the present day.

The front of the coat is covered with metal figures of horses, fishes, birds, &c. The back is covered with twisted iron representing snakes, with rattles hanging from them (*shamshorgo*),<sup>4</sup> together with a whole row of little bells and tambourine-bells.

On the chest above the thin plates used to hang little shining copper disks, and on the sleeves were also hung thin iron plates, in imitation of the bones of the shoulder and forearm. This gave Gmelin the ground for his assertion that two shamans who came to him from Nijne-Udinsk resembled chained devils.<sup>5</sup>

2. The cap, which is peaked, is made of lynx skin, with a bunch of ribbons on the top. After the fifth consecration the shaman can wear the iron cap; it is composed of a crown-like iron hoop with two half-hoops crossing each other, above which is an iron plate with two horn-like projections.

In the place where the intersecting hoops are tied to the hoop round the head there are three groups of *khoubolho*,<sup>6</sup> or *khobogo*, conical weights of iron. From the back of the hoop hangs an iron

<sup>1</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff (pp. 42-4) call an identical box *shira*.

<sup>2</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *E. R. E.*, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Klementz uses the same native word *shamshorgo* for (i) the rattles attached to the snakes on the shaman's coat, and (ii) for the conical iron weights fixed to the upper part of the horse-staves, but he does not intimate whether this word has two meanings or not.

<sup>5</sup> Klementz states that the *orgoy* is in some places now only put on after death, for burial.

<sup>6</sup> Klementz calls them *shamshorgo*, *E. R. E.*, p. 16.

chain composed of four links and ending in small objects resembling a spoon and an awl.<sup>1</sup>

Klementz<sup>2</sup> calls this cap the metal diadem, 'consisting of an iron ring with two convex arches, also of iron, crossing one another at right angles, and with a long jointed chain which hangs down from the nape of the neck to the heels—we know of them only from the descriptions of travellers and from specimens preserved in a few museums'.

3. The horse-staves (*morini-khorbo*) are to be met with among all the Buryat of Baikal, but among the Buryat of Balagan they are not used. Each Baikal shaman possesses two. They are made of wood or of iron; but the iron staff is only given to the shaman after the fifth consecration, when he also receives the iron cap. The wooden horse-staves are cut for the novice the day before his first consecration, from a birch-tree growing in the forest where the shamans are buried. The wood for the horse-staves must be cut in such a way that the tree shall not perish, otherwise it would be a bad omen for the shaman.

This implement is 80 cm. long; the upper part is bent and has a horse-head carved on it; the middle part of the stick forms the knee-joints of the horse, and the lower end is fashioned into a hoof.

Little bells, one of which is larger than the rest, are tied to the horse-staves. Likewise small conical weights of iron, *khoubokho*, or *khollbogo*, blue, white, yellow and red-coloured ribbons, and strips of ermine and squirrel fur. To make it look more realistic miniature stirrups are also attached.

The iron horse-staves are not very different from the wooden ones. They represent the horses on which the shaman rides to the upper and lower worlds.

According to Khangaloff, it is in the drum that the horse, on which the shaman makes his flight, is symbolized. Khangaloff, however, also speaks of the rarity of the drum among the Buryat. The only drum which he saw among them was of the form and size of a small sieve, and was covered with horse-hide fastened to the back with leather straps. He did not notice any pictures either on the outside or on the inside, but the outside surface, he says, was daubed with some white stuff.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-4.

<sup>2</sup> *E. R. E.*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-4.

Klementz says that the drum, *khese*, is very little known among the Buryat, who substitute the horse-staves for it, and that the little bell is sometimes also called *khese*; nevertheless, among the Mongol shamanists and the Mongolized Uriankhai, the drum is in use.<sup>1</sup>

The Buryat Buddhists use in their divine services either drums covered on both sides with hide, like those found among the North-American Indians, or those with hide on one side only. These drums are round, and have leather handles attached to the outer edge of the rim.<sup>2</sup>

Klementz mentions as the next accessory of the shaman the *khaur*, a 'tuning-fork' ('jevs' harp'?), with a wire tongue between the two side-pins, an implement largely in use among shamanists. It may be met with, he says, from the sources of the Amur to the Ural, and from the Arctic Ocean down to Tashkent. Here and there it is merely a musical instrument.<sup>3</sup>

On the shaman's boots there were formerly sewed iron plates, but these are no longer in use.

The Olkhon Buryat, say Agapitoff and Khangaloff, have one other property, called *shire*. It is a box three and a half feet long and one foot deep, standing on four legs, each two feet high. On the box are hung ribbons, bells, strips of skin, and on one of the long sides different figures are carved or painted in red. Usually on the right side is represented the sun, and on the left, the moon. The sun is depicted as a wheel, and in the middle of the moon there is a human figure holding a tree in one hand. In the middle of the long side there are three images of secondary gods, one woman and two men, in whose honour wine is sprinkled several times a year. There are also war implements—bow and quiver and sword, and under each human figure there is a horse. The *shire* is used to hold horse-staves, drums, and other ritual implements. The shaman acquires the right of carrying the *shire* after the fifth consecration.<sup>4</sup> It is asserted, says Klementz,<sup>5</sup> that with every new consecration up to the ninth, the height and other dimensions of the *shire* increase.

Nil<sup>6</sup> mentions two things more: *abagaldey*, a monstrous mask of skin, wood, and metal, painted, and ornamented with a great

<sup>1</sup> *E. R. E.*, iii. p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *E. R. E.*, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *E. R. E.*, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Agapitoff and Khangaloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-4.

<sup>5</sup> Archbishop of Yaroslav (*Buddhism in Siberia*, 1858).

beard; and *toli*, a metal looking-glass with representations of twelve animals on it; this is hung round the neck and worn on the breast; sometimes it is sewed on the shaman's coat.

Occasionally the Buryat shaman has also a whip with bells, but generally all these implements tend to disappear in modern times.

Two other ethnical and linguistic groups, which, although they live only partly in Siberia, yet belong to the Neo-Siberians, are the Samoyed and the Finnic tribes, and a survey of their shaman accessories is of special interest in connexion with those of the Mongolic, Turkic, and Tungusic shamans.

The most important belonging of a *tadibey* (Samoyed shaman) is his *penzer* (drum), which he prepares according to a special set of rules. He must kill a male reindeer-calf with his own hands, and prepare the skin in such a way that no veins are left on it. In these preparations *inka* (i. e. a woman), being considered unclean, cannot assist.<sup>1</sup>

The drums, which are ornamented with metal disks and plates, and covered with transparent reindeer hide, are round in shape and of various sizes. The largest drum seen by Castren was nearly two feet in diameter and two and a half inches in height.<sup>2</sup>

According to Dr. Finsch's description, the drums of the Samoyed and of the Ob-Ostyak are like the Altai drums, round, broad-rimmed, covered on one side only, and with a diameter of from 30 cm. to 50 cm.

The shaman's costume consists of a chamois-leather coat called *samburzia*, ornamented with red cloth. Eyes and face are covered with a piece of cloth, since the *tadibey* is supposed to penetrate into the spirit-world with his inner sight. Instead of a cap there are two bands round his head to keep the cloth over the face in position. An iron disk hangs on his breast.<sup>3</sup>

In certain places the *tadibey* uses a cap with a visor, and over the leather coat jingling trinkets and little bells and strips of cloth of various shades are hung. In this ornamentation the number seven plays an important rôle.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Lapps, the drum, *kannus* or *kvobdas*, which is now but an antiquarian curiosity, played a most important part.<sup>5</sup> It

was made of birch or pine wood, grown if possible in a sunny spot, since such a tree would be acceptable to the sun and the good spirits. There are two kinds of drum. One is composed of a wooden hoop, with two cross-pieces of wood inside covered with hide; the other is an egg-shaped flat box, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, and also covered with hide. The most significant ornaments are the drawings in red. They represent good and bad spirits, the sun, the stars, various animals, lakes, forests, and men. The division between this world and the upper is clearly shown. Among many other symbolic figures there is also the image of a *noyda* (shaman). Each drum has its metal ring with small pendants and a drum-stick of reindeer horn.

The Lapps take great care of their drums, and when not in use they and the drum-sticks are wrapped in furs. No woman dares to touch the drum.

<sup>1</sup> V. Islavin, *The Samoyed*, 1847, pp. 112-13.

<sup>2</sup> Castren, *Reiseerinnerungen aus den Jahren 1838-1844* (Petersburg, 1853), p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 192-3.

<sup>4</sup> Islavin, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Schefferus, *Lappland* (Königsberg, 1675), p. 137, &c.

## CHAPTER XI

## THE SHAMAN IN ACTION

SINCE the performances of shamans as professionals called in to treat diseases, to answer inquiries, for soothsaying and other similar purposes, are very much the same among the different tribes of Palaeo-Siberians, we shall confine ourselves to giving a few typical examples of these performances. The same procedure will be followed with regard to the Neo-Siberians.

## Palaeo-Siberians.

*The Koryak.* Professional shamanism among the Koryak is at a most primitive stage of development, yet at the same time, thanks to the influence of European culture, it is also decadent.

Jochelson speaks<sup>1</sup> of the shamanistic performances which he saw as follows: 'During the entire period of my sojourn among the Koryak I had opportunity to see only two shamans. Both were young men, and neither enjoyed special respect on the part of his relatives. Both were poor men who worked as labourers for the rich members of their tribe. One of them was a Maritime Koryak from Alutor. He used to come to the village of Kamenskoye in company with a Koryak trader. He was a bashful youth, his features, though somewhat wild, were flexible and pleasant, and his eyes were bright. I asked him to show me proof of his shamanistic art. Unlike other shamans, he consented without waiting to be coaxed. The people put out the oil-lamps in the underground house in which he stopped with his master. Only a few coals were glowing on the hearth, and it was almost dark in the house. On the large platform which is put up in the front part of the house as the seat and sleeping-place for visitors, and not far from where my wife and I were sitting, we could discern the shaman in an ordinary shaggy shirt of reindeer skin, squatting on the reindeer skins that covered the platform. His face was covered with a large oval drum.

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 49.

'Suddenly he commenced to beat the drum softly and to sing in a plaintive voice; then the beating of the drum grew stronger and stronger; and his song—in which could be heard sounds imitating the howling of the wolf, the groaning of the cargoose, and the voices of other animals, his guardian spirits—appeared to come, sometimes from the corner nearest to my seat, then from the opposite end, then again from the middle of the house, and then it seemed to proceed from the ceiling. He was a ventriloquist. Shamans versed in this art are believed to possess particular power. His drum also seemed to sound, now over my head, now at my feet, now behind, now in front of me. I could see nothing; but it seemed to me that the shaman was moving around, noiselessly stepping upon the platform with his fur shoes, then retiring to some distance, then coming nearer, lightly jumping, and then squatting down on his heels.

'All of a sudden the sound of the drum and the singing ceased. When the women had relighted their lamps, he was lying, completely exhausted, on a white reindeer skin on which he had been sitting before the shamanistic performance. The concluding words of the shaman, which he pronounced in a recitative, were uttered as though spoken by the spirit whom he had summoned up, and who declared that the "disease" had left the village, and would not return.'

The other shamanistic ceremony was performed by a shaman at Jochelson's request for the purpose of divining whether he would reach home safely.

During this ceremony<sup>1</sup> the shaman suddenly asked Jochelson for his knife, saying, 'The spirits say that I should cut myself with a knife. You will not be afraid?'<sup>2</sup>

Jochelson gave him, not without some scruples, his travelling knife, which was sharp and looked like a dagger. 'The light in the tent was put out; but the dim light of the Arctic spring night (it was in April), which penetrated the canvas of the tent, was sufficient to allow me to follow the movements of the shaman. He took the knife, beat the drum, and sang, telling the spirits that he was ready to carry out their wishes. After a little while he put away the drum, and, emitting a rattling sound from his throat, he thrust the knife into his breast up to the hilt. I noticed, however, that after having cut his jacket, he turned the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



knife downwards. He drew out the knife with the same rattling in his throat, and resumed beating the drum.<sup>1</sup>

Then he said to Jochelson that he would have a good journey, and, returning the knife to him, showed through the hole in his coat the blood on his body. 'Of course, these spots had been made before', says Jochelson.<sup>2</sup> 'However, this cannot be looked upon as mere deception. Things visible and imaginary are confounded to such an extent in primitive consciousness that the shaman himself may have thought that there was, invisible to others, a real gash in his body, as had been demanded by the spirits. The common Koryak, however, are sure that the shaman actually cuts himself, and that the wound heals up immediately.'

*The Chukchee.* Among the Chukchee, says Bogoras,<sup>3</sup> a typical shamanistic performance is carried on in the inner room of the house, when it is closed for the night. This room, especially among the Reindeer Chukchee, is very small. Sometimes the performance here described is preceded by another, held in the outer room, in daylight, and usually connected with a communal ceremonial.

When the drum is tightened and moistened, and the light is put out, the shaman, who is often quite naked down to the waist, begins to operate.

In modern times Chukchee shamans imitate the Tungus shamans in smoking a pipe filled with strong narcotic tobacco.

The shaman beats the drum and sings tunes; at first slowly, then more rapidly. His songs have no words, and there is no order in their succession. Though the audience take no actual part in the ceremony, they are in fact of some assistance, as forming a very primitive 'chorus'. Their frequent exclamations encourage the shaman's actions.

Without an *ocikolin* ('to give answering calls, particeps') a Chukchee shaman considers himself unable to perform his office fittingly; novices, therefore, while trying to learn the shamanistic practices, usually induce a brother or a sister to respond, thus encouraging the zeal of the performer.<sup>4</sup>

'Among the Asiatic Eskimo, the wife and other members of the family form a kind of chorus, which from time to time catches up the tune and sings with the shaman. Among the Russianized Yukaghir of the lower Kolyma, the wife is also the assistant of

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *The Chukchee*, p. 433.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 434.

her shaman husband, and during the performance she gives him encouraging answers, and he addresses her as his "supporting staff".<sup>1</sup>

When the *kelet* come to the shaman, he acts in a different way, according to whether he has or has not a ventriloquistic gift.

If the shaman is only 'single-bodied', the *kelet* will sing and beat the drum through his body, the sound only of the shaman's voice being changed. When he is a ventriloquist, the *kelet* appear as 'separate voices'.

Bogoras says that shamans could, with credit to themselves, carry on a contest with the best practitioners of similar arts in civilized countries. The voices are successful imitations of different sounds: human, superhuman, animal, even of tempests and winds, or of an echo, and come from all sides of the room; from without, from above, and from underground. The whole of Nature may sometimes be represented in the small inner room of the Chukchee.

Then the spirit either begins to talk or departs with a sound like the buzzing of a fly. While it stays, it beats the drum violently, speaking in its own language, if it happens to be any animal except the wolf, fox, and raven, which can speak in the language of men; but there is a peculiar *timbre* in their voices.

Usually it is not only one spirit which appears, and this part of the performance might be called a dialogue. Sometimes the shaman does not himself understand the language he is using, and an interpreter is necessary. There are cases when spirit-language, comprising a mixture of Koryak, Yakut, and Yukaghir, has to be translated into Russian for the Russianized shamans and natives, especially those of the Kolyma district.

Jochelson tells of a Tungus shaman nicknamed Mashka, whose 'spirits', being of Koryak origin, spoke through him in that language: 'I asked him several times to dictate to me what his spirits were saying, and he would invariably reply that he did not remember, that he forgot everything after the *séance* was over, and that, besides, he did not understand the language of his spirits. At first I thought that he was deceiving me; but I had several opportunities of convincing myself that he really did not understand any Koryak. Evidently he had learned by heart Koryak incantations which he could pronounce only in a state of excitement.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 52.

There is no regular shamanist language among the Chukchee, merely a few special expressions.

'Among the north-western branch of the Koryak, the "spirits" are said to use a special mode of pronunciation, similar to that used by the south-eastern Koryak and the Chukchee. A few words are also said to be peculiar to them. Among the Asiatic Eskimo the "spirits" are said to have a special language. Many words of it were given me by the shamans, and most of them are analogous to the "spirit" language known to various Eskimo tribes of America, both in Alaska and on the Atlantic side.'<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the spirits are very mischievous. In the movable tents of the Reindeer people an invisible hand will sometimes turn everything upside down, and throw different objects about, such as snow, pieces of ice, &c.

'I must mention', says Bogoras,<sup>2</sup> 'that the audience is strictly forbidden to make any attempts whatever to touch the "spirits". These latter highly resent any intrusion of this kind, and retaliate either on the shaman, whom they may kill on the spot, or on the trespassing listener, who runs the risk of having his head broken, or even a knife thrust through his ribs in the dark. I received warnings of this kind at almost every shamanistic performance.'

After the preliminary intercourse with the 'spirits', the shaman, still in the dark, gives advice and utters prophecies. For example, at one ceremony, where Bogoras was present, the shaman Galmurgin prophesied to his host that many wild reindeer would be at his gate the following autumn. 'One buck', he said, 'will stop on the right side of the entrance, and pluck at the grass, attracted by a certain doe of dark-grey hair. This attraction must be strengthened with a special incantation. The reindeer-buck, while standing there, must be killed with the bow, and the arrow to be used must have a flat rhomboid point. This will secure the successful killing of all the other wild reindeer.'<sup>3</sup>

After his introductory interview with the spirits, the shaman sometimes 'sinks'; he falls to the ground unconscious, while his soul is wandering in the other worlds, talking with the 'spirits' and asking them for advice. The modern shamans actually 'sink' very seldom, but they know that it was done in the old days.

When shamanistic performances are connected with ceremonials, they are carried on in the outer room. Ventriloquism is not

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 438.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 410.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 439.

practised on these occasions, and the *kele* 'is bent on mischief, and among other things, seeks to destroy the life which is under his temporary power.'<sup>1</sup> Many tricks are performed by shamans even in daylight.

Upune, the wife of a dead Chukchee shaman, possessed wonderful shamanistic power; she herself declared that she had only a small part of her husband's ability. In a shamanistic performance 'she took a large round pebble of the size of a man's fist, set it upon the drum, and, blowing upon it from all sides, began to mumble and snort in the same *kele*-like manner. She called our attention by signs—being in the possession of the *kele*, she had lost the faculty of human speech—and then began to wring the pebble with both hands. Then a continuous row of very small pebbles began to fall from her hands. This lasted for fully five minutes, till quite a heap of small pebbles had collected below, on the skin. The larger pebble, however, remained smooth and intact.'<sup>2</sup>

At the request of Bogoras the female shaman repeated this feat with the same success, and all the upper part of the body being naked, it was easy to observe her movements. The practice of stabbing oneself through the abdomen with a knife is universal in shamanistic performances; Kamchadal and Eskimo, Chukchee and Yukaghir, even the Neo-Siberian shamans of northern Asia, are familiar with this trick.

It would be difficult to describe all the tricks performed by the shamans: some of the commonest are the swallowing of burning coals,<sup>3</sup> setting oneself free from a cord by which one is bound, &c.

#### Neo-Siberians.

*The Yakut.* For comparison with the Palaeo-Siberian methods of shamanizing, we shall take a Yakut shaman in action, as described by Sieroszewski.<sup>4</sup> 'Outwardly, shamanistic ceremonies are very uniform,' says Sieroszewski. The ceremony now described 'is the part of the shamanistic ceremony which remains always and everywhere unchanged, and, sanctioned by custom, forms, so to speak, the basis of the rite.'

When the shaman who has been called to a sick person enters the *yurta*, he at once takes the place destined for him on the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 444.

<sup>3</sup> Sarytcheff, *The Voyage of Capt. Sarytcheff's Fleet along the N.E. Coast of Siberia, through the Polar Sea and the Pacific*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski, *12 Lat to Kraju Yakutów*, 1902, p. 639.

*billiryk* agon. He lies on his white mare's skin and waits for the night, the time when it is possible to shamanize. Meanwhile he is entertained with food and drink.

'When the sun sets and the dusk of evening approaches, all preparations for the ceremony in the *yurta* are hurriedly completed: the ground is swept, the wood is cut, and food is provided in larger quantity and of better quality than usual. One by one the neighbours arrive and seat themselves along the wall, the men on the right, and the women on the left; the conversation is peculiarly serious and reserved, the movements gentle.

'In the northern part of the Yakut district the host chooses the best lachets and forms them into a loop, which is placed round the shaman's shoulders and held by one of those present during the dance, in order to prevent the spirits from carrying him off. At length every one has supper, and the household takes some rest. The shaman, sitting on the edge of the *billiryk*, slowly untwists his tresses, muttering and giving orders. He sometimes has a nervous and artificial hiccough which makes his whole body shake; his gaze does not wander, his eyes being fixed on one point, usually on the fire.

'The fire is allowed to die out. More and more deeply the dusk descends on the room; voices are hushed, and the company talks in whispers; notice is given that anybody wishing to go out must do so at once, because soon the door will be closed, after which nobody can either go out or come in.

'The shaman slowly takes off his shirt and puts on his wizard's coat, or, failing that, he takes the woman's coat called *sangymiah*.<sup>1</sup> Then he is given a pipe, which he smokes for a long time, swallowing the smoke; his hiccough becomes louder, he shivers more violently. When he has finished smoking, his face is pale, his head falls on his breast, his eyes are half-closed.

'At this point the white mare's skin is placed in the middle of the room. The shaman asks for cold water, and when he has drunk it he slowly holds out his hand for the drum prepared for him; he then walks to the middle of the room, and, kneeling for a time on his right knee, bows solemnly to all the four corners of the world, at the same time sprinkling the ground about him with the water from his mouth.

<sup>1</sup> Gmelin speaks of special embroidered stockings which the shaman dons in the *yurta*. (*Reise durch Sibirien*, pp. 351-6.)

'Now everything is silent. A handful of white horsehair is thrown on the fire, putting it quite out; in the faint gleam of the red coals the black motionless figure of the shaman is still to be seen for a while, with drooping head, big drum on breast, and face turned towards the south, as is also the head of the mare's skin upon which he is sitting.

'Complete darkness follows the dusk; the audience scarcely breathes, and only the unintelligible mutterings and hiccoughs of the shaman can be heard; gradually even this sinks into a profound silence. Eventually a single great yawn like the clang of iron breaks the stillness, followed by the loud piercing cry of a falcon, or the plaintive weeping of a seamew—then silence again.

'Only the gentle sound of the voice of the drum, like the humming of a gnat, announces that the shaman has begun to play.

'This music is at first soft, delicate, tender, then rough and irrepressible like the roar of an oncoming storm. It grows louder and louder and, like peals of thunder, wild shouts rend the air; the crow calls, the grebe laughs, the seamews complain, snipes whistle, eagles and hawks scream.'

'The<sup>1</sup> music swells and rises to the highest pitch, the beating of the drum becomes more and more vigorous, until the two sounds combine in one long-drawn crescendo. The numberless small bells ring and clang; it is not a storm—it is a whole cascade of sounds, enough to overwhelm all the listeners. . . . All at once it breaks off—there are one or two strong beats on the drum, which, hitherto held aloft, now falls to the shaman's knees. Suddenly the sound of the drum and the small bells ceases. Then silence for a long moment, while the gentle gnat-like murmur of the drum begins again.'

This may be repeated several times, according to the degree of the shaman's inspiration; at last, when the music takes on a certain new rhythm and melody, sombrely the voice of the shaman chants the following obscure fragments:

1. 'Mighty bull of the earth . . . Horse of the steppes!'
2. 'I, the mighty bull . . . bellow!'
3. 'I, the horse of the steppes . . . neigh!'
4. 'I, the man set above all other beings!'
5. 'I, the man most gifted of all!'
6. 'I, the man created by the master all-powerful!'

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 641.

7. 'Horse of the steppes, appear! teach me!'
8. 'Enchanted bull of the earth, appear! speak to me!'
9. 'Powerful master, command me!'
10. 'All of you, who will go with me, give heed with your ears! Those whom I command not, follow me not!'
11. 'Approach not nearer than is permitted! Look intently! Give heed! Have a care!'
12. 'Look heedfully! Do this, all of you . . . all together . . . all, however many you may be!'
13. 'Thou of the left side, O lady with thy staff, if anything be done amiss, if I take not the right way, I entreat you—correct me! Command! . . .'
14. 'My errors and my path show to me! O mother of mine! Wing thy free flight! Pave my wide roadway!'
15. 'Souls of the sun, mothers of the sun, living in the south, in the nine wooded hills, ye who shall be jealous . . . I adjure you all . . . let them stay . . . let your three shadows stand high!'
16. 'In the East, on your mountain, lord, grandsire of mine, great of power and thick of neck—be thou with me!'
17. 'And thou, grey-bearded wizard (fire), I ask thee: with all my dreams, with all comply! To all my desires consent . . . Heed all! Fulfil all! . . . All heed . . . All fulfil!'<sup>1</sup>

At this point the sounds of the drum are heard once more, once more wild shouts and meaningless words—then all is silent.

Adjurations similar to the above are used in all the Yakut districts and all ceremonies begin with them. There is, however, another formula still longer and more complicated, which Sieroszewski says he could not procure. The ritual which follows this formula consists of an improvisation appropriate to each person and occasion.

In the ensuing prayers the shaman addresses his *ämügyat* and other protective 'spirits'; he talks with the *kaliuny*, asks them questions, and gives answers in their names. Sometimes the shaman must pray and beat the drum a long time before the spirits come; often their appearance is so sudden and so impetuous that the shaman is overcome and falls down. It is a good sign if he falls on his face, and a bad sign if he falls on his back.

'When the *ämügyat* comes down to a shaman, he arises and

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., pp. 641-2.

begins to leap and dance, at first on the skin, and then, his movements becoming more rapid, he glides into the middle of the room. Wood is quickly piled on the fire, and the light spreads through the *yurta*, which is now full of noise and movement. The shaman dances, sings, and beats the drum uninterruptedly, jumps about furiously, turning his face to the south, then to the west, then to the east. Those who hold him by the leather thongs sometimes have great difficulty in controlling his movements. In the south Yakut district, however, the shaman dances unfettered. Indeed, he often gives up his drum so as to be able to dance more unrestrainedly.

The head of the shaman is bowed, his eyes are half-closed; his hair is tumbled and in wild disorder lies on his sweating face, his mouth is twisted strangely, saliva streams down his chin, often he foams at the mouth.

He moves round the room, advancing and retreating, beating the drum, which resounds no less wildly than the roaring of the shaman himself; he shakes his jingling coat, and seems to become more and more maniacal, intoxicated with the noise and movement.

His fury ebbs and rises like a wave; sometimes it leaves him for a while, and then, holding his drum high above his head, solemnly and calmly he chants a prayer and summons the "spirit".

At last he knows all he desires; he is acquainted with the cause of the misfortune or disease with which he has been striving; he is sure of the help of the beings whose aid he needs. Circling about in his dance, singing and playing, he approaches the patient.

With new oburgations he drives away the cause of the illness by frightening it, or by sucking it out with his mouth from the painful place: then, returning to the middle of the room, he drives it away by spitting and blowing. Then he learns what sacrifice is to be made to the "powerful spirits", for this harsh treatment of the spirit's servant, who was sent to the patient.

Then the shaman, shading his eyes from the light with his hands, looks attentively into each corner of the room; and if he notices anything suspicious, he again beats the drum, dances, makes terrifying gestures, and entreats the "spirits".

At length all is made clean, the suspicious "cloud" is no more to be seen, which signifies that the cause of the trouble has



been driven out; the sacrifice is accepted, the prayers have been heard—the ceremony is over.

'The shaman still retains for some time after this the gift of prophecy; he foretells various happenings, answers the questions of the curious, or relates what he saw on his journey away from the earth.

'Finally he is carried with his mare's skin back to his place of honour on the *billiryk*.'

The sacrifice offered to the 'spirits' varies according to the importance of the occasion. Sometimes the disease is transferred to the cattle, and the stricken cattle are then sacrificed, i.e. ascend to the sky.<sup>2</sup> It is this journey to the sky, together with the spirits and the sacrificed animal, which the dance symbolizes. In the old days (according to the native accounts) there were, in fact, shamans who really did ascend into the sky while the spectators saw how 'on the clouds there floated the sacrificed animal, after it sped the drum of the shaman, and this was followed by the shaman himself in his wizard's coat'.<sup>3</sup>

There were also wicked and powerful shamans who, instead of a real animal, carried up into the sky a mare formed of cloud, but the evidence for the existence of these shamans is indefinite.

During this difficult and dangerous journey every shaman has his places of rest, called *ouokh* (*olokh*); when he takes a seat during the dance, this signifies that he has come to an *ouokh*; when he rises, he is ascending further up into the sky; if he falls down, he is descending under the earth.

Every shaman, however far he may have proceeded on his journey, knows where he is, on which *ouokh*, and also the route taken by every other shaman who is shamanizing at that moment.

Sometimes the leading of the 'spirit' and the sacrificed cattle into the sky forms a separate ceremony performed a few months after the first, in which they had promised this sacrifice. The sacrifices are either bloody, when the shaman tears to pieces the

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 644.

<sup>2</sup> Troshehanski says (p. 105): 'Instead of the human *kut* which the *abassy* had captured, he receives an animal *kut*. Usually, between the spirit who took away the *kut* of the man and the representative of the latter, there takes place (through the shaman) a keen bargaining, in which the spirit gives up some of its demands.'

<sup>3</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 645.

<sup>4</sup> These *ouokh* occur in a series of nine, in conformity with the usual arrangement of objects in nines which characterizes the whole religious and social system of the Yakut. (Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 472.)

body of the animal with rage and fury; or bloodless; e.g. when some grease or moat, or other material, such as hair, &c., is offered up.

*The Samoyed.* The shamanistic ceremonial among the Samoyed of the Tomsk Government has been described by Castren,<sup>1</sup> from whose account we take the following picture.

On arriving at the *yurta* the shaman takes his seat on a bench, or on a chest which must contain no implement capable of inflicting a wound. Near him, but not in front, the occupants of the *yurta* group themselves. The shaman faces the door, and pretends to be unconscious of all sights and sounds. In his right hand he holds a short staff which is inscribed on one side with mystic symbols; and in his left, two arrows with the points held upwards. To each point is affixed a small bell. His dress has nothing distinctive of a shaman; he usually wears the coat either of the inquirer or of the sick person. The performance begins with a song summoning the spirits. Then the shaman strikes the arrows with his staff, so that the bells chime in a regular rhythm, while all the spectators sit in awed silence. When the spirits appear, the shaman rises and commences to dance. The dance is followed by a series of complicated and difficult body-movements. While all this is going on the rhythmical chiming of the bells never ceases. His song consists of a sort of dialogue with the spirits, and is sung with changes of intonation denoting different degrees of excitement or enthusiasm. When his enthusiasm rises to a high pitch, those present join in the singing. After the shaman has learnt all he wishes from the spirits, the latter communicate the will of the god to the people. If he is to foretell the future, he employs his staff. He throws it on the ground, and if it falls with the side inscribed with mystical signs turned upward, this is a good omen; if the blank side shows, ill-fortune may be looked for.

To prove his trustworthiness to those present, the shaman uses the following means. He sits on a reindeer skin, and his hands and feet are bound. The room is completely darkened. Then, as if in answer to his call to the spirits, various noises are heard both within and without the *yurta*: the beating of a drum, the grunting of a bear, the hissing of a serpent, the squeak of a squirrel, and mysterious scratchings on the reindeer-skin where he sits. Then

<sup>1</sup> Castren, *Reiseberichten und Briefe, 1845-9* pp. 172-4.

the shaman's bonds are untied, he is set free, and every one is convinced that what they heard was the work of the spirits.

*The Altaians.* The *kams* (shamans) of the Turkic tribes of the Altai have preserved with great strictness the ancient shamanistic ceremonial forms. Potanin<sup>1</sup> gives a curious description of the performance of a young shaman, Enchu, who lived by the River Talda, about six versts from Anguday. Four stages, each marked by a different posture of the shaman, characterized his performance: in the first, he was sitting and facing the fire; second, standing, with his back to the fire; third, a sort of interlude, during which the shaman rested from his labour, supporting himself with his elbow on the drum, which he balanced on its rim, while he related what he had learned in his intercourse with the spirits; and fourth, a final shamanizing, with his back to the fire, and facing the place where the drum usually hangs. Enchu declared afterwards that he had no recollection of what happened while he was shamanizing with his back turned to the fire. While he was in that position he had been whirling about madly in circles on one spot, and without any considerable movement of his feet; crouching down on his haunches, and rising again to a standing posture, without interrupting the rotating movement. As he alternately bent and straightened his body from the hips, backwards and forwards and from side to side, with lively movements or jerks, the *manyak* (metal pendants) fastened to his coat danced and dangled furiously in all directions, describing shining circles in the air. At the same time the shaman kept beating his drum, holding it in various positions so that it gave out different sounds. From time to time Enchu held the drum high above his head in a horizontal position and beat upon it from below. The natives of Anguday explained to Potanin that when the shaman held the drum in that way, he was collecting spirits in it. At times he would talk and laugh with some one apparently near by, but invisible to others, showing in this manner that he was in the company of spirits. At one time Enchu fell to singing more quietly and evenly, simultaneously imitating on his drum the hoof-beats of a horse. This was to indicate that the shaman, with his accompanying spirits, was departing to the underworld of Erlik, the god of darkness.

Mr. Potanin gives a description of this voyage which he heard from a Russian missionary, Mr. Chivalkoff.

<sup>1</sup> Potanin, *Sketches of N.W. Mongolia*, vol. iv, pp. 60-2.

The *kam* directs his way towards the south. He has to cross the Altai Mountains and the red sands of the Chinese deserts. Then he crosses a yellow steppe, such as no magpie can traverse. 'Singing, we shall cross it', says the *kam* in his song. After the yellow steppe there is a 'pale' one, such as no crow can pass over, and the *kam* in his imaginary passage once more sings a song full of hopeful courage. Then comes the iron mountain of Tamir Shayha, which 'leans against the sky'. Now the *kam* exhorts his train to be all of one mind, that they may pass this barrier by the united force of their will. He describes the difficulty of surmounting the passes and, in doing so, breathes heavily. On the top he finds the bones of many *kams* who have fallen here and died through failure of power. Again he sings songs of hope, declares he will leap over the mountain, and suits the action to the word. At last he comes towards the opening which leads to the underworld. Here he finds a sea, bridged only by a hair. To show the difficulty of crossing this bridge, the *kam* totters, almost falls, and with difficulty recovers himself. In the depths of the sea he beholds the bodies of many sinful *kams* who have perished there, for only those who are blameless can cross this bridge. On the other side he meets sinners who are receiving punishment suited to their faults; e.g. an eavesdropper is pinned by his ear to a stake. On reaching the dwelling-place of Erlik, he is confronted by dogs, who will not let him pass, but at last, being appeased by gifts, they grow milder. Before the beginning of the shamanistic ceremony gifts have been prepared for this emergency. Having successfully passed these warders, the *kam*, as if approaching the *yurta* of Erlik and coming into his presence, bows, brings his drum up to his forehead, and says, '*Mergu! mergu!*' Then he declares whence and why he comes. Suddenly he shouts; this is meant to indicate that Erlik is angry that a mortal should dare to enter his *yurta*. The frightened *kam* leaps backward towards the door, but gathers fresh courage and again approaches Erlik's throne. After this performance has been gone through three times, Erlik speaks: 'Winged creatures cannot fly hither, beings with bones cannot come: how have you, ill-smelling blackbeetle, made your way to my abode?'

