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The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus

BY

WALDEMAR JOCHELSON

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THE YUKAGHIR AND YUKAGHIRIZED TUNGUS.

INTRODUCTION.

I STUDIED the Yukaghir in the years 1895 and 1896, while a member of the Yakut Expedition organized by the East Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, at the expense of E. M. Sibiriakoff.¹

During the winter of 1901-02, I made a further study of the Yukaghir on behalf of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

In order to reach the Yukaghir territory from the shores of the Okhotsk Sea, where I had been studying the Koryak, I followed the upper course of the Gishiga River, and then crossed the Stanovoi Mountains on saddle and pack horses, and entered the valley of the Korkodon River, a tributary of the Kolyma River.²

No previous European traveller had made use of this route, and thus my horses were the first to make the journey. Up to that time the reindeer of the Tungus and Koryak were the only harness or pack animals that had travelled over the same route. I had already thought about it during my first visit to the Yukaghir on the Korkodon River, in 1896, — the result of information which I had received from the Gishiga Tungus, who travel in winter on their riding-reindeer to the Korkodon River, where they stay during the squirrel-hunting season. I had also picked out beforehand a Tungus guide known as "Mashka." When, during the Jesup Expedition, the question arose as to the shortest route for my party to take from the Koryak country to that of the Yukaghir, I decided on the one I had marked out in 1896. I had arranged previously, in 1900, that the above-mentioned Tungus guide should meet me at Gishiga in the summer of 1901. I hired the necessary number of pack-horses and drivers from Sleptzoff, a rich Kolyma Yakut, who came to Gishiginsk for trading-purposes in 1900. Sleptzoff usually came from the upper reaches of the Kolyma River.

The route by which he came was far too long for me, and would have entailed great loss of time. If I had followed Sleptzoff's route, I could not

¹ See W. Jochelson, Preliminary Report on the Natives inhabiting the Extreme North of the Yakut Province (Bulletin of the East-Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society [Irkutsk, 1898], Vol. XXIX).

² See The Jesup North Pacific Expedition (The American Museum Journal [New York, 1903], Vol. III, pp. 71-119) and map in this volume.

have visited the habitats of the Korkodon, Yassachna, Kolyma, and tundra Yukaghir, during the winter of 1901-02. Therefore I arranged for Sleptzoff and my guide Mashka to meet in the spring of 1901 on the Korkodon River, whence Mashka was to guide Sleptzoff, his people and horses, to Gishiga. They arrived at Gishiga in August, 1901. My journey with them from Gishiga to the Kolyma River has partly been described in the report made to the American Museum of Natural History, New York.¹ Some new geographical information which I collected on this journey will be published separately.

My work on the Yukaghir is therefore based on materials collected by me during two expeditions. Part of my material collected during the Yakut Expedition has already been published by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg,² while my "Essay on the Grammar of the Yukaghir Language" appeared in English.³ It is hoped that my Yukaghir dictionary, which contains nine thousand words of two dialects, as well as a more complete grammar, will be published later.

The Yukaghir, who in the past, according to all collected information, were a fairly numerous tribe, at the present time consist, as will be shown later, of a few hundred people scattered in small groups over an enormous area, which groups are dying out rapidly, or are becoming assimilated by other tribes. This tribe is therefore on the verge of complete physical and ethnic extinction.

The study of a tribe which to a great extent has lost its original ethnic peculiarities — a tribe insignificant in numbers and having no future — was a difficult, and, from a practical point of view, a thankless task. But the science of ethnology recognizes that a knowledge of small tribes is equally as important as that of great peoples. In fact, from the ethnological point of view, information about the life and history of a tribe which is becoming extinct is particularly important; and while witnesses of their past life are still living, haste should be made to study them, and to obtain from them all possible information as to their past.

The illustrations for this volume were drawn by Mr. Rudolf Weber; the photographs from which the plates are made were taken by Mrs. Jochelson and myself.

¹ The Jesup North Pacific Expedition (The American Museum Journal, 1903, Vol. III, pp. 102-109).

² W. Jochelson, Materials for the Study of the Yukaghir Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District (Publications of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1900).

³ W. Jochelson, Essay on the Grammar of the Yukaghir Language (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. XVI, Part II, March, 1905; reprinted as supplement to the American Anthropologist, Vol. 7, No. 2, April-June, 1905).

I. — THE COUNTRY OF THE YUKAGHIR.

FORMER AND PRESENT TERRITORY OF THE YUKAGHIR. — Judging from the region inhabited by the remnants of the Yukaghir clans at the present time, and also from the statements of the first Russians to reach the polar region, it may be assumed that at the time when the Russians arrived in the far northern portion of Yakutsk Province, the Yukaghir were occupying the whole region between the lower course of the Lena and the Kolyma River, and also the valleys of the chief tributaries of the Kolyma River, not excluding the eastern ones (as the Omolon and both Anui Rivers) and the southern ones (as the Yassachna, Popova, and Korkodon Rivers).

We may say that the whole area included from west to east between the rivers Lena and Kolyma, and from north to south between the Arctic Sea and the Verkhoyansk Range, — which range includes in its eastern part the Oimyakon Plateau, — may be considered as the ancient territory of the Yukaghir tribe. Besides this territory occupied by the main body of the Yukaghir, certain groups belonging to the tribe inhabited certain localities to the east of the Kolyma watershed; as, for instance, the valleys of the Big Baranikha and Anadyr Rivers and the upper course of Penshina River. On the Arctic Ocean, on the Bear and New Siberia Islands, traces of Yukaghir dwellings have been found. Besides these, the Chuvantzy, undoubtedly a branch of the Yukaghir tribe, were wandering east of the Kolyma River. It is difficult to say who, in the distant past, were the neighbors of the Yukaghir to the west of the Lena. It is not likely that the extensive tundra between the Lena and Obi Rivers was altogether uninhabited, and it is probable that Finnish tribes were their nearest neighbors. The Yakut and Tungus appeared on the tundra to the west of the Lena River in comparatively recent times, but the original abode of the Samoyed tribes was evidently in the Sayan Mountains, from which they were driven northwards by the Turko-Tartar peoples. In their new abode the Samoyed had to wage long wars with the Finnish tribes, of which wars some traditions have been preserved among the Ostyak. Some traits of the material culture of the Finns — such as the earth-huts of the Ostyak and other Finnish tribes — make their culture resemble that of the Yukaghir.

Not far east of the Lena, on the Omoloi River, a Yukaghir clan is still met with, individual members of which occasionally visit the Yakut and Russian settlements on the banks of the Lena. To the east of the river Omoloi the Yukaghir have been driven northward towards the lower reaches

of the rivers, and live there alongside of Yakut, Tungus, or Chukchee. According to some evidence, the Chukchee inhabited the tundra between the mouths of the Alaseya and Kolyma Rivers before the coming of the Russians; after the arrival of the latter, they moved farther off to the east; and only in the middle of the nineteenth century did one division of the Chukchee cross from the right to the left bank of the Kolyma River, and spread to the west as far as the Yerchen River, a tributary of the Indighirka.

At the present time, isolated groups of Yukaghir, insignificant in number, and separated by long distances, live in the midst of a population of alien tribes which have settled in the former territory of the Yukaghir. I have already said that these new-comers drove the remnants of the Yukaghir clans away from the upper to the lower reaches of the polar rivers. Only on the upper course of the Kolyma River, on its tributaries the Yassachna and Korodon Rivers, the vanishing remnants of three Yukaghir clans continue to live. A small number of Chuvantzy wander with the Chukchee or the Koryak to the east of the Kolyma River; and a group of Russianized Yukaghir and Chuvantzy live in settlements on the Anadyr River.

These are the main data relating to the present distribution of the Yukaghir clans. Fuller details regarding the abode of each clan or group will be found in Chapter III.

Before describing the material life, customs, and the family and social relations, of the Yukaghir, it is necessary to give a short description of the nature of the country where they live.

OROGRAPHY AND HYDROGRAPHY. — The northern parts of Siberia by no means consist of low-lying tundra, sloping down towards the Arctic Ocean, as is often assumed; but in reality the more or less flat tundra is confined to the valleys of the great rivers. Northern Siberia, and especially the north-eastern part of it, includes several mountain-ranges, which slope away towards the north, but in many places reach the Arctic coast, forming high cliffs, and continue on the islands of the Arctic Ocean.

I will briefly describe the chief mountain-ranges in the territory of the Yukaghir. The most important one, the Verkhoyansk Range, forms the southern boundary of this territory. By reason of its height and the steepness of its southern slope, this range must in the past have formed a barrier to intercourse between the Yukaghir and more southern tribes. The Verkhoyansk Range forms a division of the Stanovoi Range. It branches off from the latter near 140° east, Greenwich, and runs towards the west in the form of a bent bow, extending to the banks of the Lena River.

The Verkhoyansk Range consists of several parallel ridges; and its spurs, which branch off from it almost at right angles, form the watersheds of the rivers which, rising in the Verkhoyansk Range, flow to the north. The height of the Verkhoyansk Range is in many places greater than that

of the Stanovoi Mountains. For instance, the pass from Yakutsk to Verkhoyansk reaches an altitude of 1550 metres above sea-level;¹ while the neighboring mountain-tops, which consist of bare ridges or peaks separated by deep ravines, rise to a height of from 250 to 350 metres above the pass. This pass is more or less a gentle slope towards the north in the direction of the Yana valley; but towards Yakutsk it forms a steep gorge, that can be climbed only by reindeer. Horses and men cross the range by a narrow ridge which rises over the ravine, and which is obstructed by large boulders that have rolled down from the neighboring summits. Men, of course, always go on foot, while goods are transported on pack-horses. It is but rarely that any one attempts the reindeer-path, which is very difficult and dangerous. The ascent or descent of loaded sledges is most hazardous. When ascending the pass, besides the reindeer harnessed to the front of the sledge, there are other reindeer attached to the back of the sledge by very short lines; so that, if the weight of the sledge should pull back the reindeer that draw the sledge, and if they should be in danger of being dragged down, the reindeer following behind the sledge would support its weight with their foreheads. When taking loads down the pass, the reindeer are attached to the back of the sledge only: they grip into the snow with their hoofs, and hold the sledge, which, if it should gather momentum, would be thrown against the rocks of the winding gorge. In this way the reindeer descend slowly, four or five reindeer in a row being attached by their necks to the sledge. The sledges of a train are in this manner taken up or down one at a time, and the ascent or descent of the whole train occupies an entire day. The reindeer are managed by Tungus drivers, armed with long, sharp poles, who climb the pass with remarkable agility, digging their toes and the sharp ends of their poles into the snow, which is as hard as ice. In descending, they dig their heels and poles into the snow. I ascended this pass twice (in 1889 and 1894), and descended it three times (in 1891, 1897, and 1902). The first time I climbed the steep reindeer-path with difficulty. The danger of slipping and falling into the deep gorge is very great. The next time I ascended by the bridle-path on the boulder-covered ridge. This ascent is less dangerous, but it is difficult and very long. I descended each time by the reindeer-path, sliding down in a sitting posture, using feet and sticks as brakes to check my speed, and to avoid being dashed against the rocks at the turns of the path. My third descent was on the occasion when, during the Jesup Expedition, I had reached the Kolyma River, not by way of Verkhoyansk, but from Gishiga, across the Stanovoi Mountains.²

The chief spurs of the Verkhoyansk Range on the north towards the Arctic Ocean are the following: (1) the Kharalakh Mountains, which form the

¹ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 385.

² See *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition* (*American Museum Journal*, Vol. III, New York, 1903).

watershed between the Lena and Yana Rivers; (2) the Tas-Khayakhtakh Range, between the Yana and Indighirka Rivers; (3) the Tomus-Khaya Range, between the Indighirka and Kolyma Rivers. This last range divides into two at about 67° north latitude. One branch, called the Polovinovski Range, forms the watershed between the Kolyma and Alaseya Rivers; the other, the Alaseya Range, separates the rivers Alaseya and Indighirka. The last of these ranges forms the chief branch of the Tomus-Khaya Range. All these ranges slope down towards the ocean; and their average height, which is from 400 to 1000 metres, is not such as to constitute a barrier to intercourse between the eastern and western divisions of the tribe. In a meridional direction, the river-valleys served as a means of intercourse.

In the valleys of the great rivers and their tributaries, we meet with tundra-like plains. The largest extent of low-lying tundra is found along the middle and lower reaches of the Indighirka River, and in the region between the Alaseya and Kolyma Rivers. These areas are studded with lakes of all sizes, from basins 100 kilometres in circumference, to swamps or muddy pools, which dry up in summer. A bird's-eye view of these areas would give the impression of a sieve with irregular meshes. All the lakes are connected one with another, or with the great rivers (like the Alaseya and Kolyma Rivers), by permanent or temporary rivulets which resemble ditches. The current in these rivulets, which the Russians call *viski*, is slow and hardly perceptible. The rivulets are covered with swamp vegetation, which completely hides them from the eye of the inexperienced traveller. Such streams are called "grass rivers." In the spring, however, some of them assume the proportions of large rivers.

The formation of the lakes is due to the topography of the region and to the heavy snowfall. The snow sometimes reaches a depth of five feet. In the spring, when the snow melts, there is no way for the water to drain off; and, as the frozen ground prevents it from soaking into the earth, it collects in every hollow on the plain. Though large rivers, like the Alaseya and Chukchee, are fed by the above-mentioned rivulets from the lakes, yet the slowness of the current, and the insignificant evaporation of water in summer, allow these basins to remain.

The shores of the greater part of these lakes are low, swampy, and covered with little hillocks; but around some of them there rise low mud-banks. Often one lake is separated from another by a bank or a swamp interrupted by hillocks only a few metres in width.

These numerous lakes furnish fish for the inhabitants of the tundra, but they constitute, with the surrounding swamps, a greater barrier to communication on the tundra in summer than the mountain-ranges before described. Communication in summer is extremely difficult. The Yakut use saddle and pack horses, which sink into the swamp up to their bodies; while the rein-

deer-breeders resort, in the same way, to riding-reindeer. In less swampy districts the reindeer are used, even in summer, for dragging sledges over the mossy ground and over hillocks. As might be expected under such conditions, long journeys or nomadic camps are very rare in summer. There is yet another method of travelling over the tundra in summer, — by means of light boats, either dug-out canoes, or boats made of thin planks sewed together. Fishermen travel on the lakes and rivers in order to fish. In crossing swamps from one lake to another, the canoes are carried on the shoulders of the fishermen.

Excluding the Lena River, which rises far to the south in the Baikal Mountains, and has a length of 4,770 kilometres, — all the rivers in the Yukaghir territory to the east of the Lena River, with the exception of the Anadyr River, flow northward into the Arctic Ocean, rising in the Verkhoyansk Range or in some of its spurs. Yet all the chief rivers of this territory, such as the Kolyma, Indighirka, and Yana Rivers, are of considerable length, — the Kolyma River, about 2,000 kilometres; the Indighirka and Yana Rivers, each about 1,500 kilometres. Their great volume of water makes it possible for sea-fish to ascend far inland. Thus a population of fishermen can exist in this region far from the seashore. The rivers and valleys also served as a means of communication between various groups of Yukaghir. In summer they travelled by means of canoes and rafts, and in winter on dog-sledges and snowshoes. Rivers of lesser size (like the Alaseya, Chukchee, Omoloi, and Khroma Rivers), and the numerous large tributaries of the large rivers (such as the Omolon, both Anui's, Korkodon, and Yassachna Rivers, — all tributaries of the Kolyma), also have a plentiful supply of fish, and were used for purposes of travel.

CLIMATE. — The Yukaghir territory has the severest climate of all Siberia. In it are found the coldest spots on the earth's surface. Between the town of Verkhoyansk and the Verkhoyansk Range is situated one of the points where the lowest winter temperature has been observed (about — 68° C. or — 90.4° F.). The lowest temperature of the American region of lowest temperature has been observed in the northwestern part of the Parry Archipelago (— 58.7° C. or — 72° F.). The mountain-ranges in the Yukaghir territory are so situated that they cut off the softening effects of the warm and humid currents of air from the south, west, and east, but leave it quite unshielded from the cold northern winds. The climate of this region is therefore excessively continental. Nowhere on the earth's surface does the climate affect so severely vegetable and animal life, including that of man, as in the area to the north of the Verkhoyansk Range. Only on the stretch of land along the coast of the Arctic Ocean are the severe winter frosts somewhat moderated by the proximity of the sea; but, on the other hand, the northern sea-winds lower the summer temperature considerably.

I will give here some data regarding the mean summer and winter temperatures of this area, taken from the records of the Physical Observatory of St. Petersburg. These were recorded at the meteorological stations in the northern portion of Yakut Province, in the year 1901, which I spent in this region. The stations are the following: Russkoye Ustye, a Russian settlement at the mouth of the Indighirka River, latitude $71^{\circ} 1'$; Ustyansk, a settlement at the mouth of the Yana River, latitude $70^{\circ} 55'$; Verkhoyansk, the district town of the Verkhoyansk District, where the chief of the district resides, latitude $67^{\circ} 33'$; Sredne-Kolymsk, the district town of the Kolyma District, latitude $67^{\circ} 10'$; Rodchevo, a Yakut settlement seventy miles north of Verkhne-Kolymsk, latitude $66^{\circ} 18'$. In Verkhne-Kolymsk no station was maintained. I do not give the observations of Nishne-Kolymsk, because for 1901 they were not complete.¹

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS FOR THE YEAR 1901.

	USTYANSK.		RUSSKOYE USTYE.		VERKHO- YANSK.		SREDNE- KOLYMSK.		RODCHEVO.	
	Aver.	Max. and Min.	Aver.	Max. and Min.	Aver.	Max. and Min.	Aver.	Max. and Min.	Aver.	Max. and Min.
January . . .	-39.5	-23.3 -51.6	-40.1	-27.7 -51.5	-51.3	-31.6 -61.7	-42.1	-27.2 -54.2	-40.4	-29.5 -49.2
February . . .	-31.0	-12.9 -46.7	-38.2	-24.7 -51.4	-40.2	-12.7 -58.5	-40.7	-23.7 -51.8	-38.9	-27.1 -49.5
March . . .	-22.2	-6.0 -38.1	-28.7	-14.3 -41.1	-25.1	-1.2 -46.4	-23.8	-5.2 -43.1	-23.4	-12.5 -38.0
April . . .	-15.8	-1.1 -28.8	-18.2	-3.0 -36.7	-10.8	+4.4 -37.2	-8.4	+4.8 -25.6	-7.8	+2.7 -25.6
May . . .	-4.2	+7.3 -17.9	-4.7	+4.8 -19.7	+2.6	+18.5 -18.1	+3.7	+14.8 -8.5	+4.8	+15.7 -4.3
June . . .	+7.3	+23.4 -3.3	+6.5	+19.7 -2.7	+14.1	+28.1 -10.0	+14.5	+22.8 +4.0	+14.8	+28.7 +6.2
July . . .	+10.1	+25.9 +1.3	+9.1	+26.6 -0.1	+14.4	+28.0 +2.0	+13.9	+29.4 +2.1	+14.5	+27.9 +5.2
August . . .	+5.7	+17.7 -2.3	+4.6	+17.5 -1.4	+10.5	+25.8 -3.4	+8.5	+26.8 -1.2	+10.2	+28.1 -6.9
September . .	+2.1	+15.8 -13.0	+0.6	+12.0 -13.6	+2.8	+18.9 -15.7	+3.1	+18.0 -8.9	+3.7	+19.0 -12.6
October . . .	-14.7	-3.9 -29.5	-14.8	-4.6 -31.4	-17.7	-0.8 -42.5	-11.0	+0.0 -31.0	-11.8	+5.4 -34.4
November . .	-28.0	-15.2 -37.0	-26.1	-15.2 -38.6	-37.7	-17.4 -49.0	-26.1	-4.6 -37.6	-29.5	-6.5 -43.1
December . .	-27.5	-10.9 -39.2	-28.5	-17.0 -38.7	-35.9	-7.5 -50.9	-26.5	-14.7 -40.0	-26.8	-14.5 -46.4
Entire Year . .	-13.0	+25.9 -51.6	-14.9	+26.6 -51.5	-14.5	+28.1 -61.7	-11.2	+29.4 -54.2	-11.1	+28.7 -49.5

¹ See, for Nishne-Kolymsk, Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 24.

From this table it may be seen that the lowest mean annual temperature occurs in the Verkhoyansk district (Ustyansk, Russkoye Ustye, Verkhoyansk). In the Kolyma district (Sredne-Kolymsk and Rodchevo), evidently as a result of the influence of the eastern or northeastern winds, the mean annual temperature is somewhat higher, though both these points lie farther from the moderating influence of the sea than Ustyansk and Russkoye Ustye. The annual amplitude (that is, the difference between the temperature of the hottest and that of the coldest days in the year) is greatest at Verkhoyansk (89.8° C.). It is here that the severest cold in winter, and the greatest heat in summer, occur. The diurnal amplitude in summer also reaches a high value. From the tables we see that frosts occur even in the hottest months, — June, July, and August. It will therefore be recognized how short is the period favorable to the growth of cultivated plants. The following table shows the number of days without frosts, in 1901, in Ustyansk, Russkoye Ustye, Verkhoyansk, and Sredne-Kolymsk.

	The Last Frost.	The First Frost.	Days without Frost.
Ustyansk	June 10.	Aug. 21.	71
Russkoye Ustye.	June 12.	July 24.	41
Verkhoyansk.	June 8.	Aug. 20.	72
Sredne-Kolymsk.	May 28.	Aug. 21.	84

Years occur when days without frost are much fewer; for instance, in 1869, in Verkhoyansk, there were only 37 such days. It will be understood from these data why, in summer, the frozen soil thaws in some places to a depth of only two feet. The heat which is received from the sun in the spring and the early part of summer is all taken up in melting the snow. Furthermore, the greater number of cloudy days in the year occur during the summer, and so prevent the heat of the sun from reaching the ground. In spite, however, of the low mean annual temperature, the snow-line on the mountains lies much higher than might be expected; nor are there any real glaciers. Glaciers and snow-line alike seem to have sunk underground, and there form a permanent frozen layer. Permanent snow probably occurs on the Sukharni Mountains in the Lower Kolyma region, not far from the Arctic Ocean. These are over 1000 metres high. It must be noted, however, that in many places, such as gorges, clefts, and on northern mountain-slopes, the snow does not melt in summer, and in some mountain-valleys we find real ice-fields in summer.

The average time of the opening and freezing of rivers, as found from observation for many years, is given in the following table: —

	Breaking up.	Freezing.	North Latitude.	Days	
				Free from Ice.	Covered with Ice.
Lena River at its mouth . . .	June 10.	Oct. 15.	72°	127	238
Yana River at Verkhoyansk . .	May 22.	Oct. 27.	67°34'	158	207
Kolyma River at Sredne-Kolymsk	May 22.	Sept. 30.	67°10'	131	234
Kolyma River at Nishne-Kolymsk	June 9.	Sept. 29.	68°30'	112	253

The first and last snows fell in 1901 as follows: —

	The Last Snow.	The First Snow.
Russkoye Ustye	June 10.	July 10.
Ustyansk	June 10.	July 10.
Verkhoyansk	June 10.	Sept. 18.
Sredne-Kolymsk	May 22.	Aug. 21.

In spite of the proximity of the Arctic Ocean, the annual rainfall is not great, as the following table of observations for 1901 will show.

	Verkhoyansk.	Russkoye-Ustye.	Ustyansk.	Sredne-Kolymsk.	Rodchevo.
Annual rainfall in millimetres . .	152.5	114.2	200.9	145.0	207.5
Rainy days . . .	95	92	168	122	131
Days with snow .	63	59	105	68	81

The greatest precipitation occurs in the months from August to November; the least, in those from February to April.

The winds, except on the seacoasts, where occur snowstorms such as those

we meet with on the shores of the Okhotsk Sea,¹ are chiefly moderate, especially during severe frosts. For instance, at the meteorological stations which I have mentioned, the wind, during 1901, nowhere exceeded a velocity of 6.2 metres a second; while on the shores of Penshina Bay, on the Okhotsk Sea, I once observed a wind which reached a velocity of 22 metres a second. The severe frosts are easily endured, because they are always accompanied either by light winds or by calm weather. During the severest winter frosts, the air is exceptionally dry, with light winds, chiefly from the southwest or west; while during the rest of the year the winds are chiefly from the north and northeast.

FLORA. — In spite of the great extent of the Yukaghir territory, the vegetation is confined to few species. This is explained by the geographic position of the region, and the severity of its climate. Wherever the vegetative period lasts only from two to three months, the flora cannot be rich. There are but few species of trees. Of pines, there are only the East Siberian larch (*Larix dahurica* Turcz.) and the stone-pine (*Pinus pumila*). None of the other Siberian coniferous trees — such as the fir, pine, spruce, Siberian larch (*Larix sibirica*) — are met with north of the Verkhoyansk Range. Of deciduous trees, we meet two species of poplar, the aspen, the birch, the alder, and several species of willow. The sixty-ninth degree of latitude is considered the northern limit of arboreal vegetation; but east of the Kolyma it lies farther to the south, reaching the sixty-eighth degree of latitude at Chaun Bay, while at Bering Sea it does not extend beyond the sixtieth degree of latitude. On the other hand, west of the mouth of the Lena, it reaches as far north as the seventieth degree of latitude. As a matter of fact, the northern limit of tree-growth is not a regular line at all; for, as a result of local conditions, the tree-zone runs into the tundra in the form of long capes, generally following the river-valleys, and sometimes the Arctic tundra cuts deep into the tree-zone. Besides, south of the northern limits of the forests, there are sporadically scattered small and large tracts of treeless tundra, altogether similar in character and vegetation to those of the Arctic Zone. The tree that reaches farthest to the north is the East Siberian larch; while the poplar, aspen, and birch (*Betula alba*) are found more to the south, in the river-valleys. The stone-pine (*Pinus pumila*) is found on the mountain-slopes.²

To the north of the East Siberian larch we find only crooked stunted bushes of the dwarf birch (*Betula nana*), arctic willow, *Andromeda*, *Empetrum nigrum*, and *Ledum palustre* L., which hide their rugged trunks under a covering of mosses and lichens, and send upwards only small, weak shoots. This area extends to the polar coast. Large parts of this region consist of

¹ See Jochelson, The Koryak, Vol. VI of this series, p. 395.

² As to the character and limit of arboreal vegetation on the coast of the Okhotsk Sea, see Jochelson, The Koryak, Vol. VI of this series, p. 401.

swamp-land, which thaws in summer to an insignificant depth (about two feet), and is covered with mosses, among which grow cloudberry (*Rubus chamæmorus*), bleaberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), red bilberry (*Vaccinium vitis idæa*), and crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*). In some drier, stony, or hilly parts, the tundra is covered with various species of lichens, which are eaten by the reindeer. Often the mossy tundra alternates with spots covered with lichens. In some places the tundra is enlivened by phanerogamous plants, — *Gramineæ*, *Cyperaceæ*, *Rosaceæ*, *Cruciferaæ*, and others. Sedge-grasses cover the round, mossy hillocks which are found in the swampy tundra.

To the south of the northern limit of arboreal vegetation, mountains, passes, and other high land at an elevation greater than 300–400 metres above sea-level, are covered with tundra corresponding in every way to the Arctic tundra.

The remaining part of the Yukaghir territory, from the northern limit of arboreal growth, southward as far as the slopes of the Verkhoyansk Range, and eastward as far as the pass over the Stanovoi Mountains, is covered with virginal forest, composed chiefly of East Siberian larch (*Larix dahurica*). In the more southern parts of this region the poplar, aspen, and birch appear. In the river-valleys are found forests consisting entirely of poplar, and also birch woods. In the southern portion of the Yukaghir territory the larch and poplar reach large sizes, trunks three metres, and even more, in circumference, being encountered. Such trees grow, for instance, in the valley of the Korkodon River. Vegetation becomes richer and more varied as we proceed farther to the south. Willows are found which reach the size of large trees. On the upper reaches of the Kolyma River we found *Prunus padus*, mountain-ash, bushes of three species of currants, raspberries (*Rubus idæus* L.), wild rose (*Rubus arctica*). Birch-trees are of considerable size. From the southern part of the territory, birch-wood is carried to the north for the manufacture of dog and reindeer sledges. Rafts of larch are floated down the rivers for building log-huts of Russian type. The trunks of poplar-trees are used for making dug-out canoes.

Berries form an important part of the diet of the inhabitants. The roots of plants of the genus *Lilium* are also eaten. The inner bark of the larch, and the juice of the red poplar, are likewise used as food.

On the whole, the flora of this region is little known; but, judging from the data at hand, it is distinguished by the absence of endogenous plants. This is due to the late release of the region from the covering of ice and water of the glacial period. On the other hand, the continuity of Asia and America in former times, resulted in the transfer of some American plants to Asia. Thus Middendorff discovered on the Taimyr Peninsula, and Norden-skiöld on the Chukchee Peninsula, a considerable number of species peculiar to the Arctic regions of both the Old and the New Worlds.

FAUNA. — I shall speak about the animals useful to man in the chapters on domesticated animals, on hunting, fishing, and the fur trade. At this place I shall confine myself to a brief consideration of the most important species of wild animals.

The black bear (*Ursus arctus*) is not as numerous as in Kamchatka or in the Koryak territory, where salmon, which ascend the shallow mountain-rivers in great numbers, furnish that animal with plenty of food. In the Yukaghir country the rivers, as a rule, are long, deep, and carry a large volume of water; while the shallow mountain-streams, in which alone the bear can catch fish, are poor in fish. Though the black bear inhabits chiefly the forest zone, yet in summer some bears appear on the tundra to feed on berries, and to hunt the moulting water-fowl, which at this period cannot fly; others ascend the mountains to escape the mosquitoes and to hunt wild reindeer. The polar bear (*Ursus maritimus*) rarely visits the continent, as it lives on the islands, or else floats about on the ice-floes of the Arctic Ocean. The wolverene (*Gulo borealis*), the fur of which the Chukchee use for trimming their coats, is rarely met with nowadays, owing to its extermination by hunters. Another fur animal more valuable than the wolverene, the sable, has been quite exterminated in the Yukaghir territory, although at the end of the seventeenth century, according to official accounts, on one occasion, at a fair in Sredne-Kolymsk, 36,000 sables were sold. The quality of the Kolyma sable was considered to be of the best. To the number of fur animals practically extinct may be added the lynx (*Felis lynx*), with which, in times past, the Yukaghir used to trim their fur clothes. Among the animals rare in this region may be included the otter (*Lutra vulgaris*). Wolves (*Canis lupus*) keep to the open plains, where they hunt reindeer. Therefore they are met with most frequently on the tundra, or on the forest border on the mountains, and near the northern limits of arboreal growth. Foxes (*Canis vulpes*) are found all over the territory, though not in such numbers as formerly; while the Arctic fox (*Canis lagopus*) lives mainly on the tundra, feeding on mice and lemmings. Of the smaller *Carnivoræ*, there exist also in this region the ermine (*Mustela erminea*) and weasel (*Mustela vulgaris*). Especially common is the ermine, the weasel being much less frequently met with.

Of rodents, the fur of which is exported in considerable quantities, we find the squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris*), but only in the forest zone, in which is also found, but in smaller quantities, the flying-squirrel (*Pteromys*). Another rodent is the polar hare (*Lepus timidus* Linn.), which is met with in great numbers.

Of the *Cervidæ*, we find the elk (*Cervus alces*), reindeer (*Cervus tarandus*), and in the mountains the musk-deer (*Moschus moschiferus*).

In the mountains occurs another ruminant, the mountain-sheep (*Ovis nivicola*). All over the Yukaghir territory may be found the Pallas ground-

squirrel (*Eutamias asiaticus*), Siberian marmot (*Arctomys*), and Siberian spermophile (*Citellus*). The last of these is used by the Yakut for food. There are several species of black and red-backed mice and also of lemmings. In the small collection of smaller mammals which I took to New York, Professor Allen found two new species, — the Kolyma red-backed mouse (*Evotomys Jochelsoni*) and the Kolyma pika (*Ochotona Kolymensis*).¹ Bats are found north of the Verkhoyansk Range, at Verkhoyansk.

The only domesticated animals the Yukaghir possess are dogs (for drawing sledges and for hunting) and reindeer; but the Yakut, who arrived in the Yukaghir territory of late only, — some two hundred to three hundred years ago, — brought with them both horses and horned cattle. Among the Yakut we occasionally find people who possess herds of horses, numbering up to one hundred head, and sometimes even more, and also droves of horned cattle; but in general these are raised with great difficulty. The most serious obstacle to a successful use of horses and horned cattle is the bad quality of grass, which includes some species harmful to horses. When not working, or when performing long journeys over desert parts, where hay cannot be obtained, the horses must scrape the snow off the ground with their hoofs to get at the hard withered stems of the wild rye, horsetails, and sedge-grasses. Owing to the absence of grain and of other nutritious fodder-plants, these horses, though occasionally showing remarkable qualities of endurance, are easily exhausted, and suffer from frequent epidemics of murrain and other diseases. Even greater difficulties stand in the way of a successful raising of horned cattle, which cannot subsist without hay during the nine winter months. The arctic grasses make bad hay, and there are few places suitable for haying, as almost the whole region consists of either forest or tundra, and the short haying-season coincides with the fishing-season. Those Yakut families that have few workers cannot find time during the short summer for both fishing and hay-making. In consequence they have to choose between these two occupations, and they generally prefer the former, as a supply of fish insures food for the winter.

This may be the reason why the Yukaghir did not adopt cattle-breeding from the Yakut. In the more southern parts of the territory — as, for instance, on the upper reaches of the Kolyma River, where the pasture is better than in other parts — they might easily have done so. None of the Yukaghir on the Kolyma River possess any horses or cows, though some Yassachna Yukaghir hire horses from the Yakut for the squirrel-hunting season. Only a few Yukaghir on the Yana and Omoloi Rivers have horses and cows, but these people have been entirely assimilated by the Yakut. Domesticated sheep, goats, and pigs are still unknown in the Yukaghir

¹ See J. H. Allen, Report on the Mammals collected in North-Eastern Siberia by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Bulletin American Museum of Natural History [New York, 1903], Vol. XIX, pp. 148, 154).

territory. Attempts to breed sheep and goats have failed even farther to the south. Pigs, however, are bred in small numbers by Russian settlers and sectarian exiles in the town of Yakutsk, and also in the settlement of Pavlovsk near Yakutsk.

In the far north certain birds serve as an important article of diet. The ptarmigan and two species of swamp-fowl are found all the year round. Of migrating birds, there are two species of swan, four species of goose, and fifteen species of duck.

Sea-fish ascend the rivers in spring and summer, and later in the season descend again from the upper courses to the mouths of the rivers or to the sea. In this they differ from the fish of the Okhotsk Sea, in the Koryak territory,¹ that do not return alive to the sea, but die after spawning. In the country of the Yukaghir, therefore, there are two fishing-seasons, — the first when the fish ascend the rivers, and the second when they return. The migrating fish consist chiefly of several species of *Coregonidæ*, such as *Coregonus leucichtys*, *C. Ormul*, *C. muksun*, and *C. clupeoides*; while salmon of the genus *Oncorhynchus* form the chief catch of the natives on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk and of Bering Sea.² These are rarely met with in the Yukaghir rivers. The Yukaghir told me that dog-salmon (*Oncorhynchus Keta*) occasionally enter the Kolyma River in very small quantities. I had no opportunity of seeing them. To the migrating fish may be added the sturgeon and starlet. The following species of river and lake fish are found: *Coregonus nasutus*, *C. lavaretus*, *C. pelet*, a small lake fish called the "mundu" (*Salmo perunurus*), the *Thymallus vulgaris*, *Salmo coregonoides*, *Esox lucius*, *Perca fluviatilis*, *Lotha vulgaris*, and *Carassius vulgaris*. The last one is found in the more southern lakes only. The lakes of the tundra nearest the sea contain a small species of salmon, two to three kilos in weight, resembling the dog-salmon, and called by the Yukaghir nogieñ, and by the Russians the zubatka (зубатка). The Yukaghir consider this a sea-fish, which occasionally enters the mouths of rivers from the sea, although the lakes where it is found are not connected with the sea. This must be due, therefore, to the fact that these lakes were once a part of the ocean.

¹ See Jochelson, The Koryak, Vol. VI of this series, p. 525.

² Ibid., pp. 525-534.

II. — THE YUKAGHIR TRIBE.

NAMES. — The people do not call themselves by the name "Yukaghir," and do not know who gave it to them; but in the reports of the Cossacks, — the conquerors of Siberia, — who first encountered this tribe in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, they were called "Yukaghir." Judging this word by its termination, "ghir," it must be of Tungus origin. Many names of Tungus clans inhabiting the region of the Amur River and other places have a similar ending. Among the Orochon, for instance, there are the following names of clans: Kindighir, Bayaghir, Nikaghir, Iglaghir, and Tuluyaghir.¹ We find the same names of clans among the Tungus of the Yakutsk Province. There is a Tungus tribe of the name "Samaghir" on the Amur River. It is therefore probable that the word "Yukaghir" is a Tungus name of the Yukaghir tribe, and that it was adopted from the Tungus by Russian invaders. If "yuka" be taken as the base of the word "Yukaghir" (evidently "ghir" is a suffix), then it would mean "far," "distant," in the Yukaghir language.

Of course, we cannot assert, merely on account of the similarity of sounds, that "yuka," in the word "Yukaghir," is the Yukaghir word "yuka" meaning "distant." It is difficult to prove it; and the more so, since the names of two clans of the Tungus tribe on the river Amur also begin with "yuka," as Yukaminka and Yukamisi.² It is therefore very likely that "yuka" — the base of the word "Yukaghir" — is also of Tungus origin. Besides, the Russians may have learned the word "Yukaghir" from the Yakut. The latter still use this word, though they do not know its meaning. Thus, the Yakut call the aurora borealis "Yukaghir-otto" (i. e., "Yukaghir fire"); and the plural of "Yukaghir" in the Yakut language is "Yukaghirder." It is interesting to add here, that a Cossack by the name of Tretiakoff suggested to Mr. Sauer, the secretary of Billings' expedition, that the word "Yukaghir" is derived from the name of a Yukaghir warrior.³ The Yukaghir call themselves "Odul," which proves that they are conscious of a tribal bond among their different clans. Odul means "strong," "powerful." This is the verbal noun from the base "at" meaning "to be strong." The Yukaghir explain the origin of the name "Odul" by the fact that their ancestors were considered the best warriors in

¹ See С. Паткановъ, Опытъ географіи и статистики тунгусскихъ племенъ сибіри [S. Patkanoff, *Essay on the Geography and Statistics of the Tungus Tribes of Siberia*], Vol. I, Part I, pp. 14-19 (Memoirs of the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg, 1906).

² Ibid., II, p. 57.

³ See Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia*. London, 1802.

the whole of northeastern Siberia. From the base "at" there was derived another word, *adil*, which means "youth," "young man," and also "lover." It is of interest that through changing the vowels (which change is based on the so-called "harmony of vowels"),¹ two different conceptions are derived from one root.² Mr. Sauer says that the Yukaghir do not know who gave them this name, but that they call themselves "Andon Domni."³ This is evidently the incorrectly recorded *Odud-omni*, which means "Yukaghir people." *Omni* signifies "people." We have seen⁴ that the Koryak call the Yukaghir *Atal* or *Etel*. The same name is given to them by the Chukchee.⁵ As a rule, every tribe invents names of its own for its neighbors; but in this case I believe the expression "Atal" or "Etel" of the Koryak and Chukchee is simply the Yukaghir word "Odul." The Yukaghir *d* changes into *t*, because the consonant *d* is absent in the Koryak and Chukchee languages,⁶ and the vowels *o* and *u* become *a* or *e* in accordance with the two forms of bases inherent in the Chukchee language.⁷ Steller asserts that the Koryak called the Yukaghir *Atelju*, and the Kamchadal and the Kurilians called them *Atelide*. We see that *atal* or *etel* forms the base of these two words, and Steller's "atelju" is undoubtedly the plural. The plural of *atal* and *etel*, in the Koryak language, is *a'talū* and *e'telō*. "Yukaghir woman," in the Koryak language, is *ataliña*, the plural of which is *ataliñawu*.

Krasheninnikoff says⁸ the Koryak called the Yukaghir *Edel* (эдэль), which he believes means "wolf." But "wolf," in the Koryak language, is designated *e'gilñin*; in the Yukaghir, *ko'diel* in the Kolyma dialect, and *ko'riel* in the tundra dialect.

The Koryak and the Chukchee also give the name of *A'tal* or *E'tel* to the Chuvantzy. This proves that the Chuvantzy did not constitute a separate tribe, as some travellers have supposed, but that they are a branch of the Yukaghir.

I take the opportunity of pointing out here other proofs showing that the Chuvantzy formed part of the Yukaghir tribe. The Chuvantzy are at present either Russianized (on the Kolyma and Anadyr Rivers) or greatly influenced by the Koryak or Chukchee. The latter are the Reindeer Chuvantzy, who wander in the valley of the Penshina River among the

¹ See Jochelson, *Yukaghir Grammar*, *American Anthropologist*, 1905, p. 373.