Then the *kam* stoops and with his drum makes certain movements as if dipping up wine. He presents the wine to Erlik; and makes a shuddering movement like that of one who drinks strong wine, to indicate that Erlik has drunk. When he perceives that Erlik's

humour is somewhat milder under the influence of his draught he makes him offerings of gifts. The great spirit (Erlík) is moved by the offerings of the *kam*, and promises increase of cattle, declares which mare will foal, and even specifies what marking the young one will have. The *kam* returns in high spirits, not on his horse as he went, but on a goose—a change of steeds which he indicates by moving about the *yurta* on tiptoe, to represent flying.

## CHAPTER XII

### SHAMANISM AND SEX.

In this chapter I propose to deal not only with the male and female shamans and their relation to each other, but also with a curious phenomenon—the mystical change of sex among shamans, by which a male shaman is 'transformed' into a female, and vice versa.

Nearly all writers on Siberia agree that the position of the female shaman in modern days is sometimes even more important than that occupied by the male.

Krasheninnikoff ascribes the shamanistic gift among the Kamchadal almost exclusively to women; Steller, who travelled through Kamchatka after him, states, however, that there were also men-shamans among the Yukaghir, Koryak, and Chukchee. Bogoras, Jochelson, and others saw as many notable women-shamans as men. Tretyakoff (op. cit., p. 213) affirms the existence of women-shamans side by side with men-shamans among the Samoyed of Turukhan, and the same, according to Bielnyewski,<sup>1</sup> is true of the Ostyak. Among the Tungus of Baikal<sup>2</sup> the woman can be a shaman as well as the man; and Gmelin<sup>3</sup> met among them a woman eighteen years of age who was held superior to any man-shaman. Among the Yakut and Buryat there are shamans of both sexes.<sup>4</sup> Solovieff<sup>5</sup> thinks that among the Yakut the female shamans are considered less important than the male, and the people ask their help only when there is no man-shaman in the neighbourhood. The shamanesses, according to him, are especially good in foretelling the future, looking for things that are lost, and curing mental diseases.

Among the Palaeo-Siberians, women receive the gift of shamanizing more often than men. 'The woman is by nature a shaman,'

<sup>1</sup> *A Journey to the Glacial Sea*, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Siberian News*, 1822, pp. 19-39.     <sup>3</sup> ii. 82-4.

<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski; Potamín.

<sup>5</sup> *Remains of Paganism among the Yakut*, 'Siberia' (Annual), i. 414.

declared a Chukchee shaman to Bogoras. She does not need to be specially prepared for the calling, and so her novitiate is much shorter and less trying. Ventriloquism, however, is not practised among female shamans.

Taking into account the present prominent position of female shamans among many Siberian tribes and their place in traditions,<sup>1</sup> together with certain feminine attributes of the male shaman (such as dress, habits, privileges) and certain linguistic similarities between the names for male and female shamans,<sup>2</sup> many scientists (Troschchanski, Bogoras, Stadling) have been led to express the opinion that in former days only female shamans existed, and that the male shaman is a later development which has to some extent supplanted them.

Concerning the supposed evolution of the shaman from female to male there is no certain knowledge; one can only surmise. The different views of the origin of shamanism naturally affect the theory that shamans were originally female.

<sup>1</sup> Among several tribes traditions exist that the shaman's gift was first bestowed on woman. In Mongolian myths goddesses were both shamans themselves—like the Daughter of the Moon—and the bestowers of the shamanistic gift on mankind.

<sup>2</sup> Neo-Siberians nearly all have a common name for the woman-shaman, while each of these tribes has a special name for the man-shaman. The Yakut call him *ayun*; the Mongols, *buge*; the Buryat, *buge* and *bo*; the Tungus, *samman* and *khamman*; the Tartars, *kam*; the Altaians, *kam* and *gam*; the Kirgis, *baksy*; the Samoyed, *tadibey*. The Yakut, it is curious to note, though they have the word *khamna*, nevertheless do not call the shaman by a name similar to that in use among other Neo-Siberians, but give him a special appellation. This, according to Troschchanski (p. 118), may be explained by the fact that when the Yakut appeared in the present Yakut district they did not possess a man-shaman, but they had already a woman-shaman, for whom all these tribes have a name in common. Among Mongols, Buryat, Yakut, Altaians, Turgout, and Kirgis, the following names for the woman-shaman occur, *utagan*, *udagan*, *ubakhan*, *utygan*, *utügan*, *iduan*, *duana*. All these words come from a root the meaning of which has not been certainly determined. In some Tartaric dialects *üdeye*, 'female shaman', means also 'housewife' and 'wife'. In Tungus, *utakan* means 'sorcerer' and 'cannibal'; but *utagan* seems to be a Mongol word in origin. According to Potanin and Banzaroff, the term in question is etymologically connected with the Mongol word *Etügen*, 'earth-goddess' (*Etügen-eké*, 'mother-earth'). Potanin further connects the word for Earth-Goddess among different Altaic and Finno-Ugric tribes with the names of constellations, especially with the two bear constellations. In one Tartaric dialect *utygan* means 'bear'. According to ancient Mongol and Chinese myths, the gods of certain constellations are connected with the protective spirits of the family hearth, just as they are connected with the goddess of the earth. Thus these terms for female shamans are related to the genesis of certain goddesses.

Jochelson<sup>1</sup> expresses the opinion that there is no doubt that professional shamanism has developed from the ceremonials of family shamanism. The same author<sup>2</sup> also states that in family shamanism among the Koryak some women possess a knowledge not only of those incantations which are a family secret, but of many others besides, of which they make use outside the family circle on request. From this we can see very clearly how family shamanism among the Koryak has developed into professional shamanism.

Some one with unusual gifts, often a woman, is requested to use them on behalf of a larger circle outside the family, and thus becomes a professional shaman. This is especially true of the Koryak. There is, however, no evidence that among them the woman-shaman preceded the man. In the old days, as at the present time, the women-shamans were considered as powerful as the men, sometimes, indeed, an individual female shaman is even cleverer than a man. The 'transformed' shamans are considered very powerful also, though they exist merely in Koryak traditions. But since the change of sex is 'in obedience to the commands of spirits',<sup>3</sup> it seems to belong to another category of facts and to have no connexion with the theory of an originally universal feminine shamanism.

Among the Chukchee,<sup>4</sup> family shamanism, being quite simple and primitive, probably preceded individual shamanism, and the latter seems to have grown out of the former. The mother shares with the father the rôle of shaman in the family ceremonials; she has charge of the drum and amulets, and in exceptional cases it is she, and not the father, who performs the family sacrifice. Thus shamanism is not restricted to either sex, but 'the gift of inspiration is thought to be bestowed more frequently upon women, though it is reputed to be of a rather inferior kind, the higher grades belonging rather to men. The reason given for this is that the bearing of children is generally adverse to shamanistic inspirations, so that a young woman with considerable shamanistic power may lose the greater part of it after the birth of her first child.'<sup>5</sup>

The above statements of the two best authorities on the Koryak and the Chukchee make it clear that among these people there are visible traces that family shamanism preceded the individual,

<sup>1</sup> *The Koryak*, i. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, ii. 413.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 415.



or professional, kind; and although woman plays an important rôle in both, there is no sufficient reason to suppose that in former times she alone could shamanize. Of course, the adherents to the theory of universal mother-right would try to see in this case a proof of the former higher position of woman in society, her moral supremacy, &c. As far as our materials go, we do not see evidence either of a superior position in the social structure or of the moral supremacy of *women* in these societies, but only of the superiority of *individuals* of either sex.

A similar state of things may be observed among other Palaeo-Siberians and Neo-Siberians, although among the latter a woman-shaman is not very often met with.

In spite of the low social position of women among these natives, it is personal ability, irrespective of sex, which is the decisive factor in the case of the shamanistic vocation.

As proof that women were the original shamans, certain authors adduce the fact that the professional shaman does not possess his own drum. But neither is this the case with women- or men-shamans among those peoples where professional shamanism is not yet clearly differentiated from family shamanism. As regards the female dress and habits of the shaman, I shall have opportunity to discuss this point when dealing with tribes whose shaman's garment is more elaborate, i.e. the Neo-Siberians.

Troshchanski<sup>1</sup> and, following him, Stadling<sup>2</sup> believe professional shamanism to be a special institution which has no direct connexion with the communal cult, though in the latter there are also shamanistic elements. In the later stages of its development the office of shaman is connected in certain cases with the communal cult, and thus 'white' shamanism came into existence. Troshchanski develops his theory chiefly on Yakut evidence, and though he tries to apply it to the whole of Siberia, we shall confine ourselves to what he says about the Yakut.<sup>3</sup>

Among them, where there are two categories of shamans, the 'white', representing creative, and the 'black', destructive forces, the latter tend to behave like women, since it is from women-shamans that they derive their origin. In support of this theory of their origin Troshchanski puts forward the following arguments:

<sup>1</sup> *The Evolution of the Black Faith*, 1902, pp. 123-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Shamanism in Norra Asien*, 1912, pp. 82-92.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-7.

1. The shaman has on his coat two iron circles representing the breasts.

2. He parts his hair in the middle like a woman, and braids it, letting it fall loose during the shamanistic ceremony.

3. In the Kolyma district neither a woman nor a shaman lies on the right side of the horse-skin in the *yurta*, because, as they say, it is on this side that one beats a horse.

4. It is only on very important occasions that the shaman wears his own garment; on lesser occasions he wears a girl's jacket made of foal's hide.<sup>1</sup>

5. For three days after the birth of a child, at which the goddess of fecundity, Aiasyt, is present, no man may enter the room where the mother is lying, but only women and shamans.

Finally, according to Troshchanski, the female 'black' shaman was replaced by the male 'black' shaman. This transition was effected by means of the smith, who, as the maker of the woman-shaman's garment, held an influential position, and whose power increased in proportion to the length of his ancestry.<sup>2</sup> Through their contact with shamanistic implements they acquired *mana* and themselves became sorcerers and shamans.

The evolution of the 'white' shaman took place, he opines, on different lines. In family ceremonial the cleverest head of a family or member of a community was chosen; he was elected anew for each ceremony until eventually his tenure of the office became permanent.<sup>3</sup>

This theory of a dual evolution of shamans is not easy to substantiate. In the first place, we find that the 'white' shaman's garment is made by a 'white' smith; which fact, by Troshchanski's mode of argument, would seem to imply a line of development for 'white' shamanism parallel to, and not divergent from, that of 'black' shamanism.

Again, all the supposed feminine habits of the shaman of to-day would not go to prove that the earlier female-shaman was the servant of *abassy* alone. We find in the past as well as in the present that the woman can be the priestess of the family cult and a professional shamaness, the servant of either *aiy* or *abassy*. Among the Yakut, however, where the worship of *abassy* is more developed than that of *aiy*, the 'black' shamans, both men and

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson (*The Koryak*, i. 53) was present at a ceremony in the Kolyma district where the shaman wore such a costume.

<sup>2</sup> Troshchanski, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

women, predominate. On the other hand, among the Votyaks, where the cult of *ay* is more developed than that of *abassy*, the 'white' shamans are much more numerous, and form the whole hierarchy.<sup>1</sup>

All that has been cited concerning the feminine habits of the present-day shaman was taken by Troshchanski as proof of his theory of the evolution of the 'black' shaman from the 'black' shamaness and by Jochelson as 'traces of the change of a shaman's sex into that of a woman'.<sup>2</sup>

Jochelson thus binds together the two questions dealt with in this chapter—the relation of the shamaness to the shaman, and the 'transformation of shamans', called also 'the change of sex'. This latter phenomenon, following J. G. Frazer,<sup>3</sup> I should prefer to call 'the change of dress', since (with the exception of the Chukchee, perhaps) the change of dress is not nowadays, at least, followed by what the physiologists would call 'change of sex'.

Frazer<sup>4</sup> says that the interchange of dress between men and women is an obscure and complex problem, and thinks it unlikely that any single solution would be applicable to all cases. In enumerating instances of such cases among the priests of Khasis<sup>5</sup> and the Pelew Islanders<sup>6</sup>—instances, that is, of men dressing and acting like women throughout life—he ascribes these phenomena to the inspiration of a female spirit, which often chooses a man rather than a woman for her minister and inspired mouth-piece.<sup>7</sup>

As to the people of Siberia, the 'change of sex' is found chiefly among Palaeo-Siberians, namely the Chukchee, Koryak, Kamchadal, and Asiatic Eskimo.<sup>8</sup>

Even the earliest travellers record instances of this phenomenon. Thus Krasheninnikoff in 1755,<sup>9</sup> Steller in 1774,<sup>10</sup> Wrangel

in 1820,<sup>1</sup> Lüdke in 1837,<sup>2</sup> and others. They do not give complete accounts, but merely mention the fact. It differs, however, in their description from ordinary homosexuality in that there is always reference to shamanistic inspiration or evil biddings.

More detailed descriptions are to be found in the excellent modern works of Bogoras and Jochelson. Bogoras describes the facts relating to the Chukchee in a chapter on 'Sexual Perversion and Transformed Shamans'.

'The sexual organs play a part in certain shamanistic ceremonies,' says Bogoras.<sup>3</sup> The shaman is said to be very often naked during his incantations, e.g. that used to invoke the moon, and to mention his genital parts.<sup>4</sup> The change of sex is called in Chukchee 'soft-man-being', *yirka-laul-vairgin*, 'soft man' (*yirka-laul*) meaning a man transformed into a being of the weaker sex. A man who has 'changed his sex' is also called 'similar to a woman' (*ne uchica*), and a woman in like condition 'similar to a man' (*ga êkicheča*). These latter transformations are much rarer.

Bogoras distinguishes various degrees of 'transformation' among the Chukchee:

1. The shaman, or the sick person at the bidding of a shaman, arranges and braids his hair like a woman.

2. The change of dress: Kimiqai, for instance, wore woman's clothes by order of the spirits. In his youth he had been afflicted by an illness and had been greatly benefited by the change of dress. At the time described he was an elderly man with a beard, and had a wife and four children.<sup>5</sup>

3. The change in the habits of one sex is shown when the man 'throws away the rifle and the lance, the lasso of the reindeer herdsman, and the harpoon of the seal-hunter, and takes to the needle and the skin-scraper'.<sup>6</sup> He learns the use of these quickly, because the 'spirits' help him all the time. Even his pronunciation changes from masculine to feminine. His body loses its masculine appearance, and he becomes shy.

4. In rare cases the 'soft man' begins to feel himself a woman; he seeks for a lover, and sometimes marries.

<sup>1</sup> *Reise längs der Nordküste von Sibirien und auf dem Eismeere*, ed. 1841, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Journey Around the World*, 1834-6, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *The Chukchee*, ii. 448.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 449.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 450.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 451.

<sup>1</sup> Bogayewski, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Jochelson, *op. cit.*, i. 53.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, ed. 1907, pp. 384-433.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 433.

<sup>5</sup> Major Gordon.

<sup>6</sup> J. Kubary.

<sup>7</sup> Effeminate sorcerers and priests are found among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo (Ch. Brooke, Schwaner); the Bugis of South Celebes (Capt. Mundy); Patagonians of South America (Palkner); the Aleutians, and many Indian tribes of North America (Dall, Langsdorff, Powers, and Bancroft). Frazer, *Adonis*, etc., p. 429.

<sup>8</sup> Similar changes of sex were observed by Dr. Karsch (*Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern*, 1891, pp. 72-201) all over the American continent from Alaska to Patagonia.

<sup>9</sup> *Description of the Country of Kamchatka*, ii. 24.

<sup>10</sup> *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, p. 289.

The marriage is performed with the usual rites, and the union is as durable as any other. The 'man' goes hunting and fishing, the 'woman' does domestic work. Bogoras thinks they cohabit *modo Socrutis*, though they are sometimes said to have mistresses in secret and to produce children by them.<sup>1</sup> The wife does not, however, change her name, though the husband sometimes adds the name of his wife to his own.

Public opinion is always against them,<sup>2</sup> but as the transformed shamans are very dangerous, they are not opposed and no outward objections are raised. Each 'soft man' is supposed to have a special protector among the 'spirits', who is usually said to play the part of a supernatural husband, the '*kele*-husband' of the 'transformed' one. This husband is supposed to be the real head of the family and to communicate his orders by means of his 'transformed' wife. The human husband, of course, has to execute these orders faithfully under fear of prompt punishment.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes the shaman of untransformed sex has a '*kele*-wife' in addition to his own.

Bogoras himself was best acquainted with a 'soft man' called Tiluwgi, who, however, would not allow himself to be inspected fully. His human husband described him as a normal male person. In spite of this, his habits were those of a woman. The husband of Tiluwgi was an ordinary man and his cousin. The 'transformed shamans' generally chose a husband from among their nearest relations.

Bogoras never met a woman transformed into a man, but he heard of several cases. One transformed shamaness was a widow, who had children of her own. Following the command of the 'spirits', she cut her hair, donned the dress of a man, adopted the masculine pronunciation, and even learned in a very short time to handle the spear and to shoot with a rifle. At last she wanted to marry and easily found a young girl who consented to become her wife.<sup>4</sup>

Jochelson<sup>5</sup> states that he did not learn of the transformation of women-shamans into men among the Koryak of to-day; we find, however, accounts of such transformation in legends. Neither did he meet any men-shamans transformed into women.

The father of Yulta, a Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye, who died not long ago and who had been a shaman, had worn

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 451.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 452.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 453.

<sup>5</sup> *The Koryak*, p. 53.

women's clothes for two years by order of the spirits; but since he had been unable to obtain complete transformation he implored his spirits to permit him to resume men's clothes. His request was granted, but on condition that he should put on women's clothes during shamanistic ceremonies.<sup>1</sup>

This is the only case familiar to Jochelson of the change of sex, or rather change of dress. The Koryak call the transformed shaman *kavan* or *kevu*; they are supposed to be as powerful as women-shamans.

The narratives concerning the Kamchadal *koekchuch* are much confused, for Krasheninnikoff does not rightly explain either who they were, or whether they were men or women. The *koekchuch* wore women's dress, did women's work, and were treated with the same lack of respect as is shown to women. They could enter the house through the draught-channel, which corresponds to the opening in the roof of the porch of the Koryak underground house,<sup>2</sup> in the same way as the women and the Koryak *qaman*. Piekarski<sup>3</sup> finds that Krasheninnikoff contradicts himself in his statements concerning '*koekchuch* women, who do not come into contact with men'.

Krasheninnikoff's descriptions of *koekchuch* are as follows: 'The Kamchadal have one, two, or three wives, and besides these some of them keep *koekchuch* who wear women's clothes, do women's work, and have nothing to do with men, in whose company they feel shy and not at their ease' (p. 24, ed. 1755).

'The Kamchadal women are tailors and shoemakers, which professions are considered useless to men, who are immediately regarded as *koekchuch* if they enter these vocations' (p. 40, ed. 1755).

'The women are not jealous, for not only do two or three wives of one man live together in peace, but they do not even object to the *koekchuch*, whom some Kamchadal keep instead of concubines' (p. 125, ed. 1755). 'Every woman, especially an old one, and every *koekchuch*, is a sorcerer and interpreter of dreams' (p. 81, ed. 1755).<sup>4</sup>

From the above quotations the *koekchuch* seem rather to be of

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Krasheninnikoff, ii. 114; see Troshchanski, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> See Troshchanski, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> 'The female sex being more attractive and perhaps also cleverer, more shamans are chosen from among women and *koekchuch* than from among men,' p. 15. 'The natives of the Kuril Islands have two or three wives each; . . . they have also *koekchuchs*, like the Koryak and Kamchadal' (p. 183, ed. 1755).

the eunuch type, though sometimes they play the rôle of concubines.

The *kockchuch* who was regarded by the community as being of an unusual type probably enjoyed special privileges higher than those of a sorcerer or a shaman. The worship of the pathological may have verged here into the worship of the supernatural.

The 'change of sex' is met with only among the Palaeo-Siberians,<sup>1</sup> whilst among the Neo-Siberians only does the shamanistic dress more often resemble female garments. It is true that among Yakut men-shamans traditions exist of their bearing children,<sup>2</sup> but this is connected rather with the idea of the power of shamanistic spirits which makes such miracles possible. As a rule, child-birth among the Palaeo-Siberian shamanesses results in either a complete or at least a temporary loss of the shamanistic gift. In a Koryak tale<sup>3</sup> the shamanistic power of Ememqut, son of Big-Raven, 'disappeared after the mythical Triton had bewitched him and caused him to give birth to a boy. His power was restored to him after his sister had killed the Triton's sister, by which deed the act of giving birth was completely eliminated.'

We observe also that in many Siberian communities a woman-shaman is not permitted to touch the drum.

The question of the change of sex, especially as it concerns the most powerful shamans, cannot be explained on a purely physical basis. Several perversions occur among these people, as they do in all primitive and even in more civilized societies; but it does not follow that every pathological individual is the subject of magical worship. On the contrary, when reading the detailed description of the transformed shamans in Bogoras and Jochelson, we see that in nearly every case these shamans are at first normal people and only later, by inspiration of spirits, have to change their sex. As described in previous pages, some of them have secretly, along with an official husband of the same sex, normal sexual relations with a person of the other sex, and we may even assume that some of them actually became sexless, although in certain cases the outward show required by religious considerations may cover abnormal passions.

It is scarcely possible to see in these cases a religious con-

<sup>1</sup> The Yukaghir form an exception. Jochelson says: 'I found no indications of such an institution among the Yukaghir, except in the dress of the shamans, which includes articles of female attire.' (*The Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus*, p. 112.)

<sup>2</sup> Sieroszewski.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

ception of a divine two-sexed shaman embodying in one being a perfect man- and woman-nature. We do not find such gods or spirits among the Palaeo-Siberians, though we encounter this idea among the more advanced Neo-Siberians. In the religion of the natives of the Altai this idea is expressed by the name 'mother and father of the man', given to the Supreme Being.

It may be that the most satisfactory basis for an attempt at the solution of this problem would be the sociological one.

The extraordinary rights granted by the community to the shaman are clearly evident in the exceptional position he occupies. Shamans (male and female) may do what is not permitted to others, and indeed they must act differently, because they have a supernatural power recognized by the community.<sup>1</sup>

Taking some of the characteristics ascribed to shamans in previous chapters, we see that, inspired by the spirits, 'they may cut and otherwise injure their bodies without suffering harm.'<sup>2</sup> They may, during shamanistic performances, 'ascend to the sky together with the shaman's drum and sacrificial animal.'<sup>3</sup>

'They may give birth to a child, a bird, a frog, &c.,'<sup>4</sup> and they may change their sex if they are 'real shamans', with supernatural powers, with a true vocation.

Socially, the shaman does not belong either to the class of males or to that of females, but to a third class, that of shamans. Sexually, he may be sexless, or ascetic, or have inclinations of homosexualistic character, but he may also be quite normal. And so, forming a special class, shamans have special taboos comprising both male and female characters. The same may be said of their costume, which combines features peculiar to the dress of both sexes.

The woman-shaman is not restricted to taboos specifically female, for her social position is much higher than that of the ordinary woman: whilst purely male taboos are not applied to the man-shaman, who has, together with certain male taboos, some privileges of a woman; e.g. among the Yakut, access to the house of lying-in women during the first three days after the birth of a child.

<sup>1</sup> From this point of view it would appear that the high respect shown in individual cases to the female shaman is due to the position which a shaman, as such, of whatever sex, occupies in society, and does not imply an earlier general female shamanism.

<sup>2</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*.

<sup>3</sup> Sieroszewski, *12 Let w Kraju Yakutow*, p. 403.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 399.



Shamanhood is separated from society by a boundary-line of many taboos. When the shaman cannot keep these taboos he or she ceases to be a shaman; e.g. the woman during the period of child-birth and menstruation, when she again belongs to the community of women.

The class of shamans, in which the woman acquires certain attributes of a man, and the man certain attributes of a woman, seems in Siberia to be independent of father- or mother-right. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the 'spirits' inspiring the change of sex are of opposed sexes, as was suggested by J. G. Frazer.<sup>1</sup>

The shaman class, through the exclusion of its members from both the male and the female sections of society, may in some cases be pathological, but this is in no sense a significant or indispensable characteristic, since in the only instances where the 'marriage' of transformed shamans with persons of the same sex has been observed in our time (i.e. among the Chukchee) it is always disapproved by public opinion.<sup>2</sup>

The magico-religious and sociological explanation of the change of dress among shamans does not, however, apply satisfactorily to the *koekchuch*, for professional shamanism among the Kamchadal was not organized and developed to the point of producing a distinct section of society inspired by shamanistic spirits. Neither does this explanation cover cases in which men are dressed in women's costume without being shamans at all. Perhaps we may here find aid in the suggestions put forward by Mr. Crawley<sup>3</sup> in treating of the belief, very widespread among primitive peoples, in the possibility of the transmission of feminine qualities, especially weakness, by contagion. He cites

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., 1907, pp. 384-433.

<sup>2</sup> Since this chapter was written I have been able to familiarize myself with a very interesting pamphlet by the prominent Russian sociologist, A. Maksimoff, dealing with the same subject under the title 'The Change of Sex', *Russian Anthropol. Journ.*, xxix. I was glad to see that Maksimoff also is not satisfied with the physiological explanation of this phenomenon. He gives two reasons for his doubts: (1) The phenomenon, in common with the shamanistic practices, is in decadence everywhere in Siberia; and if it were only due to sexual perversions it would probably be rather on the increase during the present period of colonization, when we know that all sorts of diseases and every kind of sexual licence have increased among the Siberian natives. (2) In many similar cases among other peoples we can see that this phenomenon is purely ritualistic, e.g. in the case of the *Mujerados* of New Mexico (pp. 17-18).

<sup>3</sup> 'Sexual Taboo: a study in the Relations of the Sexes,' *Journal of the Anthropol. Inst.*, xxiv, 124-5.

many instances of 'the custom of degrading the cowardly, infirm, and conquered to the position of females' by putting women's clothes on them. Quoting from L. Morgan (*The League of the Iroquois*, p. 16) he says: 'When the Delawares were denationalized by the Iroquois and prohibited from going out to war, they were, according to the Indian notion, "made women", and were henceforth to confine themselves to the pursuits appropriate to women.' Is it not reasonable to suppose that we have in the *koekchuch* of the Kamchadal simply another instance of a similar practice, especially when we consider the accounts given by Jochelson, Bogoras, and others of the treatment of slaves among some other Palaeo-Siberians? The object aimed at in the treatment referred to by Mr. Crawley is the weakening to the point of emasculation of the character of enemies held captive or in subjection, so as to reduce their capacity for working mischief to the conquerors to a minimum. Jochelson, speaking of slavery as it formerly existed among the Yukaghir, says: 'The slave (captive) stayed in the house with the women . . . and did the housework on equal terms with the women.'<sup>1</sup> He makes a similar statement about the status of the captive slaves formerly held by the Koryak.<sup>2</sup> Close association with women, the primitive argues, produces effeminacy in a man, by contagion. Keep him with the women, put their clothes on him, and he is no longer dangerous, if hostile, and may be made useful in occupations suited to females. In the absence of satisfactory evidence for the other hypothesis put forward, and taking into consideration the attitude towards captive slaves of other Palaeo-Siberians as exhibited above, it would seem at least probable that the *koekchuch* of the Kamchadal were, or had developed from, a class of captive slaves.

Though Bogoras, in his account of the slave-class which existed until comparatively recent times among the Chukchee, does not refer to any definite attempt made by these people to feminize their captives, his statement that the word *amudin* applied to such slaves means primarily 'weakling', and that all the other terms applied to captive slaves have an implication of contempt, supports the assumption that the Chukchee held the same view as other Palaeo-Siberians, including the Kamchadal, of what was the ideal condition of a slave-class.

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson, *The Yukaghir*, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *The Koryak*, p. 766.

## CHAPTER XIII

## GODS, SPIRITS, SOUL.

## I. THE CHUKCHEE.

BENEVOLENT supernatural beings are called by the Chukchee *vairgit*, i. e. 'beings'. The most important are the 'benevolent beings sacrificed to' (*taaronyo vairgit*), those to whom the people bring sacrifices. They live in twenty-two different 'directions' of the Chukchee compass. The chief of these beings is the one residing in the zenith, which is called 'being-a-crown' (*kanoirgin*), or 'middle-crown' (*ginon-kanon*). Mid-day, the Sun, and the Polar Star are often identified with the 'middle-crown'. The Dawn and the Twilight are 'wife-companions', several of the tales describing them as being married to one wife. The 'directions' of the evening are together called 'Darkness'. Sacrifices are made to them only on special occasions, and are often mingled with those offered to the *kelet* ('evil spirits') of the earth.<sup>1</sup>

The sun, moon, stars, and constellations are also known as *vairgit*; but the sun is a special *vairgin*, represented as a man clad in a bright garment, driving dogs or reindeer. He descends every evening to his wife, the 'Walking-around-Woman'. The moon is also represented as a man. He is not a *vairgin*,<sup>2</sup> however, but the son of a *kele* of the lower worlds. He has a lasso, with which he catches people who look too fixedly at him. Shamans invoke the moon in incantations and spells.

Among the stars, the pole-star is the principal *vairgin*, and is most often referred to as *unpener*, 'the pole-stuck star', a name which, Mr. Bogoras asserts, is universal throughout Asia.<sup>3</sup>

There are several other *vairgit* beneficent to man, which Bogoras supposes to be merely vague and impersonal names of qualities. 'They represent a very loose and indefinite personification of the creative principle of the world, and are similar to Vakanda or Great Manitou of the Indians,' he says.<sup>4</sup> Their names are

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, 1907, J. N. P. E., pp. 303-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Vairgin*, singular; *vairgit*, plural. *Kele*, singular; *kelet*, plural.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 305-7. <sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 314.

Tenan-tomgin ('Creator', lit. 'One who induces things to be created'); Gingol-vairgin ('Upper-Being'); Marginen ('World', literally 'The Outer-One'); Yaivac-vairgin ('Merciful-Being'); Yagtac-vairgin ('Life-giving Being'); Kinta-vairgin ('Luck-giving Being'). These do not receive special sacrifices, but are all, except 'Creator', mentioned at the sacrifices to the Dawn, Zenith, and Midday. The 'Luck-giving Being' is sometimes represented as a raven, but the Creator is never so represented by the Chukchee (as he is among the Koryak), although he is sometimes known as 'the outer garment of the Creator'. The Chukchee, however, have many tales about Big-Raven, whom they call Tenan-tomgin.

Besides these 'Beings', the Reindeer Chukchee have also a 'Reindeer-Being' (*Qoren-vairgin*), who watches over the herds; and the Maritime people have their 'Beings of the Sea' (*Anqa-vairgit*), of whom the most important are Keretkun and his wife, sometimes called Cinei-new. 'They live on the sea-bottom or in the open sea, where they have a large floating house. They are larger than men, have black faces, and head-bands of peculiar form, and are clad in long white garments made of walrus-gut adorned with many small tassels.<sup>1</sup> Another sea-spirit is the 'Mother of the Walrus', living at the bottom of the sea, and armed with two tusks like a walrus. Besides her, there is still another sea-spirit like a walrus, which is believed to work harm to people, crawling into their houses at night. These walrus-beings do not receive regular sacrifices, and sometimes assist the shaman in the capacity of *kelet*. Keretkun, however, is the recipient of sacrifices at the autumn ceremonials. The Asiatic Eskimo have sea-deities similar to those of the Maritime Chukchee.<sup>2</sup>

The Chukchee classify the winds also as 'Beings', whose names are mentioned in incantations, the local prevailing wind being always regarded in a given locality as the chief of these 'Beings'.<sup>3</sup>

Spirits of tents and houses are called 'House-Beings' (*Yara-vairgit*). They are attached to houses, not to people, and if a house is destroyed they cease to exist with it. If the inhabitants of a house abandon it, the house-spirits turn into very dangerous earth-spirits.<sup>4</sup> A small share of every important sacrifice is placed for them on the ground in the corners of the sleeping-room.

Other spirits, which are neither *kelet* nor *vairgit*, also exist;

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 316-18.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 318.

e. g. the spirits of intoxicating mushrooms, which form a 'Separate Tribe' (*yanra-varat*).<sup>1</sup>

Some 'Beings' have so called 'assistants' (*viyolet*) which receive a share of the sacrifices. The 'assistant' is very often represented as a raven or as half a raven. Even the *kelet* have 'assistants'.<sup>2</sup>

All the forests, rivers, lakes, and the classes of animals are animated by 'masters' (*aunralit*) or 'owners' (*etinvit*). Sometimes the Chukchee call these *kelet*—a word which, though it usually means 'evil spirits', sometimes is used in the simple sense of 'spirits'.<sup>3</sup> Wild animals are said to have the same sort of households as the Chukchee themselves and to imitate men in their actions. For instance, 'one family of eagles has a slave, Rirultet, whom they stole from the earth a long time ago. He prepares food for all of them, and his face has become blackened with soot.'<sup>4</sup> Animals, like spirits, can take the form of men. The ermine and the owl become warriors on certain occasions; the mice become hunters. 'In most cases, animals, while impersonating human beings, retain some of their former qualities, which identify them as beings of a special class, acting in a human way, but different from mankind.' So the fox-woman retains her strong smell, and the goose-woman does not take animal food.<sup>5</sup>

Lifeless objects, especially if they have originally been parts of living organisms, may become endowed with life; e. g. skins ready for sale may turn at night into reindeer, and walk about.<sup>6</sup>

These various 'owners' are very often of the *kelet* class; but, according to Bogoras, no Chukchee will confess to having made sacrifices to evil spirits, except under extraordinary circumstances.<sup>7</sup>

Bogoras divides the *kelet* of the Chukchee into three classes: (a) invisible spirits, bringing disease and death; (b) bloodthirsty cannibal spirits, the enemies of Chukchee warriors especially; (c) spirits which assist the shaman during shamanistic performances.

*Kelet* of the class (a) are said to live underground, and to have also an abode above the earth; but they never come from the sea, for, according to a Chukchee proverb 'nothing evil can come from the sea'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 283.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 284.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 281.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 290.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 292. In apparent contradiction to the belief expressed in this proverb is the existence of the *kele* in the form of a walrus, mentioned by Mr. Bogoras on p. 316, which is harmful to men.

The *kelet* do not remain in their homes, but wander abroad and seek for victims. They are too numerous to be distinguished by special names. Some of them are one-eyed; they have all sorts of strange faces and forms, most of them being very small. They are organized in communities resembling those of men. On the Pacific shores they are often known as *rekkenit* (sing. *rekken*). These have various monstrous forms, and animals which are born with any deformity are sacrificed to them. The *kelet* have an especial fondness for the human liver. This belief is the origin of the Chukchee custom of opening a corpse to discover from the liver which spirit has killed the deceased.<sup>1</sup> The class (b), which is especially inimical to warriors, is spoken of chiefly in the tales. While incantations and charms are employed against spirits of the first class, against the giant cannibal *kelet* of the second category ordinary weapons of war are used. These spirits once formed a tribe of giants living on the Arctic shore, but being much harassed by the Chukchee, they changed themselves into invisible spirits.<sup>2</sup>

The third class (c) is that of shamanistic spirits, sometimes called 'separate spirits' or 'separate voices'. They take the forms of animals, plants, icebergs, &c., and can change their form very quickly—and also their temper; on account of this last peculiarity the shaman must be very punctilious in keeping his compact with them. The shaman says of them, 'These are my people, my own little spirits.'<sup>3</sup> We do not find in Bogoras any reference to benevolent shamanistic spirits or assistants of the shaman.

Besides these typical evil spirits, there is also a class of 'monsters'. Among these the chief is the killer-whale, which is surrounded by a taboo among all Arctic peoples: any one who kills a killer-whale is sure to die very soon. These monsters in winter are transformed into wolves and prey upon the reindeer of the Chukchee. An exaggerated representation of a polar bear also appears as one of the 'monsters'. The mammoth plays an important part in Chukchee beliefs. It is said to be the reindeer of the *kelet*. If the tusks are seen above ground, this is a bad omen, and unless an incantation is uttered something untoward will happen.

According to one story, some Chukchee men found two mammoth-tusks protruding from the earth. They began to beat the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 292-8.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 298-300.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 300-2.

drum and performed several incantations. Then the whole carcass of the mammoth came to sight. The people ate the meat. It was very nutritious and they lived on it all winter. When the bones were stripped of all the meat, they put them together again, and in the morning they were again covered with meat. Perhaps this story has for its foundation the finding of a mammoth-carcass good for eating, as happened on the Obi in the eighteenth century, and also more recently in the Kolyma country.

'Because of these beliefs, the search for ivory of the mammoth was tabooed in former times. Even now, a man who finds a mammoth-tusk has to pay for it to the "spirit" of the place by various sacrifices. The search for such tusks is considered a poor pursuit for a man, notwithstanding the high price which the ivory brings.'<sup>1</sup>

In the pictorial representations of these 'monsters', or, rather, exaggerated animals, all which have a reindeer as the foremost figure are intended to represent benevolent spirits; while others in which a dog, horse, or mammoth stands in front, represent *kelet*.

Monstrous worms, blackbeetles, birds, and fish are the other exaggerated animal forms which Bogoras calls 'monsters'.<sup>2</sup>

*Soul.* The soul is called *wiril* or *wekkirgin* ('belonging to the body'). Another term is *tetkeyun*, meaning 'vital force of living being'. The soul resides in the heart or the liver, and animals and plants as well as men possess it. One hears, however, more about other 'souls'—those which belong to various parts of the body: e. g. there is a limb-soul, nose-soul, &c. And so a man whose nose is easily frost-bitten is said to be 'short of souls'. Very often the soul assumes the form of a beetle, and hums like a bee in its flight. When a man loses one of his souls, he may obtain its return through a shaman, who, if he cannot discover the whereabouts of the missing soul, can send a portion of his own into the person who has suffered this loss. If a *kele* steals a soul, he carries it into his own dark abode, and there binds its limbs to prevent its escaping. In one of the tales 'a *kele* forces a stolen soul to watch his lamp and trim it'. Bogoras knew of a case of a man who struck his wife with a firebrand, and when the woman died after two days, and her relatives had examined her body and found no injury to any organ, they said that the husband's blow had injured her soul.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 323-30.

'*Kelet* also have souls of their own, which may be lost or spirited away by shamans.'<sup>1</sup>

*Chukchee View of the Universe.* According to the Chukchee belief there are several worlds, one above another. Some reckon five such worlds, others seven or nine. A hole, under the pole-star, forms a passage from one world to the other, and through this hole shamans and spirits pass from one to another of the worlds. Another way to reach the other world is to take a step downwards in the direction of the dawn. There are also other 'worlds' in the 'directions' of the compass, one under the sea, another small dark 'world' vaguely described as being above, which is the abode of the female *kele*-birds. Some of the stars also are distinct 'worlds' with their own inhabitants. The sky, they say, is a 'world' too, and touches our earth at the horizon, where at four points there are gates. When the wind blows these gates are believed to be opening.<sup>2</sup>

## II. THE KORYAK.

In contrast to the Chukchee and the Eskimo, who have whole classes of Supreme Beings (*vairgil*, Chukchee; *kigarnaruk*, Asiatic Eskimo), the Koryak, as Jochelson thinks, have a tendency to monotheism; although he considers it 'possible that all names now applied by them to one deity may have formerly been applied to various beings or phenomena of nature, and that, owing to their intercourse with the Russians, a monotheistic tendency of uniting all names of the various deities into one may have developed'.<sup>3</sup> That the Koryak conception of one Supreme Being is not indigenous, or at least not very old, may be judged from the very vague account of his nature and qualities which was all that Jochelson was able to obtain from these people, and also from the fact that he takes no active part in shaping the affairs of men. He is, of course, a benevolent anthropomorphic being, an old man with a wife and children, dwelling in the sky. He can send famine or abundance, but seldom uses his power to do either good or evil to men.

Jochelson says that the abstract names given to him are hardly consistent with the conception—distinctly material, as far as it goes—which the Koryak seem to have of his nature. Some of

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 332-3.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 330-2.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 24.

these names are: 'Naininen (Universe, World, Outer one); Inahitelan or Ginagitelan (Supervisor); Yaqhicnin or Caqhicnin (Something-Existing), called by the Paren people Vahicnin, by those of Kamenskoye, Vahitnin, or by the Reindeer Koryak, Vahiynin (Existence, also Strength); Gicholan (The-One-on-High); Gicholelinvilan (The-Master-on-High) or simply Etin (Master); Thairgin (Dawn). In Tale 113 we meet with the name Kihigilan (Thunder-Man) for the Supreme Being.<sup>1</sup>

The Supreme Being is propitiated for purely material reasons, such as the procuring of a food-supply by hunting land and sea animals, the picking of berries and roots, and the tending of the reindeer herds. If the Supreme Being ceases to look upon the earth disorder at once begins; e. g. Big-Raven is unsuccessful in his hunting when Universe (Naininen) has gone to sleep (Tale 9). In like manner, failure to offer sacrifices may bring some such misfortune on a man. In one of the tales (111), when young Earth-Maker (Tanuta), the husband of Yineaneut, Big-Raven's daughter, fails to make the customary sacrifice to Inahitelan's (Supervisor's) son Cloud-Man (Yabalan) at his wedding, Supervisor forces Yineaneut, or rather her soul, to the edge of the hearth, where her soul is scorched by the fire, and she wastes away.

Though the Supreme Being does not interfere actively in the affairs of men, their souls (*uyicit* or *wyirit*) go to him after death and hang in his dwelling on posts or beams, until the time comes when they are to be re-born. The duration of the future life of each soul is marked on a thong fastened to it, a short thong indicating a short life. Supervisor dwells in the clouds or the sky or the heaven-village. His wife is known variously as Supervisor-Woman, Rain-Woman, or Sea-Woman. His son, Cloud-Man (Yahal, or Yabalan), is the patron of young couples, and if a lover, young man or woman, desires to conquer the heart of the one beloved, this is accomplished by beating the drum; and the propitiation of this patron is also the reason why the bridegroom sacrifices a reindeer to Cloud-Man after marriage.

Jochelson found only one tale (9) relating directly to the Supreme Being, though there are references to him in some others. In this tale, which is full of coarse details, Universe sends heavy rain upon the earth from the vulva of his wife. Big-Raven and his son are obliged to change themselves into ravens,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 24.

fly up to heaven, and put a stop to the incessant rain by a trick. This tale must not be told in fine weather, but only to put an end to rain or a snow-storm.

As stated above, the Supreme Being sends Big-Raven to order human affairs. The native name for Big-Raven is Quikinnaku or Kutkinnaku, which are augmentative forms of the words for 'raven'. He is also known as Acicenaqu (Big-Grandfather), or Tenantomwan (Creator). The tales about Big-Raven form part of the Pacific Coast cycle of raven myths, for we find this figure in the mythology of the north-western Amerinds as well as in that of the Siberians of north-eastern Asia. But, among the Koryak, Big-Raven plays a part also in the ritual of their religious ceremonies. 'Creator' is really a misnomer, for this being did not exercise any truly creative function: he was sent by the Supreme Being to carry out certain reforms in the already organized universe, and was therefore, so to speak, a reorganizer and the first man. He is also a supernatural being and a powerful shaman; and his name is mentioned in almost every incantation in shamanistic performances. 'When the shamans of the Maritime Koryak commence their incantations they say, "There, Big-Raven is coming!" The Reindeer Koryak told me that during shamanistic ceremonies a raven or a sea-gull comes flying into the house, and that the host will then say, "Slaughter your reindeer, Big-Raven is coming!"'<sup>1</sup>

The personage known by this name turns into a bird only when he puts on a raven's coat. The ordinary raven also figures in the mythology as a droll and contemptible character, a scavenger of dogs' carcasses and of excrement. One of the tales (82), about the swallowing of the sun by Raven (not Big-Raven) and the rescue of the luminary by Big-Raven's daughter, recalls a tale of the setting free of the sun told by the Indians of the North Pacific coast. The Koryak do not count it a sin to kill a raven.

Various contradictory accounts are given of the origin of Big-Raven. Some say that he was created by the Supreme Being; others that they do not know whence he came, although 'the old people' knew it.

Most of the Koryak tales deal with the life, travels, and adventures of Big-Raven, his wife Miti, and their children, of whom the eldest, their son Ememqut, is the best known. In

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 18.



these tales, Big-Raven sometimes appears as a being of very low intelligence, who is often outmatched in cunning, not only by his wife, but even by mice, foxes, and other animals. Transformations, especially of the sexual organs of Big-Raven and his wife (allusions to which figure very largely throughout), supernatural deeds, and indecent adventures, form the subject of the greater part of the tales. 'The coarseness of the incidents does not prevent the Koryak from considering the heroes of these tales as their protectors.'<sup>1</sup> Many of the tales serve no other purpose than the amusement of the people.

In spite of the frivolous character ascribed to Big-Raven in some of the tales, he is said to have been the first to teach the people how to catch sea and land animals, the use of the fire-drill, and how to protect themselves against evil spirits. He lived on earth in the manner of the Maritime Chukchee, but some of his sons were reindeer-breeders. It is not certain how he disappeared from among men. According to some, he and his family turned into stones; others say that he wandered away from the Koryak. Traces of his having lived among them are still pointed out by the Koryak: on a sea-cliff in the Taigonos Peninsula are some large stones which are said to have been his house and utensils. His foot-prints and the hoof-marks of his reindeer are to be seen, say the Koryak, in the village of Kamenskoye.<sup>2</sup>

The Koryak, in common with other Siberian peoples, believe in another class of supernatural beings, known as 'owners' or 'masters' (*ctin*) of certain objects in which they are supposed to reside. Jochelson thinks that this conception among the Koryak is 'not yet differentiated from a lower animistic view of nature'. He finds the idea more highly developed in the *inua* of the Eskimo, the *pogil* of the Yukaghir; and especially so among the Neo-Siberians, e.g. in the Yakut *icci* and the Buryat *ecen* or *isin*. That the conception of a spirit-owner residing in 'every important natural object' is not so clear and well defined among the Koryak as among the other tribes mentioned, Jochelson considers to be proved by the vague and incoherent replies he received in answer to questions about the nature of these 'owners'.

The Koryak word for 'master of the sea' is *anquken-elinvilan* (*anqa*, sea). A Reindeer Koryak who had gone to the sea for summer fishing, and had offered a reindeer as a sacrifice to the sea,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 20-3.

on being asked by Jochelson whether his offering was made to the sea or to the master of the sea, replied, 'I don't know. We say "sea" and "owner of the sea"; it's just the same.' Similarly some of the Koryak say that the 'owner' of the sea is a woman, and others consider the sea itself as a woman. Certain hills, capes, and cliffs are called *apapcl* (*apa*, 'father' in Kamenskoye dialect, 'grandfather' in that of Paren). These are protectors of hunters and travellers, but it is doubtful whether the term is applied to the hill itself or to the spirit residing in it.<sup>1</sup>

The sky is considered as a land inhabited by a stellar people. The sun ('sometimes identified with The-Master-on-High'), the moon, and the stars are animated beings, and sacrificial offerings are made to the sun. 'Sun-Man (Teikemtilan) has a wife and children, and his own country, which is inhabited by Sun people.'<sup>2</sup> Marriages are contracted between his children and those of Big-Raven (Tales 12, 19, 21).

Mention is also made in the tales of a Moon-Man (or woman), and a Star-Man.<sup>3</sup>

The Koryak 'guardians' and 'charms' serve as protectors to individuals, families, or villages, whereas such greater supernatural beings as The-Master-on-High, Big-Raven, and the malevolent *kalan* are deities or spirits of the entire tribe—excepting those *kalan* that serve individual shamans. 'Guardians' form a class of objects that avert evil from men. Those about which Jochelson was able to obtain information include the sacred implements for fire-making, which comprise a fire-board (*gicgic* or *gecgei*), a bow (*eyel*), a wooden drill (*maxem*, 'arrow'), and a headpiece of stone or bone (*ceneyine*).<sup>4</sup>

The fire-board is of dry aspen wood, which ignites easily, and has holes in it for receiving the drill. It is shaped roughly to resemble a human being. The consecration of a new fire-board to the office of protector of the hearth and herd is accompanied with the sacrificing of a reindeer to The-Master-on-High, the anointing of the fire-board with the sacrificial blood and fat, and the pronouncing of an incantation over it. It would thus appear, Jochelson thinks, that the power to direct some vaguely conceived vital principle residing in a crude inanimate object to an activity beneficial to man lies in the incantation pronounced over it.<sup>5</sup>

The headpiece has a hollow socket, which is placed upon the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 20-1.  
<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., Tales 12 and 21.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

thin upper end of the drill. 'The headpiece is held by one person, the board by another, while the bow is turned by a third person,' the drill rotating on its thick lower end in one of the holes of the fire-board. The charcoal dust produced by drilling is collected in a small leathern bag, for 'it is considered a sin to scatter' this dust.<sup>1</sup>

*Evil Spirits.*<sup>2</sup> Evil spirits are called *kalau* (sing. *kala*), corresponding to the Chukchee *kelet*.<sup>3</sup> In the time of Big-Raven they were visible to men, but now they are usually invisible. In most of the myths which refer to them they are represented as living in communities like human beings. They are very numerous, and have the power of changing their size, so that sometimes they are very large and then again very small. Sometimes they seem to be ordinary cannibals and not supernatural beings at all.<sup>4</sup> When the *kalau* are visible they appear sometimes in the form of animals, or as dogs with human heads, or as human beings with pointed heads. 'Their arrows are supplied with mouths, and they can be shot without the use of a bow, and fly wherever they are sent.'<sup>5</sup> Some of the *kalau* live underground and enter the houses of men through the fire on the hearth; others dwell on the earth, in the west. Although invisible, they can make their approach felt. 'Thus, when Big-Raven's children begin to ail, he says: "The *kalau* must be close by."'<sup>6</sup>

*Kalau* are divided into Maritime and Reindeer *kalau*. Some live in the forests, others in the tundra. Human beings are the spoils of their chase, as reindeer and seals are those of human hunters. The *kalau* of diseases form a special class, and the most prominent of these evil spirits have special names.

We do not find among the Koryak a class of spirits well disposed towards men, who will fight with the *kalau*. There is no generic name for good spirits. But the natural enemies of the *kalau* appear to be Big-Raven and his children. Some myths represent Big-Raven and his children as being destroyed by the *kalau*, or, again, the *kalau* are destroyed or made harmless by Big-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 27-30.

<sup>3</sup> 'The people of Paren call them also *kalak* or *kamak*, and among the Reindeer Koryak they are frequently called *nenetichin* or *ninwit*.' (Op. cit., p. 27.)

<sup>4</sup> Jochelson thinks that in this respect they resemble certain malevolent beings of the Yukaghir, called Mythical-Old-Men and Mythical-Old-Women. (Op. cit., p. 28.)

<sup>5</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Raven: 'He causes them to fall asleep; he takes out their cannibal stomachs during their sleep, and puts other ones in their places, usually those of some rodents. At still other times he devises some other means of protecting himself and his children against the invasion of the cannibals. In one story it is told that he heated stones in his house until they were red-hot, invited the *kalau* to sit on them, and thus burned them. At another time he got rid of them by making a steam bath for them, in which they were smothered. At times an incantation serves him as a means of rescue. In another story Big-Raven appealed to the Master-on-High for help against the mouthed arrows of the *kalau* with whom he had been at war; and the deity gave him an iron mouth, which caught all the arrows sent by the *kalau*.'<sup>1</sup> It will be seen, however, from the above that Big-Raven defends himself and his family rather than men from the attacks of *kalau*; and, as Jochelson says in one place, 'Men seem to be left to their own resources in their struggle with evil spirits, diseases, and death.'<sup>2</sup> For, as we have seen, even the Supreme Being plays no active part in the protection of men.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, he sends *kalau* to men 'that they may die, and that he may create other people'.<sup>4</sup> An old man called Yulta, from the village of Kamen-skoye, told Jochelson that the *kalau* formerly lived with The-Master-on-High, but he quarrelled with them and sent them down to our world.<sup>5</sup> Another version has it that Big-Raven sent the *kalau* down to the people to give the latter a chance to test the power of the incantations he had taught them against the *kalau*. One of the tales relates that 'the dead ancestors send the *kalau* from the underground world into the village of their descendants to punish the young people for playing games at night and thus disturbing the rest of the old people'.<sup>6</sup>

*Kalau* are, however, not always only harmful to men. 'Although', says Jochelson, 'on the whole the word *kala* denotes all powers harmful to man, and all that is evil in nature, there are numbers of objects and beings known under the name of *kalak* or *kamak* that do not belong to the class of evil spirits. Thus, the guardian spirits of the Koryak shamans, and some varieties of guardians of the village, of the family, or of individuals, are called by this name.'<sup>7</sup>

In the Koryak cosmogony there are five worlds—two above

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 24-6.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 30.

and two below the earth. The uppermost is the seat of the Supreme Being, the next is inhabited by Cloud-People (Yahalanu); next comes our earth; of the two worlds below, that nearest ours is the dwelling of the *kalau*; and, lowest of all (Ennanenak or Nenengal—'on the opposite side'), is the abode of the shades of the dead (Peninelau, 'ancient people').<sup>1</sup>

At the present day only the shamans can pass from one world to another; but in the ancient days of Big-Raven (comparable to the Arunta age of Alcheringa) this was possible for ordinary people.<sup>2</sup>

The luminaries, the wind, fog, and other phenomena of nature, as well as imaginary phenomena, are supposed to be endowed with anthropomorphic souls; hence, all the wooden images of spirits have human faces. In the time of Big-Raven men could transform themselves either into the form of animals, or into that of inanimate objects,<sup>3</sup> by donning an animal's skin or some covering of the shape of the object into which they desired to be transformed.<sup>4</sup>

'In the time of Big-Raven there was no sharp distinction between men, animals, and other objects; but what used to be the ordinary, visible state in his time became invisible afterwards. The nature of things remained the same; but the transformation of objects from one state into another ceased to be visible to men, just as the *kalau* became invisible to them. Only shamans, that is, people inspired by spirits, are able to see the *kalau*, and to observe the transformation of objects. They are also able to transform themselves by order of the spirits, or in accordance with their own wishes. There is still a living, anthropomorphic essence concealed under the visible inanimate appearance of objects. Household utensils, implements, parts of the house, the chamber-vessel, and even excrement, have an existence of their own. All the household effects act as guardians of the family to which they belong. They may warn their masters of danger, and attack their enemies. Even such things as the voice of an animal, sounds of the drum, and human speech, have an existence independent of the objects that produce them.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 121.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid.      <sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 115-16.

<sup>4</sup> Jochelson thinks that the transformation of men into women after putting on women's clothes, and vice versa, is closely related to this group of ideas. (Op. cit., p. 116.)

<sup>5</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 117.

The Koryak word for the soul is *uyicit*. They appear to have a conception also of 'some other vital principle or a secondary soul',<sup>1</sup> whose name Jochelson was not able to learn, nor could he ascertain anything definite relating to it. 'Some vital principle', he thinks, 'is implied in the words *wuyivi* ("breathing") and *wuyil-wuyil* ("shadow").'<sup>2</sup> They draw no very sharp line of demarcation between life and death. A corpse is not 'deprived of the ability to move. The deceased may arise, if he is not watched'.<sup>3</sup> How death occurs, according to their belief, is explained by Jochelson as follows: 'The soul (*uyicit*), or, to be more exact, the chief soul of the man, frightened by the attack of *kalau* upon it, deserts the body, and rises to the Supreme Being. According to some tales, the *kala* himself pulls the soul out of the body, and sets it free to go off to the sky, in order to possess himself of the body, or of the other souls<sup>4</sup> of the deceased.'<sup>5</sup>

The soul of a deceased person does not leave the earth at once, but hovers high above the corpse. It is like a flame. During illness it is outside the body, hovering low over it if the illness is slight, higher if it is severe. A powerful shaman is believed to be able to bring back the soul to the body of a person recently dead. When the soul of the deceased rises to the Supreme Being, the deceased himself and his other soul, or his shadow, descend underground to dwell with the Peninelau—the ancient people, people of former times.<sup>6</sup>

### III. THE KAMCHADAL.

At the time of Krasheninnikoff and Steller the Kamchadal had several names for the Supreme Being, but these writers do not give any detailed descriptions of the Kamchadal's relations to their deities. On the contrary, Krasheninnikoff thought that they paid no religious worship to their god Kutchu or Kutkhu; and Steller, taking into account their rude and indecent mythology, calls the Kamchadal *geborene Göttestüterer*.<sup>7</sup> The following

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Bogoras (*Chukchee Materials*, p. 17) says that the Chukchee attribute to a man the possession of five or six souls (*uwirit*). Many North-American Indians have a similar belief. The Yukaghir belief that a man has three souls is said to be borrowed from the Yakut, who give a separate name to each of the three (ibid., footnote).

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., pp. 102-3.

<sup>7</sup> Steller, *Reise von Kamtschatka nach Amerika*, p. 253.

names of deities are recorded by Krasheninnikoff:<sup>1</sup> Kutkhu (Kutchu), his wife Ilkxum, his sister Xutlizie, his sons Simskalin and Tizil-Kutkhu, and his daughter Siduku. Tizil-Kutkhu married Siduku. They had a son Amlei, and a daughter, who also married each other, and the Kamchadal are the descendants of this last pair. Neither Steller nor Krasheninnikoff describes the functions of these gods. Kutkhu is called by Steller 'the greatest deity of the Kamchadal, who created the world and every living being'.<sup>2</sup> He mentions also another name for the Supreme Being, *Dustechschitsch*, and Jochelson thinks that this deity may have corresponded to the benevolent Supreme Being of the Koryak. The Kamchadal of the present day call the Christian God by a similar name.<sup>3</sup>

According to other Kamchadal traditions, the earth was created by Kutq (Raven). In one such legend he makes it out of his son Simskalin: another has it that he brought the earth down from the sky with the help of his sister and fixed it immovably in the sea.<sup>4</sup>

The Koryak say that Big-Raven went away from them. The Kamchadal have a similar tradition; but according to them, Raven (Kutq) left them to go to the Koryak and Chukchee.<sup>5</sup>

Volcanoes and hot springs were regarded as the habitations of evil spirits called *kamuli*. Heaven and earth were densely populated by spirits, some of whom were good, but most were evil; sacrifices which are not offered to the gods were made to the spirits.<sup>6</sup>

When the Kamchadal feared being attacked by the whale or the walrus, they used special incantations to appease them and induce them to spare the boat and its crew. They venerated also the bear and the wolf, and never pronounced the names of these animals.<sup>7</sup> They offered sacrifices of fire at the holes of sables and foxes.<sup>8</sup>

They believed that animals and men lived on after death in another world.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Krasheninnikoff, *The Description of the Country of Kamchatka*, ed. 1755, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Krasheninnikoff, op. cit., pp. 73-5.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., pp. 23-4.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

#### IV. THE GILYAK.

The highest benevolent deity of the Gilyak is known as Ytsigy, according to Schrenck.<sup>1</sup> But Sternberg<sup>2</sup> says that they call the universe Kurn, and apply the same name to their highest anthropomorphic deity. The 'owner' spirit of the mountain, and the mountain itself, is named Pal, and the sea and its 'owner' they call Tol. Their name for the island of Sakhalin is Mif, literally 'earth', and they believe that the island is a sort of covering for a certain immense god.<sup>3</sup> Natural objects all have a life of their own, and if one commits violence of any kind upon them sacrifice must be made to the injured 'owners'. Thus, when cutting down a tree, the Gilyak, lest they might hurt its 'owner', place upon it an *inau*<sup>4</sup> (*chekhnkun-inau*), into which the spirit can pass and retain its life.

Visible objects in general are merely masks or coverings for various anthropomorphic spirits which reside in them, and this is especially the case with objects such as stones or roots which have an outward resemblance to the human form.<sup>5</sup> Animals, though outwardly differing in form from man, are in reality human beings, with human feelings and souls, and human institutions, such as the clan. Some of them, indeed, are superior to man, with higher qualities of mind and body. Such are the bear, on land, and a certain large bird at sea. Both these cause all other animals to avoid their neighbourhood. The bear is not dangerous to man in the wilderness, except for a short time in the spring; and the bird is not only not harmful to men, but beneficent, for when he appears the terrified fishes, fleeing before him, are an easy prey for the fishermen. It is not the animal, however, which is the object of their cult, but only its 'owner', *ys*. The 'owners' of the *tayga*, of the mountain, of the sea, and of the fire, are, of course, the most important for men from the economic point of view. The gods of the sky are regarded as less important, for men do not come into direct contact with them. These live in the sky in clans, and are called *fly nivukh*. Of less importance, too, are the gods of the sun and moon; and nearly all sacrifices are offered to the 'owners' of the *tayga*, mountains, sea, and fire.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Natives of the Amur Country*, vol. iii, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *The Gilyak*, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Sternberg says that the cult of *inau* is borrowed from the Ainu (ibid.).

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., pp. 45-9.

Sacrifices, says Sternberg, are not usually accompanied by any elaborate ceremonials. They are based on the principle of exchange, i. e. one does not offer fish to the god of the sea, or game animals to the god of the *tayga*. When a Gilyak at sea fears the oncoming of a storm, he throws some tea-leaves into the water, and says: 'I pray thee see to it that the sea be not angry and that I return home safe and sound.'<sup>1</sup> Wherever a Gilyak goes he carries with him certain objects intended for sacrifices, such, for example, as roots and leaves of certain plants, especially of the *martagan*. They also make bloody sacrifices. In this case the victim is a dog. Offerings of dogs are made chiefly at the beginning of the season for the trapping of sables and at the bear-festival. On these occasions the victims are killed by strangling, and as the dogs are dispatched they ask them to make intercession to the gods for them.<sup>2</sup>

Clan-gods form a special category. They are the spirits of clansmen who have died by drowning or fire, or have been killed by bears. To them periodical sacrifices are made by the clan. The bear-festival belongs to this class of sacrifices.

Besides all these benevolent deities there are classes of less important good spirits—*bol*, *lot*, and *urif*. The malevolent beings are called *milki* or *kinn* (*kinn*). They are very numerous, have various forms, and cause all sorts of misfortune, illness, and death. Many incantations and shamanistic ceremonies are practised to ward off their attacks; but even a shaman cannot deal with them by his own unaided power. He has to call to his assistance two spirit-helpers, *kekhn* and *kenchkh*. These assistants of the shaman are exceedingly clever and sometimes very wicked.<sup>3</sup>

The Gilyak believe that an ordinary man has one soul, a rich man two, while a shaman may have as many as four. Thus the shaman Chamkh had four souls, one of which he received from the mountain, another from the sea, the third from the sky, and the fourth from the underworld. His son Koinit, who had been chosen by the spirits to be a shaman, had already two souls, although he was only twelve years old, and Chamkh was a very poor man. Besides these principal souls, every one has a lesser soul, which they imagine as being like an egg, residing in the head of the principal soul. All that a man sees in dreams is the work of this lesser soul. After a man's death, which they believe to be

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 50-2.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 70.

caused by his body being devoured by evil spirits, the soul, also attacked by the same spirits, may escape from them, and goes to the land of the dead called *mylvo*. Here it has the form of a man, and leads the same kind of life as on earth, except that a poor man becomes rich, and a rich man poor. From this place the soul goes to another land, and so on from land to land, turning into smaller and smaller beings in transit—a bird, a gnat, and at last a speck of dust. Some souls return to earth and are born again. The lesser soul continues to live for some time in the best-beloved dog of the deceased, which is especially cherished and cared for (see chapter on 'Death').<sup>1</sup>

## V. THE AINU.

Batchelor says that the Ainu believe in one Supreme Being, Creator of all worlds, whom they call Kotan Kara Kamui, Moshiri Kara Kamui, Kando Koro Kamui—'the maker of places and worlds, and possessor of heaven'. *Kamui* means, in the first place, 'he who' or 'that which is greatest' or 'best' or 'worst'; a secondary (or more modern) meaning is 'he who' or 'that which covers' or 'overshadows'. In both meanings the word is akin to that for 'heaven', which itself has for its root a word signifying 'top' or 'above'. When applied to good powers *kamui* is a title of respect; and when the evil gods are called by this name it implies the fear or dread inspired by them. Besides these names, the Ainu sometimes refer to their Supreme Being under the title Tuntu, which means 'pillar', 'support', 'upholder'. He is the Creator, 'the summit, centre, and foundation (of the world), its originator and mighty "support"'.<sup>2</sup>

Batchelor thinks that the Ainu regard this being as (i) the creator and preserver of the world; (ii) the sustainer of men in general; (iii) the special protector of every individual, with whom men can communicate in prayer.<sup>3</sup>

There is, according to the Ainu belief, also a multitude of less important deities, who are subject to the highest, and carry out his decrees. By their means he created and still sustains the world and mankind. Some of these gods are benevolent and have a double who is malignant. E. g. there are two gods of the sea called *Ryppu kamui*. They are brothers. The younger,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 55-7.

<sup>2</sup> Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, pp. 248-51, 258. <sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 261.



*Mo acha*, 'uncle of peace', is beneficent to man, bringing fair weather for fishing: while his elder brother, *Shi ucha*, is an evil deity who chases *Mo acha* from the seaside, and brings bad weather to spoil the fishing and wreck the boats.<sup>1</sup> Similarly with other deities of the waters, *Wakka-ush kamui*. These are female, and have charge of springs, streams, waterfalls, lakes, and ponds. *Chiwash ekot mut*, 'female possessor of places where fresh and salt waters mingle', watches over river-mouths and allows the fish to go in and out. *Nusa*, i.e. clusters of *kema-ush-inao*, or 'legged inao' (i.e. inao tied to stakes thrust into the ground), are set up by the water as sacrifices to these gods. *Pet-ru-ush mat*, 'females of the waterways', have oversight of all streams from the source to the sea. They, too, are worshipped with offerings of *nusa*, and appealed to for protection in descending the rapids, and for good fortune in fishing.<sup>2</sup> *Sarak kamui*, on the other hand, is the evil god of the rivers. The word *sarak* denotes accidental death, and this god is said to bring about death not only by drowning, but also by mishap of any kind.<sup>3</sup>

The goddess of the sun is generally regarded as the chief of the secondary gods, for she is considered to be the special ruler of all good things in the universe. There is also a god of the moon. Some consider the moon a female, and the sun a male; but the majority speak of the sun as being female. These luminaries would seem to be regarded rather as the dwellings of deities than as being deities themselves. If the god of the sun or of the moon depart from their dwellings, the day or the night is darkened. Hence the fear which the Ainu have of eclipses.<sup>4</sup>

The stars are not worshipped, though the term *kamui* ('god') is sometimes applied to them. The Milky Way, or 'river of the gods', 'crooked river', is a favourite resort of the gods for fishing.<sup>5</sup>

Next in importance to the deity of the sun is the goddess of fire. She warms the body, heals sickness, enables man to cook his food. She is especially to be feared because she is a witness to note the acts and words of men. Hereafter they are punished or rewarded, says Batchelor, according to her testimony concerning their actions in life. It appears that it is not the fire which is worshipped, but the goddess residing in the fire.<sup>6</sup>

'Every Ainu hut is supposed to have its special guardian god who is thought to rest upon the roof when the master is at home,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 93-4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 273-4.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 277.

and give warning of approaching danger, and who accompanies the head of a family when he goes forth to his wars and on his hunting expeditions.'<sup>1</sup> Batchelor says also that they believe that every person has his own protecting spirit.<sup>2</sup>

'Traditions inform us that the gods gather themselves together and consult with one another as to ways and means before they act, the Creator, of course, acting as president, just in the same way as the Ainu chiefs used to meet together for consultation before they acted.'<sup>3</sup>

If an Ainu finds that the particular god worshipped does not answer his prayer, he appeals to the Creator, sometimes even accusing the lesser god to him of neglecting his duty.<sup>4</sup>

They believe that their first ancestor, whom they call *Aiaina kamui*, became divine, and, as Batchelor says, 'has now the superintendence of the Ainu race'.<sup>5</sup>

The Ainu believe in evil as well as in good spirits. The chief evil spirit is *Nitne kamui*, and there are also other malignant beings who preside over accidents and diseases of the body and mind.<sup>6</sup>

The souls both of animals and men are believed to survive bodily death; and, according to Batchelor, the Ainu belief in a judgement of souls is strong and well defined.<sup>7</sup>

The Ainu believe that the soul will inhabit after death a body almost exactly resembling that which it has occupied in life; and that the community of souls in the future life, in its pursuits and enjoyments, is practically the same as the Ainu community on earth. Souls can revisit this earth as ghosts whenever they desire to do so; and some of the living also have the power to go among the ghosts in their dwelling-place. In neither case can the visitor make himself heard, but he himself can both see and hear.<sup>8</sup>

The ghosts of deceased women are greatly feared, and that of an old woman especially is believed to have an extraordinary capacity for doing harm to the living. Even while alive on earth old women have great power over men, and children are much afraid of them. Formerly the hut in which the oldest woman of a family died was burnt after her death to prevent the spirit returning to work mischief to her offspring and to her sons and daughters-in-law. The soul returning from the grave to exorcise

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 264.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 225.

its spells upon the living was thus unable to find its former home, and wandered about for a time in a furious rage. During this period the grave was carefully avoided.<sup>1</sup>

All souls go first to Pokna-Moshiri, the underworld. Here there are three roads, one leading to Kanna-Moshiri, 'the upper world', our world; another to Kamui-Kotan, 'the place of god', or Kamui-Moshiri, 'the kingdom' or 'world of god'; and the third to Teinei-Pokna-Shiri, 'the wet underground world'. On reaching Pokna-Moshiri, the soul is sent, on the testimony of the goddess of fire, either to Kamui-Kotan or to Teinei-Pokna-Shiri, to be rewarded for a good life, or punished for an evil one. If the spirit denies having done evil, he is confronted by a picture representing his whole life which is in the possession of the fire-goddess. 'Thus the spirit stands self-condemned' to punishment in Teinei-Pokna-Shiri.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the Ainu hold that women, who are considered inferior to men 'both spiritually and intellectually', have 'no souls, and this is sometimes stated as a reason why women are never allowed to pray'. But Batchelor thinks that the real reason for this prohibition is that the Ainu are afraid that the women will appeal to the gods against their ill-treatment by the men.<sup>3</sup>

Such are the views attributed by Batchelor to the Ainu about a future judgement, heaven, and hell. According to Chamberlain,<sup>4</sup> these conceptions are not original with the Ainu. He says: 'Some of the Ainos say that Paradise is below the earth, and Hell below that again. But as they use the modern Japanese Buddhist names for those places, they would appear to be, consciously or unconsciously, giving a foreign tinge to their old traditions. The fact that many Aino fairy-tales mention Hades under the name of Pokna Moshiri, while none seemingly mention Heaven or Hell, favours the view that no moral thread was woven into the idea of the next world as originally conceived by the Aino mind.'