² The Omolon Yukaghir say *andil* instead of *adil* ("youth"). This explains why the Russianized Yukaghir of the lower part of the Kolyma River, as well as the Russian settlers, call their love-songs — of which we shall speak later on — *andilshchina* (андишчина).

³ See Sauer, p. 61.

⁴ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 428.

⁵ Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 19.

⁶ See Bogoras, *Materials for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore collected in the Kolyma District* (edition of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Part I).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁸ Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 7.

Koryak, or on the Anadyr River and the Anui with the Chukchee. In olden times, however, the Chuvantzy used to speak the Yukaghir language, evidently the Kolyma dialect. Certain words mentioned by Mr. Dyachkoff,¹ a Russianized Chuvantzy, as belonging to the Chuvantzy language, are also Yukaghir words. He further acknowledges that, according to tradition, the Chuvantzy, Yukaghir, and Omok languages were similar. Of the Omok I will speak later.

I found in some reports of the Cossacks of the eighteenth century, as well as in the Archives of the Kolyma District Administration of the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, some information proving that the Chuvantzy Clan had often been called the Chuvantzy-Yukaghir Clan. There was also a Khodyntzi-Yukaghir Clan. The so-called "Khodyntzi" were really the Chuvantzy.

It is necessary to say a few words here regarding the names of the extinct tribes that appear in the ethnographic literature concerning the extreme northeast of Siberia. Thus the so-called Omoki, Khodyntzi, Anauli, Konghienisi, and Shelaghi are mentioned as independent extinct tribes. With the exception of the Shelaghi, who evidently were a part of the Chukchee tribe,² these names refer to extinct divisions or clans of the Yukaghir tribe. The origin of the name "Shelaghi" is not known; but this name is found in the account of the Cossack Vileghin about the year 1720.

The Konghienisi were mentioned by Sauer, who heard from the Cossack Tretiakoff that on the river Kolyma there lived a numerous tribe under the name of "Konghini,"³ and by Dioneo.⁴ The latter, in narrating a tradition told him by the Chukchee Nookhva about the extinction through small-pox of a whole tribe of Konghienisi living on the river Anui, makes his storyteller use Yakut words and expressions instead of Chukchee ones. It appears, according to this narrative, that the mysterious Polar tribe Konghienisi participated in the kumiss festival held by the Yakut, a cattle-breeding tribe;⁵ but in reality, Konghienisi, or, more correctly, Kongieni'ji or Kolgi'enji, were Yukaghir living on the river Omolon, a hundred miles from its mouth, at the mouth of its tributary called the Kongiensu or Kolgi'enei. Kolgienei is derived from the word "Ko'lgel." By this term the Yukaghir designate a high earth-bank of a river covered with larch-trees. Ko'lgienei means "a place having such banks." The river is so called because of the Kolgel extending all along its valley. The Russians altered the name "Kolgienei" into "Kongi'ina." The suffix -ji means "men," and, when added to the name of a locality,

¹ See G. Dyachkoff, *The Country of the Anadyr* (Г.Дьячковъ, Анадырскій край). Vladivostok, 1893.

² Wrangel is of the same opinion (see Wrangel, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea in the Years 1820—1823* [London, 1844], p. 412). At present Shelaghi or Erri Cape is also inhabited by Maritime Chukchee.

³ See Sauer, p. 25.

⁴ Dioneo (Shklovsky), *On the Farthest North-East of Siberia*; Chap. VI, *The End of the Kongienisi* (Petersburg), p. 164.

⁵ Jochelson, *Kumiss Festivals of the Yakut* (Boas Anniversary Volume, pp. 257—271).

signifies "inhabitants of that place." In this manner has been formed the word "Kolgi'eneji," or, according to the Russian modification, "Kongienisi" (i. e., inhabitants of the banks of the river Kolgi'enei). The banks of this river are uninhabited at present, as are so many other places where resided in former times many now extinct groups of the Yukaghir.

The Anaul formed a division of the Yukaghir tribe living in the region of the river Anadyr. They were fishermen, and had no reindeer. The Anaul partly died out, partly became Russianized. On the other hand, the Chuvantzy formed a portion of the Yukaghir tribe, which wandered with their reindeer in the regions of the Anadyr, Omolon, and the two Anui Rivers. I have already mentioned the Khodyntzi, and shall speak of them again when enumerating the Yukaghir clans.

The people figuring in the traditions under the name of "Omoki" are undoubtedly the ancestors of the present Yukaghir.¹ This is sufficiently proved by the Yukaghir language, by the present names of the Yukaghir clans, and the presence of ancient subterranean "omok" graves near the rivers inhabited from olden times by the Yukaghir. Omok is the definite nominative of the base omo, meaning "clan" and "tribe;" and even now the Yukaghir, who still keep their own language, add the word "omok" to the names of their clans. The Russian Administration gave the name "Omok" to the Yukaghir clans living on the Dry and Big Anui Rivers and near the Big Baranikha.

At present the tribal name "Odul" is known only to the group of Yukaghir who still retain their own language; and, as we shall see further on, this name, together with the language, was adopted by the Yukaghirized Tungus of the tundra, between the rivers Kolyma and Indighirka. On the other hand, the Upper-Kolyma Yukaghir consider only themselves and the Omolon Yukaghir as true "Odul." Not only are the Chuvantzy, whom they call Coli'lau, excluded from this designation, but also the Yukaghir of the tundra. The latter are called by the Upper-Kolyma Yukaghir "Ala'yi-people," which they understand to mean Tungus. The Omolon Yukaghir retain a tradition that the Ala'yi constituted one people with themselves before the Alayi intermixed with the Tungus of the tundra. On the tundra not only the Yukaghir-Alayi, but also the Yukaghirized Tungus of the clan Khangai (Xañai), call themselves "Odul," and give the name "Kohi'me" to the Kolyma Yukaghir. The Upper-Kolyma Yukaghir, in answer to my questions about this word, said that a Yukaghir clan of this name lived some time ago on the river Omolon; but the Omolon Yukaghir assert that the ancient Yukaghir used this word as a term of respect among themselves. Besides, a

¹ Dyachkoff, a Russianized Chuvantzy, in his paper on the Anadyr region, speaks of the Omoki as of a tribe independent of the Yukaghir, at the same time acknowledging the resemblance of the languages of these two tribes.

Yukaghir of the tundra asserted that "Kohi'me" was the ancient name of the Yukaghir tribe in general, as was also the case with the word "O'dul."

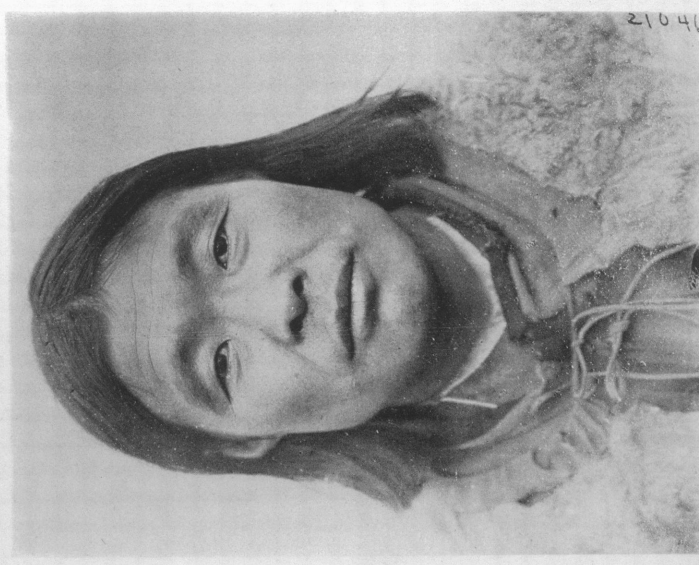
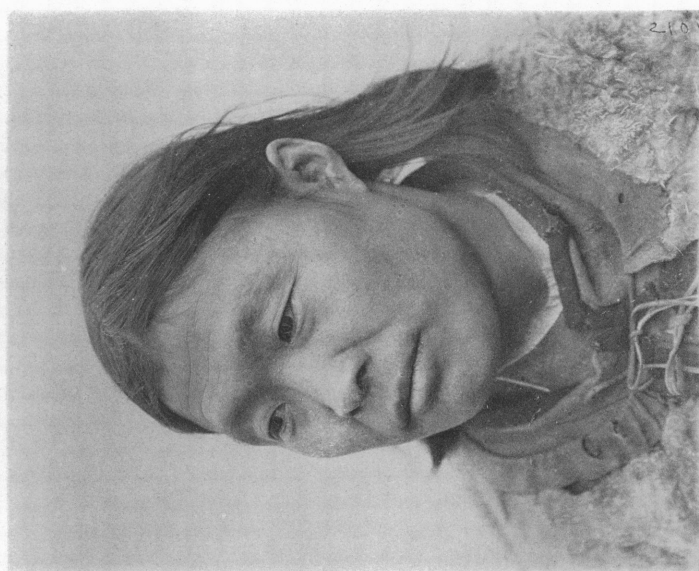
The Tungusized Yukaghir living between the rivers Indighirka and Yana have forgotten their tribal name, "O'dul" or "Kohi'me," and either call themselves "I'lkonbei," which in the Tungus language means "genuine man," or by another Tungus word, "Du'tki," which means "a straightforward, fearless man" (i. e., a brave man, who ignores obstacles).

The Yakutized Yukaghir living between the rivers Yana and Lena call themselves by the same name as the Yakut call them; i. e., "Yukaghir" simply; and they know of no other name for their tribe.

PHYSICAL TYPE. — The modern Yukaghir (Plates I—VII) are so much intermixed with neighboring tribes, chiefly with Yukaghirized Tungus, that it is very difficult to speak of a Yukaghir type as distinct from the Tungus. In taking measurements of the Upper-Kolyma Yukaghir and the Yukaghir of the tundra,¹ Mrs. Jochelson felt obliged to place under the heading "Yukaghir" the Tungus, and the Lamut living near or among them, as they generally intermarry. For this reason we cannot say anything definite about the primary type of the Yukaghir. Yet even the Yukaghir of the present differ somewhat in physique from the Tungus. I mentioned in my introductory remarks that the Yukaghir as a tribe are on the eve of extinction, — in the first place, on account of their degeneration; and, secondly, on account of the assimilation of some Yukaghir groups by their present neighbors. Of all the tribes of the extreme northeast of Siberia who have come in contact with Russians, the Yukaghir have fared the worst. I intend to discuss the causes of this phenomenon in the historical chapter of this volume. At the first glance, the Yukaghir give the impression of being a degenerating tribe. Their marriages are mostly sterile. Their children have a weak and sickly appearance. This is all the more striking when these children are compared with the healthy and red-cheeked children of their Yakut neighbors. Their physical development is retarded. A youth of twenty would sometimes present the appearance of a child, and traces of premature old age are visible on the faces of young people. I was also struck by the effeminate appearance of their youth. Being of small stature, they have slender, graceful, and supple figures with small waists. The women, on the contrary, have, for the most part, short clumsy figures and stout waists.

Here are the data for those measurements of the Yukaghir that have been worked out. The present Yukaghir are of small stature. The measurements of 70 men between twenty and sixty years of age, and of 30 women between eighteen and fifty, show an average stature, for men, of 1560 mm., and for women, of 1470 mm. Thus the Yukaghir, on the average, are the

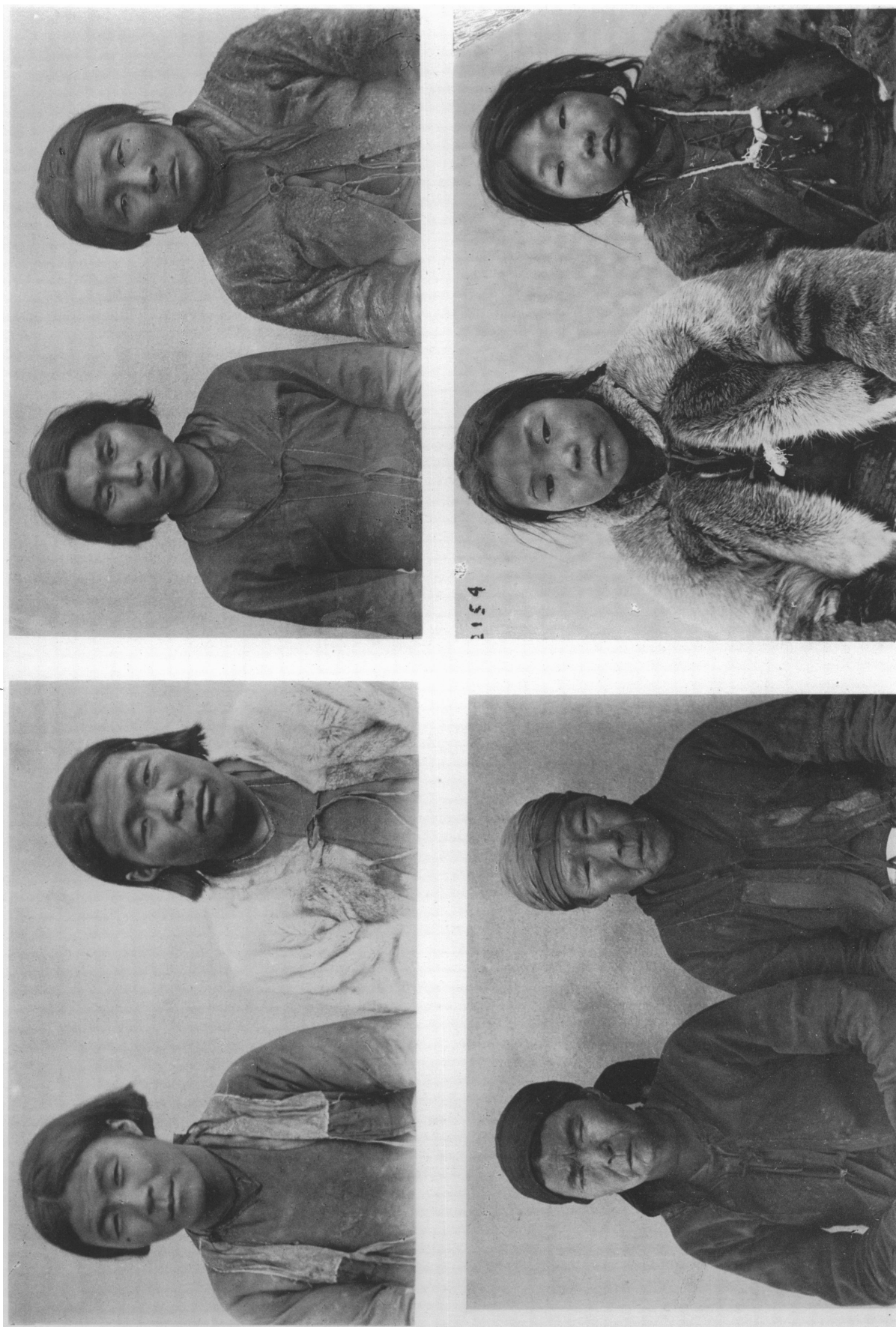
¹ See Dina Jochelson-Brodsky, *Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers nordostsibirischer Völker* (Archiv für Anthropologie, N. S., Vol. V, p. 3).



The Yukaghir.



The Yukaghir.

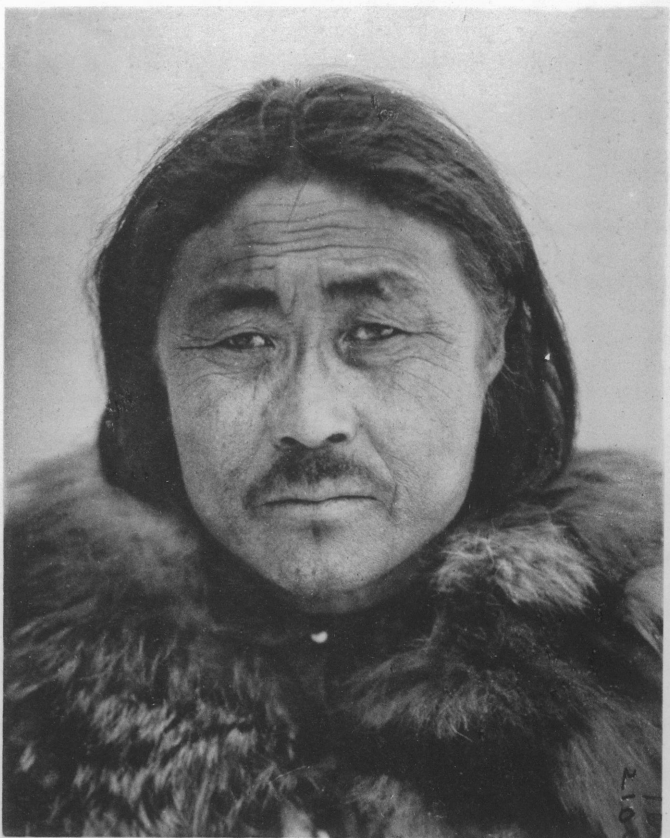
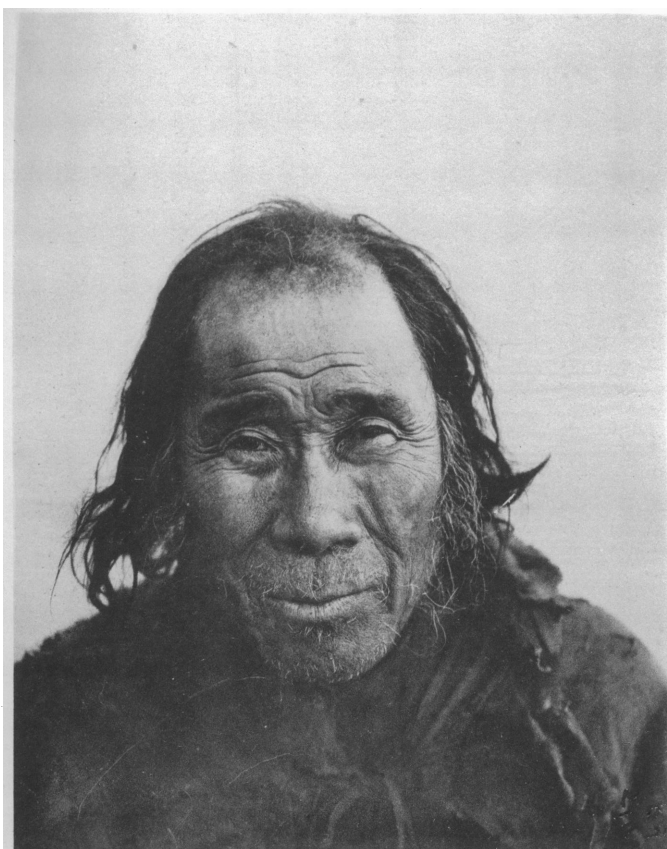


The Yukaghir.