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 237-8.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 234-5. This statement of Batchelor's implies that the Ainu women have a very low social position. On the other hand, both Sternberg and Pilsudski, who have an intimate acquaintance with Ainu life, say that the social position of women among the Ainu is better than in any other of the tribes of Siberia, and consider that this is probably due to the existence of a matriarchate among the Ainu in comparatively recent times.

<sup>4</sup> *The Language, Mythology, and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan viewed in the Light of Aino Studies*, p. 19.

## VI. THE TURKIC TRIBES.

### (1) THE YAKUT.

According to Troshehanski, the chief benevolent god of the Yakut is Urun-Aiy-Toyon, the white lord and creator of the earth and man. This writer thinks that Urun-Aiy-Toyon was regarded as the father of light, and since among all the Turkic tribes the sun is considered the father of light, his opinion is that this god was originally the Yakut god of the sun. When the Yakut migrated northward, where the sun is not so much in evidence as in the south, they kept the name Urun-Aiy-Toyon as that of their principal 'white' god, and gave a new name to the sun—Kun-Toyon, 'Sun-Lord', or simply Kun, the latter being the ordinary word for 'light', 'day'. However, *aiy* and *kun* are often used synonymously.<sup>1</sup> While Troshehanski,<sup>2</sup> following Piekarski, says that Urun-Aiy-Toyon is sometimes called Art-Toyon-Aga, 'Father-Ruler-of-All', or Ar-Aiy-Toyon, Sieroszewski<sup>3</sup> and Priklonski think that Art-Toyon-Aga is the highest god, living in the Ninth Sky, and that Urun-Aiy-Toyon, who lives in the Third Sky, is next to him in dignity. Sieroszewski says that the Yakut Olympus is organized on the plan of the clan-system of the Yakut. The sky-gods are divided into nine *bis* or *agas*, and the gods of the lower world into eight. The sky-gods are arranged in the following order:

(i) Art-Toyon-Aga, the powerful ruler of light and life, speaking in the storm and thunder, somewhat indifferent to human affairs, and to be appealed to only in exceptional circumstances. In his honour are celebrated the great clan ceremonies, *ysyakh*, in which sacrifice of *kumys* is made to him. Generally speaking, bloody sacrifices are not made to the benevolent deities. Only to the god of hunting, Bay-Nay, is sacrifice involving bloodshed offered, and even in this case such sacrifices are limited in the quantity of blood that may be shed.

(ii) Urun-Aiy-Toyon, 'White-Lord-Creator'.

(iii) Nalban-Aiy, Kubay-Khotun-La, 'Kind-Mother-Creatress'.

(iv) Nalygyr-Aissyit-Khotun, the benevolent goddess who presides over child-birth.

<sup>1</sup> *The Evolution of the Black Faith (Shamanism) among the Yakut*, pp. 33-7.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Sieroszewski, *12 Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, pp. 388-9.

(v) An-Alay-Khotun, the tutelary goddess of the earth, fields, and valleys, with her children, the spirits of *üräkä-djäräkä*.

(vi) Sättä-kürä-Djasagai-Aiy, seven brothers, gods of light, war, &c.

(vii) Mogol-Toyon and his wife, the deities of the cattle.

(viii) Bay-Nay, god of hunting.

(ix) Gods who guard the roads to the sky.<sup>1</sup>

Sieroszewski says that the natives are quite ready to give information about the clan arrangement of the sky-gods, but that it is very difficult to get similar information about the gods of the underworld, since very few of the ordinary people know anything about them, and the shamans are afraid of betraying the secrets of these formidable beings. The chief of the 'dark' spirits is Ulutuyor-Ulu-Toyon, 'Omnipotent Lord'. He is always described as living in the western sky, and, in contrast to the inactive Art-Toyon-Aga, he is the personification of action and of the passions. Ulu-Toyon is not always harmful to men, for he gives to them one of his souls, *sär*, and defends them from the attacks of *abassylar*. In some descriptions he appears as the highest of the active supernatural powers, and not necessarily evil; but in other accounts he is described as a 'dark' spirit, the ruler of *abassylar*, just as Art-Toyon-Aga is the ruler of *aiy*, who inhabit the eastern sky.<sup>2</sup>

The *abassylar* are divided into 'Upper', living in the western sky; 'Middle', living on the earth; and 'Lower', inhabiting the subterranean world; but, wherever they live, they are all harmful to men.<sup>3</sup>

*Ichchi*, literally 'owner', signifies an 'owner'-spirit of various objects. Every river, lake, stone, and sometimes even parts of these, has its own *ichchi*, who controls it. Movable objects and those which can produce sounds also have their *ichchi*. *Ichchi* do not belong either to the *aiy* or to the *abassylar*, though in many cases, like the *abassylar*, they are harmful to men. Thus, for example, Kurar-Ichchi, the 'owner' of the wind, is by many writers considered as a 'black' spirit, since the wind is very often dangerous and harmful.<sup>4</sup> In the wanderings of the tribe through difficult country, by dangerous roads, or through trackless regions, accidents may often happen to a cart or some part of its equipment. Such misfortunes are attributed to the local *ichchi*, who must therefore be placated by sacrifices. The Yakut have a

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> Troshchanski, op. cit., pp. 26-30.

special language for use during these journeyings. In this language, implements or other valuable objects are given certain nicknames instead of names proper to them, in order that the *ichchi* may not know that the objects in question are referred to—for if they did, they would destroy or harm them. For the same reason the Yakut often employ Russian names for things they value, being certain that the *ichchi* will not understand these.<sup>1</sup>

The Yakut division of the universe is mainly horizontal, comprising two parts—east and south, the habitation of good spirits, and west and north, of evil spirits. The great evil spirit, Allara-Ogonür, 'Underground-Old-Man', lives in the far north. There is also a vertical division into upper, middle, and lower worlds, but this is less precise and not so important as the horizontal division, since *abassylar*, or evil spirits, are found in all three divisions, so that no one of the vertical worlds is restricted to the 'white' or good spirits, *aiy*.

The Yakut believe that man is composed of (i) *tyn*, 'life', 'breath'; (ii) *kut*, the physical soul; and (iii) *sär*, the psychic soul.<sup>2</sup> *Tyn* is common to men, animals, and plants, as among the Altaians. *Kut* is common to men and animals, and is composed of three parts: (a) *buor-kut*, literally 'earth-soul', i.e. soul composed of earthly elements; (b) *salgyn-kut*, literally 'air-soul', i.e. composed of air; (c) *iyä-kut*, 'mother-soul', the maternal element. It might seem, says Troshchanski, that there are here three souls, but in fact *kut* is one soul composed of these three elements. A Yakut woman is always delivered of her child on the bare ground within the *gurla*, for the Yakut believe that the *buor-kut* is communicated to the infant from the earth at the moment of birth. *Salgyn-kut* it receives from the air shortly afterwards; while the third element, *iyä-kut*, comes to the child from the mother.<sup>3</sup> Troshchanski considers that the proof of *kut* being but one soul composed of three parts is found in the fact that the Yakut believe that fishes have no *kut*, being cut off from both air and earth and not being viviparous.

The Altaians also have a conception of a *kut*, but theirs does not comprise three elements as does that of the Yakut.

*Kut* is a physical conception of the soul, while *sär*, although in some degree a material conception, has more of a psychical

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Troshchanski, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 74.

character than *kut*. The *sür* enters the mother by way of her temples at the moment of conception. The *kut* is sent by Art-Toyon-Aga, and the *sür* by Ulu-Toyon. *Sür* is connected with the head, and has no shadow; *kut* with the abdomen, and has three shadows. After death *kut* is devoured by the *abassylar*; though there is also a belief that the *kut* remains for some days near the body of the deceased, and then departs to the other world.<sup>1</sup> *Sür* is common to man and the animals, and is even possessed by fishes.<sup>2</sup> Troshchanski<sup>3</sup> says that the word *sür* is also used to denote unusual psychic powers, such as are possessed by shamans; and, indeed, according to the legend,<sup>4</sup> shamans receive their heads (the seat of *sür*) from heaven. If, as Troshchanski thinks, the *sür* is primarily connected with the shaman as his distinctive familiar spirit, and does not perish after death like the *tyn*, nor go to the other world like the *kut*,<sup>5</sup> then it would seem clear that the *ämäggyal*, which according to some is a shamanistic spirit passing from one shaman to another, usually by heredity, is not in fact a spirit at all, but simply an impersonal power invariably associated with shamans.<sup>6</sup>

## (2) THE ALTAIANS.

According to the belief of the Altaians<sup>7</sup> the good spirits (*aru neme*) are all subjects of the good god Yulgen, and the bad spirits (*kara neme*) of the evil god Erlik. Yulgen is so kind and generous that he never does harm to men. Sacrifices are offered to him by all, but no one fears him. Every bridegroom must sacrifice to him a horse (*ük*) of a light colour after his marriage. The *ük* is surrounded with every mark of respect, red ribbon is tied to its mane, and no woman must mount upon its back. This sacrifice is offered in spring, in a birch thicket; no woman must be present at the ceremony, and even the shaman must of necessity be a man. The sacrificial meat may be partaken of by women, but only unmarried girls may share the feast at the spot where the sacrifice was offered; married women must not approach nearer than sixty feet from this spot.

<sup>1</sup> According to Mikhailowski, the Samoyed believe that the souls of ordinary men perish some time after the death of their possessors (*Shamanism*, p. 7), only the souls of shamans surviving.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 75-6.      <sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 78.      <sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> A similar hypothesis concerning *ämäggyal* is put forward in the chapter on 'The Shaman—his Vocation'.

<sup>7</sup> Wierbicki, *The Natives of the Altai*, p. 43.

Sacrifice is made to Erlik—usually of some animal—when an evil spirit attacks some one. The ceremony is performed either in the *yurta*, in the courtyard, or wherever the attack was made. Propitiatory sacrifices are offered, not only to Yulgen and Erlik, but also to secondary good spirits, such as *aru neme* and *ak neme*, and to secondary evil spirits (*kara neme*), which are known to the Tartars of Chern as *shaitan*, *almys*, *kharwa*, *kurmes*. The sun, the moon, as well as the mountains, rivers, and forest, are also propitiated, or rather the propitiation is offered to their 'owner' (*eezi*). Besides these superior beings, every clan (*seok*) has its own deity, and every family its own family god of the *yurta*, called *bashtut-khan* (or among the Tartars of Chern, *erke*).

Images of gods are called by the Yenisei Turks *tyns*, and by the Altaians, *kurmes*. These are made of various materials, often skin or wood.

There exists, apparently, some understanding between Yulgen and Erlik. As the Altaians say, 'Yulgen and Erlik have one door.'<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, when Yulgen has been expecting a sacrifice and fails to receive it, being too kind-hearted to punish the culprit himself, he informs Erlik, and then sacrifices have to be made to both. In such cases Erlik commands Kagyr Khan to punish the culprit until he makes the expected sacrifice. Kagyr Khan has power over every *yurta*, and hence minor libations are made to him at all festivals.

The intermediary between gods and men at all sacrifices, and the priest at these ceremonies, as well as the prophet, is the *kam* or shaman. His power is greater or less according to the degree of *tes bazyn-yat*<sup>2</sup> (probably 'ancestor-spirit' or 'power of ancestor-spirit') possessed by him.<sup>3</sup>

The local division of the universe is partly horizontal, partly vertical; and the good spirits live in seventeen floors above the earth, while the bad occupy seven or nine under it. Erlik Khan, the chief of the bad spirits, lives on the lowest floor, where the sun and moon are supposed to give only a very feeble light. This Erlik Khan is held to have been originally a heavenly spirit, which shows that even in the past the 'white' spirits were predominant.<sup>4</sup>

The Altaians believe that the soul of man is composed of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> This conception is similar to that of *ämäggyal* among the Yakut.

<sup>3</sup> Wierbicki, *The Natives of the Altai*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

several parts, or rather exists in several conditions or stages. When a man is ill,<sup>1</sup> they consider that one of his souls, *suzy*, is absent, but that another soul, called *tyn*, still remains in the body, so that the *suzy* can be recalled.

(a) *Tyn*<sup>2</sup> signifies vitality, i.e. a soul common to plants, animals, and man. If the *suzy* does not return soon to the body, the *tyn* perishes. The soul of a dead man is called *uziup-tyn*. The word *tyn* comes from *tynip*, 'I breathe', or *tynit*, 'breath'. The Altaians say that one can hear a sound as of the snapping of a string when the *tyn* is departing. One must not approach too near to a dying man, for the belief is that in such a case the *tyn* of a living person can pass into the latter.

(b) *Suzy* is derived from *su*, 'water', 'river', and *uzak*, 'long'. The word *sunuzak* means 'long-lived', 'healthy'; and *suzy* signifies primarily the strength necessary for a man or animal in order that he may be healthy and live long.

(c) *Kut* is almost the same as *suzy*, or is, so to speak, the next stage of *suzy*. This word is derived from *kuchup*, 'I vanish'. *Kut* connotes, in fact, the destruction of some vital principle. The expression *er kudup pardy* means 'the earth has lost its vitality' or 'has become barren'.

(d) *Tula* is probably derived from *tulap*, 'I tear'. Animals have no *tula*, it belongs only to men. During a shaman's performance he represents this soul as a small white bullet continually in motion like quicksilver.

(e) *Sür*, from *sürup*, 'I pursue', 'I drive away'. This soul separates from a man at death, and is banished from the dead man's habitation forty days after his death. *Sürmet* means a 'picture', 'representation'. The Altaians believe that both men and animals, or their *sürmet*, continue to exist after bodily death, and have the same relations to one another as on earth.

(f) *Süne*, denoting a phase of the soul also peculiar to man, comes from *sinep*, 'I advise', 'discuss'. The word refers to the intellectual powers of man. It is this soul which assumes after death the living likeness of its possessor, and wanders in the dwelling of the dead man, sometimes calling out to his relatives.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Tyndu-agash*, fresh, growing tree; *tyndu-elen*, fresh grass (ibid.).

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 78.

## VII. THE MONGOLIC TRIBES.

### THE BURYAT.

The Buryat religion is a form of polytheism. They have classes of supernal beings, each class having at its head one who is above the rest, but they have no conception of a Supreme Being over all. The highest spirits are called *tengeri* or *tengeriny*. They inhabit the sky.<sup>1</sup> There are ninety-nine *tengeri* each with a name of its own, divided into two groups—western, *buruni*, and eastern, *zuni*. Those of the west are kind, they predominate in numbers, being fifty-five, and are called *sagani tengeri*—White Tengeri. The eastern (forty-four in number) are mischievous, and are known as *khuran tengeri*, or Black Tengeri.<sup>2</sup>

Banzaroff<sup>3</sup> speaks of the old Mongols as being heaven-worshippers, and this may be true of former times; now, however, we find among them a curious conception of heaven not as an indivisible whole, but as a collection of distinct bodies.

Following what Mr. Klementz<sup>4</sup> calls the theory of the atmospheric explanation of myths, Agapitoff and Khangaloff, in their *Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia*, explain the ninety-nine *tengeri* as being each a personification of some atmospheric state, dull, bright, cold, stormy, &c.

The chief of the west *tengeri* is Khan-Tiurmas Tengeri among the Buryat of Balagansk, and Zayan-Sagan-Tengeri among the Buryat of Kudinsk.<sup>5</sup> Not only the west *tengeri*, but also certain secondary spirits called *burkhans* or *khats*, and generally all the western or good *zayans*, are subordinate to this chief.

The east *tengeri*,<sup>6</sup> in contrast to those of the west, are hostile to men, among whom they send misfortunes, quarrels, sickness, and death. In the beginning there was no difference between these two classes of *tengeri*; but in consequence of a quarrel which arose among these spirits, some separated themselves and went to the east, where they have since remained as east *tengeri*, permanently hostile to the others and to men. There is a tradition among some of the Buryat, e. g. those of the Kuda River, that the white

<sup>1</sup> The sky as seen by daylight is called *tengeri*; the night sky is *oktorgo*.

<sup>2</sup> Khangaloff, 1895, pp. 1-2. <sup>3</sup> Banzaroff, pp. 6, 26.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Buriat,' *E. R. E.*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In Buryat the word *zayan* means literally 'creator', and *sagan*, 'white'. Colloquially the former word has the meaning 'god', 'deity'.

<sup>6</sup> Khangaloff, op. cit., p. 10.



*tengeri* are older than the black—a tradition which may not be unconnected with the other just mentioned. The chief of the east *tengeri* is Ata-Ulan-Tengeri among the Balagansk Buryat, and among the Kudinsk Buryat, Khimkhir-Bogdo-Tengeri. Not only the black *tengeri* but also other lesser *zayans* are subordinate to him.

The Buryat believe that the visible sky has a door through which the western *tengeri* look from time to time, to see how human affairs are going. If they behold some misfortune they send to the aid of men certain of their children, called *khats*. If a man should happen to look up at the sky when this door (*tengerin-uden*) opens, he will be very lucky, and all that he may then ask from heaven will be granted him. During the brief moment when this door is open, a glory falls upon the earth and transfigures it to unwonted beauty.<sup>1</sup>

The most important of the western *khats* are Khan-Shargan-Noyon and Bukha-Noyon-Babai.

The other benevolent spirits are known among the Kudinsk Buryat as *salini-burkhat*. They are held in great reverence, because, as their name shows (*sa*, 'tea'), they are tutelary spirits of tea-planting, and the offering made to them consists always of tea, never of *tarasun*.<sup>2</sup>

The Balagansk Buryat include among their benevolent spirits a *dayda-delkha-ijin*, that is, the 'host or owner of the whole earth', who is represented as an old man with grey hair. His name is Daban-Sagan-Noyon. His wife is also old and white-haired, and her name is Delent-Sagan-Khatun. The Buryat arrange *tailgans* to this *zayan* in the autumn after the harvest.

The Buryat of Olhonsk offer sacrifice to the 'hostess' of the sea, Aba-Khatun.

The Buryat of Balagansk have also important deities called *sagani-khordut*.<sup>3</sup>

Speaking generally, every feature of the whole landscape has its 'owner' (*ijin*). E. g. in the lakes and rivers there are spirits known as *ukhun-khat*; and in the forest lives *oin-ijin*, the 'owner' of the forest, a spirit harmful to men.<sup>4</sup>

The attitude of the Buryat towards the many 'owners' whom they see in nature is shown in the following prayer: 'Ye keepers of the echo in the high mountains, ye keepers of the winds of the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Shashkoff, 1864, p. 49.

wide sea; my lords who lodge in the high mountains, my gods who live in the wilderness! Be our support in our need! In the evil years be generous, grant us fertility in the lean months! When we sit within our *yurtas* ye are not a danger to us; when we are without, there is no hindrance to your power. In the warm night ye give us light, in the hot midday ye send us shade. Banish from us evil, bring near to us the good! Since ye have made yourselves Creators, save us from all perils! Ye suffer not our plate-like faces to sweat, nor our hearts, like buttons, to flutter. Guardians of our heads, ye who prepare food for our mouths! Through the doors of our *yurtas* send us rays of light, through our smoke-holes let us see the sun!<sup>1</sup>

A special class in the spiritual world is formed of 'smiths', who are also western, or white, and eastern, or black. The former protect men and heal them of ills. They are subordinate to the western *tengeri*, and they have given to men knowledge of their art. The first white smith was Bojintoy, a heavenly *zayan*. When, at the behest of the western *tengeri*, white smiths and black descended to earth, Bojintoy remained in the sky. He had one daughter and nine sons, all of whom were smiths.<sup>2</sup>

The eastern *khats* are of the same number as the western. Their head is Erlen-Khan and his family. Although they do nothing but mischief to men, they have communication sometimes with the western *khats*, the intermediaries, who have no other function to perform, being called *ilshi* or *bydek*. There are also nine 'cow' *khats*, who also belong to the eastern *zayans* but are not subject to their power.<sup>3</sup>

In the region of the evil spirits there are two dungeons, one of which, the larger, is known as Khalga, and to this the greatest black shamans go after death. It is under the rule of Khara-Eren-Noyon, and a soul can only leave the dungeon if the governor is well disposed towards it. The other dungeon is smaller, and is called Erlen-Tama. It is not accessible to shamans, and is under the direct control of Erlen-Khan.<sup>4</sup>

Eastern or black 'smiths' are called *kara-darkhat*.<sup>5</sup> They are specially protected by the eastern *tengeri*, who taught the smith's art to the first 'black' smith on earth, Khojir-Khara-Darkhan. The latter has seven sons, all of whom are great black 'smiths'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 38-9.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Darkhan*, singular—'a smith'. *Darkhat* is plural.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 53.

The Buryat of Balagan believe that every disease has its *zayan*. Thus the disease common in their district, *Sibinskaya yazva* (called in Buryat *bome*), has as its 'owner' Bolot-Sagan-Noyon.<sup>1</sup>

In the clan Olzoyev, in the district of Unginsk, there are two large white stones, Bumal-Sagan-Shulun (literally, 'descending white stones'), which are believed to have fallen from the sky, and are worshipped by the natives.<sup>2</sup>

The souls of the greatest shamans after death become *zayans* and protectors of men. Even the souls of black shamans are said to arrange human business with the black *zayans*. Every *ulus* and clan has its own *zayans*—the souls of deceased shamans and shamanesses. Their bodies are burned or placed in coffins, which are put on trees in a neighbouring forest or on a mountain, whence they are called 'the old people of the mountain', *khada-ulan-öbökhdö*. In every district there are such 'old people of the mountain', for whom are made *tailgans* and *kiriks*, with other lesser propitiatory offerings. These 'old people' are purely local divinities, and are not worshipped outside of the particular locality to which they belong.<sup>3</sup>

There are also two classes of *ongons* or fetishes—'black' and 'white'. They represent different spirits and are made of various kinds of material, usually of skins, and are of different forms, but generally have human faces. One kind of *ongons* serve only for the amusement of people. These are known as *nadani ongon*, *nadani* being the name given to an evening's amusement. The shaman calls upon the spirits represented by these *ongons* to amuse the young people during an evening party. When the spirit invoked arrives, the shaman himself pretends to be its *ongon*, and begins to make jests at the expense of the people present, who must not make any objection, but affect to be amused, for these *ongons* must be welcomed with merriment, and are annoyed otherwise.<sup>4</sup>

Although the Buryat have many legends about animals, which figure largely in their mythology, animals never rise to the rank of deities. Some are even said to have a future life, e.g. the horse, eagle, hedgehog, swan, fox, and even the worms in the fields. The snake is often represented in ritual as well as in mythology. It is a curious fact that the bear, which plays such an important part in the beliefs and ceremonies of other

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 82-4.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 76.

shamanists, does not enter into the myths and ritual of the Buryat.

The sun and the moon are among the principal tutelary spirits. In most of the tales they are represented as being of the male sex and as taking women for wives. When there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, said a Balagansk shaman, this is because they have been swallowed by an *alkha*, a monster without trunk or limbs, having only a head. The sun, or the moon, then cries 'Save me!' and all the people shout and make a great noise to frighten the monster.<sup>1</sup>

The Buryat believe that man is composed of three parts: *oyeye*, material body; *amin*, lower soul, breath; and *sunyesun*, soul belonging to man only. *Amin* is connected with death; when it leaves the body, death occurs. *Sunyesun* has a similar connexion with sleep, leaving the body when one is sleeping. Batoroff<sup>2</sup> relates the history of the soul after death as follows: When the time comes for a man to die, *erliks* capture one of his souls, and bring it before Erlik-Nomon-Khan for judgement. After this soul has been captured, it sometimes happens that a man may live on for as long as nine years, but he never enjoys his former health and strength.

The second part of the soul does not leave the earth, but changes at the death of the man into a *bokholdoy*, which continues to live in a dwelling on earth and in a manner exactly similar to that which the man formerly followed. There are different classes of *bokholdoys*.

The third part of the soul is born again in the form of a human being, but Batoroff<sup>3</sup> does not tell us when and how this reincarnation takes place.<sup>4</sup>

*Bokholdoys* are sometimes the souls of deceased shamans, to whom the Buryat bring sacrifices, says Batoroff;<sup>5</sup> these *bokholdoys*, then, form the class of *zayans* to which reference was made above. *Bokholdoys* are more or less powerful, according to the quality of the shamans in life. This depends, Batoroff thinks,<sup>6</sup> on the *utlika* of the deceased shaman, which means literally, his descent or genealogy; but from other references to a shaman's *utlika* it

<sup>1</sup> Agapitoff and Khangeloff, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> 'Buryat beliefs on the *bokholdoys* and *anakhoy*s,' E. S. S. I. R. G. S., vol. ii, part ii, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> For further information as to peculiar Buryat beliefs about the soul, see the chapter on 'Death'.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

seems clear that the word denotes supernatural, shamanistic power, like the Yakut *ümägyat*.<sup>1</sup> The less important *bokholdoys* do not receive any propitiatory offerings other than an occasional libation, which may be performed by any one, not necessarily by a shaman.

*Ada* or *anakhay* are, according to some traditions, souls of wicked persons or of women who have died childless. No sacrifices are made to them and they are represented as one-eyed, evil, malicious spirits, who always remain in the same *ulus* or house. They sometimes take the form of a dog or cat, always one-eyed; they wander at night, but not every one can see them, though any one can smell their disagreeable odour. They are afraid of being seen, of angry men, of fire, of metals, of weapons, and of the smell of heath. Though easily frightened, they are not easily banished from a house, and as they are especially harmful to young children under the age of seven, parents frequently arrange *naydji*<sup>2</sup> with the shamans for their children's protection.<sup>3</sup>

The less important kind of *bokholdoys* are called *ukher-ezy*; these are the souls of sinful women who have died a violent death. No sacrifices are made to them, and nobody fears them. They can be seen by the same people as can see *anakhay*, but other people can perceive their odour. They come to wander on earth at the time when these women would have died in the ordinary course of events but for the violence which in fact ended their lives.<sup>4</sup> Klementz mentions also two other kinds of malicious spirits who originated from human souls, namely, *mu-shubu*—in the form of an evil-disposed bird—and *dakhluls*.<sup>5</sup>

#### VIII. THE FINNIC TRIBES.

In his account of the natives of north-western Siberia, the Ugrian Ostyak, Vogul, and Samoyed, Gondatti,<sup>6</sup> in speaking of their religion, pays most attention to the Vogul mythology. He says that the gods of the Vogul are divided into two classes, viz. of good and bad gods. The chief of the beneficent deities is Yanykh-Torum (called also Numi-Torum or Voykan-Torum).

<sup>1</sup> See chapter on 'Shaman's Vocation'.

<sup>2</sup> This term is explained in the chapter on 'Birth'.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 10-11. <sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> 'The Buriats,' *E. K. E.*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Gondatti, *Traces of Paganism among the Aborigines of North-Western Siberia*, 1888, pp. 6-7.

The principal evil deity is Khul. Yanykh-Torum is, however, not the highest of the gods; there is another, higher than he, Kors-Torum (The Creator), the progenitor of all the gods. Kors-Torum has never revealed himself to man, and the Vogul say that they cannot picture to themselves what he is like, that whatever they know of him is only known through the lesser gods.<sup>1</sup> He never descends to earth, but sometimes sends thither his eldest son, Yanykh-Torum. Yanykh-Torum has the form of a man, but from the splendour of his raiment he shines like gold. Like his father he never carries any weapon. About once a week he descends to earth to see how men's affairs are going on. If they pray to him to send rain or fair weather he gives commands to his younger brother, Sakhil-Torum, who dwells in the dark clouds, to do what is required. Sakhil-Torum, like his brother, has the form of a man, and drives reindeer, which have tusks like a mammoth, in the clouds. His reindeer are laden with casks of water. When they are sluggish he whips them up, and as they plunge under his strokes the water in the casks is spilled and falls on the earth as rain.

The following tale is told about the sons of Yanykh-Torum: When they were grown up their father sent them down to earth. On their arrival, they began to fight with the heroes who lived on earth in those days. To bring about peace, Yanykh summoned his sons and said to them, 'He among you who can first tie his bridle to-morrow to the silver post which stands before my house, shall be made elder and ruler over his brothers and over men.' The next day the first to appear was the youngest son, Mir-Susne-Khum. Since that time he has been the ruler of his brothers and of men, whom they try to keep in peace.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Samoyed chief god Nim, or Ileumbarte (literally, 'giver of life'), although he is ruler both of earth and heaven, never descends to the unclean earth lest he might soil himself upon it, but communicates with man only through the *tadebtsy* (spirits), who for this purpose choose *tadibey* (shamans) from among men. (Islavin, *The Samoyed*, p. 109.) Lepekhin says that the *tadebtsy* of the Samoyed are not divided into bad and good spirits, but that they can harm or help men according to circumstances. These *tadebtsy* are so numerous that there is no place on earth where they are not found. (Lepekhin, *Full Collection of Scientific Travels in Russia*, I. R. A. S., 1818, pp. 260-2.) Jackson says that the Samoyed regard atmospheric phenomena—storms, rain, snow—as the 'direct expressions' of the 'great god Num', and that his attitude towards men is one of complete indifference. (Notes on the Samoyeds of the Great Tundra, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxiv, p. 398.)

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 17-18

Yanykh-Torum has seven sons, but neither he nor Kors-Torum has any daughters. Besides Yanykh and Kors-Torum and their sons there are many other gods. These latter are of secondary rank, and are specially connected with individuals, the family, or the clan.

Each category of gods has its own special sacrificial places.<sup>1</sup>

Kul-Odyr, or Kul, is the chief of the spirits of darkness, and the secondary dark spirits are known as *menkva*. These resemble the Koryak *kelet* in having the power of changing their forms. They are represented as being very tall, with heads of a conical shape. They sometimes kill and devour human beings. Other malicious spirits, called *uchchi*, inhabit the forest. They have the paws and teeth of a dog. In the forest, too, lives Mis-Khum. He has many daughters, who try to entice men to live with them as their husbands. If they succeed, this brings good fortune to the fathers of the men thus captured.<sup>2</sup>

In the water lives the good god Vit-Khon, as well as a dark spirit, Vit-Kul. The first was sent by Numi to have charge of the fishes.

The mythology of the Finnic tribes is very rich in tales about heroes, called in Vogul *pokhatur* or *odyr*. These heroes were continually quarrelling and fighting among themselves, especially about women, therefore Numi punished them by sending a deluge upon the earth.<sup>3</sup>

Representations of gods and fetishes are made of wood, metal, or bone. They are usually very rude in form, and now that these people can obtain children's dolls very cheaply from Russian traders they are ceasing to make their own fetishes.<sup>4</sup>

A man, according to the belief of the Finnic tribes, is composed of three parts: body, shadow (*tsi*), and soul (*liti khelmkholas*). *Liti khelmkholas* passes, after the death of a man, to an infant of the same clan, or, if the clan has become extinct, to one of another clan, but never to an animal. The shadow goes to a cold underworld, situated in the icy seas beyond the mouth of the Obi, and ruled over by Kul Odyr. Here it lives for as long as the term of the dead man's former life on earth, and follows the same pursuits—reindeer-breeding, fishing, &c. Then the shadow begins to grow smaller and smaller, until it is no larger than a blackbeetle, *ker-khomlakh* (according to some, it actually does turn into a blackbeetle), and finally disappears altogether.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 36.

## CHAPTER XIV

### SOME CEREMONIES

#### I. THE CHUKCHEE.

CHUKCHEE ceremonials have as the only object of their performance the material welfare of the community, and incantations are the main substance of their rites.

The Reindeer Chukchee's only regular ceremonials are those connected with the herd; these they call 'sacrifices' or 'genuine sacrifices'. 'Strictly speaking,' says Bogoras, 'every slaughtering of reindeer is a sacrifice and is performed according to certain rules. After the animal is stabbed the Chukchee watch carefully to see on which side it falls. To fall on the wounded side is a less favourable omen than to fall on the other; and to fall backwards is still worse, and forebodes misfortune.'<sup>1</sup>

Besides reindeer, dogs are also slaughtered, and sometimes substitute sacrifices are offered, of reindeer made of willow-leaves or even of snow. Most sacrifices are offered to the good spirits. Evil spirits are also sacrificed to, but the offerings to these are made at midnight, in darkness, and are never spoken of.<sup>2</sup>

The most regular sacrifices are the Autumn Slaughtering,<sup>3</sup> Winter Slaughtering,<sup>4</sup> the Ceremonial of Antlers,<sup>5</sup> the Sacrifice to the New Moon, the Sacrifice to the Fire, the Sacrifice for Luck in Hunting,<sup>6</sup> and a ceremonial connected with the killing of wild reindeer bucks.<sup>7</sup> Besides these seasonal ceremonials there is also a Thanksgiving Ceremonial, which each family must perform once or twice a year, on different occasions.<sup>8</sup>

Bogoras gives a summary account of the ceremonials of the Maritime Chukchee as follows: 'The cycle of the ceremonials with the Maritime Chukchee opens with two short ceremonials in the beginning of the autumn, which are often joined together. One of them is a commemorative sacrifice to the dead. The

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 363.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 372.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 369-70.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 376.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 379.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 381.

other is a sacrifice to the sea, in order to ensure good fortune in subsequent sealing on the sea-ice in winter.

'Late in the autumn, or rather in the beginning of the winter, the chief ceremonial of the year is performed. It is consecrated to Keretkun, or is made a thanksgiving ceremonial to the spirits of sea-mammals killed since the fall. Early in spring there follows the ceremonial of boats, which are made ready for the approaching season. In the middle of summer the ceremonial of heads is performed. This is for thanksgiving to the spirits of sea-animals killed since early in the spring.

'These four ceremonials are performed with varying similarity by both the Maritime Chukchee and the Asiatic Eskimo. To these must be added some slight ceremonials effected while moving from the winter lodging to the summer tent.

'Most of the Maritime Chukchee offer sacrifice also in mid-winter to the star Pehittin, and perform in the middle of spring a ceremonial analogous to the ceremonial of antlers of the reindeer-breeders, which is called by the same name, Kilvei. The sacrifice to the whale is performed, in addition, each time after a whale has been killed or has drifted ashore.