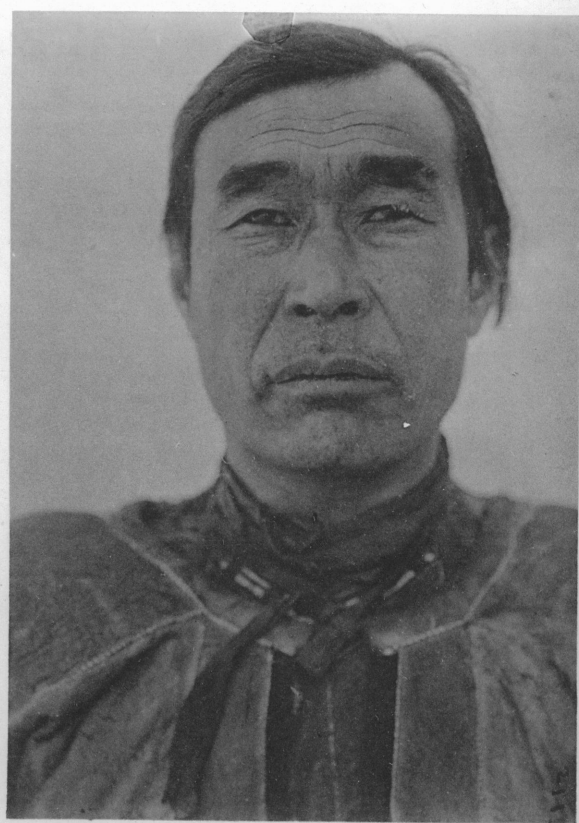
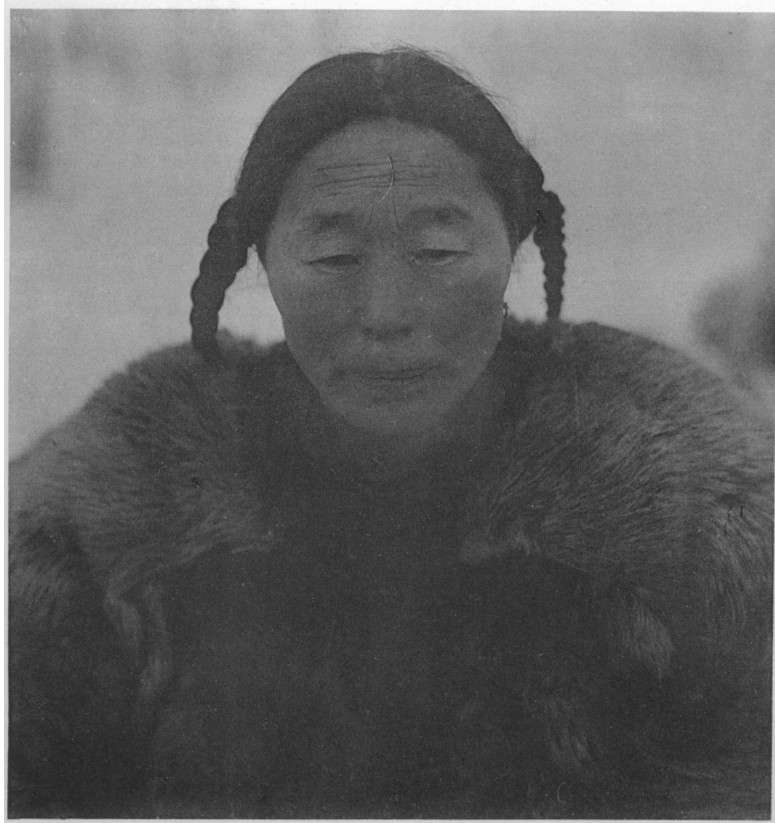




The Yukaghir.



The Yukaghir.



The Yukaghir.

shortest tribe in northeastern Siberia.¹ There are no stout people among the Yukaghir, but we often do find them among the Yakut.

The cephalic index shows an average of 80.4 for men, and of 80 for women, which is lower than that of the Mongol-Turk tribes. The average maximum breadth of face of the Yukaghir (145 mm. for men, and 138 mm. for women) is also lower than the breadth of face of the Mongol-Turk tribes. We came across two types in the form of the face. One presents an oval, flat shape, with a straight and low forehead; the other an angular face, which might be called square, with prominent corners on the lower jaw, — a face which is typical of many Tungus tribes.

The nose is mostly short with a low bridge, but the sides are sharply defined from the cheeks. A straight nose is very rarely to be seen, and I never observed an aquiline one.

The leptorhin index (as yet only determined for women, the average index being 66) shows considerable length of nose as compared with its width.

The anatomical face-index — i. e., the anatomical height of face (nasion-chin multiplied by 100, and divided by the maximum breadth of face) — gives on the average, for men 86, and for women 84.

The predominating color of hair is dark brown, the percentage of dark-brown hair being greater among women than among men. Out of 89 men, 39 had black hair (43.8%), 42 dark-brown (47.2%), 5 had light-brown hair (5.6%), and 3 had gray hair (3.4%). Out of 51 women, 17 had black hair (33.3%), 29 had dark-brown hair (56.9%), 4 (7.8%) had light-brown, and 1 (2%) had gray hair. I met only one really white-haired old man, who must have been about sixty, judging by his outward appearance and by information given by him as to events of his life. He could not tell his own age. Others, though over sixty years old, had hair that was merely gray. I came across a man of about thirty who had rather gray hair. In general, grayness of hair is a rare phenomenon among the Yukaghir, and it appears late in life. The growth of hair on the head is rich and dense. The hair itself is straight. I have not found in my notes a single case of wavy or curly hair. Out of 31 men whose hair was examined, 22 (71%) had markedly fine hair, and 9 had markedly coarse hair; and of the women, not one had hair that could be characterized as coarse. The structure of the specimens of hair taken has not yet been investigated.

The growth of hair on men's faces is very scanty, and is often entirely absent; and on the bodies of men and women alike, a very scanty growth appears under the armpits and on the pubes. Following are the data concerning the growth of hair on men's faces. Out of 82 men, 48 (58.5%) had neither beard nor mustache. The majority of this group, I must say,

¹ Dina Jochelson-Brodsky, *Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers nordostsibirischer Völker* (Archiv für Anthropologie, N. S., Vol. V, p. 6).

consisted of young men between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. As stated before, the growth of hair on the face begins very late. Twenty-one men (25.7%) had either pulled out the hair of their beards and mustaches with pincers, or else had cut them off with a knife. Only five men (6%) had allowed mustaches to grow, which were short and scanty. One old man (1.2%) had short whiskers. Six men (7.4%), all of them old men, had not removed the hair on their chins, but their beards were short and sparse. I have met only one (1.2%) old Yukaghir (see Plate VII, Fig. 1) with fairly thick beard and mustache. The mother of this old man was a Yakut woman. This fact, however, does not explain the appearance of the rich growth on his face; the Yakut, like the Yukaghir, usually having very little hair on face and body.

The women do not remove the hair from the pubes, as do the Tungus and Yakut women;¹ but still the growth is by no means abundant. Youths between sixteen and twenty years showed no signs of developing hair either under the armpits or on the pubes.

The prevailing color of the eyes of Yukaghir is dark brown. Of the men examined, 60 (75%) had dark-brown eyes, 18 (22.5%) light-brown, and 2 (2.5%) had black eyes. Out of 50 women, 34 (68%) had dark-brown eyes, 10 (20%) light-brown, and 6 (12%) black eyes. We see that the percentage of women with dark-colored eyes is greater than that of men. As to color of the hair, the reverse may be noticed, which is also the case with the Koryak. Hair of darker shades occurs more often with men than with women. I have not found in my notes any mention of either blue or gray eyes. On the river Omolon I met a boy with gray eyes and fair hair; but he was an illegitimate son of a Yukaghir woman, and his father was a Russian.

The form of the Yukaghir eye is not quite Mongolian. A marked percentage of the Yukaghir have a wide-open eye. The Mongoloid fold is slightly developed in most cases. In some cases it is absent. With rare exceptions, the outer angles of the eyes are elevated.

I have noticed four shades of color of the skin. Two of them have as their basis the brownish pigment of the Chukchee or Koryak; the other two, the yellow pigment of the Tungus.² These shades were distributed in the persons examined as follows. Out of 84 men, 44 (52.4%) had skin of a dark-yellow color, 16 (19%) of a light-yellow color, appearing white from a distance, 13 (15.5%) of a dark-brown color, and 11 (13.1%) of a light-brown color. Out of 50 women, 24 (48%) had skin of a dark-yellow color, 8 (16%) of a light-yellow, almost white color, 12 (24%) of a dark-brown, and

¹ The Yakut and Tungus women pull out or cut off the hair from the pubes. The photos of naked Tungus women in the work of Mrs. Jochelson quoted before (*Archiv für Anthropologie*, N. S., Vol. V, Plate I) show this clearly.

² See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 412.

6 (12%) of a light-brown color. We ascertained that the yellow pigment of the skin, evidently on account of intermixture with the Tungus, predominates over the brown.

The following data give an idea of the fecundity of the Yukaghir: 13 married women of the Upper-Kolyma Yukaghir had 32 children, — 14 boys and 18 girls, — the average per woman being 2.5. The greatest number of children borne by one woman was 6.¹ Out of the above-mentioned number of children, 10 died in infancy; i. e., the mortality reached a very high percentage. I will also give a few data on childless marriages. Out of 29 married women on the river Yassachna,² 3 (i. e., 10.3%) were barren; but in other Yukaghir groups sterile unions occur more frequently. Thus in the small First Alaseya Clan (Alayi Omok), out of 9 married couples, 4 (44%) were childless. Out of 4 marriages of the Goose Clan, 2 (50%) had no issue. Out of 6 married couples of the Omolon Yukaghir, who lived in 1896 at the mouth of the Omolon River, 4 (66.6%) had no children. I shall speak in the next chapter, in the section on clans, of the total extinction of certain Yukaghir groups during the last ten years. A considerable percentage of old bachelors to be found among the Yukaghir may also be regarded as an indication of the decline of procreation. This phenomenon is usual — for economic reasons — in our civilized societies, but almost unknown among primitive tribes.

Notwithstanding all the symptoms of the dying-out of the tribe, we still find a large percentage of old men among the Yukaghir. Though the Yukaghir, as a rule, do not know their ages, yet, thanks to the tribute registers, I could ascertain approximately, by means of cross-examination, the age of the old people. Thus, for example, among the Yassachna Yukaghir, out of 123, 9 men and 6 women were over fifty. The majority of them had grand-children, and 3 of the old men were by all appearances no less than seventy years old.

THE SENSES. — The Yukaghir have a strong aversion to the peculiar odors of other tribes. Dolganoff gave me a telling description of what the Lamut, Yakut, and Russians smell like. According to him, the Lamut smell of squirrel, bear, and putrid reindeer meat; the Yakut, of putrid fish-liver and of cow-dung; and the Russians keep their houses so stuffy, that it is difficult to breathe, while their clothes smell as bad as the new red fustian stuff. When Dolganoff and I had to spend the night in a Russian house, he was suffering from headache and felt sick. The roof, to his imagination, weighed upon him.

The Yassachna and Korkodon Yukaghir, who during the winter do not

¹ Compare these data with the data concerning the fecundity of the Koryak (The Koryak, Vol. VI of this series, p. 413).

² I include also the Lamut families living with the Yukaghir. They intermarry frequently.

live in skin tents, but in log or earth huts, never shut up the chimney-flue, so that the air is always fresh; and at night, when the fire is out, the cold indoors is as intense as outside.

Personally I was at times disgusted with the smell emanating from the Yukaghir. Being often obliged to touch them while taking their measurements or writing down their tales and during other work, I was struck by a certain sour smell of their perspiration, as well as by an unbearable odor of fish emanating from their skin clothes.

Though we find in the Yukaghir language words signifying "embrace" and "kiss" (a'mladai and yō'gi¹), I am disposed to think that embracing and kissing have been adopted from the Russians. Thus, for instance, when Yukaghir first meet after Easter, they invariably kiss each other, even if the meeting takes place several months after Easter. This is surely the Russian custom of Easter greeting. Caresses of children and women are expressed by sniffing (modi'nu²). They sniff under the nape of the neck and under the chin, asserting that the odor is very pleasant. It reminds one, as Dolganoff said, of the woman's breast and milk, or of the odor of porridge made of the roe of the fish called omul. "But," he added, "not all women smell good."

A good smell is called ile'ye, and a bad one pe'jel. Dolganoff liked the odor of perfume very much. "Our mountain-grass and berry-flowers smell like this," he said.

Concerning the eyesight of the Yukaghir, the same may be said as of the eyesight of the Koryak.³

The Yukaghir can dispense with salt, yet they take advantage of any opportunity to beg a little from the Russians. They do not fancy salt fish, however. Hot things, like pepper and mustard, they do not like. They are fond of fish-oil, of fat, of reindeer-marrow. Butter is considered a luxury, as are other milk products prepared by the Yakut from cow's milk, which is a rare luxury with the Yukaghir. They are fond of sugar and sweets in general, also of smoking tobacco. Bread and rusks are also considered as dainties. Dolganoff asked me if a man could possibly live on bread alone, for he was invariably ill after having partaken of a great deal of bread at one time.

The Yukaghir word for "color" is, in the Kolyma dialect, cu're; in the tundra dialect, omgoñ.

¹ The first of these terms is evidently derived from the neuter verb a'mlai ("to plunge"), and the second one from yō'gi ("his head").

² There is still another ordinary expression besides modi'nu for the verb "to smell" (yo'rulā, which really means "to do with the nose"). This expression is applied only in relation to animals. The word modi'nu has its special meaning.

³ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 415.

The Yukaghir distinguish the following colors: —

	<i>Kolyma Dialect.</i>	<i>Tundra Dialect.</i>
White.	po'inei	n.a'boi
Blue	lu'bojeni	to'ronnei
Green.	jele'neñoi	xomo'nnei
Gray	co'iboi	yari'nnei
Brown	co'iboi	yari'nnei
Red	ke'ileni	n.e'močeni
Yellow	ca'xaleni	xomo'nnei
Navy	lu'bojeni	xomo'nnei
Black	ebi'bei or emi'bei	toro'nnei
Dark blue	ebi'bei	toro'nnei

The color green, which in the tundra dialect is not distinguished from blue, is expressed in the Kolyma dialect by the word *zeleny*, adopted from the Russian. The term *ebi'bei* or *toro'nnei* includes, besides black, dark shades of all colors.

In some cases the Yukaghir give a separate term to light shades of a certain color. In the Upper-Kolyma dialect, for instance, *pa'jelboi* signifies "whitish;" *ke'ilenioi*, "reddish;" *abi'beoi*, "blackish."

Red, blue, and black are considered beautiful colors for dress-embroidery. A white complexion, black eyes, brown hair, and black eyebrows, give their idea of beauty. A white complexion, to a Yukaghir, means pale-yellow or light-brown shades. The following is the Yukaghir description of a beautiful young girl: —

Puko'le-ti'te po'inei; a'njegi moro'jine titeme'i;
 (She is) snow-like white; her eyes are like black currants;
A'njepugelbiegi cori'le titeme'i;
 Her eyebrows black ink are like;
Manailégi caxa'leye cuo'lku titeme'i;
 Her hair brown silk is like;
Tu'del yelo'je titeme'i tāt o'moc!
 She is like the sun, so beautiful!

CLEANLINESS. — Compared with their neighbors, the Yukaghir are quite tidy. This is in a certain degree the result of their contact with Russians, whose mode of life they try to imitate as much as possible. They appreciate soap very much, and will beg for it. They even buy it when they can afford it. The young men and women keep their faces clean, and often wash themselves. They all have a wash in the morning, — a custom they adopted from Russian settlers, as well as the way in which it is done. They fill their mouth full of water, and gradually let it out into their hands, and in this manner wash their faces. In the summer they often wash at the

river. Though the great majority of Yukaghir living near rivers spend the whole summer on the river-banks fishing, still they never bathe. They wipe their dishes, kitchen utensils, and tables, with a whisk made of thin shavings cut with a knife from willows, after removing the bark. The same shavings serve as towel and napkin. During my meals I was every time treated to a new napkin. These shavings, planed with a knife, are extremely fine and soft, so that it is very pleasant to wipe one's mouth and hands with them, and during the summer the fresh willow shavings are very fragrant. The women also use them for wiping children's faces. The Yukaghir do not wash their heads; but they like to comb the hair out, and they endeavor to get hold of imported Russian combs. The wooden and bone combs of their own manufacture are of little use to keep their heads clean, which are covered with lice. Though the Yukaghir are constantly fighting the vermin, still they feel that they are necessary to man, and an exponent of his health. Thus they were astonished at my announcement that there are no vermin in my house. "And we have noticed," said a Yukaghir to me, "that lice leave a man only on his death-bed."

In a Yukaghir home the various members may usually be seen engaged in lousing each other's heads. My interpreter, Dolganoff, was indignant at the fact that the Chukchee destroy the lice with their teeth, but at the same time he would kill them on the table on which he placed his food. The old folk are less tidy than the young people. They use no comb, and their hair is always covered with feathers, reindeer-hair, and ashes from the fireplaces.

The Yukaghir are more particular about their food than the Koryak and the Yakut. They do not like putrid meat and fish, that are used by the latter. Fishing for the winter supply takes place in the autumn, when the night temperature is below zero, so that the fish keep well through the winter. Fish provided during the summer, with the exception of those intended for immediate consumption, are preserved in a dried state.

Some of the Yukaghir on the Yassachna River, especially the women, exhibit violent aversion to some kinds of food that they have not tasted before. For instance, some women have an aversion to beef; and once during a famine, when I bought a horse of the Yakut to be killed for food, these women could not be induced to eat horse-flesh. When I cooked beef for myself in the house of the elder of the Yassachna Yukaghir, his wife used to leave the house. The facts stated above have reference only to the Yukaghir living on the Yassachna and Korkodon Rivers, not to the tundra Yukaghir, nor to those who have become Russianized; neither do they refer to Yukaghir living with the Yakut, who have become quite familiar with different foods of other tribes.

DISEASES AND THEIR TREATMENT. *Diseases.* — Measles, small-pox, and syphilis are diseases introduced by the Russians. Measles are malignant,

carrying off not only children, but grown-up people as well. The Yukaghir name for small-pox is *comoje-yo'u* (i. e., "the great illness"). No other illness is so much dreaded by the Yukaghir, for it is one of the principal causes of the dying-out of the tribe. Indeed, epidemics of small-pox have time and again destroyed whole villages or clans. Slovtzoff says, referring to the year 1691, that "the Yukaghir tribe died out during a small-pox epidemic."¹ Of course, the whole tribe did not perish; but such information gives an idea of the proportions of the devastation caused by this disease soon after the Yukaghir encountered the Russians. The last time that small-pox raged among the Yukaghir was in 1885, and in some places it carried off more than half the population. Thus the First Omolon Clan, which numbered seventy men before the epidemic, lost thirty-three men during its prevalence. Several legends are current among the Yukaghir, explaining how the Russians first brought the disease.

According to the most popular tradition, the Russian invaders could not conquer the Yukaghir tribe whose warriors were numerous and brave; so that, in order to reduce the number of their enemies, the Russians imported the small-pox in a box, and let it out among them. Then the earth was filled with smoke, and men began to die in consequence. The Yakut believe that the small-pox is a Russian evil spirit which arrived with the Russians in their country in the shape of a woman-devil. Sick people see her. Even shamans are powerless before the evil spirit of the new-comer; but sometimes presents or sacrifices to the spirit, in the shape of fur skins hanging from trees during the epidemic, avert the danger.

While measles and small-pox have decimated the tribe periodically, syphilis is permanently poisoning it. Syphilis is most widespread at the mouth of the Kolyma River, where there are the greatest number of Russians. Even at present it is difficult to find a family whose members are free from traces of this terrible disease. However, the present cases are chiefly hereditary forms of the third stage. The Yukaghir call syphilis the "bad illness" (*e'rče yo'u*) or the "Russian disease" (*lu'či yo'u*). They are not afraid of it. The healthy take no precautions whatever against the disease, because they do not understand how ruinous is the effect of syphilis on the whole population; besides, the illness runs its course without pain, though it leaves most terrible traces of devastation in individual cases. The sterile marriages are mostly the result of hereditary syphilis.

There exists one more disease which was introduced into the extreme northeast of Siberia, not by the Russians, but by the Yakut. It is leprosy, which the Yukaghir call the "terrible illness" (*nige'yol yo'u*). It does not

¹ Slovtzoff, *Historical Survey of Siberia* (П. Словцовъ, Историческое Обзоръ Сибиріи), St. Petersburg, 1886, p. 144.

seem to have taken hold of the Yukaghir who live near the Yakut, though among the latter it occurs very often. Thus, for instance, in 1896, out of three thousand Yakut of the Kolyma District, thirty men were registered (advanced cases, undoubtedly) as suffering from leprosy.

I came across a description of a Yukaghir leper in the Archives; but, as the case had not been vouched for by a doctor, it remained doubtful.

I have not seen scabs among the Yukaghir, while they are widespread among the Chukchee and the Yakut. The Yukaghir told me that they do not suffer from this illness, though they have a name for it, — *yo'jeni*.

Of the diseases that are prevalent among the Yukaghir, rheumatism occupies the first place.

The principal fishing takes place in autumn, before the rivers are frozen. The Yukaghir are obliged to wade in cold water up to their knees until the legs are benumbed, and naturally there is hardly a man among them who does not suffer from rheumatism in acute or chronic form. A great percentage of young people cannot take part in the fishing-industry during the autumn season, because their legs swell from the cold water. They therefore devote themselves to work on the shore. The Yukaghir think that this disease is caused by an evil spirit hiding in men's clothes that are left outside the huts. This evil spirit is called "evil spirit in the clothing" (*nin yu'oye*). For fear of it, clothes hanging outside to dry, especially trousers, are taken indoors in the evening.

The Yukaghir have a name for jaundice (*caxaledaile*, which means "the state of being yellow"); but they assured me that the disease is only common with the Yakut, and is not known among them.

Eye-diseases are also less frequent among the Yukaghir than among their neighbors. Yet blind old men or women are not rare, and I often met cases of inflammation of the eyes and of cataract. I came across two blind individuals — a man and a woman — in the small population of only a little over one hundred people on the Yassachna River.