'Bloody and bloodless sacrifices are offered during these ceremonials. The Maritime Chukchee, of course, can slaughter only dogs for their bloody sacrifices. In comparison with the Koryak, however, they are merciful to their dogs and kill them in no very great numbers. In this, as in other respects, they occupy a middle ground between the American Eskimo, who do not sacrifice dogs, and the Koryak, who often kill almost all the animals of their single team.'<sup>1</sup>

The ceremonial dedicated to Keretkun,<sup>2</sup> the sea-god, is especially important among the Maritime Chukchee. When the seal-gut overcoats for the family (which are said to be similar to those worn by Keretkun and his family), the ceremonial head-dresses, and the incantation-paddle, on which there are pictorial representations of prayers, are ready, a net is suspended overhead, and various images of birds and small paddles are hung from it. On each side of the hearth is placed a reindeer-skin, the two skins representing the inner rooms of the house. Keretkun, who is represented by a small wooden image, enters the house and is placed on a lamp, which is put either on one of the skins or

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 385-6.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 392-401.

in a sleeping-room. Here he remains until the end of the ceremony. A fire is made before him and kept burning throughout the three days of the ceremonial. Among those people, like the Asiatic Eskimo, who have no wood, a second lamp is kept burning before that on which Keretkun is placed. Puddings made of various roots mixed with oil and liver are sacrificed to the god. On the first day the household enjoys the festival alone, singing and dancing and beating the drum.

'The second day belongs to the guests and particularly to the shamans, who have to show, in turn, their skill in drumming and singing.'<sup>1</sup> It is on this day that, in many villages, the so-called 'exchanging of presents' takes place. Usually, the guests assemble at the entrance of the sleeping-room, bringing various household articles, which they thrust under the partition, loudly demanding what they wish in exchange. The mistress takes whatever is offered and must give in exchange whatever is demanded.

In some cases the exchange is made between relatives only, and especially between those who are partners in the marriages called by Bogoras 'group-marriage'. A man will send his wife to one of his marriage-partners to ask for certain articles, and afterwards the donor sends his wife to ask for an equivalent.

Another variety of ceremonial exchange, which also forms a part of the second day's ceremonies, is what is called by Bogoras the 'trading-dance'.<sup>2</sup> It takes place between the members of a 'compound marriage', beginning with a dance in which a male member of the group has one of the women for his partner. 'Frequently the man looks on only, while the woman dances before him. He must provide a reindeer-skin, however, to spread on the ground under her feet while she is dancing. While the dance is being performed the other dancers remain quiet, and look on together with the other spectators. After the dance, the man must give some present to the woman; and the following night they sleep together, leaving their respective mates to arrange matters between themselves. On the next day the husband of the woman and the wife of the man perform a similar dance, in which the man gives an equivalent of the present of the day before, and each newly-mated couple sleeps together for another night. Such dances are

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> A special meaning of 'trade' in the U.S.A. is the exchange of commodities in business; trading=bartering, 'swapping'.



arranged chiefly among cousins or other relatives, who, among the Chukchee, frequently assume the bond of compound marriage. Conversely, a new bond of compound marriage may be concluded through a trading-dance.<sup>1</sup>

The third day of the Keretkun ceremonial is the women's day. This time it is they who act as drummers and dancers. 'A new<sup>1</sup> detail is that of a night-watch, which must be kept for the sake of Keretkun, who is supposed to stay in the house all the time. This watch is kept by an old man or woman', who is often a shaman, invited specially for this purpose. The shaman sits on a stool made of a whale's vertebra, and 'sings and beats the drum in a subdued key, in order not to awaken the supernatural guest'. The keeper of the watch on the last night must be a woman.

On the evening of the last day a reindeer is cooked, and the meat distributed among the guests, who carry their shares home with them on departing.

Finally, the image of Keretkun is burned over his lamp. Then all the refuse of the sacrificed reindeer is gathered up and cast into the sea, to symbolize the returning to the sea of all game killed since the last ceremonial. This same symbolic act is performed at almost all of the Maritime ceremonials.

## II. THE KORYAK.

The Koryak offer sacrifices to their Supreme Being to secure prosperity for the future. At these sacrifices, some blood from the wounds of the victim, dog or reindeer, are sprinkled on the ground as an offering to the *kala*, with the words: 'This blood is for thee, kala!'<sup>2</sup> Thus we see that bloody sacrifices among these people are offered to malevolent as well as to benevolent beings.

Besides occasional sacrifices, the Koryak have several sacrificial ceremonies which are regular or seasonal, and all connected with the cult of the animals on which their livelihood depends. Thus the Maritime Koryak worship sea-animals, and the Reindeer

<sup>1</sup> Differing, that is, from the custom of the Reindeer Chukchee, whose procedure at the autumn ceremonial and the 'thanksgiving' is in most other respects similar to that described here.

<sup>2</sup> Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 23. 'Otherwise the *kala* might intercept the sacrifice and prevent its reaching the Supreme Being' (ibid.).

Koryak their herd. This is illustrated by the following list of festivals:

### *Maritime Koryak*:<sup>1</sup>

1. Whale-festival.
2. The putting away of the skin-boat for the winter.
3. Launching the skin-boat.
4. Wearing of masks.

### *Reindeer Koryak*:<sup>2</sup>

1. Ceremony on the return of the herd from summer pastures.
2. The fawn-festival.

### *Ceremonies common to both*:<sup>3</sup>

1. Bear-festival.
2. Wolf-festival.
3. Practices in connexion with fox-hunting.

Jochelson's description<sup>4</sup> of the wolf-festival is here quoted as being typical of the ritual practices common to both Reindeer and Maritime Koryak:

'After having killed a wolf, the Maritime Koryak take off its skin, together with the head, just as they proceed with the bear; then they place near the hearth a pointed stick, and tie an arrow, called *ilhun* or *elgoi*, to it, or drive an arrow into the ground at its butt end. One of the men puts on the wolf-skin and walks around the hearth, while another member of the family beats the drum. The wolf-festival is called *dhogicnin*, i. e. 'wolf-stick festival'.

'The meaning of this ceremony is obscure. I have been unable to get any explanation from the Koryak with reference to it. "Our forefathers did this way", is all they say. I have found no direct indications of the existence of totemism among the Koryak; but the wearing of the skin of the wolf and of the bear during these festivals may be compared to certain features of totemistic festivals, in which some members of the family or clan represent the totem by putting on its skin.

'The wolf-festival differs from the bear-festival in the absence of the equipment for the home journey.<sup>5</sup> The reason is this, that

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 86-7.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 88-90.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 89-90.

<sup>5</sup> 'The essential part of the whale-festival is based on the conception that the whale killed has come on a visit to the village; . . . that it will return to the sea to repeat its visit the following year'; and that, if hospitably received, it will bring its relatives with it when it comes

the bear is sent home with much ceremony, to secure successful bear-hunting in the future, bear's meat being considered a delicacy, while the festival serves at the same time to protect the people from the wrath of the slain animal and its relatives. The wolf, on the other hand, does not serve as food, but is only a danger to the traveller in the desert. He is dangerous, not in his visible, animal state—for the northern wolves, as a rule, are afraid of men—but in his invisible, anthropomorphic form. According to the Koryak conception, the wolf is a rich reindeer-owner and the powerful master of the tundra...[and] avenges [himself] particularly on those that hunt [wolves].<sup>1</sup> The Reindeer Koryak, who have special reason to fear the wolf on account of their herds, regard this animal as a powerful shaman and an evil spirit.

'After having killed a wolf, the Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer, cut off its head, and put its body, together with that of the killed wolf, on a platform raised on posts. The reindeer-head is placed so as to face eastward. It is a sacrifice to The-One-on-High, who is thus asked not to permit the wolf to attack the herd. Special food is prepared in the evening, and the wolf is fed. The night is spent without sleep, in beating the drum, and dancing to entertain the wolf, lest his relatives come and take revenge. Beating the drum and addressing themselves to the wolf, the people say, "Be well!" (*Nimelu gatranvota!*), and addressing The-One-on-High, they say, "Be good, do not make the wolf bad!"'<sup>1</sup>

### III. THE AINU.

Although the bear-festival is common to all the Palaeo-Siberians and is celebrated also by some of the Neo-Siberians, it has reached its highest development among the Ainu. We give here a short description of the principal features of this festival, following Kharuzin's account.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of winter the Ainu catch a bear-cub and bring it into the village, where it is reared and fed by a woman. When it is sufficiently grown to break out of its wooden cage, which usually happens some time in September or October, this marks again. Hence it is symbolically equipped with grass travelling bags filled with puddings for its return to the sea. (Op. cit., pp. 66, 74, 76.) A similar procedure is followed at the bear festival. (Op. cit., p. 89.)

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> N. Kharuzin, *Ethnography*, 1905, vol. iv, pp. 371-2. For a more detailed description see B. Pilsudski's *Niedzwiedzie Siedzi u Ainow* (in *Splawa*, Warsaw, 1905).

the time for the holding of the festival. Before the ceremonies, apologies are made to the spirits for the capture and detention of the bear, assurances are given that the treatment of the bear has been marked with the greatest tenderness, and it is explained that, as they cannot feed the animal any longer, they are obliged to kill it. The person entrusted with the conduct of the festival invites all relations and friends, usually practically the whole village. Before the ceremonies are begun, libations are made to the family hearth-fire by the host and all his guests. Sacrifices are made to the spirit-'owner' of the dwelling in a corner of the house sacred to him. The woman who has reared the bear weeps to show her sorrow at its approaching fate. The company approach the cage of the bear, libations are made, and some wine is given to the animal in a special cup. The women and girls dance round the cage, clapping their hands and singing. Then the foster-mother of the bear, and women who have reared other bears for former festivals, perform a dance of their own before the cage, with tears in their eyes, stretching out their hands towards the animal, and uttering endearing words. After some other ritual observances, the bear is taken out of its cage, a cord is fastened round its neck, and a stick is thrust down its throat by the united force of several people, so that the animal is choked to death. With much solemnity the body is laid out, and surrounded with various embellishments, which are more numerous and elaborate if the animal is a female. Food and drink are offered to the spirit of the victim, and then follow much feasting and merriment, which is intended to render the bear-spirit joyous and gay. The body is flayed and disembowelled, and the head cut off, the blood being collected in a pot and drunk by the men only among the guests. The liver is also consumed, and of this each woman and girl present receives a small portion. The rest of the meal is preserved for the next day's feast, and all the guests of both sexes partake of this.

### IV. THE TURKIC TRIBES.

#### (1) THE YAKUT.

There are among the Yakut two kinds of sacrificial ceremonies—bloody and bloodless. The former is that made to *abassylars*, the latter to *aiy* and *ichchi*; <sup>1</sup> so that if one does not know before-

<sup>1</sup> Sieroszewski (*12 Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, p. 389) says that to only one *aiy*, Bay-Baynay, the god of hunting, are bloody sacrifices offered.

hand whether the sacrifice is being offered to black or to white spirits, this can be ascertained from the nature of the ceremony. Although bloody sacrifices are not made to Urun-Aiy-Toyon, yet it is customary to dedicate certain animals to him, i.e. such animals are not to be used for work, and mares so dedicated are not to be milked. Formerly it was the custom to dedicate in this manner all mares which had foals: they were let loose to wander on the steppes.

There are some *aiy*, which although they have this name, yet are of the class of *abassy*.<sup>1</sup> Sacrifices of the choicest meat and drink are made to them through the fire. The offerings to *abassylars* have the character of a compromise or bargain. The evil spirit wishes to have the *kut* (one of the souls) of a man, and the shaman gives instead the *kut* of an animal.

There are two tribal festivals of the Yakut: a spring festival, *aiy-ysyakh*, and an autumn festival, *abassy-ysyakh*. As the name shows, the first is celebrated for the good spirits in general, and for Urun-Aiy-Toyon in particular.<sup>2</sup> After the sacrifice, which is followed by certain sports or games, a dramatic representation of the struggle between spring and winter is given. One man, called the *aiy-uola*, is dressed in white and mounted on a white horse to represent the spring, while another, *abassy-uola*, represents winter by being dressed in black or reddish garments and mounted on a horse of corresponding colour.

The *abassy-ysyakh* is held in autumn, and in the open air like the first festival, but at night. It is dedicated to the black spirits, and especially to Ulu-Toyon. While the first festival is conducted by the clan-father, the second is under the direction of nine shamans and nine shamanesses.<sup>3</sup>

## (2) THE ALTAIANS.

*Sacrifice to Bai-Yulgen.* The description of this ceremony, as given by Mikhailowski,<sup>4</sup> is compiled from the works of the

<sup>1</sup> Troshchanski, *The Evolution of the Black Faith*, 1902, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 105-6.

Sieroszewski (op. cit., p. 388) calls the highest good spirit, or god, Art-Toyon-Aga (Uyun-Artoyon), which literally means 'Master-Father-Sovereign'. He lives in the ninth heaven, and is great and powerful, but indifferent towards human affairs. The spring *ysyakh* is primarily in his honour, says Sieroszewski, while Urun-Aiy-Toyon, 'White-Master-Creator', is next to him in dignity.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Mikhailowski, *Shamanism*, pp. 63-7.

missionary Wierbicki and the well-known linguist and traveller, Radloff. The ceremony lasts for two or three days, or rather, evenings, the first evening being occupied by the preparatory ritual. A spot is chosen in a thicket of birch-trees in a meadow, and there the *kam* (shaman) erects a decorative *yurta*. In this is planted a young birch, crowned with a flag, and having its lower branches lopped off, and nine notches cut in its trunk to represent steps (*tapiy*). The *yurta* is surrounded by a penfold, and by the entrance to this is set a birch-stick with a noose of horsehair. A holder of the head (*Bash-tutkun-kishi*) of the sacrificial horse is chosen from among those present. The *kam* flourishes a birch-twig over the horse to indicate that its soul is being driven to Bai-Yulgen's abode, whither the soul of the *Bash-tutkun* accompanies it. He then collects spirits in his tambourine, calling each one by name, and answering for each as it arrives: 'I also am here, Kam!' As he speaks he makes motions with his tambourine as if taking the spirits into it. When he has secured his assistants, the *kam* goes out of the *yurta*, mounts upon a scarecrow made to resemble a goose, and flapping his arms as if they were wings, chants loudly and slowly: <sup>1</sup>

Beneath the white sky,  
Above the white cloud,  
Beneath the blue sky,  
Above the blue cloud,  
Skyward ascend, O bird!

The goose replies (through the shaman himself, of course) in a series of quacks—'Ungaigak, ungaigak, kaigaigak gak, kaigai gak.' The *kam*, still on his feathered steed, pursues the *pura* (soul) of the sacrificial horse, neighing in imitation of the unwilling victim, until, with the help of the spectators, he drives it into the penfold to the stick with the horsehair noose, the guardian of the *pura*. After violent efforts, to the accompaniment of neighings and other noises produced by the shaman to imitate the struggles of the *pura*, the latter frees itself and runs away. It is at last recaptured, and fumigated with juniper by the shaman, who has now dismounted from his goose. Then the real sacrificial horse is brought and blessed by the *kam*, who thereafter kills it by opening the aorta. The bones and skin form the actual sacrifice. The flesh is consumed by those present at the ceremony, the choicest portion falling to the *kam*.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 63.

'The most important part of the performance takes place on the second day after sunset; it is then that the *kam* must display all his power and all his dramatic art. A whole religious drama is performed, descriptive of the *kam*'s pilgrimage to Bai-Yulgen in heaven. A fire burns in the *yurta*, the shaman feeds the lords of the tambourine, i. e. the spirits personifying the shamanistic power of his family, with the meat of the offering and sings:<sup>1</sup>

Accept this, O Kaira Khan!  
Master of the tambourine with six horns,  
Draw near with the sound of the bell!  
When I cry 'Chokk'! make obeisance!  
When I cry 'Mé'! accept this!

The 'owner' of the fire, representing the power of the family of the master of the *yurta*, who has organized the festival, is addressed in a similar invocation. Then the *kam* takes a cup and makes noises with his lips to imitate the sounds of drinking made by an assemblage of invisible guests. He distributes morsels of meat to the company, who devour them as representatives of the unseen spirits. Nine garments, on a rope decked with ribbons, the offering of the host to Yulgen, are fumigated with juniper by the shaman, who sings:

Gifts that no horse can carry—  
Alás! Alás! Alás!  
Gifts that no man can lift—  
Alás! Alás! Alás!  
Garments with triple collar—  
Turn them thrice before thine eyes,  
Let them be a cover for the steed,  
Alás! Alás! Alás!  
Prince Yulgen full of gladness!  
Alás! Alás! Alás!

The *kam* next invokes many spirits, primary and secondary, having first donned his shaman's garment, and fumigated his tambourine, which he strikes to summon the spirits, answering for each, as it arrives, 'Here am I, *kam*!' Merkyut, the Bird of Heaven, is invoked as follows:

Birds of Heaven, the five Merkyuts:  
Ye with mighty talons of brass,  
Of copper is the moon's claw,  
And of ice its beak;

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 64.

Mightily flap the spreading wings,  
Like to a fan is the long tail.  
The left wing veils the moon  
And the right obscures the sun.  
Thou, mother of nine eagles,  
Turning not aside, thou fliest over Yaik,  
Over Edil thou weariest not!  
Draw nigh with song!  
Lightly draw nigh to my right eye,  
Of my right shoulder make thou thy resting-place!

The answering cry of the bird comes from the lips of the shaman: 'Kagak, kak, kak! Kam, here I come!' The *kam* seems to bend beneath the weight of the huge bird. His tambourine sounds louder and louder, and he staggers under the burden of the vast number of spirit-protectors collected in it. Having walked several times round the birch placed in the *yurta*, the shaman kneels at the door and asks the porter-spirit for a guide. His request granted, he comes out to the middle of the *yurta*, and with convulsive movements of the upper part of his body and inarticulate mutterings, beats violently upon the tambourine. Now he purifies the host, hostess, their children, and relatives by embracing them in such a way that the tambourine with the spirits collected in it touches the breast and the drum-stick the back of each. This is done after he has scraped from the back of the host with the drum-stick all that is unclean, for the back is the seat of the soul. Thus all are liberated from the malign influence of the wicked Erlik. Then the people return to their places and the shaman 'drives all potential misfortunes out of doors',<sup>1</sup> and, beating his tambourine close to the ear of his host, drives into him the spirit and power of his ancestors that he may understand the prophecies of the shaman. In pantomime he invests each member of the family with breastplates and hats, and then falls into an ecstasy. He beats his tambourine furiously, rushes about as if possessed, and, after mounting the first step cut in the birch-trunk, runs round the fire and the birch, imitating the sound of thunder. Next he mounts a bench covered with a horse-cloth, which represents the *pura*, and cries:<sup>2</sup>

One step have I ascended,  
Aikhai! Aikhai!  
One zone I have attained.  
Shagarbata!

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 65.

To the topmost *tapy* [the birch steps] I have mounted.  
 Shagarbata!  
 I have risen to the full moon.  
 Shagarbata!

Hurrying on the *Bash-tutkan*, the *kam* passes from one zone of heaven to another. The goose once more takes the place of the wearied *pura*, affording temporary relief to the *Bash-tutkan*, who relates his woes vicariously by means of the shaman. In the third zone a halt is made, the shaman prophesies impending misfortunes, and declares what sacrifices are to be offered by the district. If he foretells rainy weather he sings:

Kara Shurlu of the six rods  
 Drips on the low ground,  
 No hooved beast can protect itself,  
 No creature with claws can uphold itself.

Similar prophecies may be made in other regions of the sky.

When the *Bash-tutkan* is rested the journey is continued, progress being indicated by mounting one step higher on the birch for every new zone attained. Variety is given to the performance by the introduction of various episodes. 'In the sixth sphere of heaven takes place the last episodical scene, and this has a comic tinge. The shaman sends his servant Kuruldak to track and catch a hare that has hidden itself. For a time the chase is unsuccessful, new personages are introduced, and one of them, Kereldei, mocks Kuruldak, who, however, at last succeeds in catching the hare.'<sup>1</sup>

Previously, in the fifth heaven, the *kam* has interviewed Yayuchi ('Supreme-Creator'), and learned many secrets of the future, some of which he communicates aloud. In the sixth heaven he makes obeisance to the moon, and in the seventh to the sun, for these heavens are the abodes of these luminaries. Only a few shamans are powerful enough to mount beyond the ninth heaven. Having reached the highest zone attainable by his powers, the *kam* drops his tambourine, and beating gently with the drum-stick, makes a humble petition to Yulgen:<sup>2</sup>

Lord, to whom three stairways lead,  
 Bai-Yulgen, possessor of three flocks,  
 The blue vault which has appeared,  
 The blue sky that shows itself,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 66.

The blue cloud that whirls along,  
 The blue sky so hard to reach,  
 Land a year's journey distant from water,  
 Father Yulgen thrice exalted,  
 Shunned by the edge of the moon's axe,  
 Thou who usest the hoof of the horse;  
 O Yulgen, thou hast created all men  
 Who are stirring round about us.  
 Thou, Yulgen, hast bestowed all cattle upon us,  
 Let us not fall into sorrow!  
 Grant that we may withstand the evil one!  
 Let us not behold Kermes [the evil spirit that attends man].  
 Deliver us not into his hands!  
 Thou who a thousand thousand times  
 The starry sky hast turned,  
 Condemn me not for sin!

'From Yulgen the shaman learns whether the sacrifice is accepted or not, and receives the most authentic information concerning the wealth and the character of the coming harvest; he also finds out what sacrifices are expected by the deity. On such an occasion the shaman designates the neighbour who is bound to furnish a sacrifice, and even describes the colour and appearance of the animal. After his conversation with Yulgen, the ecstasy of the shaman reaches its highest point, and he falls down completely exhausted. Then the *Bash-tutkan* goes up to him, and takes the tambourine and drum-stick out of his hands. After a short time, during which quiet reigns in the *gorta*, the shaman seems to awake, rubs his eyes, stretches himself, wrings out the perspiration from his shirt, and salutes all those present as if after a long absence.'<sup>1</sup>

This sometimes concludes the festival, but more often, especially among the wealthy, a third day is spent in feasting and libations to the gods.<sup>2</sup>

#### V. THE MONGOLIC TRIBES.

Sacrifices among the Mongols are either: (a) regular or public (*tailgan*), or (b) occasional or private (*kirik*).

Banzaroff says that Georgi, as long ago as the latter part of the eighteenth century, observed three regular sacrificial ceremonies among the Mongols: the spring, summer, and autumn festivals. Banzaroff<sup>3</sup> traces the origin of these festivals to a period long

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Banzaroff, *The Black Faith*, p. 38.



antedating the Christian era. The festival which has been best described in recent times is that called *urus-sara* ('the month of sara'), which is intended to celebrate and symbolize the renewing of all things. When the earth is green again, the flocks increase, and milk is abundant, the Kalmuk make sacrifice of all these gifts in the form of *kumys*, herbs, and horses. The sacrificial horses are tied to a rope, which is stretched between two poles. A man on horseback, accompanied by another riding a colt, passes along the row of victims, pours over them *kumys*, and fastens to their manes pieces of pink cloth. Then the sacrifice is offered.<sup>1</sup>

The autumn festival of the Mongols, like the *urus-sara*, is very ancient. Banzaroff finds mention of it in writers of pre-Christian times, and in the Middle Ages it is referred to by Marco Polo, who says it was celebrated on August 28th. This ceremony is known as *sagan-sara* ('white month'), and the Mongols used to date their New Year from the time of its celebration. The majority of these people nowadays celebrate the beginning of the year in winter, but they, like the few who adhere to the old date, still call the New Year and the festival which is held then *sagan-sara*.<sup>2</sup>

An English traveller of the middle of the nineteenth century, who witnessed the celebration of the spring festival in the valley of Ichurish in the Altai, describes it as follows:

'In the spring the Kalmucks offer up sacrifices to their deity; the rich give horses, those who are poor sacrifice sheep or goats. I was present at one of the ceremonies. A ram was led up by the owner, who wished for a large increase to his herds and flocks. It was handed to an assistant of the priest, who killed it in the usual manner. His superior stood near, looking to the east, and began chanting a prayer, and beating on his large tambourine to rouse up his god, and then made his request for multitudes of sheep and cattle. The ram was being flayed; and when the operation was completed, the skin was put on a pole, raised above the framework, and placed with its head to the east. The tambourine thundered forth its sound, and the performer continued his wild chant. The flesh was cooked in a large cauldron, and the tribe held a great festival.'<sup>3</sup>

Speaking only of the greater Buryat ceremonials, Khangaloff<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 39-40.

<sup>3</sup> T. W. Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 1858, pp. 382-3.

<sup>4</sup> *New Materials respecting Shamanism among the Buryat*, 1890, p. 97.

mentions about thirty such, and says that these are by no means all, and that years of further investigation would be necessary to render it possible to give a complete list.

Among the Balagansk Buryat every male child must offer certain sacrifices to the western *khats* to ensure their protection while the children are still in infancy as well as during their future adult life. These sacrifices, viz. (i) *morto-ulan-khurgan*, (ii) *erkhindkhi-ulan-khurgan*, (iii) *Charga-tekhe*, (iv) *yaman-khonin-lhoer*, must, without fail, be offered by all boys, but upon girls they are not obligatory. Besides these sacrifices there are others which are made on behalf of all young children, irrespective of their sex, to certain *zayans* and *zayanesses*, termed *ukhan-khata*. These are called *ukhan-budla*, *oshkin-budla*. We shall quote here Khangaloff's description of the ceremony *ukhan-budla*:

'Some time after having a child born to him, a Buryat, either at the instance of a shaman or on his own initiative, will make preparation for the performance of the ceremony called *ukhan-budla*. A shaman is invited to perform the ceremony. When the shaman appears, water is brought from a spring, or sometimes from a lake or river. Before drawing the water, some copper coins are dropped into the place from which it is taken. A bundle of coarse grass of the steppes, another of rushes, and nine silken threads are prepared. When everything is ready, the shaman makes libation to the *zayans* and *zayanesses*, pronouncing the following words:

The boys, like the rushes,  
The maids, like mushrooms;  
From the grass of the steppe  
They have made a scourge;  
With the water of the spring  
They have made *budla* (ablution);  
With the nine silken threads  
They have made a scourge.

After this the water is poured into a pot and heated. Then they put into the pot the grass also, and a broom is made of the rushes. The child is placed in a shallow vessel surrounded by nine stones, and the shaman says: "The black stone is the door, the tawny stone is the courtyard." He then takes the broom, dips it into the water, and striking the child lightly with it, tells him that he must not cry, but grow quickly. Now nine knots are

made in the nine threads, and they are placed around the child's neck. The water is spilled on the floor of the *yurta*, and the broom is placed over the door to prevent the entrance of evil spirits. Thus ends the *ukhan-budla*.<sup>1</sup>

As a rule Buryat ceremonies are performed by the shamans; but some of the minor ones, such, for instance, as the 'feeding' of the *ongons*, are conducted by the master of the house. Women's *ongons* are made and fed by women. Frequently animals are dedicated to *ongons*, either for some shorter or longer period or for life. Such an animal must not be used for any heavy work, and no married woman must touch it. The Mongols call this custom *seterley*, which denotes both the dedication and the taboo.<sup>2</sup>

Another case of the dedication of animals is that which is sometimes practised with regard to a horse whose master has died. The animal is taboo, and must not be used for heavy work. Under ordinary circumstances, when a Buryat dies, his horse is either killed or set loose to wander at large upon the steppes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Shashkoff, *Shamanism in Siberia*, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien*, 1751-2, iii. 33.

## PART IV. PATHOLOGY

### CHAPTER XV

#### 'ARCTIC HYSTERIA'

Among diseases especially prevalent in Siberia are syphilis and the so-called 'arctic hysteria'. Under the latter name several different nervous maladies are usually included by writers who deal with this subject. More local in their prevalence are leprosy, in the east and north-east, and the dreaded *sibirskaya yazva*, lit. 'Siberian boil-plague' (anthrax, carbuncle), a disease caused by the *Bacillus anthracis* in cattle and other animals, and also in men—in the south-west and, generally, in marshy country. It is often transmitted by the bite of an insect, but the infection may also be conveyed by the skins of animals which have died from this disease.

In human beings *sibirskaya yazva* takes two forms, external and internal. The latter is almost surely fatal. It shows itself in a general collapse of the bodily powers through blood-poisoning, and often ends in death within a single day, sometimes in three or four.

Anthrax, in its external form, is described by Pallas as follows: 'The first [symptom] is that the soundest and most healthy persons, of any age or sex, are suddenly troubled with an itching, followed by a hard tumour in some particular part, which seems to arise from the sting of a fly, or horse-stinger. This swelling breaks out in the covered or uncovered parts of the people, but generally in the face, and, among horses, in the groin and abdomen. It rapidly increases in size and hardness, and grows so insensible, that one may prick the swollen part with a needle, till we reach the sound flesh under it, and the patient not feel it. In the centre of this hard tumour is commonly discovered, in the external part, a red or bluish point, similar to the sting of an insect, and if remedies are not applied, the gangrenous putridity will extend itself farther. During the first stage of the evil, the

patient feels no internal indisposition, but with the increase of the boil, he is afflicted with headache, anxiety, and restlessness, which are, perhaps, but the natural consequences of his fear of danger. . . . Some peasants, who accompanied me, and had been afflicted with this disease, told me that, after the first symptoms had shown themselves, whenever they rode through a brook or within sight of water, they felt themselves very faint, feeble, and ready to swoon.' Pallas says that the disease is usually fatal to cattle, but not to men if they make use of the remedies with which they are familiar.<sup>1</sup>

Falk gives the limits of the range of this disease as from the Ural to the Chinese frontier, and states that it prevails during the months from May to September, that is, during the season of the horse-stinger's activity.<sup>2</sup>

Leprosy is especially prevalent in the Amur country and in Sakhalin. Sieroszewski<sup>3</sup> has observed it also among the Yakut; and Pilsudski saw many cases among the Gilyak and some neighbouring Tungusic tribes. The writer last mentioned says that the Gilyak think that leprosy is due to the eating of one species of salmon afflicted with a certain disease which is not easily detected by the fishermen. Many hygienic precautions are taken to avoid contracting the disease by contagion from lepers, and leprosy is so dreaded by the Gilyak that they never mention it by name. The shamans, even, are unwilling to undertake to treat the sufferers; but Pilsudski nevertheless reports two cases of lepers being cured by shamans.<sup>4</sup> With regard to this malady being caused by the eating of diseased fish, it is noted by Professor Talko-Hryniewicz, who spent sixteen years in Troicko-sawsk, that the Mongols who live on fish are more liable to leprosy than those who live on meat.<sup>5</sup>

Many writers have noticed the extreme liability of primitive peoples to hysterical diseases. Apart from the hysteria which underlies many magico-religious phenomena, travellers have noticed the prevalence of similar nervous affections, which have no connexion with religion, among primitives in all parts of the

<sup>1</sup> Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, part i (vol. iii of Trusler's *Habitable World Described*, 1788, pp. 133-4).

<sup>2</sup> Falk, *Full Collection of Scientific Travels in Russia*, vol. vi, 1824, pp. 369-70.

<sup>3</sup> *12 Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Pilsudski, *Trad wśroł Gilykow i Ainow*, in *Lud*, Lemberg, 1913.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs of the Congress of Scientists and Physicians*, Cracow, 1911.

world: Brazilians and Kaffirs, Hottentots and Javanese, Peruvians and Abyssinians, Negroes and Iroquois, natives of New Zealand and of Madagascar.<sup>1</sup>

The forms of nervous maladies observed in northern Asia have been called 'arctic hysteria' perhaps because some of the forms are so identical in their symptoms throughout the north that they appear to be typical of the arctic region as a whole. Mention of this disease is made in the works of older writers such as Steller,<sup>2</sup> Krashenninnikoff,<sup>3</sup> Gmelin,<sup>4</sup> and Pallas;<sup>5</sup> and fuller accounts are to be found in the pages of Bogoras, Maak, Sieroszewski, Priklonski, Schrenck, Pilsudski, Kharuzin, Whitney, and especially Jochelson.

Cases of hysteria which are connected with the religious life of the natives and are considered by them as forms of 'inspiration' are dealt with in the chapters of this book which treat of shamanism. Here we shall only take account of those forms which the natives themselves recognize as symptomatic of disease. From the accounts of such cases given by various travellers we shall quote here some of the most characteristic.

'Once', says Maak,<sup>6</sup> 'travelling in the Viluy district of the Yakut region, I stopped for the night in a forest *gurma* with some Tungus. On lying down to sleep I was disturbed by the piercing shouts and cries of a woman. When this had gone on for about half an hour, I rose and went to see what was the matter. On entering the *gurma* from which the cries proceeded, I found a Tungus man sitting beside the sleeping-place of his wife and holding her wrist. Her hair was all dishevelled so as to cover her face completely, she was nodding her head violently in all directions, and crying and howling like a dog. I could not see her face, but her husband's expression showed that he was quite accustomed to this sort of thing. He told me that these attacks were of frequent occurrence, and came on by day or by night. I remained in the *gurma* about half an hour, and during that time none of my interpreters was able to make anything of the sounds the woman was uttering. After I returned to my hut, her cries continued for some time longer. I was told afterwards that the violence of

<sup>1</sup> A. E. Crawley, *Sexual Taboo*, J.A.I., vol. xxiv, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, 1774, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> *Description of the Country of Kamchatka*, ed. 1819, pp. 147-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Reise durch Sibirien*, vol. iii, pp. 105, 379-81.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>6</sup> *The Viluy District of the Yakutsk Territory*, vol. iii, p. 77.

these attacks subsides gradually, the patient sighs deeply, becomes quiet, and begins to speak quite normally.'

In a Middle Viluy village Maak knew many Yakut women suffering from a very common disease which shows itself in the patient's imitating all the gestures and words of bystanders, whatever their meaning, which was sometimes quite obscene.<sup>1</sup>

During the early days of his travels in the Yakut province, Jochelson<sup>2</sup> was disagreeably struck by the fact that, when he was stopping in certain *yurta* ('houses'), the women, whom he knew could not speak Russian, would repeat in broken language what he and his companions had been saying. When he showed his displeasure by severe glances, he was told that he should not mind, for the women were only *omiraks*.

Unintentional visual suggestion shows itself in cases in which, when some of the younger people begin to dance, all the villagers, even the oldest, follow their example. Jochelson reports an instance of an old woman quite unable to stand alone, who on such an occasion stood up and began to dance without assistance until she fell exhausted.

A Yakut told Maak<sup>3</sup> how the disease had originated in one of the women. She had gone into the forest with her eighteen-year old son, and they had encountered a bear. On seeing them, the animal rose upon its hind legs, and the woman, too terrified to attempt escape, fell into the arms of the bear. She was thrown to the ground and mauled by the beast, until her son with his axe cleft its skull in two. Since that time the woman had been subject to these attacks. Maak met also many Yakut children who hardly ever spoke in their ordinary voices, but sang when addressing people.

Sieroszewski,<sup>4</sup> describing cases of diseases similar to the above among the Yakut, says that persons suffering from this mimicry mania, on being suddenly alarmed, take up knife or axe against the source of their fright. Jochelson remarks, concerning instances of this ailment, that it evokes from the patient the utterance of erotic expressions such as they would never at other times employ. Sometimes, at an unexpected noise, the patient shudders and falls backward. He describes several interesting cases, among them the following: 'One night I slept in the house of a Yakut with a young man—a Russian—who had been sent to

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *The Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *12 Lat w Kraju Yakutów*, p. 257.

the Kolyma district as a criminal. The hostess, who in appearance was a strong, red-cheeked woman, took a fancy to the young man; and when he left for the place of residence which the authorities had assigned to him, the young woman had a hysterical fit, during which she sang an improvisation that plainly told her feelings.' Her improvisation, freely translated by Jochelson, was as follows:

'The friend with testicles like wings!  
The stranger-friend from the South, from Yakutsk.  
The friend with supple joints,  
With the handsome face and nice mind!  
I met a friend who is very alert!  
I will never part with him, with the friend!'