The eyes of the Yukaghir are less exposed to the smoke of their fire-places, for they wander the greater part of the year, and spend but little time in their tents. In winter the Yukaghir on the Yassachna and Korkodon Rivers live in log-huts with chimneys. The origin of cataract is thus explained by the Yukaghir: When they are hunting wild reindeer on their snow-shoes in early spring from morning till night, they suffer so much from thirst, that their lips get black; and yet if they only taste a little snow, or water from an ice-hole, it does not abate the thirst, but their sight gets dim. After this the eyes begin to ache, and a cataract is formed.

Diseases of the digestive organs are not so frequent with them as with the Yakut, for they are not so greedy as the latter, and avoid decayed food. They suffer, however, from worms, as the result of a fish diet.

The Yukaghir suffer sometimes from an attack of what is called by them nu'tneye ui'čič, which means "the navel moves from its place." Thus they define the pain caused by lifting heavy things or by an awkward jump. There are "expert people" who know how "to set the navel right." They press the painful spot with the hand, and push it in the direction of the navel; then they give it a twist with a knife-handle in a screw-like fashion, after which — so they say — the pain is over.

Influenza, bronchitis, pleurisy, occur often; for the Yukaghir are so poorly clad in winter, that they are bound to catch cold. I have not met consumptive persons. Cases of cachexia and scurvy are prevalent as a result of poor nourishment and famines. Apparently in connection with this, a certain sickly condition develops, which the Yukaghir call anā'. The afflicted person becomes listless, apathetic, and inclined to sleep. The Yukaghir consider such a disease contagious, but not in the sense in which we understand it. According to the Yukaghir, they knew nothing of the disease until it was introduced by the Tungus from the shores of the Okhotsk Sea. The evil spirit of "anā'" takes up its abode in a man's head, causing drowsiness and somnolence. The spirit forces the sick man to shut his eyes, after which he can resist it no longer.

Headaches, accompanied by nervous diseases, of which I shall speak in detail later on, occur very often. For the present I will say a few words concerning the medicines of the Yukaghir.

Knowledge of Anatomy. — The Yukaghir have a more or less correct idea of the anatomy of the human body, and are acquainted in a certain degree with the functions of its organs. While dissecting corpses, and taking off the muscles from the bones of their dead shamans, the ancient Yukaghir had opportunities to study the human skeleton and the disposition of the muscles and internal organs. Judging by the nomenclature of blood-vessels, the Yukaghir knew the difference between arteries and veins. Thus a vein they call "the path of blood" (le'pun-ču'go), and an artery they call "the living path of blood" (e'jun-lepun-čugo). The heart they call cu'goje or cubo'je, which means "movement," "running," and also "bravery." The pulse they call "the little heart" (yuku'-čubo'je). Some notions of the Yukaghir as to the functions of certain organs are very curious. For instance, the kidneys (mu'mul) are considered as helpers to the stomach in digestion. The liver (kude'je) is the organ which encourages man to sleep; a man with a large liver is therefore a somnolent person. The heart is the commander of the body; but a man with a big heart is lazy and slow, and one with a small heart is lively and active.

Treatment of Diseases. — The Yukaghir use certain herbs for medicinal purposes, if the herbs are to be found near the dwelling when needed. They must not be preserved or carried about, for those who do so will be in need of them.

The treatment of the sickness anā' consists in pressing very hard with the fingers upon the skin between the eyebrows, between the breasts, and on the spine. The pain thus caused naturally drives somnolence away for a time. — Inflammation of the eyes is treated by pulling the hair of the lashes with pincers. — A cataract is powdered with church incense. — When the eyelids get inflamed in the spring, on account of snow-blindness, and thus cause great pain, the Yukaghir turn back the eyelids, make them bleed by rubbing with a coarse grass called anjedu'yiye ule'ge (i. e., "the herb which makes the eyes well"), drop into the eye milk from a woman's breast, then bandage it, and send the patient off to sleep; after which, say the Yukaghir, the patient wakes up with his eyes quite well. — They drink an infusion of currant-leaves when they have a sore throat. — They sprinkle wild thyme on the fire, and inhale its smoke, to prevent coughing. — Cauterization is much used in cases of swelling or painful spots on the body. — Wounds are covered with thin shavings of willow or stone-pine.

The Yukaghir willingly apply for medicine to the Russians. They constantly applied to me, and all kinds of medicaments act well on them. In some cases, however, my treatment was resented. Thus, when I offered a Dover's powder to the wife of the elder of the Yassachna River for her cough, she exclaimed in terror, "No, no! I don't want it!"

Up to the present, the prevalent means of treating the sick consists of shamanistic ceremonies and charms, of which I shall speak when discussing the religion of the tribe.

The nervous diseases of the Yukaghir are of peculiar interest, and I shall treat them more in detail.

Nervous Diseases. — In my work on the Koryak¹ I have discussed the "arctic hysteria" of northeastern Siberia. Here I shall enter into a more detailed description of it, because, among the Yukaghir of the Upper-Kolyma region, all the forms of this disease occur developed to the highest degree. It is most interesting to observe that arctic hysteria has not developed equally among all the tribes of northeastern Siberia. On the one hand, it seems to depend on how far the tribe has become acclimatized; for instance, among the Chukchee and Koryak, who belong to the more ancient inhabitants of that country, the disease is less frequent and of a milder form. On the other hand, among the new-comers, like the Yakut and Tungus, the disease is met more frequently, and is of more serious form. The Russian settlers also suffer from it. In their case it may be assumed that the cause of the disease lies in the psychical effect which nature in the Arctic, its coldness, its dark days in winter and light nights in summer, and its general monotony, have on the mind of man.

¹ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, pp. 416, 417.

On the other hand, the development of arctic hysteria depends on the mode of life of the tribe, and on their food. Thus, according to my observations, it is less common in people of nomadic habits than in those who have fixed settlements; and during times of famine it becomes more acute. For instance, the tundra Yukaghir, who live only in skin tents, and wander about the tundra on reindeer, rarely suffer from hysteria. On my questioning them, they first denied that there is any such disease among them at all; but afterwards I happened more than once to observe cases among them. Among the Yakut, the Russian settlers and the Yukaghir of the Upper-Kolyma region, who live a more or less settled life, hardly a family is found in which some one is not suffering from one or the other form of hysteria; and cases of it are especially frequent, and of a more acute nature, in times of lack of food and after periods of famine.

I have already mentioned in my work on the Koryak,¹ that, according to the symptoms, two principal forms of arctic hysteria may be distinguished. Young persons are more liable to the one; and middle-aged people of thirty or forty years and older, principally women, suffer more frequently from the other. The first kind is known among the Yakut as *menerik*, among the Yukaghir as *ca'rmoriel*, and among the Tungus as *haujan* (which means "possessed by evil spirits"). It has generally nothing to distinguish it, in its manifestation or symptoms, from fits of hysteria in civilized countries. As these fits develop mostly in grown-up girls or young women, it may be inferred that they are in some way connected with the sexual functions. Among the young male population, hysterical fits are principally due to the influence of religious imagination. They are observed in the nervously strained youths who are inclined to become shamans.

The characteristic feature of *ca'rmoriel* is that the patient, male or female, continues to sing a long time, enunciating in the song the wishes of the spirit that tortures him. The fit is preceded by the usual symptoms of disorder, — loss of appetite, headache, apathy, and indifference to the surroundings of the patient. Such a state may continue for a day or several days. Suddenly the patient looks like a savage, or, with an air of exaltation, begins to sing, first gently, then louder, waving his arms and swinging his body. At this time the women will loosen their hair. They mostly remain in a sitting posture. The future shaman complains, in the song, of the spirits that compel him to start the shaman's career, strangle him, and threaten death if he does not consent to follow their call. Sometimes it is apparently the spirit himself, that has entered into the patient, who sings. For instance, through the girl suffering from nervous fits the spirit sings, that, if a new handkerchief or dress is presented, he will leave the girl. If

¹ Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 417.

the demands of the spirit are satisfied by the parents of the girl, it is of course the girl herself who gets the things, and then the fit ceases. It is difficult to say how much of simulation or of auto-suggestion there is in such fits. Out of many cases observed by me, I will relate here one which is very interesting. One night I slept in the house of a Yakut with a young man — a Russian — who was sent to 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 which the authorities had appointed as his place of residence, the young woman had an hysterical fit, during which she sang an improvisation that plainly told her feelings. At that time I wrote the words down in the Yakut language, and reproduce them here in a free translation: —

“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, the friend!”

This frank improvisation the young woman repeated many times, from beginning to end, for about two hours, till she fell into a deep sleep.

During the fit there were present, besides the woman's husband, also her young children. Although there is great freedom of manners among the Yakut, and the women are not particularly faithful, still the husbands are jealous. Even if it so happens that a husband, on account of some profit or household considerations, condones the wife's unfaithfulness, signs of jealousy may still be observed, although he feigns not to notice the faithlessness. In the case just cited the husband loved his wife, and was jealous of her; but during the fit he abused only the abasy (the evil spirit) who disturbed his wife with temptation. It is difficult to admit that the fit was only a matter of simulation or caused by auto-suggestion. Such conduct would not be at all in the interest of the young woman, who had only just begun to be stirred by the feeling of love. It seemed to me, she did not know herself what she was doing. It was a physical re-action brought about unconsciously by the action of the image of the beloved man on the mind.

Often the singing is followed by cramps, contractions, or an attack of epilepsy. I had occasion to observe such fits more than once among the Upper-Kolyma Yukaghir as well as among the Yakut. As the disease is ascribed to the evil spirit who has entered the patient, the treatment consists accordingly in inviting the shamans to drive out this evil spirit.

I have already remarked that the tundra Yukaghir generally denied the existence among them of arctic hysteria. The Yukaghir of Yassachna River also asserted that the form of the disease called menerik was not known

among the Yukaghir until they met the Yakut. This disease, according to the Yukaghir, is caused by the Yakut evil spirit, which is proved by the fact that the patients sing, not in Yukaghir, but in the Yakut language. In some cases this was really so. On the Korkodon River I heard a young girl singing, not in Yukaghir, but in Tungus. Once, after a fit accompanied by singing, the girl had cramps. Her body was bent like a bow, her hands were clinched. When I took her by the hands, the cramps ceased; but she continued for a long time in an unconscious state. After she recovered, her mother asked her if she knew that the great Russian gentleman had "cured her." She answered, that she knew, because she saw how the devil which tortured her wanted to devour him, but could not.

Another manifestation of arctic hysteria, which the Yakut call *omürax*,¹ the Yukaghir *i'rkunji*, and the Tungus *ola'n*, is of a character rather more strange and complicated than the one just described. The Yukaghir word *i'rkunji* is the durative form² of the verb *i'rkei* ("to shudder"); and, indeed, the first symptom by which one can recognize patients suffering from this form of hysteria is their extreme impressionableness, their feeling of fright and timidity. I have already said that persons who are past thirty or forty years of age, and chiefly women, are subject to *i'rkunji* ("shudder"). I have seen very few cases of shuddering among men; but among women of the age of thirty or forty and older, fully one-half suffer from this form of hysteria. Extreme susceptibility to fright is one of the symptoms of arctic hysteria, and the mildest one. At the least knock, shout, and generally at any unexpected noise, the patient shudders or falls backward. It is remarkable, however, that the fright usually evokes from the patient the most obscene words or phrases connected with the names of the sexual male or female organs. This unconscious erotic response evoked by fright is a phenomenon difficult to explain. For instance, on the Kolyma River the usual exclamation of Russian women is "The vulva splitted!" (*пизда раскололась!*) Once I was present at a dinner given by the local Russian priest. His wife, frightened by the breaking of a saucer, cried out in the presence of all, "The vulva splitted!" and at once added, "What did I say!" and blushed. The guests, used to such expressions of fright, pretended not to have noticed what happened. The Yakut women usually cry out "Abas!" which is the female sexual organ; but the Yukaghir women, on the contrary, cry out the name of the male organ. Once, on the Korkodon River, an old Yukaghir woman narrated a tale to me, and, being frightened by the dropping on the floor of my ruler, exclaimed, "*Či'tneye iči xo'dol!*" (i. e., "there lies a long penis!")

¹ In my work on the Koryak (Vol. VI of this series, p. 416) I used the word "meriak." This is the Russian pronunciation of the Yakut *omürax* (*omür* means "to shudder").

² See Jochelson, Essay on the Yukaghir Grammar (American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. VII, p. 404).

An analogous exclamation we noticed also among the Koryak;¹ as, "The penis hangs, the vulva hangs!" In the same way fright acts on hysterical men. I saw such men among the Yakut as well as among the Yukaghir and Russian settlers. For instance, one old Russian used to exclaim, in fright, the most obscene Russian invectives; and he would throw himself on him who caused the fright, even if done involuntarily. This tendency to rush at the cause of the fright is noticed also among women.

Another category of manifestations of arctic hysteria, also known among the natives under the term "shuddering," is akin to hypnotic phenomena. Hypnotism, as we know it, is a state of induced sleep, produced by verbal suggestion or by artificial contrivance. The effects of the hypnotist are produced while setting in motion, by words or by postures, certain ideas in the sub-conscious mind of the subject. In arctic hysteria, suggestions like hypnotic ones take place with the full consciousness of the person, when he is awake. The auditory and visual impressions (the latter are absent in suggestions of artificial sleep) act on the mind of the patient in evoking certain actions not only with his full consciousness, but even against his wish. He has no power to restrain himself. Besides, the suggestion may be intentional or unintentional on the part of the person who makes it. Even animals or natural forces may bring about hypnotic states. Everything uncommon, everything that strikes the mind of the patient through the organs of sight or hearing, evokes in him repetitions. The patient repeats the sounds of animals and the words of men, which he has heard; he imitates certain postures or grimaces, and does everything which he is told to do, even the most absurd, ridiculous, indecent, or dangerous things.

I will give here a few illustrations of cases of arctic hysteria. During the first days of my travel in the province of Yakutsk, I was disagreeably struck by the fact that in some of the houses (yurtas) the old Yakut women used to repeat in broken language, not knowing Russian, what I was saying to my fellow-travellers, as if mocking me; and when I happened to glance with surprise at an old wag sitting somewhere in the corner, she used to become restless and confused, and would say, "E, tox da hox!" ("Never mind!") The other members of the family would say, "Pay no attention! it is omüra'x."

Visional auto-suggestion expresses itself in the imitating of everything striking, like grimaces and curious positions of the body. In this category of phenomena belongs the dancing-mania of the Yukaghir, which will be described in the chapter on social life. The Yukaghir are generally a cheerful people, and like amusement; but when the young people begin to dance, one after another — old men and children, healthy and ill, and especially old women — begin to join them, until all the inhabitants of the village

¹ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 417.

have turned out to the dance. I once saw a sick old woman, who could not get up, become so excited at the sight of the dancing young people, that she got up and began to imitate all the movements of the dancers, until finally she fell down exhausted.

Often young people make fun of hysterical patients by making faces at them and assuming certain postures, or in exclaiming funny words and indecent phrases, and thus inducing them to imitate them. Especially are the Russians (Cossacks and merchants) fond of teasing hysterical natives when they stop at their houses (yurtas). I have already stated, in my work on the Koryak, that there are scamps who induce hysterical patients to do obscene things, like uncovering their sexual organs, and abusing them by means of suggestion.

The patients who suffer from arctic hysteria are also liable to suggestions by command. I was told that one hysterical woman, at the command of a young man, seized a horse by the tail, and was thus dragged away, and would certainly have been dashed to pieces if the young man who had given the order had not hastened to command her to let go of the tail.

A few cases which came under my own observation while I was in the Arctic may be cited here.

In a Yukaghir village on the Yassachna River, at the mouth of the river Nelema, were several women — among them especially one old woman — who were extremely liable to auditory and visual suggestion. I was once present in that village while the people were fishing. The old woman took part by throwing the fishes out of the nets on to the bank. My Cossack Kotelnikoff, a young fellow, unexpectedly approached the net near where the old woman was standing, seized a large struggling salmon by the tail with his teeth, and ran off up the hill. To my great surprise, the old woman, who usually could scarcely drag her legs along, did the same thing, seizing a fish and running after the Cossack, in spite of the steepness of the bank, over bushes and rolling stones. Then the Cossack ran down the hill to the river, and the old woman followed him. But whereas the Cossack stopped near the water, the old woman ran into it; and if she had not been stopped in time, she would have been drowned in the deep river. Only then did she let the fish which she held by the tail in her mouth drop, and, breathing heavily, she fell down exhausted on the gravel. It is very interesting to note that the old woman, when running, often repeated through her clinched teeth "Niadude!" ("Enough!") She was quite conscious that she ought not to imitate the Cossack, but could not overpower by her own will the force of suggestion. She only asked the Cossack to discontinue his cruel joke. I forbade him to make such experiments in the future.

I should add, that when I placed this old woman near the screen to photograph her, and told her not to move and to look at the top of the

apparatus, her face became as if petrified, and her eyes motionless. Fearing that such a state might end in a fit, I hastened to tell her to get up. She at once got up and went away.

I once witnessed another similar instance of no less interest. It was in winter, in the Yakut village Rodshevo, about forty-five miles to the north of Verkhne-Kolymsk. Near the house (yurta) where I was staying, there were standing several Yakut, and among them the hostess of the house, a woman about forty-five or fifty years old, who suffered much from arctic hysteria. Suddenly one of the young Yakut ran away towards the open country, which was covered with snow, and began to loosen his trousers, pretending to put snow in them. The Yakut woman at once followed, and filled her trousers with snow. Then she felt cold; and when the snow on her body melted, and the rogue ran away, she hurried to the house (yurta), seized a knife, and began to search for the man who caused her this annoyance and trouble; but he had managed to hide himself.

I shall mention two more episodes in my observations of this old woman. Once she told me a Yakut tale, which I translated into Russian through my interpreter. The tale was of an indecent character; and each time the woman mentioned the female sexual organs, she used to point to her own, in spite of the fact that each time she caused laughter among the people in the house, and her grown-up son would blushing tell her not to do so. Her own tale acted on her as an hypnotic suggestion.

Another time I threw a torn letter into the fire. The woman at once ran to the fireplace and put her hand into the fire to save the paper; and when the paper turned into ashes, she continued to seize the cinders and the burning embers. She had to be carried away from the fire forcibly, lest she should actually burn her hands. I was astonished to see that she had received only very insignificant burns. Her foolish acts were evoked by the idea, born in her head, that it is necessary to save paper, which is a precious thing in the far Northeast, although I threw it in intentionally, and she saw that the paper was already burned.

The consciousness of the patients, in cases of arctic hysteria, that their actions are the results of outside suggestions, which their sickly will is unable to withstand, makes them angry with the people who give the suggestions, and they always see in them intentional malice. It is not the author of the suggestion, however, who makes them act.

At the moment of the suggestion the patient's brain seems to work independently in two directions, — automatically or by reflex, and consciously in its higher centres. The reflectory half submits without control to the suggestion; but the conscious half, although suppressed, and powerless to counteract the automatic action, is still able to fight the supposed hypnotizer. Usually the protest of the conscious half of the mind follows after the reflectory act, but

sometimes it manifests itself with such strength that it stops the reflectory act while in progress. Often the patients rush at the authors of the suggestion with a knife, axe, or any other weapon ready at hand, whether the suggestion be made purposely or involuntarily. It is therefore somewhat dangerous to try experiments with patients when there are no people to stop their outbursts of resentment. I witnessed many such scenes, and in a few cases have myself been the object of the patients' irritation, which did not end in violence, solely because the conscious part of their minds still retained control of their actions. In the eyes of the natives, I was too important a man to be assaulted or struck with impunity. In one case a Yukaghir woman, being frightened by the crack of the shutter of my camera, rushed, not at me, but at my cossack, who was standing by, at the same time exclaiming the names of the male sexual organs, and trying to take hold of his. She must, then, have consciously transferred her anger from me, who was the cause of her fright, to another person, who could be assaulted.

To a considerable degree the manifestation and force of the protest depend on the patient's temperament. In the case of the woman who carried the fish away in her mouth, the quiet and meek old woman only asked the cossack who had suggested the act to discontinue his tricks. Very often the people who have given the suggestion, especially those who have done it purposely, save themselves from the wrath of their victims by means of contrary commands. I happened to witness cases in which a female patient would seize a knife or axe, ready to rush at her offender; but the latter would quietly say, "What are you doing? Put away the axe!" and the patient, in repeating the words, "What are you doing? Put away the axe," would drop her hand and return the axe to its place.

The manifestations of arctic hysteria would form an interesting subject of study for a specialist. I have allowed myself here merely to venture an attempt to explain my own observations by the hypothesis of suggestion in a state of consciousness.

Another manifestation of arctic hysteria, considered by the natives themselves as a symptom of the disease, is singing in one's sleep. The Yukaghir call it *yendo'jenut ya'xtei* ("sings in sleep"), the Yakut *kuturär*, and the Tungus *na'yani*. This phenomenon I observed chiefly among men. Nothing is more melancholy during the night, 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. This unconscious psychic act, unlike a dream, leaves no trace in the memory. The singer himself, when awakened, does not know that he sang, or what he sang.

Among patients suffering from arctic hysteria, especially among Yakut women, are also those who suffer from melancholia. These patients are apathetic, and indifferent to everything. They eat very little, and will sit

the whole day in silence, and with drooping head. In the majority of cases, however, the hysterical patients are restless and communicative.

I have never met a fully demented person among the Yukaghir, but there is a word in the Yukaghir language which distinguishes real mental insanity from fits of hysteria, — *el-o'men* ("without sense," "without reason"). In the autumn of the year 1900 a considerable portion of the young people, chiefly girls, were taken ill with a mental disorder of an epidemic character. The patients uttered savage sounds, tore their garments, their hair was dishevelled, they tried to drown themselves in the river, searched for knives and axes, and, when restrained by healthy Yukaghir, tore away and climbed tall larch-trees, where, during whole days at a time, they would sit on the upper branches. The Yukaghir used to keep watch at such trees. I know of this illness only from tales of the Yukaghir, as I arrived on the river Yassachna a year after this epidemic of insanity, and can therefore make no suggestion as to its direct causes; but it is possible that the illness appeared as a result of the famine from which the Yukaghir had previously suffered. A similar illness of epidemic character was observed by Pallas among girls of the Kachin Tartars.¹

NUMERATION AND MEASURES. — The Yukaghir system of numeration is based apparently on two principles, — the quinary and the tertiary. On the one hand, the number three is taken as a basis. Four (*ye'lokun* and *ya'loxloi*) means three and one; six (*malgi'yalo*) means twice three; seven (*purki'oi*) means one above (i. e., above twice three); eight (*malgi'yelo loi*) means twice four (i. e., twice three and one); but five (*i'ngan.boi*) is related to the word *xa'nbo* ("palm," "wrist," "hand," i. e., five fingers).

When I wrote the grammatical sketch of the Yukaghir language, I had not fully realized the relation of the word "finger" to the origin of certain numbers; but further study of the linguistic material has made it possible for me to prove such a relation. Thus, *ca'rxun*² means all the fingers of one hand; the second syllable, *xun*, expressing the conception "finger," and *car*, when taken separately, meaning "something." Now, let us consider the numbers *i'rkin* ("one"), *a'taxun* ("two"), *ye'lokun* ("four") and *ku'nel* ("ten"). Into all these numbers the syllable *kin*, *xun*, *kun*, which evidently signifies "finger," enters. And thus *i'rkin* (the *u* is changed here, according to rules of euphony, into *i*) ought to mean "one finger;" *a'taxun* (instead of the surd *k*, we have here the corresponding continued *x*), "two fingers;" *ye'lokun*, "three and a finger" (four). *Yalo* ("three") is, as we said before, the second basis of the numeral system. *Kunel* ("ten") may be divided into *kun n'el*, *n'e* meaning "together," *l* being the ending of a noun, and the soft *n*. being dropped

¹ See Pallas, *Reise*, III, p. 62.

² *Molo'je* means "mittens;" and *ca'rxun-molo'je*, "gloves" (i. e., mittens with fingers).

after *n*. This word, then, means "the fingers all together" (of both hands), i. e., ten. In the words *xa'nbo* ("wrist") and *inhaniboi* ("five") we have *xan* or *han* instead of *xun*. I have already spoken of the meaning of *inhan'bo*. If we take the tundra dialect, the relation between the number five and the five fingers, or the hand, is quite clear. In this dialect, "five" is *i'ndalje*, but *ča'lje* means "wrist," "hand;" and the *č* in the word *ča'lje* takes the place of *d*, because *d*¹ cannot be put at the beginning of a word unless the latter is united with another word, for instance, *čomo'dalje* (in the tundra dialect, "the Czar"), which means "a big hand."²

As mentioned before, "ten," which is *ku'nel* in the Yukaghir language, must mean the fingers of both hands. All the rest of the tens are formed by multiplying the units by ten. For instance, thirty would be *yan-ku'nel*; i. e., three tens.³ For the number one hundred they now use the Russian *sto*, which is pronounced by the Yukaghir as *icto'x*, because the Yukaghir phonetics do not admit a cluster of two consonants at the beginning of a word. In olden times they used the word *ku'nel-ku'nel*; i. e., "ten tens." Above one hundred the Yukaghir evidently could not count. For one thousand the Yukaghir use at present the Russian word, but scarcely any of the Yukaghir have a clear conception of such an immense number. In counting money the Yukaghir use, instead of one hundred rubles, the word *cogi*, which means "a bag." It must be the remnant of a translation of the Russian. A bag of coin containing a hundred rubles used to be called *meshok* (мѣшо́къ) for short, when, previous to the time of Catherine II, the current Russian money was in copper, and not in paper.

The Yukaghir use as a mnemonic device for keeping accounts notches made on sticks (*mo'ibe*). In such manner they now compose the Christian calendar of the year. Each seventh notch (i. e., the Sunday) is marked by a cross; and in the same way all the other holidays are marked.

For measuring length, the breadth of one, two, and so on, fingers is used; also the breadth of the hand, the length of a step, and the finger-reach. They call the last-named *mie'nje*.⁴ At present the Yukaghir understand the Russian *arshin* to be a measure of length.

The Yukaghir have not exact measure for defining distances. There is the word *midol*, which denotes the distance covered in a day's travel. The word is derived from *midoče*, which means "a wandering camp." It is impossible, however, to say whether *midol* means the distance passed or the time

¹ See Jochelson, Essay on the Yukaghir Grammar, (American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. VII, p. 385). In the Kolyma dialect the initial *d* is replaced by the surd *t*.

² In the Kolyma dialect the Czar is known as *Pugudanije* (i. e., "sun-chief"), the same as in the Koryak and Chukchee language. *Tiyk-Eyem* also means "sun-chief." The Yakut call the Czar *Yrxtahy*, which means "the man who is far away."

³ For a fuller account of the Yukaghir numerals, see Jochelson, Essay on the Yukaghir Grammar, I. c., pp. 385—388.

⁴ Very possibly the word *mienje* is the Russian word *miera* (мѣра).

used for the passage. Evidently distance is here defined in terms of time. Usually, when wandering, the camp starts in the morning, and settles at a new place for the night. The distance travelled during the day is called *midol*; but if the day happens to be a short one, or the camp broke up late at its old place, or put up early at the new one, then the *midol* is a small one. One of the Yukaghir explained to me in the following manner what they mean by *midol*: "We start in the morning; and when our legs get tired and become like wooden legs and cease to bend, we say that we have done a *midol*."

The Yukaghir have also a small *midol* which they have taken from the Yakut. The latter define distances by time. A distance which is done during the time it takes to boil a kettle the Yakut call *köss*. The word, in fact, means "kettle." Certainly the *köss* of a horseman, and the *köss* of a person travelling afoot, will not be equal in distance. A "kettle" is applied now to an hour, more or less, during which time a horseman will make from five to seven miles, and the pedestrian from three to four miles. The Yukaghir adopted the Yakut idea of *köss*, which they call *lu'nbuga ye'lel* (i. e., "the kettle boiled"). Also there is a simple *lu'nbuga ye'lel* and a *yexa'ye lu'nbugo ye'lel* ("the frozen kettle boiled;" i. e., a kettle with ice). This measure represents a greater interval of time than that necessary for the boiling of water. We have thus, as my interpreter Dolganoff expressed it in Russian, "a small hour and a big hour" (большой часъ и маленький часъ). *Tā mo'dox jan lu'nbuga, yele'lga*, means "Stay there during time necessary to boil three consecutive kettles;" i. e., three hours.

Certainly the question of the dimensions of the kettle and the strength of the fire must arise. It is therefore a very vague measure both of time and distance. "The boiling of a kettle" the Yukaghir call also *ya'xan midol* (i. e., Yakut *midol*), which by itself is considerably less than *o'dun-midol* (i. e., the Yukaghir *midol*). The latter really means a removal of the camp during the wandering from one night's halt to another.

When I was travelling with the Yukaghir, our *midol* (i. e., the day's journey) would fluctuate between seven and thirty-five miles, depending on the means of travel and the conditions of the trail, — whether I was travelling by reindeer, dogs, or horses; whether over a dry or marshy ground; whether on soft or frozen snow. When travelling by boat, it makes a difference whether one goes up or down the river.

DIVISIONS OF TIME. — In the Kolyma dialect, the year is called *n'e'malgil*, in the tundra dialect *cu'kunmalhel*, both of which mean "all the joints." The Yukaghir call the year so, because they reckon the months by the joints (*malgil*). The year is divided into twelve lunar months; and the month and the moon are called by the same name, *kini'je*. The beginning of the year is reckoned from the month in summer which corresponds approxi-

mately to our July. At that time the ancient Yukaghir used to go down the rivers on rafts from the upper course, where they passed the spring, to meet the fish which come up from the sea for spawning. The reckoning of the months by the joints is done in the following manner: they bend the third row of phalanges of the fingers on both hands, and put them together. The line of joining they call July. Then the knuckles of the second row of phalanges on the right hand will be August. The joints between the phalanges and metacarpals represent September; the wrist-joint is October; the elbow-joint is November; the shoulder-joint, December; between the head and backbone will be January; shoulder-joint on the left arm will be February; the elbow-joint, March; the wrist-joint, April; the joint between the fingers and the palm, May; and the knuckles of the second row of phalanges on the left hand, June.

The Yukaghir names for the months are the following: —

First month. — July, Pu'gud-o'rje kini'je (i. e., "the middle of the summer month").

Second month. — August, Yuku'-kuči'ye kini'je (i. e., "the small-mosquito month"). The mosquitoes appear then.

Third month. — September, A'nin kini'je ("the fish month"). Fishing is then taking place for the winter stock.

Fourth month. — October, O'nčien kini'je (i. e., "the wild-reindeer buck month"). This is the rutting-time of the wild reindeer.

Fifth month. — November, Ča'xa or n'ade kini'je (i. e., "autumn month").¹

Sixth month. — December, Yo'tneyedatle kini'je ("before the ridge month").

Seventh month. — January, Yo'tneye kini'je ("ridge month"). Yo'tneye means a ridge of a mountain and the spinal column (from the word yō, "head"). This month, as we saw, is denoted by the atlas, the first cervical vertebra. This month is also called Čomo'xartlije kini'je (i. e., "the great butterfly month").

Eighth month. — February, Yuku'xartli'je kini'je (i. e., "the little butterfly month").

The connection between the two winter months and the butterflies is rather strange; but here are meant the larvæ of two species of gadfly which in summer lay their eggs, one in the skin of the reindeer, and the other in its nostril.² During the winter the eggs develop into larvæ. What is strange in these names is, that the word xartli'je means neither "larva" nor "gadfly," but "butterfly." The larvæ of these gadflies are called koje. One species of gadfly (*Tabanus tarandinus*, Slunin) is called mo'lle; and the other (*Ædemagena tarandi*, Slunin), to'dinjaha.³ Perhaps it may be explained by the association of the butterfly with the gadfly, as both of them develop from a larva.

Ninth month. — March, Ci'bučien kini'je.

Tenth month. — April, Ču'oled-omni ci'lle-kini'je (i. e., "the ancient-men [cille]⁴ month").

Eleventh month. — May, Poldiče-kini'je (i. e., "leaf month").

Twelfth month. — June, Kuči'en kini'je (i. e., "the mosquito month"). The mosquito makes its appearance then.

¹ As I mentioned above, the Yukaghir months do not coincide fully with ours. The first month, which I compare to our July, really begins in the middle of our June, from the new moon. Similarly n'ade kini'je begins in our October.

² See Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 80.

³ It is not certain which of these two species is designated by the corresponding Yukaghir name.

⁴ Cille means the icy surface formed during the night on the snow, after having melted during the day. This commences in April.

Not all the Yukaghir (especially those who have been Russianized) know the names of the months. They use more often the names of periods or the seasons of the year. It is now difficult to say whether the ancient Yukaghir made some adjustment, as the Jews did by adding a month, to accommodate their lunar year to the solar one. It seems to me, from the answers which I received from the Yukaghir to my inquiries, that this point did not interest them. Generally a month is the time from one new moon to the next, but it did not matter to them whether twelve such months made up a full cycle of the year, or not. When it was necessary, they simply ignored some of the names of the months, beginning far ahead.

The Yukaghir reckon more seasons than we do. They have six. The limits of these seasons can hardly have corresponded in former times to fixed dates. They held no account of the number of days constituting a year. Being at present baptized, the Yukaghir reckon the seasons of the year according to the Greek-Orthodox holidays; and thus we have the following seasons: —

1. Pu'ge (summer), from St. Akulina (the 13th of June) to Mary's Day (8th of September).
2. Na'de (autumn), from the 8th of September to St. Michael's Day (8th of November).
3. Čie'je (winter), from the 8th of November to Purification (2d of February).
4. Po're (the first spring), from Purification to St. George's Day (23d of April).
5. Ci'lle or Ci'nle (the second spring), from the 23d of April to the beginning of snow-melting, usually to St. Nicholas's Day (the 9th of May).
6. Co'ñjile (the third spring), from the snow-melting period to St. Akulina's Day.

The Yukaghir used to take no account of weeks, and there were no names for week-days. At present they use the Russian names, — *voskresenye* (воскресенье), *ponedel'nik* (понедѣльникъ), etc. However, for Sunday they have a name of their own, *xo'inpoxo*, which means "God's day," "holiday."

Day is called *pojexo'* (i. e., "light"); and night, *e'mil'* (i. e., "darkness"). The twenty-four hours of the day are called *pojexo'-e'mil'* (i. e., "day and night"). The years are reckoned, besides by *n'e'molgil*, also by the snows (*puko'le*, which means "white" and "snow"). They say, for instance, of a child who has entered the fifth year, that "he has entered the fifth snow."

MENTAL TRAITS. — It would be difficult to judge, from present-day conditions, of the character of the Yukaghir before they came into contact with the Russians. There is no doubt that they have greatly changed under the oppression and outrages which they have had to bear. After the Kamchadal, the Yukaghir are the most timid tribe of Siberia. They comply not only with all the commands of the officials and Cossacks, but also with those of Russian merchants. This, however, is due, not alone to fear and intimidation through harsh treatment on the part of the Russians, but also to the inherent character of the Yukaghir, to their hospitality, kindness, and sociability. These traits do not at all contradict the fact that, as related in their legends,

they have been courageous and merciless on the battle-field. According to their tales, they persecuted the Tungus like wild beasts. The Yukaghir also remember a grievance a long time. On the other hand, they are always ready to share their food with any visitor at their house. In the autumn, when they have a stock of fish, the Yakut of the nearest settlements will sometimes arrive on a visit to them, travelling on foot or on horses, and stay with them for days, eating up their supply; so that, when winter approaches, the Yukaghir themselves are left without food.

They are honest and truthful. They always keep their word. If for any reason they are unable to carry out an order which they have taken upon themselves to fill (for instance, the building of a boat), they will agree to any fine which the Russian or Yakut customer may impose. Usually the Russians or the Yakut impose a fine of 100%. They themselves do not know how much they owe, and rely on the word of the merchants. Children hold it to be their duty to pay the debts and to fulfil the obligations of their dead fathers. The Russian merchants too often take advantage of this honesty of the Yukaghir.

The Yukaghir make no distinction, in their hospitality, between honored and other guests, as is done by the Yakut; and all guests are seated at one table.

However intimidated by Russian dominance the Yukaghir may be, still, in their relations with Russians, they understand how to preserve their own dignity. They do not degrade themselves. They do not beg, as the Yakut do. A hungry Yukaghir will not ask strangers for food if they themselves do not offer it. They are very sensitive. They cannot endure invectives, and are very much afraid of blows, which they consider a great insult. Towards strangers they are considerate, civil, and kind.

The Yukaghir are so used to having the Russians avail themselves of their services for nothing, and to being offered presents given with the intention of demanding something of greater value in return, that they were astonished to find me paying them for their services, and at the beginning accepted my presents with great suspicion. When I asked them how much they wanted for this or that work, they would always leave it to my judgment. During the whole time of my dealings with the Yukaghir, I did not have a single misunderstanding with them. On the contrary, they considered me as their benefactor, because they were convinced that I might have made use of their services without remuneration. On the other hand, if I treated them to any meal, or gave them provisions, they would regard that in a matter-of-fact way. They did not beg anything of me, but accepted such articles as bread, sugar, flour, as their rightful due. According to their way of thinking, "a man who possesses provisions must share them with those who do not possess them." They expressed the greatest thanks to me by saying,

"You are our father, and therefore you feed us." In 1901, when a real famine began on the Yassachna River, the Yukaghir had only to tell me their position, and I offered them help without being asked. The Yukaghir evade making requests, for the reason, also, that a refusal is considered by them as a great slight. Whenever I wanted to take plaster casts of the living, no one refused my request to sit down for that purpose; but the majority, especially women, implored me not to subject them to this process, because they were afraid. And from nervous persons we had to forego taking not only masks, but even photographs.

LANGUAGE. — I shall not speak here of the phonetics and grammatical structure of the Yukaghir language. The student will find these more or less fully treated in my "Essay on the Grammar of the Yukaghir Language."¹ Here I will only point out that this language differs morphologically in many respects from the languages of the Ural-Altaic group; that it has much in common with other paleo-Asiatic languages, and a certain similarity with some of the American languages. Lexically, however, the materials of the Yukaghir language have not yet been fully enough compared with other Siberian dialects and linguistic groups to judge how much it has in common with one or the other language. I do not take into account here a certain number of Russian, Yakut, or Tungus words that have been borrowed by the Yukaghir, and which were fully ascertained in my lexical materials at a comparatively recent date. I speak only of the identity of the original themes of the Yukaghir language and those of some other language; that is to say, of such identity as would enable one to speak of the common origin of these languages, regardless of differences in their grammatical construction. And so long as such identity has not been established, we are obliged to say that the Yukaghir language, in its grammar and lexical material, occupies an isolated position.

Before I undertook the investigation of the Yukaghir language, the opinion prevailed that it was completely extinct. Among those who held this opinion was Baron v. Maydell, who mistook the tundra dialect of the Yukaghir for the Tungus language. Melikoff, another traveller among the Russian officials who visited the Yukaghir on the Yassachna River in 1892, while on his way from the Kolyma region to Gishiga, says, in his report to the Governor, that these Yukaghir have forgotten their native language, and use the Lamut dialect; but my investigations have completely proved the existence of two independent dialects, — the Kolyma and the tundra dialect. The first is spoken among the Yukaghir, and the Lamut who live with them, on the rivers Yassachna and Korkodon. The second is used by the Yukaghir

¹ See *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XVI, Part II, March 1905 (reprinted as a supplement to the *American Anthropologist*, April-June, 1905).

and Yukaghirized Tungus, on the tundra between the Kolyma and Indighirka Rivers. When I first visited the Yukaghir at the mouth of the Omolon River, in the years 1895-96, there were few among the Russianized Yukaghir of the First Omolon Clan who still knew their native tongue, and on the middle course of the Omolon River half of the Second Omolon Clan still spoke Yukaghir. In 1902 these Yukaghir-speaking persons at the mouth of the Omolon had all died; and the Second Omolon Clan tragically perished in 1897 from famine, accompanied by cannibalism.¹

According to the census of 1897, about 9% of the Yukaghir still speak their native tongue, and 307 Tungus consider one or the other Yukaghir dialect as their mother-tongue. These are mostly Yukaghirized Tungus of the Betil Clan (165 souls), living on the tundra west of the Kolyma River. It is remarkable that, although these Tungus have preserved certain traditions of their Tungus origin and their removal from the Yakut Province to the Kolyma Tundra, yet they assert, "Mit-arū' o'dud-arū" and "mit o'dulño-jeili;" i. e., "our language is the Yukaghir language," and "we are Odul" (i. e., "Yukaghir"). When I told this to the Yukaghir on the Yassachna River, they were indignant at such pretensions. When I afterwards took my interpreter Dolganoff from the Yassachna River to the tundra, he used to have hot disputes with the Yukaghirized Tungus concerning their pretensions. He used to contend that they were not Odul; but they answered him, that he was not an O'dul', but a Kohime. At first Dolganoff and the tundra Yukaghir and Tungus did not understand one another, so different are their dialects; and they had to converse in the Yakut or Tungus language, with which both parties are familiar. From this time on, there arose between them something like a Yukaghir jargon. Dolganoff really spoke his own dialect, and the tundra men their own; but they learned to understand each other, although the phonetics and the lexical material in the one dialect of the Yukaghir language are somewhat different from those of the other dialect.