'This she repeated many times for about two hours, when she fell into a deep sleep. During this time there were present, besides the woman's husband, also her young children. . . . The husband loved his wife, and was jealous of her, but during the fit he abused only the *abassy* (evil spirit) who disturbed his wife with temptation. . . .

'It is difficult to admit,' Jochelson continues, 'that the fit was only a matter of simulation, or caused by auto-suggestion. Such conduct would not have been at all to the advantage of the young woman, who had only just begun to be stirred by the feeling of love. It seemed to me that she did not know herself what she was doing.'<sup>1</sup>

On the Korkodon River, Jochelson heard a young girl singing during a hysterical seizure; and though she was a Yukaghir, she sang in Tungus. After the fit her body was bent like a bow and her hands were clenched. When Jochelson took her by the hands, the cramps ceased, but she remained for a long time in an unconscious state. When her mother asked her, after her recovery, whether she knew that the Russian gentleman had cured her, she answered that she did, for the devil which possessed her had tried to devour him and could not. In this case the 'devil' must have been of Tungusic origin.

Sometimes people who suffer from arctic hysteria are peculiarly susceptible to hypnotic suggestion, which, however, they receive while awake. Not only auditory, as in the case of the ordinary hypnotic trance, but also visual impressions are received by the

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson, op. cit., p. 32.

patient as suggestions. Such are sometimes given intentionally to the patient by those near by, as mentioned above, but quite often also natural phenomena perceptible to the hearing, as the wind, cries of animals, &c., act as suggestions to the patient.

In one case a hysterical woman was hypnotized by the words of a tale which she herself related to Jochelson.<sup>1</sup> The tale was of an indecent character, and was followed by appropriate gestures. In other cases the patient responds to intentional, often malicious, suggestions. Thus Jochelson was told that a hysterical woman, at the command of a young man, seized a horse by the tail, and was dragged along by the animal until the young man ordered her to let go.

The Cossacks especially take advantage of people suffering from arctic hysteria. Jochelson was once present at a fishing, when an old woman took part in throwing the fish out of the nets. One of the Cossacks who were with Jochelson suddenly approached the nets, and seizing a salmon with his teeth, ran away up a hill which rose from the water-side. The old woman, who at other times could scarcely drag her legs along, did the same. When he reached the top of the hill the Cossack turned and ran down towards the river, stopping short just before reaching it. The woman, however, ran straight into the water. On being pulled out, she fell to the ground unconscious, only then letting the fish fall from between her teeth.

While running after the Cossack, the old woman kept repeating weakly, 'Enough, enough!' but was unable to stop of her own will.<sup>2</sup>

Cases occur in which the patient, after having followed a command, realizes that she is being made fun of, and attacks her tormentor.

In the Yakut village Rodshevo (about forty-five miles to the north of Verkhne-Kolymsk) near Jochelson's *yurta* some men and the hostess, a woman of forty-five, were standing. She suffered much from hysteria. Suddenly a young Yakut ran towards the open field and pretended to be putting snow underneath his dress. The Yakut woman did the same, but when she felt the cold of the melting snow she ran to the house, took a knife, and went in search of the young man, who had hidden himself.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 36.

Priklonski describes some instances of this mimicry mania in the Yakutsk territory. One was the case of a barber in Verkhoyansk, and another occurred on an Amur steamer, where all the people on board were amusing themselves at the expense of a *merak* (a man suffering from *ämürakh*). They pretended to be throwing things overboard into the water, and the *merak* divested himself of all his property to do the same. A third case was observed in Olekminsk on the Lena. A hysterical woman, who at ordinary times was quite modest and even shy, was being tormented during an attack of *ämürakh* by a number of people who made indecent gestures, all of which she imitated. He quotes also an episode which was related to him by Dr. Kashin, who was much interested in this disease. Once, during a parade of the 3rd Battalion of the Trans-Baikal Cossacks, a regiment composed entirely of natives, the soldiers began to repeat the words of command. The Colonel grew angry and swore volubly at the men; but the more he swore, the livelier was the chorus of soldiers repeating his curses after him.<sup>1</sup>

Pallas affirms that many Samoyed, Laplanders, Tungus, the inhabitants of Kamchatka, and in a less degree the Tartars about the Yenisei, are occasionally 'panic-struck': 'An unexpected touch, a sudden call, whistling, or a fearful and sudden appearance will throw these people into a state of fury. The Samoyed and the Yakut, who seem more to be affected in this way, carry the matter so far that, forgetting what they are about, they will take the first knife, axe, or other offensive weapon that lies in their way, and would wound or kill the object of their terror if not prevented by force and the weapon taken from them; and if interrupted will beat themselves about the hands and feet, scream out, roll upon the ground and rave. The Samoyed and the Ostyak have an infallible remedy to bring such persons to themselves; which is, to set fire to a reindeer-skin, or a sack of reindeer hair, and let it smoke under the patient's nose; this occasions a faintness and a quiet slumber, often for the space of twenty-four hours.'<sup>2</sup>

Pallas mentions several other cases of Samoyed thus 'panic-struck', which he heard of in Siberia from a certain Mr. Suryeff. In 1722 this traveller met a young Samoyed shaman, who when he saw the stranger approaching, imagined that he was going to be

<sup>1</sup> Priklonski, *Three Years in the Yakutsk Territory*, 1890, pp. 48-50.

<sup>2</sup> S. Pallas, *Travels through Siberia and Tartary*, 1788, p. 18.



killed, 'and on holding a finger out to him, he seized it with both hands, and took that opportunity to run off; however, after many persuasions of the interpreter that no harm was designed him, he recovered himself. They then put on him a black glove and immediately his eyes rolled, he stared steadfastly at the glove, and fell into such a fit of madness that he would have committed some murder with an axe that lay in his way, had it not been secured. Disappointed of his weapon, he ran about raving, screaming, and shaking his hand in order to get off the glove, which he took to be the claw of a bear, and which he was afraid to touch with the other hand, till the bystanders laid hold of him forcibly and pulled it off, on which he recovered.'<sup>1</sup>

Cases of nervous diseases among the Greenland Eskimo are described by Whitney as follows:

'It was upon our return to Etah on the evening of September 16th, that I observed for the first time a case of *problokto* among the natives.'<sup>2</sup> An Eskimo named Tukshu began suddenly to rave upon leaving the boat. 'He tore off every stitch of clothing he had on, and would have thrown himself into the water . . . but for the restraint of the Eskimos. He seemed possessed of supernatural strength and it was all four men could do to hold him. With the knowledge that his madness was temporary and that he would shortly be himself again with no serious consequences to follow, I cheerfully watched his astonishing contortions. It would have been a very serious matter, however, had Tukshu been attacked while in the boat, and it is very serious indeed when *problokto* attacks one, as it sometimes does, when on the trail, or at a time when there are insufficient men to care for the afflicted one.'<sup>3</sup>

Another case is described by Whitney as follows:

'We were on the threshold of the long dismal night (Oct. 9th). Over the world there came a new and fearful stillness that seemed to speak of impending doom—something intangible, indescribable, uncanny. The gloom that settled upon all of us was particularly noticeable amongst the Eskimo women.'<sup>4</sup>

'At half-past one that night I was awakened from a sound sleep by a woman shouting at the top of her voice—shrill and startling, like one gone mad—I knew at once what it meant—some one had gone *problokto*. I tumbled into my clothes and rushed out. Far away on the driving ice of the Sound, a lone figure was running

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> *Hunting with the Eskimo*, 1910, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 82.

and raving. The boatswain and Billy joined me, and as fast as we could struggle through three feet of snow, with drifts often to the waist, we gave pursuit. At length I reached her, and to my astonishment discovered it was Tungwe.<sup>1</sup> She struggled desperately, and it required the combined strength of the three of us to get her back to the shack, where she was found to be in bad shape—one hand was frozen slightly, and part of one breast. After half an hour of quiet she became rational again, but the attack left her very weak.'<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime her baby was bare, crying, and the dogs were eating all the food in the hut.

One evening after the hunters returned from an expedition 'Tungwe was again attacked by *problokto*. She rushed out of the *igloo* (winter-house) tore her clothing off, and threw herself into a snow-drift. I ran to Kulutingnah's (her husband's) assistance, but the woman was strong as a lion, and we had all we could do to hold her. A strong north wind was blowing, with a temperature 8 degrees below zero, and I thought she would surely be severely frozen before we could get her into the *igloo* again, but in some miraculous manner she escaped even the slightest frost-bite. After getting her into the *igloo*, she grew as weak as a kitten, and it was several hours before she became quite herself.'<sup>3</sup> Tungwe had never suffered from *problokto* before the two attacks just described.

From these and other less detailed accounts it seems very probable that under the name of 'arctic hysteria' various nervous diseases are understood. Thus Priklonski, Sieroszewski, and Jochelson try to classify them, and first of all distinguish two chief types of nervous diseases, namely *menerik* (*mänärik*) and *ämürakh*.

A more exact analysis must be somewhat tentative, but the materials seem to warrant the following classification of nervous diseases, or symptoms of nervous disease, among the Siberian natives:—

i. *Amürakh* (Yakut, according to Sieroszewski)<sup>4</sup>; in Yukaghir it is called *irkunii*, in Tungus *olan*, in Koryak *menkeiti*, and in Ainu *imu*.

Radloff translates the word *amirak* as 'sensitive', while *amyrakh* means 'complaint'; and Jochelson says that the Yukaghir word

<sup>1</sup> An Eskimo woman whom the author knew very well.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 83-4.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> According to Jochelson *omürax* or *meriak*.

*irkunii* derives from *irkei*, 'to shudder'. As the linguistic evidence shows, the first symptom of this disease is the great impressionableness of the patient, his feeling of fright and timidity. Besides this susceptibility to fright, in which the patient shouts the most obscene words<sup>1</sup> or rushes at the cause of his terror,<sup>2</sup> there is another symptom of this disease, viz. an inclination to repeat all visual and auditory impressions.<sup>3</sup>

ii. *Menerik* (Yakut).<sup>4</sup> *Mänäria*, *mänärik* means in some Turanic languages 'mad', 'crazy', but the Yakut have a special word for a crazy person, namely *irbit*. *Irbit* means 'spoilt' if applied to other things. For hysteria of the *menerik* type the Yukaghir have the word *carmoriel*, whereas mental insanity they call *clomen*, and the Tungus name for *menerik* is *naunyan*, 'possessed by evil spirits'.

Fits of *menerik* are usually brought on by a shock or sudden pain, though sometimes the malady is periodical and comes on without any apparent immediate cause. The patient is afflicted with spasms, or falls into a trance, howls or dances, and sometimes this ends in an epileptoid seizure. The natives ascribe this disease to the influence of evil spirits and it is curious to note that this influence is in most cases of foreign origin. A Yakut patient will sing in Tungus and a Yukaghir in Yakut, even if they do not speak these languages.<sup>5</sup> The fits are often followed by a prolonged sleep lasting for several days.

Here it should be mentioned that epileptoid symptoms, of the European type, have been observed in Siberia also. Bogoras says that the Chukchee call this disease *ileyun*; the illness progresses rapidly and in most cases ends in the early death of the sufferer.<sup>6</sup>

iii. *Singing while asleep*. This is a peculiar form of the malady which has often been observed by travellers. It is called in Yukaghir *yendo iennit ya etei*, by the Tungus *nayani*, and by the Yakut *kutürur*. The patient when awakened does not remember what he was singing or that he has sung at all.<sup>7</sup> 'Nothing is

<sup>1</sup> The habit which such patients have of using bad language is called by Sir William Osler *coprolalia*.

<sup>2</sup> There is a well-known Yakut proverb, 'An *ämürakh* kicks like a reindeer.'

<sup>3</sup> The inclination to repeat everything one hears is called by Gilles de la Tourette *echolalia*; and the inclination to imitate movements is known as *echokinesia*, a name invented by Charcot.

<sup>4</sup> Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus*, p. 31; and *The Koryak*, p. 417.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Jochelson, *The Yukaghir*, p. 30.

more melancholy during the night'—says Bogoras—'in the houses or tents of some of these natives, than to be awakened by a monotonous mournful improvisation, which continues for hours if the singer is not roused.'

iv. Another type of nervous disease is described by Bogoras as follows: 'It comes at night like nightmare. During the attack the breath appears shortened, the blood rushes to the face, and sometimes the sufferer chokes on the spot. . . . A man suddenly afflicted with such an illness while travelling may be almost sure that he will not be allowed to enter any house nor will he be given either fire or warm food.'<sup>1</sup>

v. Although in both *menerik* and *ämürakh* there are sometimes symptoms of erotic mania, Pilsudski speaks of a special kind of sexual disorder called by the Japanese *shaku*, i. e. cramp of the vagina, or *vaginismus*, a sort of hysterical affection rather common in the Far East and not unknown among the Ainu. The Gilyak and Ainu myths abound in references to women so afflicted, whose husbands die early.<sup>2</sup>

vi. Melancholia and the so-called 'voluntary death' form a separate class. A person affected with melancholia is apathetic, indifferent, eats little, and moves unrhythmically.<sup>3</sup>

'Voluntary death' is a regular custom among the Chukchee. It is accounted for as being the result of disease and helplessness, of deep sorrow at the death of some near relative, or of a quarrel at home, or sometimes simply of the feeling of *taedium vitae*.<sup>4</sup> Bogoras knew of various instances of 'voluntary death' due to each of these causes. Young people in such cases commit suicide, for they can very seldom find any one to act as an 'assistant' in bringing death to the physical or psychical sufferer. Mature or old people are killed by some near relative at their own request. Bogoras thinks<sup>5</sup> that the custom of killing old people sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., p. 42. I place this among the types of nervous disease, following Bogoras, but with considerable reserve. The symptoms described appear to be those of some organic disease rather than of a nervous ailment. Comparing this description with that of the symptoms of internal anthrax in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (article 'Anthrax'), I would suggest that possibly attacks of the kind here described may in fact be due to *sibirskaya yaza*.

<sup>2</sup> Pilsudski, *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Jochelson, *The Yukaghir*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Bogoras, op. cit., pp. 361-3.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 360.

ascribed to the Chukchee does not exist as such, but that, as a matter of fact, old people are often killed because they prefer death to the hard conditions of life as invalids.<sup>1</sup> There are three methods of 'voluntary death': by stabbing with a knife or spear, by strangulation, and by shooting.<sup>2</sup> Before the ceremony of killing a formula is pronounced, after which no retreat is possible because the spirits have heard the promise and will punish its violation. 'Previous to his last hours, the person is treated with "fat meat and alien food", and all his wishes are fulfilled.'<sup>3</sup> Death at the hands of a son is thought not to be painful; it is, however, believed to be very painful if a stranger inflicts it. Voluntary death is considered preferable to a natural decease, which latter, indeed, is held to be the work of *kelet* (evil spirits). To die by one's own volition is equivalent to freeing oneself from the malevolence of the *kelet*, and is at the same time a sacrifice to the *kelet*, since a breach of the formally expressed determination to die is punished by them.<sup>4</sup> A voluntary death is not only better than a natural one, but it is even considered praiseworthy, since people who die this kind of death have the best abode in the future life. 'They dwell on the red blaze of the aurora borealis, and pass their time playing ball with a walrus-skull.'<sup>5</sup> This kind of death is sometimes, so to speak, hereditary, and the Chukchee say in such cases: 'Since his father died this way, he wanted to imitate him.'<sup>6</sup>

In discussing these facts it must be borne in mind that no one who has studied 'arctic hysteria' was a specialist in psychiatry.<sup>7</sup> Taking the descriptions of travellers, however, a survey of the whole field suggests a certain regularity of coincidences in the distribution of nervous diseases in Siberia.

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson says that the custom of killing old people existed until recently among the Koryak (p. 760). Boas says that among the Central Eskimo it is considered lawful for a man to kill his aged parents (*The Central Eskimo*, p. 615). Bogoras says that 'voluntary death' occurs also among the Maritime Chukchee and the Eskimo, but not so frequently (op. cit., p. 367).

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 564.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 563.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 562. Bogoras describes a case of this kind. 'The father was stabbed with a knife, but when death did not come immediately, he requested that he be strangled with a rope, which was done accordingly. The son also was stabbed, but the stroke was not mortal. So he went still further in imitating his father, and also requested that he might die by strangulation, which was immediately executed.'

<sup>7</sup> Except, perhaps, Dr. Kashin, mentioned by Priklonski (op. cit., 1890, p. 49).

(a) Women are especially prone to these ailments, and the shamans have a certain susceptibility to them. Both Priklonski and Sieroszewski say that there is scarcely any Yakut woman who is not more or less liable to this affliction.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Mencrik* (hysterical seizures) was observed chiefly among young girls and some young men, especially those being trained as shamans, whereas *umürakh*, which is marked by a quiet, passive condition of the patient, interrupted from time to time by attacks of fury, is generally met with in people of from thirty-five to fifty years of age.

(c) These two nervous diseases are met with most often among the peoples who have more recently come into the Arctic region, viz. the Yakut, the Tungus, and some of the Russian settlers; while among the peoples longer domiciled there the other nervous ailments such as melancholia, inclination to suicide, &c., are apparently more frequent.

(d) In all cases the nomadic or reindeer peoples have less liability to this form of disease; but this may be due not only to their mode of life, but also to the fact that the reindeer-breeding peoples are better situated materially, and, except as the result of some occasional catastrophe, do not suffer so much hardship. Thus we know that during a famine sometimes half the inhabitants of a village become insane, temporarily or permanently. Such cases were witnessed by Yadrintzeff and Priklonski, and were related by the natives to Jochelson and Bogoras.

We come, then, to the conclusion that the whole of Northern and part of Southern Siberia is a region where the people suffer from nervous diseases more than in any other of the known regions of the world. Thus only in this region is such an institution as that of 'voluntary death' looked upon as praiseworthy and there only do such hereditarily hysterical individuals as the best shamans certainly are enjoy the highest consideration. But neither to the institution of 'voluntary death' nor to the hysterical fits of the shamans are we justified in applying the name of disease, since these are not so considered by the natives themselves. This is one side of their nature, pathological from our point of view, but normal, or supra-normal, from theirs.

<sup>1</sup> Some travellers, like Jochelson, think that difficult labour may account for this; but Dr. Bielilowski, in his book, *Woman among the Aborigines of Siberia*, 1897, says that the native women in Siberia seldom suffer greatly at childbirth.

Certain nervous affections are, however, even in the eyes of natives considered as illnesses. What is the native line dividing disease from inspiration it is difficult to say. A youth who has suffered from *mencerik* has the better chance of becoming a shaman. In all cases this illness is ascribed to evil spirits, but for the shaman it is a desirable struggle with evil and an exercise in which he learns how to appease these spirits, while an ordinary mortal is only a victim of *kelet* or *abassy*, a 'sick person'. It is true that with the shaman no nervous disease, even *mencerik*, can be developed so far as to cease to be under his control. If a shaman cannot control and invoke the spirits at the right time, he ceases to be a shaman. Even if we call the hereditary shamanistic gift a hereditary form of hysteria, or a hereditary disposition to hysteria,<sup>1</sup> which very often develops only during the trying preparatory period, it is never of such an advanced form as to be called by the natives a disease.

It would seem that the name 'arctic hysteria' has been given by travellers partly to religio-magical phenomena and partly to the nervous ailments which are considered by the natives to be a disease.

A review of the various symptoms brings us, indeed, to the opinion that nearly all cases described can be regarded as instances of hysteria. But most of the symptoms enumerated are met with in Europe, and therefore the majority of these cases cannot properly be described as *arctic* hysteria. There is no question that the economic and geographical conditions of the arctic region lead to the development of nervous diseases, but since such ailments are met with in other geographical areas, it is clearly incorrect to class them as distinctively 'arctic'.

Yet not all of the symptoms described are familiar to Europeans. Quite unknown among us is *amurakh*, the imitative mania with its characteristic symptom of imitating unconsciously all gestures and sounds. This is always considered by the natives as a disease, and a shaman who should be attacked by it would have to give up his profession just as he has to do if he contracts syphilis or leprosy. This peculiar form of the malady probably suggested to travellers the name of 'arctic hysteria', and convinced them that all hysteria in the Arctic regions differs from that prevalent in Europe and is, in fact, peculiarly 'arctic'.

The use of the term 'arctic' seems appropriate enough at first

<sup>1</sup> See Otto Stoll, *Suggestion und Hypnotismus*, pp. 15-42.

sight, as nearly all travellers ascribe these hysterical maladies to arctic conditions, namely, dark winter days, light summer nights, severe cold, the silence, the general monotony of the landscape, scarcity of food, &c. The observed fact that these nervous diseases are especially frequent in the dark season, or in the time of transition from one season to another, points to the same conclusion.

But unfortunately for this hypothesis we find the same symptoms which are held to be characteristic of Arctic lands among the peoples of the Equatorial regions. Some travellers to the Malay peninsula mention a nervous disease similar to *amurakh* which is known there under the name of *latah*. A full description of it is found in Sir Hugh Clifford's work, *Studies in Brown Humanity*.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of comparison we shall quote his description. '*Latah* is an affliction, a disease, one hardly knows what name to give it, which causes certain men and women to lose their self-control, for longer or shorter periods, as the case may be, whenever they are startled, or receive any sudden shock. While in this condition they appear to be unable to realize their own identity, or to employ any but imitative faculties, though they very frequently, nay, almost invariably, make use of villainously bad language, without any one prompting them to do so. Any person who chances to attract their attention at such times can make them do any action by simply feigning to do it himself by a gesture. A complete stranger, by startling a *latah* man or woman, can induce the condition of which I speak accidentally and without exercising any effort of will. This should be borne in mind, for though *latah* resembles hypnotic suggestion in many respects, it differs from it in the important respect that it in no way depends upon an original voluntary surrender of the will-power.'<sup>2</sup>

Clifford had himself in 1887-8 a cook who suffered from this affection. He — as were some of the Siberian patients — was heavy-looking, clumsily built, stolid, and apparently not at all nervous. It was a mischievous little boy who first discovered Sat's (the cook's) weakness. The boy made a gesture as if he wanted to put his hand in the fire; Sat followed his suggestion and thus burned his fingers. After this, Sat was very often persecuted in this way by different people, until his hyper-

<sup>1</sup> 1898, pp. 186-201.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 189.



suggestibility became a chronic condition, so that any words addressed to him even in the quietest manner he repeated over and over again aimlessly, unintelligently.<sup>1</sup>

'It was about this time', Clifford says, 'that a number of other people in my household began to develop signs of the affliction. I must not be understood as suggesting that they became infected with *latah*, for on inquiry I found that they had one and all been subject to occasional seizures, when anything chanced to startle them badly, long before they joined my people; but the presence of so complete a slave to the affliction as poor Sat seemed to cause them to lose the control which they had hitherto contrived to exercise over themselves.'<sup>2</sup>

One old man begged Clifford to forbid people to take advantage of his illness. All cases of *latah* that Clifford observed were one like another, differing only in degree. Startling a person suspected of being affected with the malady was always the test. Some of the cases cited are: Once the same boy who first discovered Sat's weakness took advantage of the fact that there was nobody whom he feared in the house, and finding the cook quietly chewing betel with a friend, who was also *latah*, the boy unexpectedly made a noise with a rattan. Each of the *latah* gave a sharp cry and a jump, 'and since there was nothing to distract their attention from one another, they fell to imitating each the other's gestures. For nearly half an hour, so far as I could judge from what I learned later, these two men sat opposite to one another, gesticulating wildly and aimlessly, using the most filthy language, and rocking their bodies to and fro. They never took their eyes off one another for sufficient time for the strange influence to be broken, and, at length, utterly worn out and exhausted, first Sat and then the Treugganu man fell over on the platform in fits, foaming horribly at the mouth with thin white flakes of foam.'<sup>3</sup>

'The Malays have many tales of *latah*-folk who have terrified a tiger into panic-stricken flight by imitating his every motion, and impressing him thereby with their complete absence of fear.'<sup>4</sup> It seems that *latah* is a very widespread affection, since even tales and traditions are concerned with it. The following account of Clifford's recalls very vividly the pictures of *amurakh* as described

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 193-4.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 194.

by Jochelson. 'I have myself seen', says Clifford, 'a woman, stiff-jointed, and well stricken in years, make violent and ungainly efforts to imitate the motion of a bicycle, just as I once saw an old hag strip off her last scanty garment because a chance passer-by, who knew her infirmity, made a gesture as though he was about to undress himself.'<sup>1</sup>

Clifford saw so many *latah* people that he was able to observe certain conditions in which this ailment shows itself most violently. Thus, as is the case among the Yakut, *latah* is found among the well-fed and gently nurtured, as well as among the poor and indigent. It is seen more often among women than among men, and is invariably confined to adults. Clifford even thinks that every adult Malay is to a certain extent *latah*.<sup>2</sup>

To what an extent the startling of a *latah* subject makes him unable to control the movements of his body and follow slavishly every suggestion from outside is seen from the observed fact that a '*latah* person will mimic the swaying motion of wind-shaken boughs just as readily as the actions of a human being—will follow their movements in preference to those of a man, indeed, if the former chance to attract his attention before the latter'.<sup>3</sup> There is also no question but that the repeating of mechanical suggestions are not voluntary on the part of the *latah*. Clifford says that Sat certainly did not voluntarily put his hand into the flame, and that the old woman, in a country where women are as a rule very modest and shy, would certainly not of her own volition take off her garment in the presence of passing strangers.<sup>4</sup>

Thus we see that this characteristic mania of imitation which is the chief, if not the only form distinguishing 'arctic hysteria' from that known in Europe, and which has given rise to the term 'arctic', is also found among the Malays. Hence it is probably not so much the Arctic climate as *extremes* of climate which may account for its development, and hence it would seem preferable to discard the title 'arctic hysteria' in favour of 'hysteria of climatic extremes'. But, unfortunately, ethnological literature, rich as it is, gives no indication that in the equatorial regions of America,<sup>5</sup> Africa, or even Melanesia, anything similar to Malayan *latah* or Siberian *amurakh* exists. The environmental explanation being thus not the only possible one, we must next inquire whether

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> The 'jumpers' of Maine are the only instance recorded in America.



these Arctic peoples and the Malays have anything else in common. Here the racial factor suggests itself.<sup>1</sup>

From the materials on *ämürakh* we see that it occurs chiefly among Neo-Siberians (Yakut and Tungus), who are more typical Mongols than the Palaeo-Siberians. The few notes about *ämürakh* occurring among some of the Russian settlers do not contradict our hypothesis, for these so-called Russian settlers are very often of the same Mongoloid stock from the other side of the Ural. It would be necessary to have more definite information as to whether the people referred to as Russians are European Russians of Aryan stock, or Asiatic Russians of Mongolic stock, to decide this point. The thing which it is interesting to note in this connexion is that *ämürakh* was not observed among people whose conditions of life would naturally lead to the development of nervous diseases, i.e. political exiles in Siberia, who are decidedly of Aryan stock; and if further researches show that *ämürakh-lätah* is found invariably in connexion with Mongolic race-characters, and in places where extremes of climate encourage its growth, this disease will form a curious index of the psycho-physiological nature of Mongols.<sup>2</sup>

Before closing this chapter, and while disclaiming any intention of providing a medical definition of *ämürakh-lätah*, we must, however, express our doubts as to whether this disease can rightly be termed a type of hysteria.<sup>3</sup> The psychological condition of a patient suffering from *ämürakh-lätah* stands in a relation to that of a hysterical patient similar to that in which the psychological condition of a patient suffering from chorea does. That is, an *ämürakh-lätah* is almost unconscious; and however he may act afterwards (he is sometimes passive, and sometimes violent

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, one can read between the lines of Sir Hugh Clifford's book that *lätah* seems to be inseparable from the Malay, i.e. Mongol, race, and the same idea occurred to Mr. W. McDougall when the writer was discussing the topic with him in Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Not being in possession of details concerning the 'jumpers' of Maine we cannot consider them here.

<sup>3</sup> Priklonski, following Dr. Kashin (*Russian Archives of Legal Medicine*), calls *ämürakh* chorea imitatoria. Sir William Osler (*On Chorea and Choreiform Affections*, pp. 2, 32-3, 87) classes Malayan *lätah* and Siberian *ämürakh*, the latter of which he calls 'Russian myriachit', among choreiform affections. He considers them not to be hysteria as, for instance, chorea major is. He says, however, that in choreiform affections 'the action may be controlled or at least modified to some extent by an effort of the will'—a conclusion which can hardly be drawn from consideration of the cases described above.

towards the cause of the attack), he is unable at the time to prevent a suggestion from acting upon his mind as a command. In this respect he resembles a subject of hypnotic suggestion, the difference being that the *ämürakh-lätah* acts while awake and that he passes from a normal to an abnormal state quite rapidly, while in hypnotic suggestion a more or less lengthy period of time is necessary to subordinate the medium to the will of the person suggesting.

Like a choreatic and unlike a hysterical patient, an *ämürakh-lätah* may injure himself seriously during an attack. Although we find that an *ämürakh* in Siberia is often a hysterical person at the same time, and that an *ämürakh* attack is accompanied, preceded, or followed by a hysterical one, yet we can no more call *ämürakh* hysteria than we can call St. Vitus's dance by that name.

The small regard in which people suffering from *ämürakh* are held by the natives is shown in the following incident: 'Never mind,' said a native to Jochelson, when the latter was indignant because an old woman repeated after him everything that he said, 'it is only an *ämürakh*.'<sup>1</sup>

In studying and defining the diseases of primitive peoples, it is necessary to take account of the way in which such peoples regard the patients. Thus, among the aborigines of Siberia, a person suffering from *menerik* may become a powerful and influential shaman, while one afflicted with *ämürakh* is considered as of no account socially, and, like one suffering from syphilis, leprosy, or *sibirskaya yazva*, may even be segregated from society by special restrictions and disabilities.

<sup>1</sup> Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus*, p. 34.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

It seems to me that, especially in the matter of anthropological investigation, where so much depends on the education, impartiality, and good faith of the observer, it is important to take account of the observer's personality when dealing with his work. This is eminently the case in the present work, where the names of most of the authorities quoted are quite unknown to British readers interested in anthropology. I have been able to collect data about only a few of the writers whose works are quoted in this book. The outline biographies given below are of some of the most important of my authorities.

The older writers like Pallas, Krasheninnikoff, and Steller introduce themselves in their prefaces as being connected with the Petersburg Academy of Science. Most of the modern writers (i. e. Bogoras, Jochelson, Potanin, Klementz, Sieroszewski, Felix Kohn, Seeland, Pilsudski) began their anthropological researches as political exiles.

WALDEMAR G. BOGORAS, a thorough student of the Chukchee language and folk-lore, took part in the Yakut expedition organized by the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, 1894-7, and the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1900-2. Before this he had worked alone in this north-eastern region, whither he had been sent as a political exile. Besides his purely ethnological works, he has published, under the pseudonym *Tan*, several novels dealing with life in north-eastern Siberia. His work has been done in connexion with the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, the Petersburg Academy of Science, and the American Museum of Natural History of New York.

DORDJI BANZAROFF (1822-55), a Buryat of the Selenginsk district, was educated in a Mongol-Russian school and a Russian university. He started life with high hopes and ambitions, and a determination to investigate fully and scientifically the history of the Mongols. His important book, *The Black Faith*, or

*Shamanism among the Mongols*, was the firstfruits of his enthusiasm. When he returned to Siberia after finishing his education, however, and excepted a government post which did not suit well with his inclinations, he soon began to lose his interest in such matters, fell into dissolute habits, and died a drunkard.

Other educated Buryat who have made contributions to ethnological literature are M. N. Khangaloff and S. A. Pirojkoff.

WALDEMAR I. JOCHELSON began his work as investigator in 1886, when he was a political exile in the Yakutsk territory. From 1894-7 he took part in the Yakutsk expedition organized by the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. From 1900-2 he took part in the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, the results of which embody such a splendid contribution to science. In the years 1908-12 he was one of the members of the Riaboushynski Expedition (organized by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society) to Kamchatka and the Aleutian Islands. In the last two expeditions, his wife, Dr. Dina Jochelson Brodsky, collaborated with him in his work. The languages of the Koryak, Yukaghir, Aleut, and Yakut are all familiar to Mr. Jochelson; so that besides his more purely anthropological work he carries on important linguistic researches.

DMITRI KLEMENTZ, who spent half his life in Siberia as a political exile, and has done important work in geography, geology, and anthropology there, towards the end of his life returned to Russia and was made director of the Ethnographical Department of the Alexander III Museum in Petersburg. The wonderfully rich Minusinsk Museum is greatly indebted to him, as well as the Museum of Yeniseisk. In 1891-1905 he made an expedition, principally occupied with archaeology, into the heart of Mongolia. His death was announced in February of the present year, to the great sorrow of all students of those branches of knowledge with which he occupied himself. English readers know something of his work from an excellent article on the Buryat in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

FELIX KOHN, a Pole of Warsaw, was sent in 1886 as a political exile to Siberia, where he took up the study of the Yakut. In 1894 he was attached to the staff of the Minusinsk Museum; and then took part in an expedition sent by the Imperial Academy of Science to Manchuria.

GREGORY N. POTANIN, a Russian born in Siberia in 1835, was

sent in his youth as a political exile to the far north of European Russia. There he married into a family which had also been banished thither, and, together with his wife, undertook his first journey to north-western Mongolia in 1876. He returned in 1877, and within two years had started again, this time for the centre of north-western Mongolia. In 1884-6 he led an expedition to the eastern part of the Central Asian Plateau. His fourth expedition in 1892 was directed towards the unknown parts of eastern Tibet. Here his wife and faithful co-worker, Mrs. A. V. Potanina, died in the steppe between the towns Bao-Nin-Fu and Chun-Tsin-Fu. The chief objects of these expeditions were botanical, ethnological, and zoological observations.

N. M. PRZEWAŁSKI (1839-88). The five great expeditions of this distinguished traveller were only secondarily concerned with ethnography. The results of his first expedition (1867-9) were published in a work styled *The Natives of the Ussuri Country*. His four remaining journeys were directed to Central Asia; and during the fifth he died in Karakola, not far from Issyk-kola, of typhoid fever.

BRONISŁAW PILSUDSKI, a Pole, spent nineteen years as a political exile in Siberia. He is familiar with the Ainu, Gilyak, Orok, and Orochi; and his observations on the folk-lore of these peoples have been published in French, German, and English, as well as in Polish and Russian. He is now the secretary of the Ethnographical Department of the Cracow Academy of Science.

WACŁAW SIEROSZEWSKI, also a Pole, spent fifteen years (1879-94) as a political exile in Siberia. For twelve years he lived among the Yakut and acquired a great familiarity with their language and customs. He studied also to some extent the Tungus, Yukaghir, and Chukchee. In 1903 he undertook a journey to Sakhalin.