The Yukaghir between the Indighirka and Yana Rivers became Tungusized, having adopted the Tungus language; but in their Tungus language they preserved a certain number of Yukaghir words. Besides, the names of the rivers, lakes, and other places, testify to the prevalence there, in the past, of the Yukaghir language. It is curious that this Tungus language still continues to be called by the local Russians "the Yukaghir," and the tundra Yukaghir dialect between the Kolyma and Alaseya Rivers, on the contrary, is taken to be the Tungus language. From this it can be seen that it is impossible to rely on popular classification for the definition of a dialect. Both Baron v. Maydell and Melikoff, whom I mentioned before, evidently relied on definitions furnished by the Cossacks who accompanied

¹ See pp. 54, 55.

them. On the other hand, the enumerators of the census of 1897 to the west of the Indighirka River have shown the spoken language of the Yukaghir to be the Yukaghir, and not the Tungus language. — S. Patkanoff, who edited this statistical material in St. Petersburg, inadvertently repeated the same mistake,¹ but, after having acquainted himself with my data, corrected it in one of his later works.² To the west of the Yana River the Yukaghir underwent a second assimilation. After having been assimilated with the Tungus, they, together with the Tungus, adopted the Yakut language, which they now use exclusively.

It is interesting to note, that, besides the one or other language which the Yukaghir consider as their own, the majority of them understand also the language of their neighbors. Thus, the Yukaghir on the Korkodon speak, besides the Yukaghir language, Tungus, and some of them Yakut. The Yukaghir on the Yassachna River speak the Yukaghir, Yakut, and most of them the Tungus language. The Yukaghir and Tungus on the tundra are true polyglots. They understand the Yukaghir, Tungus, Yakut, and Chukchee languages. To the west of the Indighirka they speak the Tungus and Yakut languages, and to the west of Yana River only the Yakut. The Russianized Yukaghir, who have forgotten their native tongue, speak, besides Russian, the tongues of the neighboring natives, like the Yakut, Tungus, or Chukchee.

In adopting foreign words, the Yukaghir language assimilated them in accord with the laws of its own phonetics and grammatical word-formation. For instance, the Russian words *starukha* (старуха, "old woman") and *sto* (сто, "hundred"), on account of the absence of consonantic clusters at the beginning of a word in the Yukaghir language, were changed into *teri'ke* and *ičto*. In the first case, the first consonant, *s*, is dropped; in the second case, a vowel is added. In their further modifications, these words receive, according to the laws of the Yukaghir grammar, their case-endings and verb suffixes and prefixes. Thus *teriken* means "to have an old woman" (i. e., to have a wife, to be married).

The foreign words which the Yukaghir language assimilated belong mostly to things with which the Yukaghir became familiar through one or the other tribe; for instance, the cross, incense, tin, silver, etc. But there are also a number of things for which, when first acquainted with them, the Yukaghir invented their own words. Thus, having become acquainted through the Yakut, like the American tribes through the Europeans, with the horse, the Yukaghir called that animal, not by the Yakut word "at," but by the expression *ya'xad-āče* (i. e., "the Yakut reindeer"). The Russian *ружье* ("gun")

¹ See S. Patkanoff, *Essai d'une statistique et d'une géographie des peuples paléasiatiques de la Sibérie*, St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 42.

² S. Patkanoff, *Essay on the Geography, etc.* (see p. 16, Footnote 2), Part 2, p. 176.

they called "kukud-eye" (i. e., "the devil's bow"). The photographic apparatus which they saw for the first time with me, they called by the expressive term,

yan	no'incyē	ponxo	ceulga	coromod	aibi	todutelbon
three	legged	white	stone on	man's	shadow	drawing one

(i. e., "[the] three-legged-white-stone [i. e., glass]-on-man's-shadow-drawing"), or "the tripod that draws the man's shadow to the glass."

III. — CAMPS, VILLAGES, AND CLANS.

TERRITORY OF THE WANDERING REINDEER YUKAGHIR. — The Reindeer Yukaghir wander in the northern part of the Kolyma and Verkhoyansk districts in the province of Yakutsk. They wander at present in company with Tungus or Lamut,¹ but there are always two or three kindred families together.

The Reindeer Yukaghir of the Kolyma District. — In the Kolyma district we find two clans of Reindeer Yukaghir, — one the First Alaseya Yukaghir Clan (Первый Алазейский юкагирский родъ), which in the Yukaghir dialect is called Alayi-omok; and the other known officially as the Mountain-Yukaghir Clan, or the Second Alaseya Yukaghir Clan (Каменно-юкагирский or Второй Алазейский юкагирский родъ), called by the Yukaghir Erbetken-omok² (i. e., "the Goose Clan").

These two clans wander in company with the two Yukaghirized Tungus clans, — the Betil Clan (Бетильский родъ, the Yakut call this clan Хаһай, and they call themselves Va'haharil) and the Second Mountain-Lamut Clan (Второй Каменно-ламутский родъ). However, the First Alaseya Clan, as a rule, keeps closer to the Big Chukchee River, and the Goose Clan wanders along the western bank of the Alaseya River with the Second Mountain-Lamut Clan. Some of the families wander as far west as the Indighirka River. Between the Alaseya and Big Chukchee Rivers is located the Betil Tungus Clan. This is the most numerous of the four tundra clans. The Second Mountain-Lamut Clan, which calls itself Хо'dejil-omo'k', is often designated, in the official documents of the last century, as a Yukaghir clan. The Tungus origin of this clan is not quite definitely established. According to their traditions, the Хо'dejil-omok' migrated to their present abode from the eastern bank of the Kolyma River.

¹ Every one now agrees that the Tungus and Lamut are only various groups of Tungus, and not separate tribes. I am not going to enlarge now upon speculations as to the origin of these names, or to attempt any etymological parallels, as has been done by other authors. I wish merely to define which groups in the respective regions are called Tungus, and which Lamut. According to the usual explanation in ethnographic literature, the word "Lamut" is derived from the Tungus word "Lam," which means "sea," although "sea," in Yakut, is called "nam." As a matter of fact, the maritime members of this tribe inhabiting the Okhotsk and Gishiga districts are there known as Tungus, and not as Lamut; but the Tungus who in their homes in the Okhotsk and Gishiga districts are called Tungus by the Russians, when they come to the Kolyma River, are called by the local dwellers (the Russians and Yakut) Lamut. In the districts of Yakutsk Province, the Russian and Yakut call those Tungus tribes who live on the border, and travel on sledges, Tungus; while they call all those who live in the mountains, and ride on reindeer, Lamut. The Yukaghir, however, do not distinguish between Tungus and Lamut, and call them by the general name Erpe'ye.

² Erbetken is a Tungus word.

These four clans — two Yukaghir and two Tungus — wander over the tundra between the Kolyma River and the ridge which separates the Alaseya and its tributaries from the Indighirka.

On the approach of winter, at the end of October or in the beginning of November, these clans move towards the south, as far as latitude 68°, and pitch their winter tents in the woods just south of the tundra, not far from the winter settlements of the polar Yakut. Here the northern larch-tree yields them fuel for their hearth, and shelter from snow-drifts and northern gales. However, even during the winter they change their quarters two or three times, kindred families keeping together. A camp consists of two or three tents. In April, with the approach of the polar spring, the four clans begin to move towards the north, to the open tundra. Here they catch fish in the lower courses of the rivers and in the tundra lakes, but they stay at a distance of seventy or a hundred miles from the sea. The Reindeer Yukaghir do not hunt sea-mammals. The seacoast between the Kolyma and Indighirka is occupied in the summer by Reindeer Chukchee who have but few reindeer, and consequently are obliged to hunt seals for their subsistence. However, a few of the Reindeer-Yukaghir families of the tundra go fishing as far as the estuaries of the Alaseya and Big Chukchee Rivers.

The First Alaseya Clan, or Alayi-omok', according to the ninth census taken in 1850, numbered 99 persons (51 males, 48 females); at the time of the tenth census, in 1859, it consisted of 86 persons (37 males, 49 females); and in the census of 1897 only 33 persons (18 males, 15 females) were counted. The Second Alaseya Clan, or Goose Clan, consisted, in 1850, of 58 souls (27 males and 31 females); and in 1897 only 13 persons (6 males and 7 females) were counted.

We thus see that these two Yukaghir clans are decreasing in number, and are on the eve of extinction. To give an idea of the whole nomadic population of the tundra between the Alaseya Ridge and the Kolyma River, I shall state here the numbers of Yukaghirized Tungus of this tundra, not counting the Chukchee.

The Second Mountain-Lamut Clan, as it is now called in the official returns, or Xo'dejil-omo'k', numbered, in 1850, 151 persons (81 males, 70 females); in 1859 the clan consisted of 141 persons (75 males, 66 females); and in 1897 there were only 62 persons (32 males, 30 females).

The Betil Tundra Clan numbered, in 1850, 287 persons (150 males, 137 females); in 1859, 264 persons (131 males, 133 females); and in 1897, 165 persons (90 males, 75 females).

When we compare the total population of all the four tundra clans in 1850 (595) with that for 1897 (274), we find that during forty-seven years these clans lost 54% in strength, and some of the clans a greater number. Thus the Second Alaseya Yukaghir Clan, or the Goose Clan, lost 76%.

Later on, I shall refer in more detail to the relation of the number of men in the Yukaghir clans to the number of persons in the clans who pay tribute (yassak). For the present I merely mention the figures which concern the relation between the number of tribute-payers and the actual number of men in these tundra clans. Thus, according to the census of 1897, the total number of the male population was 146. Out of these, more than half were under eighteen years or over fifty years of age, and therefore not obliged to pay the tribute. At the same time, on the basis of the old lists, they have to pay the tribute of 164 men. In the separate clans the payment is distributed as follows: —

1.	18 men of the First Alaseya Yukaghir Clan	pay for	22 men
2.	6 " " " Second Alaseya Yukaghir Clan	" "	13 "
3.	32 " " " Xo'dejil-omok'	" "	46 "
4.	90 " " " Betil Clan	" "	83 "
<hr/>			
	146 men	pay for	164 men.

Thus, only in the last clan is the total number of men still somewhat greater than the number of those for whom they have to pay taxes.

Among the Reindeer Yukaghir in the Kolyma district must be included a part of the Second Omolon Clan (Второй Омолонский родъ), which has become Lamutized, and has joined the Lamut in their wanderings over the mountains between the rivers Omolon and the Big Anui. In company with the Lamut, they sometimes move to the Anadyr River. As to the fate of the other portion of this clan, — those who have no reindeer, — I shall speak later. According to the census of 1859, this clan numbered 59 persons (30 males, 29 females), among whom 11 had to pay tribute. In 1897, according to the census, taken for statistical purposes, not for taxation, there were only 48 persons (26 males, 22 females). At present this clan has decreased by almost half.

The Reindeer Yukaghir of the Verkhoyansk District. — According to the official lists, there are five clans in the district of Verkhoyansk. Of these, four wander on the tundra and on the hills near the lower course of the Indighirka, as well as on the tundra to the west of the Indighirka, and in the basin of the river Khroma (Хрома). The fifth — namely, the Omoloi Clan — wanders near the lower course of the Yana River and in the Omoloi basin. Like the tundra clans located between the rivers Kolyma and Indighirka, these clans also move northwards to the sea in summer, and in winter towards the border of the forests, where they meet the polar Yakut. They, too, wander in company with the Lamut, whose language they have now adopted. It is somewhat doubtful whether these two clans are really of Yukaghir origin.

The Mountain-Yukaghir Clan (Каменно-юкагирский родъ) wanders chiefly between the rivers Khroma and Yana. This is at present the most numerous

Yukaghir clan. In 1859 it numbered 359 persons (201 males, 158 females). In the census of 1897 it consisted of only 191 persons (107 males, 84 females). These Yukaghir call themselves "Dutki."¹

The Omoloi Clan (Омолойскій родъ), which ranks second in regard to numbers, wanders on the lower portion of the Yana River, between the Yana and the Omoloi Rivers, as well as to the west of the Omoloi River. Since these people live among the Yakut or in their immediate neighborhood, they resemble them very closely in their ways of living, and now speak the Yakut language only. In 1859 the clan numbered 238 persons (149 males, 89 females); but in 1897 it numbered only 191 persons (95 males, 96 females). As in the Kolyma district, the decrease in numbers is noticeable, but not to so great an extent. The proportion of women to men, as given in the official returns of 1859, for the Mountain-Yukaghir Clan and the Omoloi Clan, seems very strange. Thus, for the former clan it is given as 78.6 to 100; and for the Omoloi Clan, as 59.8 to 100. The improbability of so small a percentage of women leads me to distrust the official data. The returns of 1897 present a quite different proportion, especially in regard to the Omoloi Clan, in which there are 101.1 women to 100 men.

The Buyaksir Clan (Буюксирскій родъ) wanders along the lower course of the Indighirka, and reaches the river Khroma. This clan, together with the families belonging to the two clans which will be mentioned later on, spends the time from April to the autumn on the Yelon River (a tributary of the Indighirka) and on the Goose River, which flows into the Arctic Ocean. In the official records of the last century this clan is sometimes called Lamut, so that its Yukaghir origin is doubtful.

According to the returns of 1850, the Buyaksir Clan numbered 61 persons (32 males, 29 females); in 1859 it numbered 45 persons (19 males, 26 females); and in the census of 1897 it consisted of only 17 persons (10 males, 7 females).

In the Verkhoyansk district there are three other clans whose elders I saw in 1897 in their camps on the Indighirka, not far from the Yakut settlement Alaikha; and these also call themselves "Dutki" (i. e., Yukaghir). Two of them are known as Kungur clans, and one as the Tuguessir Clan. The First Kungur Clan (Первый Кунгурскій родъ) consisted, in 1859, of 241 persons (120 males, 121 females); the Second Kungur Clan (Второй Кунгурскій родъ), of 117 persons (60 males, 49 females²). The Tuguessir Clan (Тюгесирскій родъ) numbered, in the census of 1859, 47 persons (27 males, 20 females).

All these three clans wander between the Indighirka and Yana Rivers, and partly to the east of the Indighirka River as far as the river Alaseya.

¹ See p. 20.

² This number cannot now be verified. There is a discrepancy of eight persons in the total. — Ed.

They are quite assimilated by the Tungus, and it is very difficult to say what their real origin is, — Tungus or Yukaghir. The official designation of them as "Yukaghir" does not prove their origin. In the Verkhoyansk district there are two Tungus clans that have the same designation. One of them is known as the First Tungus Kungur Clan, and the other as the Tuguessir Tungus Clan; but both of them wander more to the south than do the Yukaghir clans of the same name. Some of the Yukaghir of the First Kungur Clan told me of a tradition which relates that at one time they and the Tungus of the First Kungur Clan formed one clan. It is probable that a part of the Tungus Kungur Clan, after having removed to the north and intermixed with the Yukaghir, formed a separate group. At the same time, the Yukaghir who entered this group have adopted the Tungus language and customs; but still the group is known as one of the Yukaghir. Very probably the same thing happened with the Second Yukaghir Kungur Clan and the Tuguessir Clan. Patkanoff, in his work on the Tungus, does not hesitate to include them among the Tungus.¹ Patkanoff gives no numbers of the census of 1897 for each of these clans separately, but he gives the total amount for all the Kungur clans (including the Yukaghir and Tungus) of the Verkhoyansk district, which is 469 (248 males, 221 females); whereas in the year 1859, according to the census, the combined Kungur clans numbered 702 persons. Thus we see that these clans have also considerably decreased in numbers during the interval of 38 years between the years 1859 and 1897, and at the later date there remained only 67% of the former population.

In enumerating the remnants of clans of the Reindeer Yukaghir, the Reindeer Chuvantzy must also be added. In the census of 1897 there were 177 persons (92 males, 85 females). The majority of them (144 persons) wandered in the Anadyrsk district along the upper courses of the Anadyr River and its tributaries, visiting sometimes the valley of the river Omolon. A small number, about fifteen, wandered in the basin of the Penshina River among the Koryak; and eighteen persons, among the Chukchee in the Kolyma district. According to the census of 1859, there were then in the Kolyma district 253 Chuvantzy (134 males, 119 females)² of the Khodynski Clan. It seems to me that the great difference between the number for the year 1859 and that for 1897 must be ascribed not only to the high rate of mortality, but also to the emigration of a part of this clan to the Anadyr district. Unfortunately there are no data available concerning the number of Reindeer Chuvantzy in the Anadyr district at the time of the census of 1859.

SETTLEMENTS OF THE DOG-BREEDERS OR THE RIVER YUKAGHIR. — In speaking

¹ See S. Patkanoff, *An Essay on Geography and Statistics of the Tungus Tribes*, Vol. I, Part. II.

² See the *Note-Book for the Yakutsk Province* (Yakutsk, 1863), p. 120 [*Памятная Книжка Якутской Области*, Якутск, 1863].

of the settlements of the River Yukaghir, the winter settlements are the ones principally referred to. In the spring the Yukaghir of the Verkhne-Kolymsk region wander as hunters; and in the summer they follow the river from one fishing-place to another until autumn, when they settle for the winter. The Russianized Yukaghir and Chuvantzy on the Lower Kolyma and the Anadyr Rivers have in summer, in the majority of cases, more or less permanent dwellings along the river where they fish, or they move from one fishing-place to another in boats. In winter, however, they live in permanent settlements.

Kolyma District. — In the region of the Upper Kolyma lives at present a clan called the Hare Clan (Ушканский or Заячий родъ; Yukaghir, Čol-go'rod-omo'k'). Until 1850 there were three clans, — the Fish Clan (Рыбий родъ; Yukaghir, A'nid-omo'k'), who lived chiefly on the river Korkodon; the Sledge Clan (Нартенный родъ; Yukaghir, Mejid-omo'k'), who lived on the Popova River; and the Hare Clan, who lived chiefly on the River Yassachna. Afterwards these three clans, on account of their small numbers, were incorporated into one, under the name of the "Hare Clan." In 1859 this combined clan numbered 112 persons (50 males, 54 females¹); but when the census of 1897 was taken, there remained only 79 persons (37 males, 42 females). These 79 people, with 80² (35 males, 45 females) Yukaghirized Lamut of the Second Mountain-Delian Clan (Второго Каменно-Делянского рода), now live, during the coldest season (from the middle of September to February), in dwellings which are log-huts built in Russian fashion, or in half underground huts with ice windows. The greater number of the above-mentioned population (a little above two-thirds) live along the Yassachna River during the winter, forming a few small settlements within a space of seven miles, beginning at the mouth of the river Nelemna, which flows into the Yassachna about fifty miles to the south of Verkhne-Kolymsk. The lesser number live on the river Korkodon, in a settlement situated about seventy miles from the mouth of the river, at the mouth of the Rassokha River. Besides these, one or two families spend the winter near the mouth of the Korkodon, and one family lives near the mouth of the river Popova. In February the Yukaghir of the Hare Clan, together with the Lamut who live with them, leave their permanent dwellings and start on their wanderings, with the object of hunting in the valleys of various rivers. They then divide into groups, each of which, according to a mutual arrangement, wanders in a separate place. Thus they live along the banks of the rivers Kolyma, Yassachna, Korkodon, Popova, and the tributaries of these rivers. In the summer the groups which have been wandering apart re-unite, going in their boats down the various rivers and their tributaries, and meeting at the chief

¹ This number cannot now be verified. There is a discrepancy of eight persons in the total. — Ed.

² According to the census of 1897.

rivers, the Yassachna and Korkodon. Here, during the summer, they live in skin tents, and go from place to place in boats, fishing, until the time comes for settling in winter quarters. In this way these Yukaghir wander the greater part of the year, and are settled for only four months or a trifle longer.

Like the Reindeer Yukaghir, the Hare Clan is on the verge of extinction. My data for 1902 as to the number of Yukaghir in the Hare Clan almost coincide with the data of the census for 1897; but according to information which I received from the Kolyma district after 1902, when I left, they suffered for several seasons from famine, on account of which their numbers have decreased. In the spring of 1904 there was a famine, during which a group of ten Yukaghir, who formed two families, came to a particularly tragic end. The famine was the result of an unsuccessful hunt along the river Popova, and seven of them succumbed and died. Then only the Yukaghir Alexei Spiridonoff, his young daughter, and a nephew, remained. At the entreaties of the girl, the father killed the nephew, and he and his daughter fed on the body. Shortly afterward the summer birds began to arrive, and Spiridonoff chanced to kill a swan. They still continued to eat the boy, however, having acquired a taste for human flesh. Then they met another famishing group of natives. At first the Yukaghir tried to conceal the horrible fact of his cannibalism, but soon the Russian authorities learned it from the Yakut, and Spiridonoff was brought a prisoner to Sredne-Kolymsk. I knew him well. He was a poor huntsman, but a quiet, inoffensive man, who was beloved by the Yukaghir.