DR. LEO STERNBERG, director of the Anthropological Department of the Peter the Great Museum of the Imperial Russian Academy of Science, made his first researches in the field, in 1891-6, among the Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu of Sakhalin. He became thoroughly versed in the language and customs of the Gilyak, though he also knows the Ainu and Orok languages. In 1910 he went to the Amur country, and once more to Sakhalin. Besides the practical work connected with these expeditions, he has made many contributions to anthropological science in the form of pamphlets published for the most part in Russian. The results of his journey

to the Amur region are to appear in due course in the Memoirs of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

BASIL WIERBICKI, arch-priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, during his thirty-seven years of missionary work rode 36,000 versts on horseback. He died in 1890, leaving several important ethnographical and linguistic works on the Altaians. He knew several languages of the Turkic family.

NIKOLAI M. YADRINTZEFF (1842-94), a Russian born in Siberia, gave up all his life to work among the native peoples of Siberia, not so much from the anthropological point of view as from the humanitarian, being actuated by a sincere desire to be useful to these people. As editor of the paper *The Eastern Review*, and as the author of several books, he did all he could to further the work of protection of the natives.

The above is a brief and incomplete biographical account of some of our chief authorities. The bibliography will give some idea of the vast amount of work expended on inquiries into the native life of Siberia—and Siberia is still comparatively unknown from that point of view.

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## GLOSSARY

## A.

- abagaldey (Bur.), the shaman's mask of wood, skin, and metal.  
 abagay (Alt.), uncle (paternal), said of clansmen older than the speaker, and related to him through his father.  
 abassy pl. abassylar (Yak.), a 'dark' or evil spirit; abassy-oiuna, shamans with malevolent familiar spirits; abassy-ysyakh, the autumn festival dedicated to the black-spirits, held at night, and conducted by nine shamans, and nine shamanesses.  
 aba-tyus (Alt.), 'bear's tooth'; part of the ornamentation on the shaman's drum, above the circumferential dividing line.  
 abionesh (Alt.), 'old woman', grandmother, applied to clanswomen much older than the speaker.  
 achim (Alt.), nephew (paternal); applied to clansmen younger than the speaker related to him through his father.  
 acioenaku (Kor.), 'big grandfather', a name for Big Raven, the organizer of the universe.  
 ada or anakbay (Bur.), one-eyed evil spirits, especially harmful to young children.  
 adilparmint (Esk.), the cold, dark, underground abode of the dead.  
 aga (Yak.), 'older', the term applied to one's father.  
 aga-usa (Yak.), 'father-clan', clan.  
 ag-prenya (Bur.), an ongon of horse-skin made for the protection of young children.  
 ahmalk (Gil.), 'father-in-law clan', giving wives to a corresponding son-in-law clan.  
 aibi (Kor.), an ancestor reincarnated in one of his descendants.  
 ail-buzar (Alt.), 'destroying the house', part of the marriage ceremony among the Teleut, in which one of the bride's male relatives tears away a portion of the wall of the bridegroom's yurt, being mounted and simulating an attempt to escape from the occupants.  
 aimak (Yak.), older name for a nasleg.  
 aiy (Yak.), 'white' or good spirits; aiy-oiuna, shamans who serve these; aiy-udagana, 'white' shamanesses; aiy-ysyakh, the spring festival dedicated to the 'white' spirits.  
 ak-baga and kara-baga (Alt.), 'white' and 'black frog', servants of the high god Ulu-khan—part of the ornamentation on the shaman's drum below the circumferential dividing line.  
 akha (Bur.), 'taboo', said of a grove of birches containing the ashes of deceased shamans.  
 alaranto urgin (Chuk.), 'a journey out of loneliness', ceremonial visit paid by a bride to her parents a short time after her marriage.  
 Alash (Kirg.), watchword of the Kirgis of the Great, Middling, and Little Ordas, from the name of the mythical tribal ancestor.  
 Aloheringa (Arunta), the age of myth.  
 algyshe-sez (Alt.), 'blessing the bride' before she leaves her parents' house.  
 alkha (Bur.), a monster without trunk or limbs.

- amägyat (Yak.), ancestral spirit associated with shamanistic power; invisible, impersonal power communicated by old shamans to young; figure on a shaman's coat symbolic of these.  
 amban (Uriank.), chief ogurta.  
 amin (Bur.), lower soul, breath—one of the three parts of man.  
 ämulin (Chuk.), 'weakling', a slave; ciq-ämulin, 'very weak one'.  
 amürakh (omurax, meriak) (Yak.), a nervous affection characterized by the patient's imitating involuntarily movements and sounds within his sight or hearing (amiräk, 'sensitive'; amyrahk, 'compliant').  
 anan-loho-lercte (Yak.), 'mouth-opener', gifts brought by the match-maker to a prospective father-in-law.  
 anapel (Kor.), 'little grandmother', a divining stone used to determine what ancestor's name is to be given to a child.  
 angey (Gil.), 'wife'—classificatory term.  
 ännä (Yak.), a bride's dowry; ännä tangaha, her clothes; ännä siekhi, the cattle she takes to her husband.  
 anqaken-etinvilan (Kor.), 'Master of the Sea', a supernatural being vaguely associated with the sea. anqa, sea.  
 anqa-vairgit (Chuk.), supernatural 'beings of the sea'. anqa, sea.  
 apapel (Kor.), spirit-protectors of hunters and travellers. apa, 'father', 'grandfather'.  
 aptah-kisi (Yak.), 'sorcerers'.  
 aranga (Bur.), a platform on which the corpse of a shaman is exposed.  
 arangka (Yak.), a platform on which a corpse, especially that of a shaman, was formerly exposed.  
 arbu (Bur.), a cart.  
 armaci-ralin (Maritime Chuk.), 'the one of the house of the strongest', the most influential man in a village.  
 armaci-ran (Mar. Chuk.), 'house of the strongest' in a village.  
 aru-neme (ak-neme) (Alt.), good spirits; kara-neme, evil spirits.  
 attooralin or aunralin (Chuk.), 'the one in the chief' or 'front house', the master of a reindeer Chukchee camp.  
 attooran (Chuk.), 'front house', chief house.  
 attwat-yirin (Chuk.), 'boatful', boat's crew.  
 attw-ermecin (Chuk.), 'boat master', helmsman and owner of a boat.  
 aunralit (Chuk.), 'masters' or spirits animating forests, rivers, lakes, animals.  
 ayabol (Yuk.), name for an unmarried woman with several lovers.  
 äyellakh (Yak.), 'reconciled', 'peaceful'—an alliance of clans.

## B.

- bai-kazyn (Alt.), 'rich birch', part of the ornamentation on the shaman's drum below the circumferential dividing line.  
 baksa, basky (Kirg.), shaman.  
 balyk-timir (Yak.), 'fish', a symbolic figure on the shaman's coat in the shape of a fish. It trails behind on the ground as a bait for spirits, being fastened to the coat by a long leather strap.  
 balys (Yak.), younger.  
 bar (Alt.), the handle of the shaman's drum. It has the form of a human figure.  
 barky (Alt.), a gift which a boy receives at the age of seven from his maternal uncle.  
 bash-tutkan-kiaki (Alt.), 'holder of the head' of the sacrificial horse at the sacrifice to Bai-Yulgen.  
 bashtut-khan (Alt.), family deity of the yurt.



**batyr** (Yak.), a warrior.  
**bayga** (Alt.), five feasts held in connexion with a marriage.  
**billiryk** (Yak.), a seat for honoured guests at the right side of the *yrta*; 'left' **billiryk**, seat and sleeping place for women.  
**bis-usa-toyou** (Yak.), chief of a clan.  
**bö** (Bur.), a shaman. **Bögi-narhan**, 'the birch of a shaman', in the trunk of which the ashes of a dead shaman are deposited.  
**bokholdoy** (Bur.), the form in which **amin**, the lower soul, continues to live on earth.  
**bol** (Gil.), a class of good spirits.  
**bomo** (Bur.), the spirit-'owner' of *sibirskaya yazva*.  
**buge** (Mong.), a shaman.  
**bun** (Tung.), the place of the dead.  
**bürgüne** (Yak.), two disks on the shoulders of a shaman's coat.  
**bytyrys** (Yak.), a long fringe of hollow copper balls (*choran*) attached by leather straps to the lower edge of a shaman's coat.

## C.

**carmoriel** (Yuk.), a nervous affection like *menerik*.  
**ceneyinc** (Kor.), head-piece for the fire-drill.  
**charamni** (Yak.), horses with richly decorated saddles. They bear a bride's *ännä*.  
**chayu** (Alt.), spirits or spiritual power possessed by a shaman.  
**chekhn-kun-inau** (Gil.), an *inau* or fetish placed upon a tree while it is being cut down to receive the spirit-'owner' of the tree.  
**chilliryt kyhan** (Yak.), flat metal plates fastened to the back of a shaman's coat.  
**chitkur** (Diurbiut), an evil spirit harmful to young children.  
**chotunnur** (Yuk.), having sexual intercourse with a woman, or making her your hostess; formerly said of the custom of brothers having such intercourse with their sister before she was given to a husband.  
**chshity-kyz** (Alt.), 'seven maidens' who bring seven diseases on men; part of the ornamentations on the shaman's drum below the circumferential dividing line.  
**chshity-us** (Alt.), spirits associated with seven nests and seven feathers; part of the ornamentation on the shaman's drum below the circumferential dividing line.  
**chum**, the tent-like dwelling in use among the Finnic and Samoyedic tribes.  
**chyr-nykh** (Gil.), a shed built near the place where a person has been killed by a bear.  
**cin-yirin** (Chuk.), 'collection of those who take part in blood-revenge', a *varat*.  
**cireske maci** (Ain.), 'the brought-up wife', a girl betrothed to a man older than herself.  
**coro-mimebonpe** (Yuk.), 'men of the clan', the term for the system of relationship; also *coro-monulpe*, 'relatives'.  
**cuboje-yono** (Yuk.), 'heart-angor', blood-revenge.

## D.

**dakhul** (Bur.), a malicious spirit the soul of a deceased poor person.  
**dansari** (Tung.), a marriage ceremony.  
**darkhan**, pl. **darkhat** (Bur.), a smith.  
**degnyim** (Alt.), nephew (*maternal*), applied to clansmen younger than the speaker related to him through his mother.

**djakhter-em** (Yak.), 'my woman', term used in addressing one's wife.  
**djon** (Yak.), old name for a larger social group.  
**donkür** (Uri.), the shaman's drum.  
**dügür** (Yak.), a stringed instrument used by shamans.  
**düngür** (Mong.), the shaman's drum.  
**dyrelacho uri** (Tung.), 'first meeting of the two', i.e. of the bride and bridegroom at the *dansari*.

## E.

**edem** (Alt.), an elder sister.  
**eezi** (Alt.), 'owner' spirits of the sun, moon, mountains, rivers, forests.  
**elhogionin** (Kor.), 'wolf-stick-festival', the wolf-festival of the Maritime Koryak.  
**elomen** (Yuk.), madness.  
**emjepul** (Yuk.), classificatory term including brothers, sisters, cousins (male and female) of the father and mother.  
**enen** (Chuk.), shamanistic spirit; **enenilit**, 'those with spirit'—professional shamans.  
**Ennauensk** or **Nenenqal** (Kor.), 'on the opposite side', the abode of the dead.  
**ennen-mulilit** (Chuk.), 'those of the same blood', i.e. of the blood used for sacrificial anointment—paternal relatives.  
**erim** (Yak.), 'my man', referring to a husband.  
**erke** (Chern Tart.), family deity of the *yrta*.  
**Erlen-Tama** (Bury), the smaller of two dungeons to which souls are consigned after death.  
**ermecin** (Chuk.), 'strong man' a hero in the old Chukchee legends; nowadays (especially among Maritime Chukchee), the most influential man in the community on account of his physical prowess.  
**Etin** (Kor.), 'master', a name for the Supreme Being.  
**etinvit** (Chuk.), 'owners', or spirits animating forests, rivers, lakes, animals.  
**Etugen** (Mong.), the earth-goddess.  
**ewganva-tirgin** (Chuk.), 'producing of incantations', an incantation-shaman.  
**eyet** (Kor.), 'bow', the bow for turning the fire-drill.

## G.

**gam** (Alt.), shaman.  
**gellung** (Kak.), priest.  
**giegie** or **gegei** (Kor.), the fire-board.  
**Gicholan** (Kor.), 'The-One-on-High'; **Gicholetinvilan**, 'The-Master-on-High'. Names for the Koryak Supreme Being.  
**ginon-kanon** (Chuk.), 'middle crown', a benevolent being residing in the zenith.  
**Girgol-vairgin** (Chuk.), 'Upper Being'.  
**gupilin** (Chuk.), 'working-man', slave; any worker.

## H.

**hamman** or **samman** (Tung.), shaman.  
**harain-bö** (Bur.), 'black' shaman.  
**hetolatirgin** (Chuk.), 'one-looking-into', a prophet-shaman.  
**hobo** (Yak.), tongueless copper bells suspended from below the collar of a shaman's coat.  
**hodohoi tiuser** (Yak.), 'the arrival of the match-makeress' or wife of the match-maker at the house of the bride's parents.

hoinohor käsi (Yak.), 'the gift for the night', part of the kalym.  
 hoku-sikara (Ain.), 'making my husband', a ceremony performed by a bride of presenting certain gifts to her husband.  
 homus (Yak.), the 'jew's-harp'.

## I.

iasso (Gil.), iron links on the shaman's girdle.  
 ichchi (Yak.), a spirit-'owner'.  
 ichchylakh (Yak.), a hereditary blacksmith's tools which have the power of emitting sounds of themselves.  
 iik (Alt.), a light-coloured horse sacrificed to the good god Yulgen by a bridegroom.  
 ijin (Bur.), an 'owner' or spirit residing in some object.  
 ike-karagus (Alt.), two black birds, messengers of the shaman to the shaitans; part of the ornamentation on the shaman's drum above the circumferential dividing line.  
 ilshi or bydek (Bur.), intermediaries between the 'eastern' and the 'western' khats.  
 ilhun or elgoi (Kor.), an arrow placed near the hearth at the (Maritime) wolf-festival.  
 imu (Ain.), mimicry mania (ämürakh).  
 Inahitelan or Ginagitelan (Kor.), 'Supervisor', a name for the Supreme Being.  
 inao (Ain.), fetishes made of wood-shavings.  
 inenjulan (Kor.), a relative who impersonates the deceased to deceive the kala into believing that it has not obtained the dead man's soul.  
 irbit (Yak.), spoilt, mad.  
 irkunü (Yuk.), mimicry mania (ämürakh). irkei, to shudder.  
 is (Ost.), shadow.  
 isi (Vog.), shadow, one of the three parts of a man.  
 ivn (Gil.), husband (classificatory).

## J.

jemi (Ost.), wife.  
 jido (Bur.), the *Picea sibirica*.

## K.

kabys or komus (Alt.), a two-stringed musical instrument used to accompany the recital of heroic tales.  
 kaoho (Chern Tart.), a shaman's mask.  
 kadyk (Bur.), a white cloth attached to an arrow which one of the turushi sticks in the tenge of the bridegroom's yurt when the bride is being brought thither.  
 kala, pl. kalau (Kor.), an evil spirit.  
 kalan, kamak (Paren Kor.), evil spirits; also guardian spirits.  
 kalatko urgin (Chuk.), ecstatic shaman.  
 kaliany (Yak.), mischievous familiar spirit of a shaman.  
 kalym, cattle, goods, &c., given in payment for a wife.  
 kam (Tart., Alt.), shaman.  
 kamui (Ain.), 'he who' or 'that which is of the highest degree of evil or good', 'he who' or 'that which covers' or 'overshadows'—a deity.  
 kamuli (Kam.), evil spirits dwelling in volcanoes and hot springs.

kan-ät-uruta (Yak.), 'blood-and-flesh relationship', referring to members of the same clan.  
 kannus or kvobdas (Tapp), the shaman's drum.  
 kanoirgin (Chuk.), 'being a crown', a benevolent being residing in the zenith.  
 kanun-kotan, kanun-moshiri (Ain.), the land of the gods.  
 kara-darkhat (Bur.), 'eastern' or 'black' smiths.  
 kargan (Yak.), 'household'.  
 kasi (Gil.), the drum.  
 keileni (Yuk.), 'red-paint', the menses.  
 kekhn and kenchkh (Gil.), a shaman's familiar spirits.  
 kele, pl. kelet (Chuk.), evil spirit, also a shaman's spirit-assistant.  
 ken kersier (Yak.), 'the race of the youths', a race on horseback between a member of the bridal party and one of the bridegroom's friends, which takes place when the bride is being brought to the bridegroom's yurt.  
 kenniki-oyun (Yak.), a 'little shaman'.  
 ker-khomlakh (Ost.), a black-beetle.  
 khada-ulan-öbökhdö (Bur.), 'old people of the mountain', local divinities, the souls of deceased shamans and shamanesses.  
 khadam (Bur.), the name by which a wife addresses her father-in-law and all the older male relatives of her husband.  
 khailya or khailige (Yak.), the custom of sacrificing at a funeral a horse or cow, the flesh of which is eaten by those present.  
 khal (Bur.), the final marriage compact.  
 khal (Gil.), the clan.  
 khat (Bur.), a benevolent spirit, child of a western tengeri.  
 khaura-boro (Bur.), three days of mourning for the dead.  
 kherege-khulke (Bur.), the first consecration ceremony of a shaman.  
 khese (Bur.), the shaman's drum or his bell.  
 kheyman (Gil.), an elder.  
 khlay-nivukh (Gil.), an orator or intermediary in the settlement of blood-feuds by means of thusind (compensation).  
 kholbokho, khoubokho, or shamshorgo (Bur.), conical iron pendants attached to a shaman's cap or to the 'horse-staves'.  
 kholgo (Bur.), a horse consecrated for sacrifice at funerals.  
 khorbo (Bur.), a shaman's staff.  
 khoshun (Uriank.), one of the five largest social divisions among the Tangnu Uriankhai.  
 khosodabgaliku (Tung.), a marriage ceremony.  
 khuna (Kirg.), blood-revenge.  
 khur (Irkutsk Bur.), the shaman's 'jew's harp'.  
 khurir (Bur.), prohibition against removing anything from the yurt for a certain period after the sacrifice to the fire; called also serotey.  
 Kihigilan (Kor.), 'Thunder-Man', a name for the Supreme Being.  
 kilvei (Chuk.), the antlers ceremony.  
 kinitti (Yak.), the custom of avoidance observed by married women with regard to the older male relatives of their husbands.  
 kinr or knin (Gil.), a class of evil spirits.  
 Kinta-vairgin (Chuk.), 'The Luck-Giving Being'.  
 kirik (Bur.), an occasional private sacrifice.  
 kirnaipu-walin (Chuk.), 'that coming from the old buck (male)', the paternal line of descent.  
 kirna-takhalin (Chuk.), an older relative.  
 kirne-tomgin (Chuk.), 'old buck (male) mate', the paternal line; an older relative.

- kirneyicemit-tomgin (Chuk.), an elder brother.  
 kittegan (Yak.), the betrothal ceremony.  
 kiyolhepu-walin (Chuk.), 'that coming from the uterus', the maternal line of descent.  
 koekchuch (Kam.), probably a eunuch possessing shamanistic power.  
 kojajjokire (Ain.), 'to make the first advances', said of a woman who courts a man for husband.  
 kondei-kyhan (Yak.), rolls of tin fastened to the back of a shaman's coat.  
 kongokto (Gil.), small tongueless copper bells on a shaman's girdle.  
 kongoro (Gil.), rolled iron plates on a shaman's girdle.  
 konlakhion (Kam.), a kind of grass.  
 kōshōgo (Alt.), a screen borne before the bride when she is being taken to the bridegroom's house.  
 koska (Gil.), a shaman's apron.  
 krish (Alt.), a horizontal iron stay inside the drum.  
 kudlivum or adlivum (Esk.), a warm land of plenty in the sky—an abode of the dead.  
 kulun tyl kurduk (Yak.), a tongue-shaped buckle which fastens the shaman's coat at the neck.  
 kun (Yak.), light, day.  
 kūngeta, kūnāsā, kūsanā (Yak.), 'sun' (?), 'bell' (?), a disk-shaped ornament of the shaman's coat.  
 kungru (Alt.), iron rattles attached to the krish.  
 kurg-enenilit, kunich-enenilit (Chuk.), 'mocking' shamans, —deceitful, maleficent shamans.  
 kurmes (Alt.), an image of a god; called *tyn* by the Chern Tartars.  
 kut (Yak.), a soul common to men and animals, and composed of three parts: buor-kut, 'earth-soul'; salgyn-kut, 'air-soul'; and iya-kut, 'mother-soul.' Among the Altaians it is a stage or phase of the life of the soul.  
 kutūrar (Yak.), a nervous affection characterized by the patient's singing in his sleep.  
 kuturuksuta (Yak.), a shaman's assistant.  
 kyira (Gil.), irregularly shaped pieces of iron on the shaman's girdle.  
 kys kesit (Yak.), 'gifts of the bride', food which she takes to the bridegroom.  
 kysmrk or kyssk djakko (Gil.), a special knife used for cutting the umbilical cord.  
 kyun (Alt.), 'sun', part of the ornamentations on the shaman's drum above the circumferential dividing line.  
 Kyzyl-kikh-khan (Alt.), a deity to whom one prays when beginning an undertaking; represented in symbol on the shaman's drum above the circumferential dividing line.

## L.

- lātah (Malay), a nervous affection similar to *āmūrakh*.  
 lepud-oicil (Yuk.), 'blood-anger', blood-revenge.  
 lepul (Yuk.), 'blood', kinsfolk, including also relatives by affinity.  
 lili khel mkholas (Ost.), soul.  
 lot (Gil.), a class of good spirits.

## M.

- maoihi (Ain.), 'the wife', said of a bride after the second, or real, marriage.  
 malykh (Bur.), calves as yet unborn.

- manyak (Alt.), shaman's coat or the metal pendants on it.  
 marxín-wolen (Yuk.), 'the price of a girl', said of the custom of purchasing a bride.  
 mataliramkin (Chuk.), 'affinity people', relatives by affinity.  
 mat-eikara (Ain.), 'making my wife', the presenting by the bridegroom of certain gifts to his newly-made bride.  
 maxem (Kor.), 'arrow', the fire-drill.  
 meciecum (Yuk.), 'a washing', ceremonial smearing with reindeer's blood of a bride before she is taken to her husband's house.  
 menerik (Yak.), a nervous affection in which the patient is afflicted with spasms, falls into a trance, howls, sings or dances—this being sometimes followed by an epileptoid seizure.  
 menkeiti (Kor.), mimicry mania (*āmūrakh*).  
 menkva (Vog.), secondary 'dark' spirits.  
 mif (Gil.), the earth: the island of Sakhalin.  
 milk (Gil.), a class of evil spirits.  
 mlyro (Gil.), the habitation of the dead.  
 morini-Rhorbo (Bur.), 'horse-staves.'  
 mu-shu-bu (Bur.), 'malicious bird', the evil-working transformed soul of a girl or young woman.  
 mygdāt-yako (Ost.), commoners.

## N.

- Naininen (Kor.), 'Universe', 'World', 'Outer One', a name for the Supreme Being.  
 Narginen (Chuk.), 'The Outer One', the world, vaguely conceived as a beneficent being.  
 nasleg (Yak.), a social group comprising from one to thirty or more clans.  
 nauchin (Chuk.), a female captive-slave.  
 naundourgin (Chuk.), 'for wife herdsman being', serving for a wife.  
 naunyan (Tung.), 'possessed by evil spirits', said of a nervous affection similar to *menerik*.  
 nayani (Tung.), a nervous affection similar to *kutūrar*.  
 naydji (Bur.), 'friend', said of the relationship between a shaman and the parents whose child he undertakes to protect from evil spirits.  
 nenvetienin or ninvit (Kor.), evil spirits.  
 ne uchica (Chuk.), 'similar to a woman', said of a 'transformed' man-shaman.  
 neusqāt (Chuk.), woman.  
 newew girkin (Chuk.), 'thou askest for a wife', said of the preliminary negotiations for a bride made by the matchmaker.  
 new-tungit (Chuk.), 'companions in wives', members of a group having common rights in each other's wives.  
 nexiyini (Yuk.), 'they are bashful (in the presence) of each other', said of the custom of avoidance.  
 nimeleu qatvanvota (Kor.), 'hail!' 'be well!'  
 nimeleu qatvarkin (Chuk.), 'be well!' a bride's salutation to her husband's hearth.  
 nlm-tungit (Chuk.), 'camp-companions'—inhabitants of the tents in a Reindeer Chukchee encampment other than those living in the 'front tent'.  
 ninirkilqin (Chuk.), 'he is bashful', said of shamans to express their extreme nervous sensibility.  
 noyda (Lapp), shaman.  
 nusa (Ain.), a cluster of kema-ush-inao (legged inao), set up by the water as a sacrifice to the water-gods.

## O.

- odakh (Alt.), a temporary yurt built for a newly-married couple.  
 odyr (Vog.), a hero.  
 ocitkolin (Chuk.), 'giving answering calls', the assistant of a shaman.  
 ogonyor (Yak.), elders.  
 ogurda, ogurta, gurta (Uriank.), the head of a khoshun.  
 oibon-kunga or oibon-künāsātā (Yak.), 'hole-in-the-ice sun', a disk-shaped ornament on the shaman's coat.  
 ologos timiria (Yak.), metal plates fastened to the right and left sides of a shaman's coat.  
 oktorgo (Bur.), the night-sky.  
 olan (Tung.), mimicry mania (āmürakh).  
 alongho (Yak.), ancient poems or folk-ballads.  
 ongon (Mong.), a fetish in which the soul of an ancestor is worshipped.  
 ongon (Bur.), a fetish representing either 'black' or 'white' spirits.  
 opana (Kam.), soup made from fish and a plant called hale.  
 orda, old name for the larger social groups among the Turkic tribes.  
 orgoy (Bur.), the shaman's coat—white for a 'white' shaman, blue for a 'black'.  
 ort (Ost.), a male slave; ort-nen, a female slave.  
 orto-oyun (Yak.), a 'middling shaman'.  
 ot-imeze (Alt.), 'mother of the fire', represented in symbol on the shaman's drum below the circumferential dividing line.  
 ouokh (Yak.), a resting-place for a shaman in his journey through the sky.  
 oyeye (Bur.), one of the three parts of a man—the body.  
 oyokh (Yak.), a wife.

## P.

- pacil (Kor.), ceremonies held in celebration of a birth.  
 pal (Gil.), mountain; spirit-'owner' of the mountain.  
 palma (Tung.), a long knife with a wooden handle.  
 pandf (Gil.), name used by a clan for another with which it has marital ties.  
 parchis (Vot.), secondary priest appointed by the tuno.  
 pellaskis (Vot.), sorcerer.  
 peninelau (Kor.), 'ancient people', the dead.  
 penzer (Sam.), the shaman's drum.  
 pet-ru-ush mat (Ain.), 'females of the water-ways', female deities who have oversight of all streams.  
 po (Yuk.), 'worker', slave.  
 pogil (Yuk.), persons who serve or are served for a bride, a relationship term.  
 pogilonu (Yuk.), to serve for a bride.  
 polutpe (Yuk.), 'old men', oldest representatives of different families constituting a sort of council.  
 problokto (Esk.), a nervous affection somewhat resembling menerik.  
 pu (Gil.), husband (classificatory).  
 pura (Alt.), the soul of a horse sacrificed to Bai Yulgen.  
 purel (Chuk.), a male captive slave.

## Q.

- qacikicheca (Chuk.), 'similar to a man', said of a 'transformed' woman-shaman.  
 qaitumnin yeti (Kor.), 'a relative has come'—the formula used by a father in announcing the birth of his child.

- qavau (Kor.), 'transformed' men.  
 Qoren-vairgin (Chuk.), 'Reindeer Being', the tutelary spirit of the reindeer herds.  
 Quikinnaku or Kutkinnaku (Kor.), 'Big Raven', the organizer of the universe.

## R.

- raff (Gil.), a shed built to receive the ashes of the dead.  
 ra-i-oman (Ain.), 'to go to the lower place', to die.  
 rayirin (Chuk.), 'houseful', 'those in the house', household.  
 rekken, pl. rekkenit (Chuk.), a spirit 'assistant' of the shaman; part of the ornamentation of the shaman's coat representing this spirit; the Maritime name for a kele.  
 ruf (Gil.), brother (classificatory).  
 rynchi (Alt.), persons able to foretell events.

## S.

- sagan-bö (Bur.), 'white' shamans.  
 sagan-khordut (Bur.), lesser deities.  
 sagan-sara (Mong.), 'white-month', the autumn festival.  
 saiba (Yak.), a platform on two posts on which dead bodies, especially those of shamans, were exposed.  
 sakükh bayuga (Bur.), a shaman's first visit to the dwelling of the people with whom he is to be naydji.  
 salamata (Yak.), meal cooked with butter.  
 saman (Manchu), 'one who is moved', 'exalted', 'excited'—a shaman (so pronounced by some Tungusic tribes).  
 samana (Pali), to become weary.  
 samburzia (Sam.), the taidibey's (shaman's) coat.  
 samdambi (Manchu), 'I shamanize'.  
 same-nabma (Lapp), the ceremony of naming a child.  
 sangyiah (Yak.), the woman's coat.  
 satini-burkhat (Bur.), tutelary spirits of tea-planting.  
 seok (Alt.), 'bones', 'generation', clan.  
 ser (Uriank.), a raised platform on which the corpse of one struck by lightning is exposed.  
 serge (Bur.), 'posts', birch-trees planted at a shaman's consecration.  
 sesen or sekhen (Yak.), an adviser, a sage.  
 setertey (Mong.), the custom of dedicating an animal to an ongon, and the taboo which forbids the use of such an animal for heavy work.  
 shagund (Gil.), certain articles reckoned as private property.  
 shaitan, almys, khawa, kuremes (Chern Tart.), names for evil spirits.  
 shaku (Jap.), vaginismus.  
 shaytan (Mong.), 'black' spirit.  
 shelenga (Bur.), the head of a clan as organized by the Russian administration.  
 shinnurappa (Ain.), 'libation-dropping', part of the ceremonial of ancestor-worship.  
 shire (Bur.), shaman's chest containing certain ceremonial accessories.  
 shirlikh (Alt.), prohibition against removing anything from the yurt in which a dead body is lying.  
 shram (Sansk.), to become weary.  
 shramana (Sansk.), a hermit, ascetic, religious mendicant.  
 sinnakh khongoruta (Yak.), 'they have given their word'—the conclusion of the marriage compact.  
 siynym (Alt.), 'girl', a younger sister.



- sörkhökhö (Bur.), 'to commit sin', applied to the custom of avoidance.  
 souban-ir (Alt.), 'aurora'—the dawn (or the aurora borealis); part of the ornamentation of the shaman's drum above the circumferential dividing line.  
 sugyznym-karagat (Alt.), the horses of the high god Ulu-khan: part of the ornamentation on the shaman's drum above the circumferential dividing line.  
 sumyn (Uriank.), subdivision of a khoshun. Probably a clan.  
 süne (Alt.), a soul peculiar to man, his intellect.  
 sunyesun (Bur.), one of the two souls of a man; it is peculiar to man, and is reincarnated in human form.  
 sür (Yak.), one of the three souls of man.  
 sür (Alt.), the soul which separates from a man at his death.  
 surge (Yak.), the tree to which the animal dedicated at a funeral is tied.  
 suwu (sulu) (Yak.), the part of the kalym paid to the parents of the bride.  
 suzy (Alt.), the strength or vitality of a man or animal, one of his souls.  
 sygan (Yak.), a relative nine times removed.

## T.

- tabytaua (Yak.), plates fastened to the sleeves of a shaman's coat.  
 tadebtzy (Sam. and Vog.), spirits.  
 tadibey (Sam.), shaman.  
 tagaun (Tung.), clan.  
 tahe (Ost.), 'man', husband.  
 tailgan (Bur.), 'the asking ceremony', a periodical communal sacrifice.  
 takalhin (Chuk.), 'brace-companion', wife's sister's husband.  
 tanara (Yak.), 'protector', said of the shaman's coat and the symbolic ornamentation on it; household 'guardians'; charms; its modern significance includes heaven, the Christian God, and ikons.  
 tano-mnalin (Chuk.), 'fortifier', one who performs certain ceremonies to counteract the evil influence of the spirit of a deceased person.  
 taptý (Alt.), 'steps' or notches, nine in number, cut in a birch trunk to symbolize the stages of the shaman's ascent to the ninth heaven at the sacrifice to Bai-Yulgen.  
 tarasun (Bur.), wine or milk.  
 tay (Alt.), uncle (maternal), said of clansmen older than the speaker and related to him through his mother.  
 taysha (Bur.), the head of a (Russian) administrative group comprising several clans.  
 tei-nei-pokna-moshiri (Ain.), 'the wet underground place' of departed spirits.  
 tenci-mnulin (Chuk.), 'well-minded' shamans.  
 tenge (Bur.), a partition which shuts off the sleeping-place from the hearth.  
 tenge (Alt.), aunt, applied to clanswomen older than the speaker.  
 tengeri or tengeriny (Bur.), highest supernatural beings.  
 tes bazin-yat (Alt.), 'the ancestor (spirit), leaps upon, strangles him', said of the shamanistic call coming to the descendant of a shamanist family.  
 tetkeyun (Chuk.), 'source of life', blood, vital force; represented in symbol on the shaman's coat.  
 tey (Ost.), a male slave.  
 tey-nen (Ost.), a female slave.

- thusind (Gil.), ransom or compensation paid in lieu of blood-revenge.  
 tiungnur tiuser (Yak.), 'the arrival of the match-maker' at the house of the bride's parents; tiungnur hodohoi tiuser, 'the arrival of the match-maker and match-makeress', i. e., the bringing of the bride by her parents to the bridegroom's house.  
 tlo (Gil.), the habitation in the sky of those who have died a violent death.  
 tly-nivukh (Gil.), gods of the sky.  
 tol (Gil.), the sea; spirit-'owner' of the sea.  
 tole (Bur.), a mirror of metal on the breast of the shaman's coat.  
 tole (Gil.), a copper disk hanging from the shaman's girdle.  
 tomgin (Chuk.), 'companion', 'mate', 'kinsman'.  
 tonto (Lapp), spirit.  
 tordo (Yak.), 'origin', 'root'.  
 töre (Vot.), a secondary priest appointed by the tuno.  
 totaino rkine (Chuk.), said of a certain peculiar deformity of the penis.  
 toyon (Yak.), lord.  
 tula (Alt.), a soul peculiar to man.  
 tungur (Alt., Soiot, Karagas), the shaman's drum.  
 tuno (Vot.), the chief shaman.  
 tünür, tungür, dünür (Yak.), the shaman's drum. Tünür also means kinship by marriage.  
 tünürättär (Yak.), match-making.  
 turene nitvillin (Chuk.), 'the newly-inspired one', a shaman in his novitiate.  
 turushi (Bur.), a group of horsemen accompanying a bride.  
 tusakta (Yak.), a woman's cap.  
 tuvn (Gil.), sister (classificatory).  
 tyn (Yak.), 'life', 'breath'; a soul common to men, animals, and plants.

## U.

- uchchi (Vog.), malicious spirits dwelling in the forest.  
 udege (Tart.), 'housewife', 'wife'; also female shaman.  
 uicil (Yuk.), a hired labourer.  
 uiritak (Ain.), 'distant relatives', 'brethren brought in'—men married into families not of their own village.  
 uiriwak (Ain.), 'blood-relatives', 'brethren'—men who take wives from their own village.  
 ukhan-budla (Bur.), a ceremony performed by a shaman to celebrate the birth of a child.  
 ukher-ezy (Bur.), souls of evildoers who have died by violence.  
 ukoreske maci (Ain.), a girl betrothed to a man of about her own age.  
 ulahan-oyun (Yak.), a 'great shaman'.  
 Ulgere (Alt.), a deity to whom prayers are offered for the curing of carache and toothache; represented in symbol on the shaman's drum below the circumferential dividing line.  
 ulug-bai-kazyn (Alt.), two trees growing in the high god Ulu-khan's country; part of the ornamentation on the shaman's drum below the circumferential dividing line.  
 ulus (Yak.), a group comprising several naslegs.  
 umgu genych (Gil.), 'buying a wife'.  
 unpener (Chuk.), 'the pole-stuck star', the pole star, which is considered to be a benevolent being.  
 uos assar (Yak.), 'the opening of the mouth', the part of the kalym paid at the beginning of negotiations for a wife.  
 urdla nivukh (Gil.), 'good and rich one', unofficial leader of a clan.

urif (Gil.), a class of good spirits.  
 uru (Yak.), 'wedding', 'relationship by marriage', relationship.  
 urui (Yak.), 'hurrah'.  
 urus-sara (Mong.), 'the month of sara', the spring festival.  
 useten (Bur.), an ongon prepared for a woman who desires a child.  
 usui (Yak.), to train a shaman, to consecrate a shaman.  
 utakan (Tung.), sorcerer, cannibal.  
 utka (Bur.), 'descent', 'genealogy'; a term connoting shamanistic power.  
 utygan (Tart.), bear.  
 uvirit or uvekkingin (Chuk.), 'belonging to the body', the soul.  
 uyicit or uyirit (Kor.), the chief soul of man.

## V.

Vahiynin (Kor.), 'existence', 'strength', a name for the Supreme Being.  
 vairgin, pl. vairgit (Chuk.), 'beings', benevolent supernatural beings; taaronyo vairgit, benevolent 'beings sacrificed to'.  
 varat (Chuk.), 'collection of those who are together'—a social body resembling a clan. enan-varatken, 'one of the same varat'.  
 vata ifilin (Chuk.), 'continuous dweller', a son-in-law adopted into his wife's family.  
 vedin (Vot.), a sorcerer.  
 viyolin, pl. viyiolet (Chuk.), 'assistants'; sometimes applied to spirits supposed to be assistants of certain supernatural beings; slaves.

## W.

wuyil-wuyil (Kor.), 'shadow', one of the minor souls of man.  
 wuyivi (Kor.), 'breathing', one of the minor souls of man.

## X.

xoil (Yuk.), an 'idol' formed of the skull of a shaman placed on top of a stick.

## Y.

yada-tash (Alt.), a stone by means of which the weather can be controlled.  
 yaelhepu-walin (Chuk.), that coming from the penis—the paternal line of descent.  
 yagan (Bur.), ancient name for the clan.  
 yahalanu (Kor.), 'cloud people'.  
 yalgil (Yuk.), 'lake', the drum.  
 yangpa (Gil.), the shaman's girdle.  
 yanra-naw (Chuk.), 'separate woman', an unmarried woman.  
 yanra varat (Chuk.), 'separate tribe'—the spirits of intoxicating mushrooms.  
 Yaqhienin (Caghienin, Vahienin, Vahitnin) (Chuk.), 'something existing', a name for the Supreme Being.  
 yara-tomgit (Chuk.), 'house-mates'.  
 yara-vairgit (Chuk.), 'house-beings', the tutelary spirits of the house.  
 yauasua (yalama) (Alt.), strips of bright-coloured material fastened inside the drum.  
 yayai (Kor.), the drum.

ye (Yak.), 'womb', 'embryo', mother.  
 yekyua (Yak.), 'mother-animal', a shaman's familiar spirit.  
 yendo iennt ya etei (Yuk.), singing in one's sleep, a nervous affection similar to kuturar.  
 yep ayaakeleu (Chuk.), 'not yet put in use', an expression probably equivalent to 'girl'.  
 ye-usa (Yak.), 'mother-clan'.  
 yirka-laul-vairgin (Chuk.), 'soft-man-being', said of the so-called 'change of sex' among shamans.  
 ymgi (Gil.), clan of a son-in-law.  
 ymk (Gil.), mother (classificatory).  
 yokh (Gil.), said of a woman with whom, as not being of the speaker's mother's clan, sexual intercourse is forbidden.  
 yor (Yak.), the soul of a deceased person which is unable to leave the earth.  
 ys (Gil.), the spirit-'owner' of an animal.  
 ysyakh (Yak.), a sacrificial festival.  
 ytk (Gil.), father (classificatory).  
 ytk-khavrnd (Gil.), 'without father', said of one whose father is not known, or whose mother has married a man not of the correct marital class.  
 yurta, the tent-like dwelling in use among the Turkic tribes.  
 yz (Gil.), 'host', the unofficial leader of a clan.

## Z.

zayan (Bur.), the spirit of an ancestor whose memory is honoured by sacrifices; a god.

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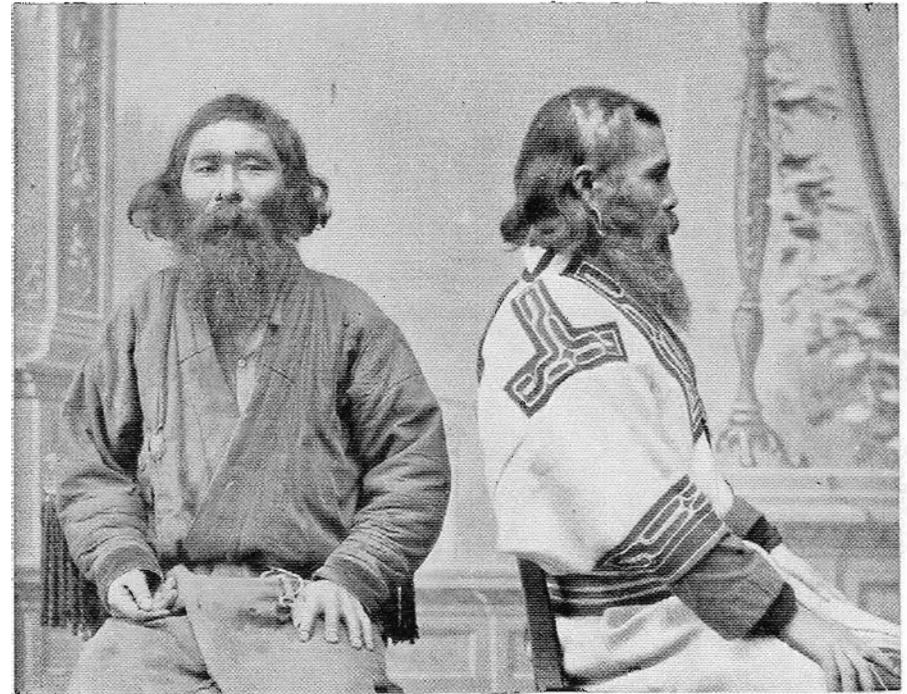


PLATE 1





PLATE 2

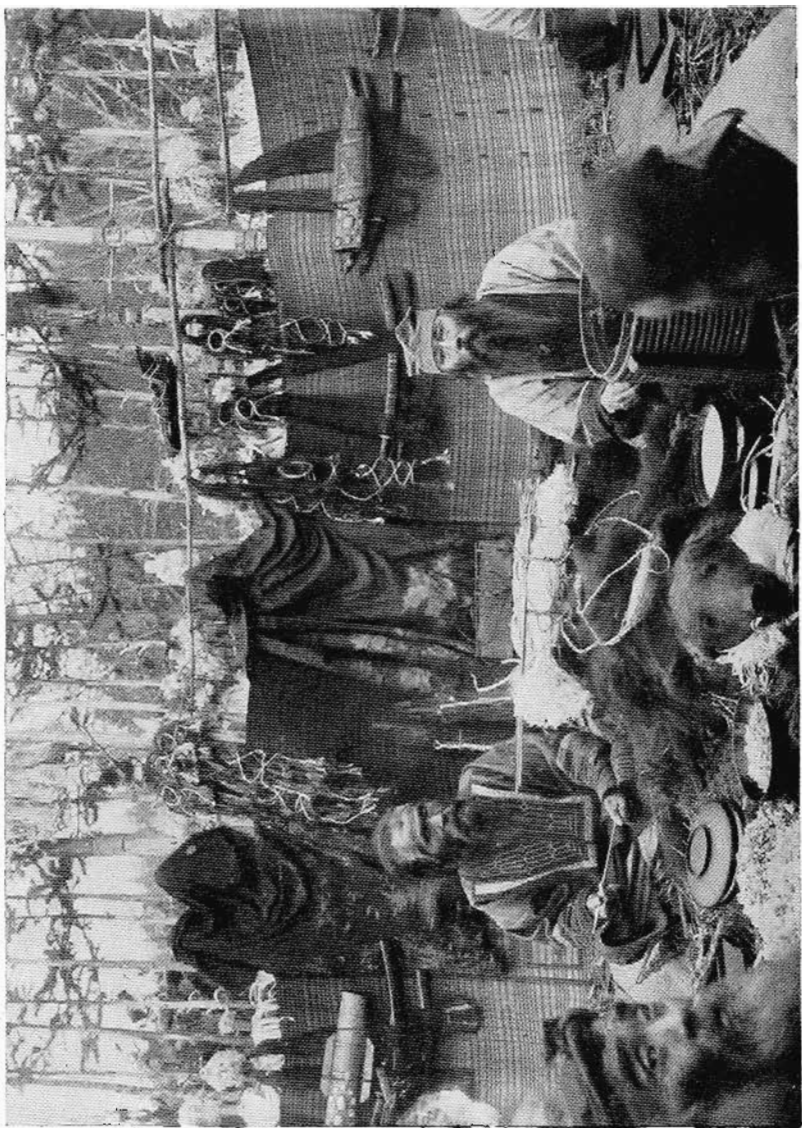


PLATE 3

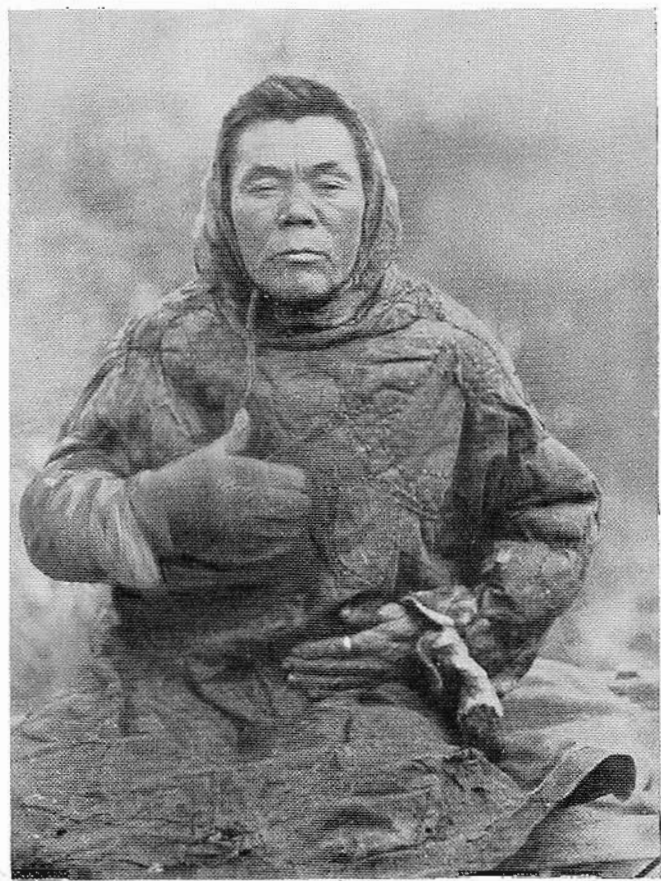


PLATE 4



PLATE 5





PLATE 6



PLATE 7

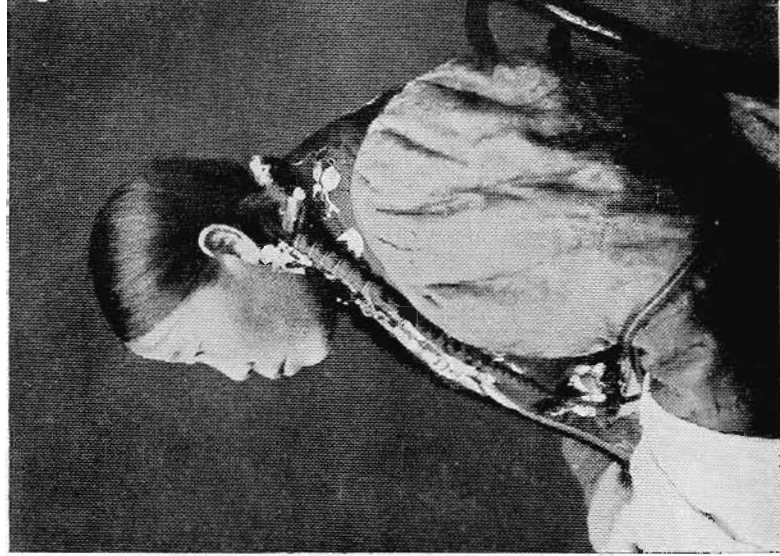


PLATE 8



PLATE 9

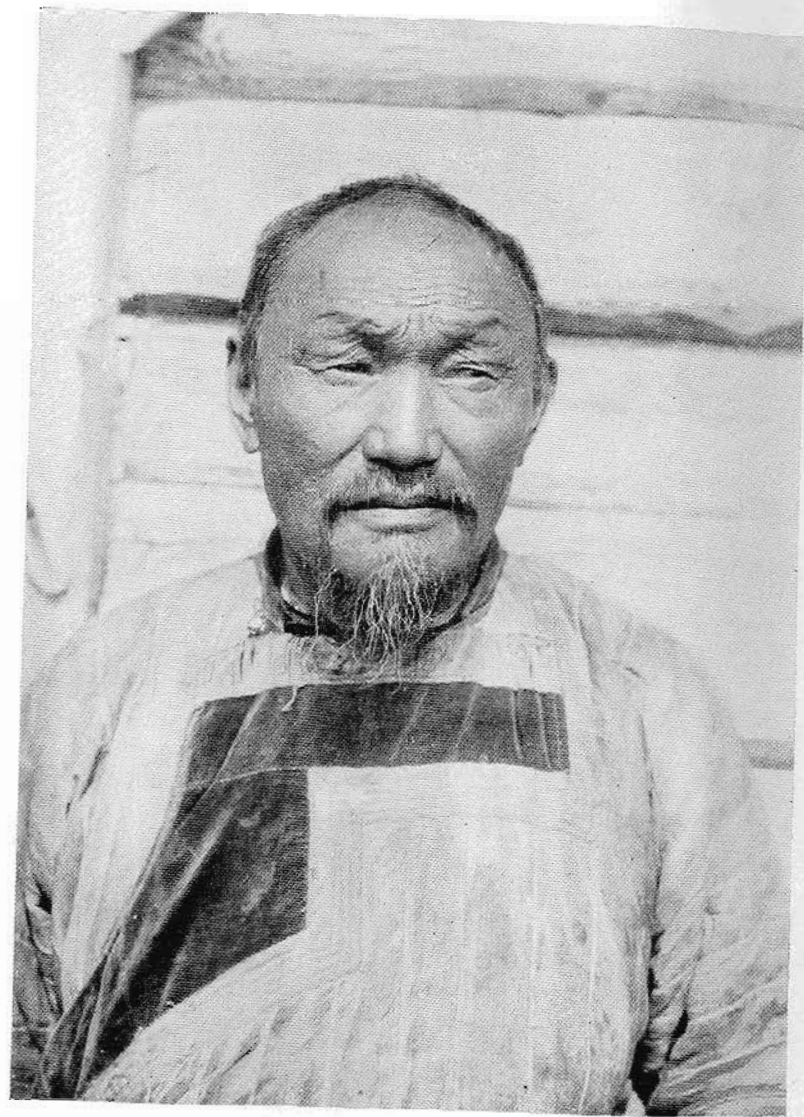


PLATE 10



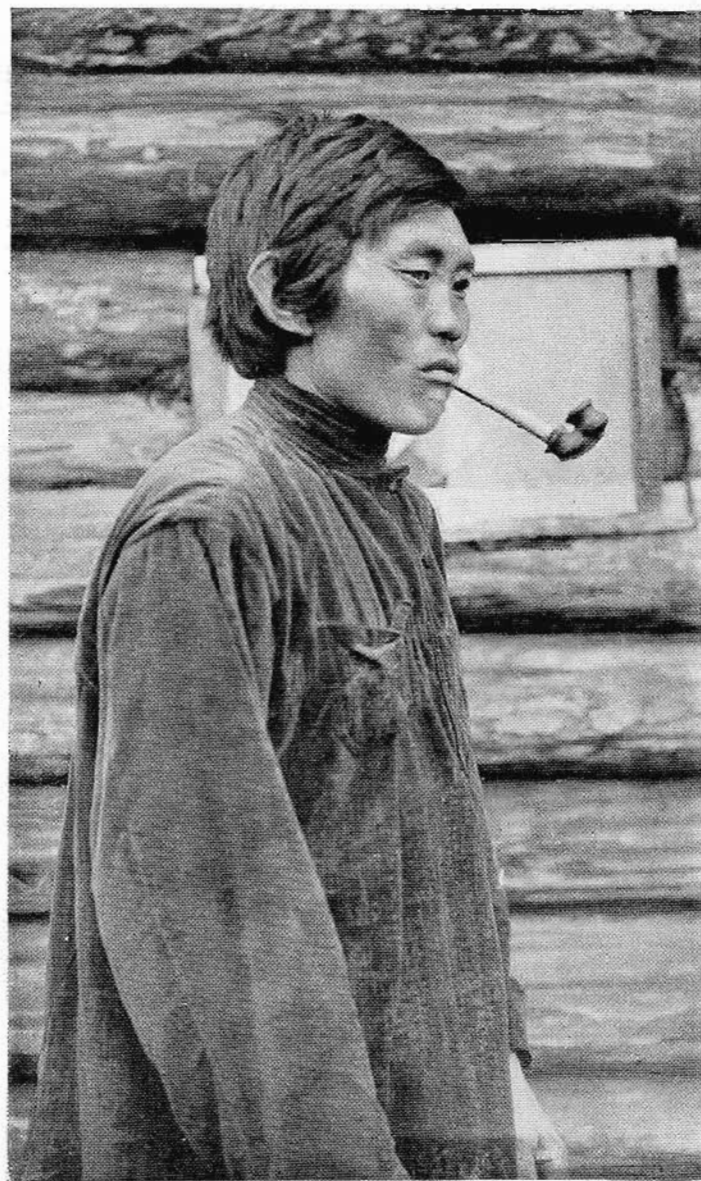


PLATE 11



PLATE 12

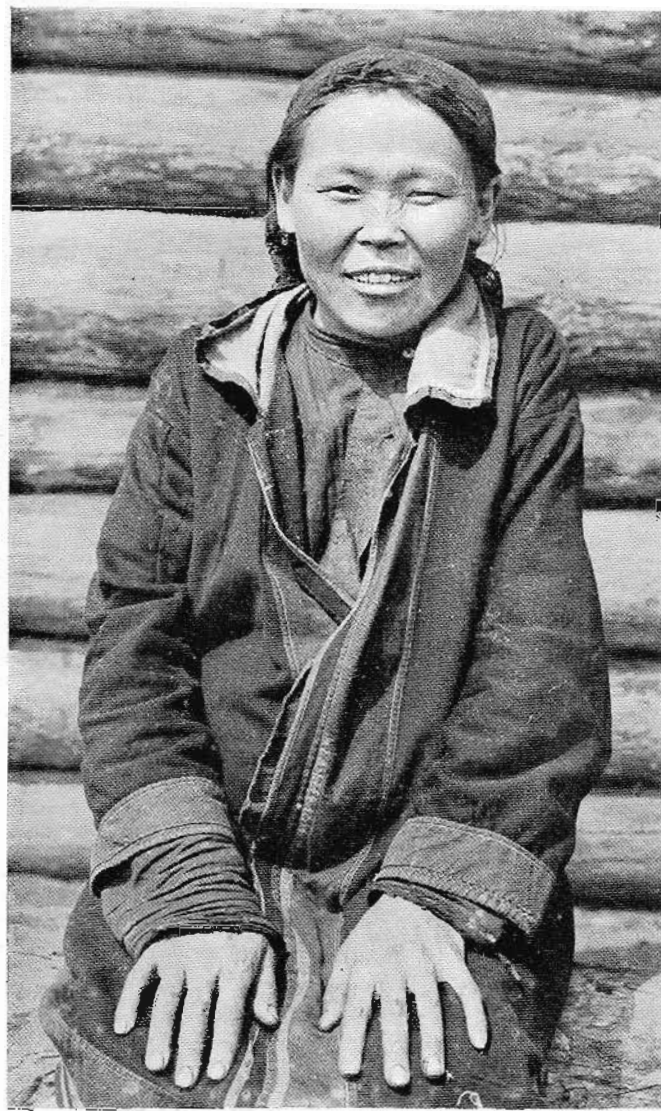


PLATE 13



PLATE 14

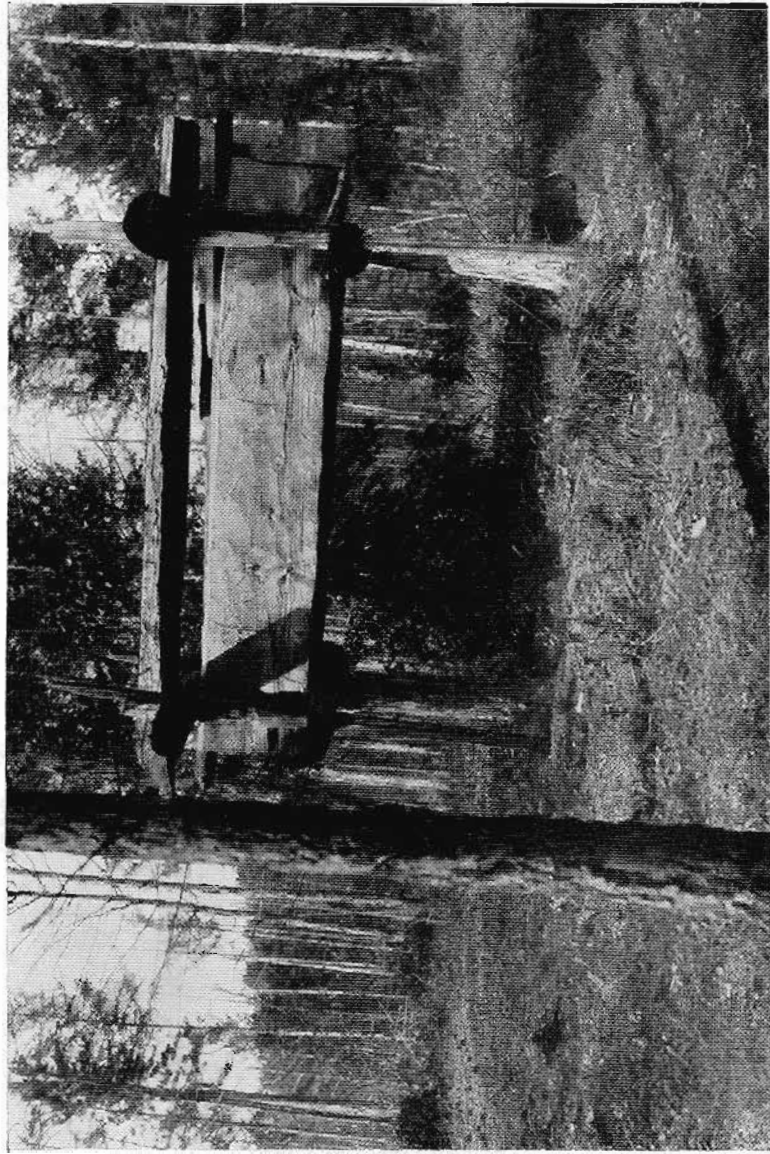


PLATE 15



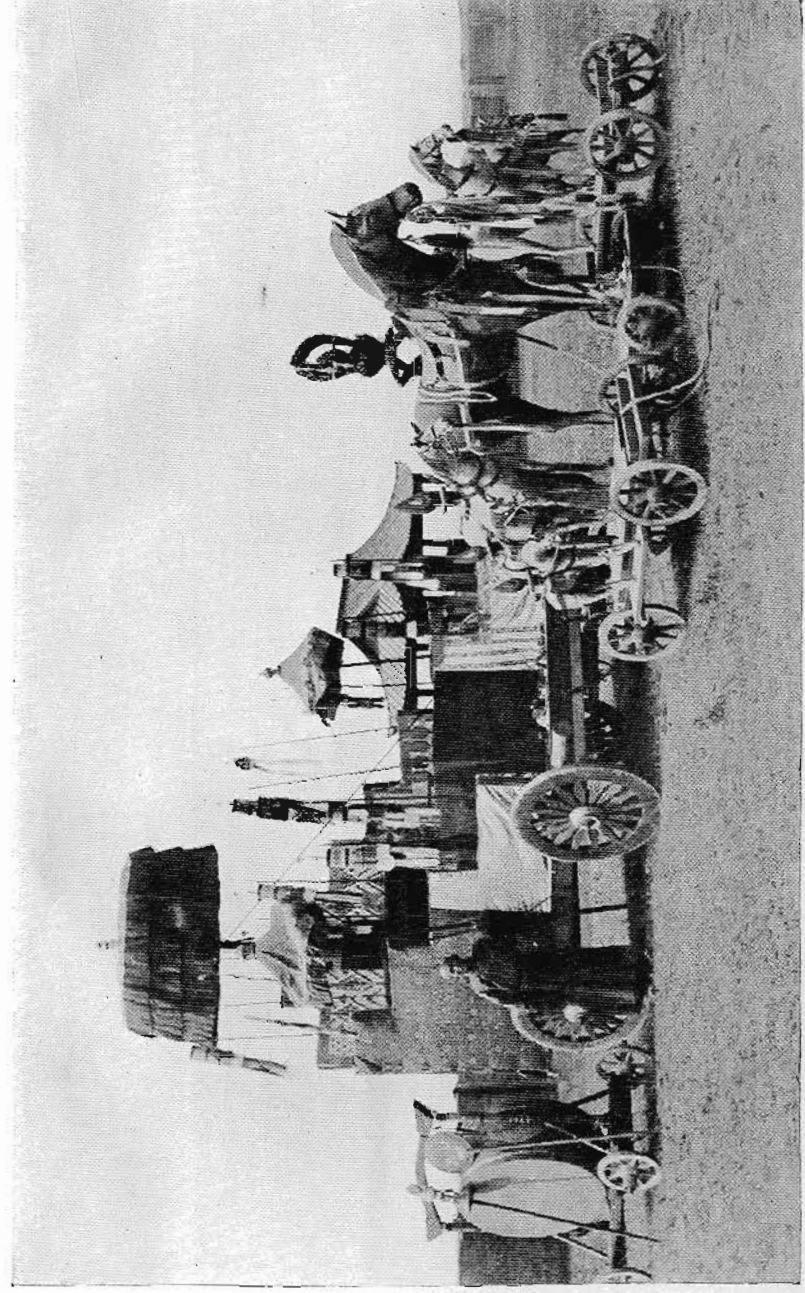
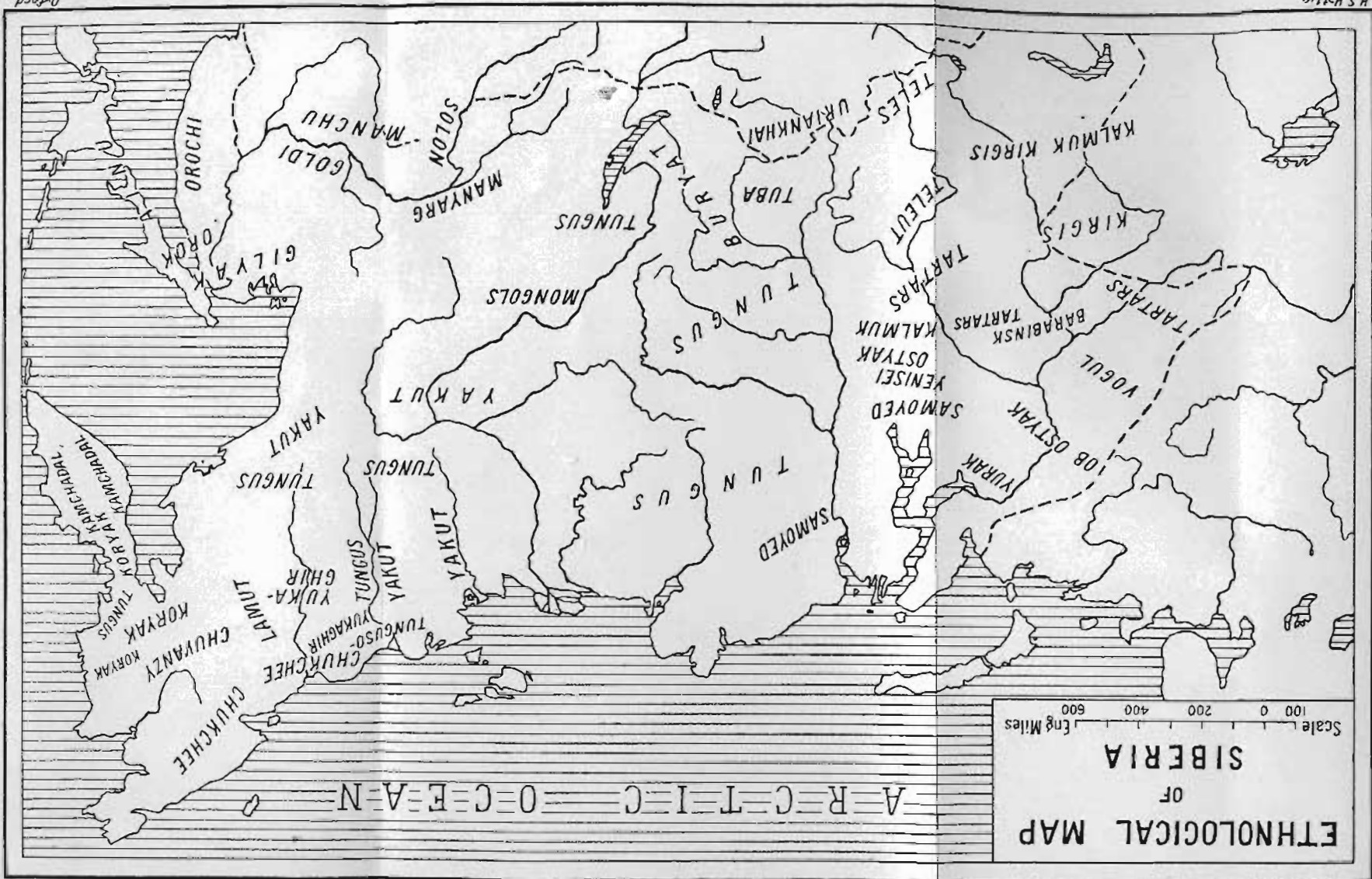
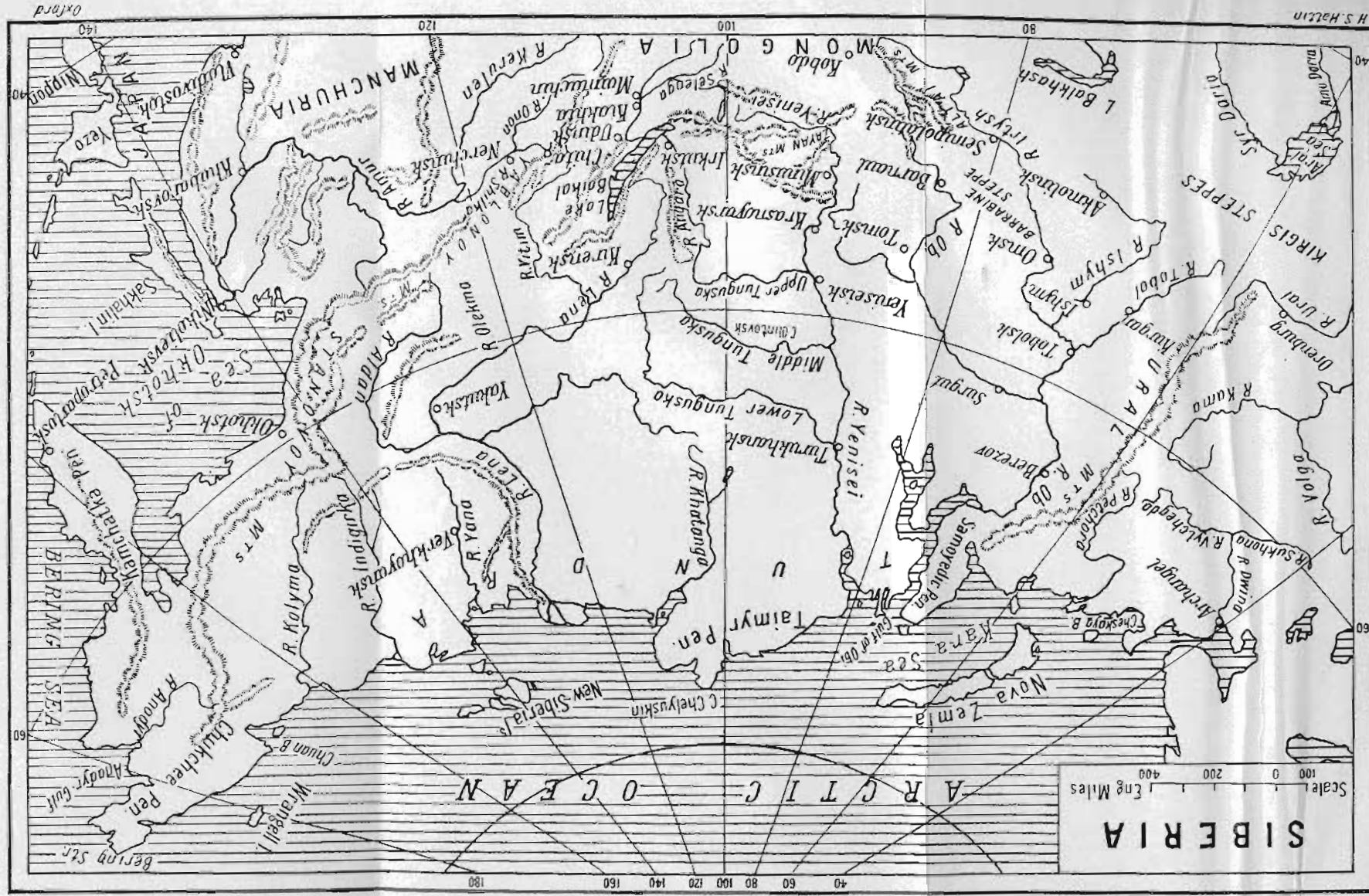


PLATE 16





# SIBERIA

Scale 0 100 200 400 Eng Miles

ARCTIC OCEAN

H. S. Hallin

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