The Second Omolon Clan. — As we have already seen,¹ the greater part of this clan became Lamutized, and wandered about with the Lamut. There were only four families, numbering about twenty persons. They lived like the Yukaghir of the Yassachna. In the winter they settled on the Omolon, about five hundred miles from the mouth of the river, in the settlement Karboshan, and spoke the same language as the Yukaghir of the Yassachna River. This Yukaghir group no longer exists. It perished during a famine, which also ended in cannibalism, like that of the Popova River. The famine began in 1897. The adult hunters dispersed in search of food; and the old men, the women and children, who staid in the tents, began to die of starvation. Then, apparently, the elder members of the clan began to kill the children for food. Later the adults were devoured, until only one old woman was left. She was found dead in a squatting position in front of the hearth. Near her was her daughter, who had been killed by her, but had not yet been touched. Gnawed human bones and parts of human bodies were strewn about. A kettle, out of which the bones of a child's arm protruded, stood on the hearth. This picture of cannibalism, which is

¹ See p. 50.

current in tales, was described to me by a Tungus, who, in company with others, happened to come across this Yukaghir encampment. According to this Tungus, the old cannibal woman, left quite alone after killing her daughter, must have become mad, and died in a fit of madness. The tent was found overturned by the Tungus, its wooden frame, as well as the household goods and utensils, being strewn about the camp.

It seems hard to think that these natives should be left to perish thus, although a great State exacts tribute from them, which ought to establish their claim to assistance in cases of starvation due to the severity of their environment.

On my first expedition to the Kolyma district (1895-96) I had no opportunity of visiting the settlements of these Yukaghir; but I met one of them in the camp of a rich Chukchee reindeer-breeder, whom the Russians consider the chief of the Reindeer Chukchee. This Yukaghir, whose name was Shcherhakoff, lived in the Chukchee chief's tent as an interpreter of the Tungus dialect, but he still considered the Yukaghir language as his native tongue. My Yukaghir interpreter, Dolganoff, and I, could easily make ourselves understood by him, as he spoke the Kolyma dialect, the only difference being that he pronounced certain sounds rather harder than usual. I stated the population of this clan, when speaking of those of its members who own reindeer.

The First Omolon Clan (Первый Омолонский родъ) is at present an amalgamation of the former four Yukaghir clans, — the First Omolon Clan and the First, Second, and Third Omok Clans. I have already mentioned that Omok is not, as some authors have thought, a separate tribe. The word "Omok" means "clan," and is added by the Yukaghir to the names of all their clans. The Russian conquerors, however, for some reason, applied it only to three clans of the Lower Kolyma region. Until their amalgamation with the First Omolon Clan, these clans were designated in the official lists under the name "Omok." In the census of 1897 they were still returned separate from this last clan. The history of their incorporation into one clan is connected with the question of the tribute. When considering the history of the Yukaghir, it may be seen how injurious to the welfare of the tribe in general this tribute was, and how it hastened the gradual extinction of the clan. For the present it will suffice to say that the number of tax-payers was regulated by the census returns. The census was repeated periodically, and was undertaken to ascertain the number of people liable to taxation. The number of men in each clan between the ages of eighteen and fifty was taken, because they were subject to the payment of tribute. No alterations could be made in the number of tax-payers during the interval between two enumerations; so that if some of them died, and no new men replaced them, the remaining population — or, to express it more clearly,

the clan as a whole — had to pay the tax due from the dead until the next census. The last poll-census taken in Russia with this fiscal object in view, was in 1859; and, as the extinction of these four clans has been going on ever since, the number of men obliged to pay tribute when I first visited the Kolyma was several times less than the number given in the returns of the poll-census of 1859. To what extent the population of the four Yukaghir clans have decreased between the years 1859 and 1897, when a general census was undertaken for purely statistical purposes, the following table, which I have compiled, will show: —

	No. of Tax-Payers (Census of 1859)	Population, 1859.			Population, 1897.		
		Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
First Omolon Clan	36	61	58	119	10	6	16
First Omok Clan	24	51	41	92	18	12	30
Second Omok Clan	14	23	31	54	1	6	7
Third Omok Clan	19	34	38	72	14	12	26
Total . . .	93	169	168	337	43	36	79

We may see from this table that the population of the four clans between the years 1859 and 1897 decreased 77%, and the number of tax-payers alive in 1897 was four or even five times less than in 1859. One clan, the Second Omok, was liable for 14 men, when in fact no one was taxable, because the only man entered in the returns of 1897 was an old man over fifty, and, according to law, he was not obliged to pay the tribute. Being the only man in the clan, the local authorities made him an elder; and in order to be able to pay tribute for all the dead men, this elder had to hire himself out as a laborer. Naturally the obligation to pay tribute for those who were dead hastened the extinction of the clans. Hunters are compelled to spend all their energy in getting furs for the tribute instead of procuring food for their families. On my first visit to the Kolyma, I presented a petition to the authorities on behalf of the elders of the four clans. The elders asked to be exempt from payments for the dead. The petition passed through all the various stages of the bureaucratic administration, and finally reached the Senate, which refused the request of the petitioners on the ground that the dead could only be exempted from taxation by a new census. To avoid this bureaucratic formality, I advised the Yukaghir to ask the authorities to combine the four clans, on account of their reduced population, into one clan, with one elder. To this the higher authorities consented. The population of the four clans was revised, and the number of people in the new clan verified, and only then did the Yukaghir of these

four clans discontinue to pay for the dead; but the other Yukaghir clans still remain in the same position.

All the four clans mentioned here, now forming the single First Omolon Clan, have long been Russianized. In 1859, at the mouth of the river Omolon, there were still two men living who knew the Yukaghir language, but they are now dead. They spoke the same dialect as the Yukaghir of the Yassachna and Korkodon Rivers.

The First Omolon Clan lived, summer and winter, at the mouth of the Omolon River. At the end of the winter the families of this clan wandered with their dogs up the Omolon and its tributaries, hunting elk, wild reindeer, and mountain-sheep. When the ice broke up, they went down the Omolon in canoes and on rafts to its mouth.

The First Omok Clan wandered along the Big Anui; the Second and Third Omok Clans wandered principally along the Dry Anui and its tributaries. Some families went to the Kolyma River, or wandered to the Big Baranikho River, or reached the Anadyr. At present these Yukaghir have so declined in vigor that they have almost given up wandering, and hunting wild reindeer, elk, and fur-bearing animals, and remain the year round in their settlements with the Russians, relying for their food on what fishing they can do in the summer-time. Thus the First Omolon Clan lives in a village at the mouth of the Omolon, and the other three clans live in Nishne-Kolymsk and other Russian settlements along the lower part of the river Kolyma. These pitiable and perishing remnants of the former four clans now constitute the First Omolon Clan.

ANADYR DISTRICT. — In the Anadyr district, according to the census of 1897, there were 81 permanent Yukaghir inhabitants (38 males, 43 females). The greater part of this number, 43 persons (20 males, 23 females), lived in the village of Markova. The rest lived in other settlements on the Anadyr, among the Chuvantzy and Russians. These Yukaghir have become entirely Russianized, and constitute a "Yukaghir Community" (Юкагирское Общество), and not a clan. They are the descendants of the Kolyma Yukaghir, who at various times emigrated to the Anadyr, and who formerly belonged to the Omolon and Omok Clans.

To the River Yukaghir I will add here also the permanent Chuvantzy settlers, who have now become quite Russianized. In the Anadyr district, during the census of 1897, there were 262 (136 males, 126 females) Chuvantzy settlers.

They have lost their clan name, and constitute the so-called "Chuvantzy Community" (Чуванское Общество). The greater part of them, 147 persons (75 males, 72 females), lived in the village of Markova, forming 46% of the whole permanent population of this village. The rest of the population consists of Russians (Cossacks, local traders, and merchants) and of small

Russianized divisions of other tribes, — Yukaghir, Koryak, and Chukchee. The rest of the settled Chuvantzy live in other places on the Anadyr River. Thus they form the majority among the inhabitants of the villages Yeropol, Oselkina, Soldatovo, and others.

On the Kolyma River there were entered 13 Russianized Chuvantzy settlers (7 males, 6 females), who live in Nishne-Kolymsk or in the villages near by.

The figures which I gave as the Yukaghir population for the present time and for the year 1859 (except for a few groups, for which I have no comparative numbers) are sufficient proof that the Yukaghir are on the verge of extinction. We certainly do not know what their population was before their meeting with the Russians. The traditions of the Yukaghir represent them as a very numerous tribe; they relate that the Yukaghir fires have been as numerous as the stars in the firmament on a winter's night. The smoke of the Yukaghir hearths was so thick that the migrating birds flying overhead in swarms could not be seen, and the aurora borealis was a reflection of the Yukaghir camp-fires. The Yakut, even at present, call the northern lights Yukaghir-oto, which means "the Yukaghir fire."

These traditions must certainly not be taken as literally true. The Yukaghir idea of density of population does not at all correspond to our own. It seems likely that the Yukaghir have never been a very numerous tribe. As a hunting-tribe they could not have numbered many; and the constant wars, the frequent famines and diseases, were not favorable to any great increase. However, though we do not know even approximately what their former numbers were, we may say that their former population was many times larger than the present one. It will be of interest to reproduce here the data mentioned by Krasheninnikoff concerning the number of Yukaghir who paid tribute; i. e., the number of adult men. These data relate to the first half of the eighteenth century, and concern only some of the localities inhabited by this tribe. At that time the tribute had to be paid in the following fortified settlements: —

	Men.
1. In Sashiversk by	86
2. In Podshiverskoye or Sredne-Indighirskoye	32
3. In Uyadinskoye or Nishne-Indighirskoye	57
4. In Alaseiskoye	50
5. In Sredne-Kolymsk	25
6. In Nishne-Kolymsk	32
7. In Verkhne-Kolymsk	43
8. In Anadyr fortress.	31
Total	356 men.

Taking the average of a family as three members (women, children, and men over fifty years of age) to each adult hunter, then the number 356

should be multiplied by 4, if we wish to obtain the number of the whole Yukaghir population of the above-mentioned localities. The number would then be 1424. In this number, the Yukaghir of the Kolyma tundra, of the country between the Indighirka and Lena, as well as of the country between the Kolyma and Anadyr, the Chuvantzy, and the Anaul, are not included. Besides, the number 356 was undoubtedly less than the real number of adult males in the localities indicated above, because at that time there were many persons of whom the collectors knew nothing. It may be said that even about the middle of the eighteenth century, when a part of the Yukaghir tribe had already perished by small-pox and other infectious diseases brought by the Russians, the Yukaghir still had a population four times larger than the number 1424, obtained by me; that is, something more than 5,000.

However, on the basis of the census of the year 1897, we are able to present the following table: —

	Yukaghir.		Chuvantzy.		
	Reindeer-Breeder.	Dog-Breeder.	Reindeer-Breeder.	Dog-Breeder.	Total.
Verkhoyansk district	670 ¹	—	—	—	670
Kolyma district	85	158	18	13	274
Anadyr district	9	81	144	262	496
Gishiga district	—	—	15	—	15
Total	764	239	177	275	
Grand Total	1003		452		1455

Out of the 1455 Yukaghir and Chuvantzy, very few have preserved their ancient language. Thus, only 126 Yukaghir (47 on the Kolyma tundra, and 79 on the rivers Yassachna and Korkodon) speak Yukaghir as their native tongue. If the 307 Yukaghirized Tungus (two clans with 227 men on the Kolyma tundra, and one clan with 80 men on the rivers Yassachna and Korkodon) are added, then the total number of persons speaking Yukaghir as their native tongue is found to be only 433.

The Tungus language is the native tongue of 966 Yukaghir, and the Yakut language of 191 Yukaghir of the Verkhoyansk district. The Russian

¹ In this number are also included the population of three clans which Patkanoff (see p. 52) reasonably counts among the Tungus. I included those clans, because, whatever their origin may be, they undoubtedly contain also Yukaghir elements. Besides, some groups officially designated as Tungus are actually mixed with Yukaghir. It will therefore be no great statistical error to include these three clans among the Yukaghir, as it has been done officially.

language is now the native tongue of 169 Yukaghir and of 275 Chuvantzy, and the Chukchee or Koryak language of 177 Chuvantzy. Thus, of the total number of Yukaghir and Chuvantzy, — 1455 persons, — only 8.7% (126 persons) have preserved their own language.¹

The Russian settlements Podshiverskoye, Uyadinskoe, and Alaseiskoye, which are mentioned by Krasheninnikoff, no longer exist. The settlement Sashiversk now consists of only two or three houses inhabited by the clergy, and of a few Yakut houses; and in place of the former Anadyr fortress is now the village of Markova.

¹ See p. 45.

IV. — FAMILY LIFE.

FAMILY RELATIONS. — The present family relations of the Yukaghir have lost much of their primitive character, and have been influenced to a considerable extent by Russian civilization. This circumstance has complicated very much the investigation of a question difficult in itself, because the stages of development, and the later modifications of the marriage customs and family relations, of the tribe, have become obscured. In speaking of the stages of development, I do not mean to imply that the evolution of the family, and of the relations between the sexes, is the same for all mankind. Theories which attempt to give such a general law of evolution may be regarded at present as discredited. Customs which seemed superficially alike have proved to be of quite different origin and meaning; and it may be said that the types of marriage and sexual relations among primitive tribes, as well as among more civilized peoples, vary as much as do physical types and cultures. However, there are features common to all mankind that underlie this diversity of types of marriage. There is one continuous line which ramifies in various ways; but we cannot yet speak with certainty of this common basis, or of the causes, or the manner of formation, of the various branches that spring from this common basis. There are not yet sufficient data for deciding such questions, nor have all the materials which former investigators and theorists of family relations have utilized been authenticated. Many of these data require re-examination.

When I began to study the family relations existing among the tribes of the extreme northeast of Siberia, among them those of the Yukaghir, I was still influenced by prevailing theories, and looked, first of all, for survivals of the past which should exist according to these theories, such as survivals of promiscuity, group-marriages, matriarchate, marriage by capture; but I soon came to the conclusion that such a preconceived way might only obscure the investigation, and that in collecting facts concerning the family organization of a tribe one should certainly apply, so far as feasible, the historical method to distinguish diverse strata, and that one should free one's self of the idea of a uniform evolution of the family relations of all mankind. Entering here upon the exposition of the data which I collected concerning the family relations of the Yukaghir, I will try as far as possible to furnish facts. On the other hand, I shall not refrain from giving my own interpretation of my observations and from attempting to explain their apparent contradictions. In this investigation, knowledge of the Yukaghir language proved to be indispensable and of inestimable value.

RELATIONS OF THE SEXES. — Any one who remains for some time in a Yukaghir village at the present time may observe the free intercourse that prevails among young people before marriage; and when the traveller learns that it is the custom of the Yukaghir to assign to a guest the bed of a girl, he might conclude that the Yukaghir have no sense of jealousy, shyness, or chastity, and that there is indiscriminate intercourse of the sexes before marriage. A careful study of the sexual relations of the Yukaghir, however, will reveal that there may be found among them, as among modern civilized societies, ethical ideals, which, however, are not realized in actual life. The ideals, even of such a primitive tribe as the Yukaghir, are modesty, chastity, love, and devotion among young people; but in reality, in the majority of cases, sexual license prevails among them. Later on I shall give facts to illustrate these two tendencies. I shall not try to go back to the earliest beginnings of the feeling of love and family relationship, about which at present one can only conjecture. The way to a solution of this question, as Westermarck truly points out, lies in the study of the family among anthropoid apes. Still, it must be recognized that the co-existence of chastity and license, which I noticed not only among the Yukaghir, but also among other Siberian tribes, had its origin in remote ages and in the dual nature of man. However, among civilized nations the ideal of purity in the relations of the sexes has prevailed over the opposite tendency of sexual passion, which in one way or another still continues to exist among most civilized nations, often even in forms of refined demoralization of which primitive man, notwithstanding the apparent laxity of his morals, has no conception.

On the other hand, every contact between representatives of civilized nations and primitive tribes lowers the ideal of the latter by destroying those customs which used to restrict the freedom of sexual relations among these tribes.

But let us return to the Yukaghir. Their ideal of chastity, fidelity, and constancy of women does not include the conception of virginity. Virgin purity in a girl is not appreciated, and a young man is not at all concerned with the past of his sweetheart. There is no such thing as jealousy on account of the past. Jealousy is felt only in regard to the freedom of sexual intercourse, to which subject I shall now proceed.

Intercourse of the sexes among the Yukaghir begins very early. I knew young men of the age of sixteen or seventeen years who cohabited with girls of the same age and even younger. The youths begin to visit the tents of the girls at night from the moment of the first awakening of sexual feeling, and girls begin cohabitation with youths from the appearance of the menses. There are no ceremonies connected with the approach of the age of puberty; at least, not at the present time, after two centuries of Russian influence. But a girl who becomes mature — i. e., who has her menses, or,

as the Yukaghir say, her "red paint" (ke'ileni) — begins to be subjected to a taboo of which I shall speak later. Manhood is reckoned from the time when a youth becomes a ye'lokun-no'ineyebon ku'dečiye coro'mox ("four-legged animal killer-man"); i. e., when he becomes a hunter of big animals, such as reindeer, elk, or bear, and takes part in the hunting-expeditions of the adults. I remember a case where an old man on the river Yassachna derided a youth who courted girls, for not yet being a true hunter. "Here you are running after girls, and you have scarcely seen even a trace of such a beast," said the old man, pointing at the same time to the close-fitting sleeve of a child's combination-dress. The youths and adults who were listening to this laughed; but the youth to whom it was addressed blushed, and, without saying anything, ran out of the tent.

A girl, having reached the age of puberty, is given a separate sleeping-tent, and becomes quite free to receive visitors. When the lights in the houses of the Yukaghir are put out and the people retire, the youths quietly leave their homes and find their way to the tents of the neighboring girls. Unmarried young men very rarely pass the nights at their own homes. Certainly these visits are mostly founded on the mutual attraction of the young persons; but cases of unfaithfulness are frequent. The vacant place of a youth who has left the village for a hunt or to fish, is at once occupied by another one. When a young man finds a rival in the girl's tent, he compels him to come out and fight. The vanquished one goes off home, and the conqueror re-enters the tent. In olden times, according to the tales of the Yukaghir, rivals used to go away from the tents, and fight until one or the other was killed. Sometimes friends of the young man help him to discover and to beat his rival. Complications occasionally arise in the relations of young people of different sexes through the custom which allows a young man arriving in the village as a guest, even if married, to sleep in a girl's bed. The girl's sweetheart, unless he is her acknowledged bridegroom-elect, must submit to this custom. I happened to see some young men, when passing a strange village, or who were led there by the hunt, spend their nights in the sleeping-tents of girls. Once I was going in a boat up the river Yassachna from one village to another. When the current was too strong, the four young Yukaghir who rowed the boat had to get out on the bank and tow it. At the stern sat the elder of the Yassachna Yukaghir, who steered the boat. At a steep bank which was covered by shrubs, the men who towed the boat had to enter the water up to their belts. It was autumn, the water was cold, and the young men were not very well pleased at having to wade through: so, to encourage them, the elder said, "Lads, do not be afraid of the water; your testicles will at least be clean when you reach the girls of the village." A coarse joke like this is not in the nature of the Yukaghir, who are, generally speaking, very

bashful, and modest in their speech. But the elder was of Yakut origin on his mother's side, and, like all Yakut, liked to use obscene language. His adopted daughter, a girl of eighteen, who was also there, cast her eyes down and looked bashful. The elder was the only one who laughed at his own joke. However, this joke is founded on the customs of the tribe. I will relate one more case which is characteristic of Yukaghir custom in this respect. In the year 1896, when I arrived among the Yukaghir on the river Korkodon for the first time, having come from the river Yassachna, I put up at the tent of an old man of the village, who had a married son and two unmarried daughters. Among my fellow-travellers was my interpreter Dolganoff, a young Yukaghir from the Yassachna River, and the chief one to acquaint me with the facts regarding the intimate relations of the family life of the Yukaghir. In the evening, according to our previous arrangement, Dolganoff said to the host in my presence, "Where am I going to sleep, old man?" — "Lie down with the children" (that is, with the daughters), answered the host. As a matter of fact, the two girls had one sleeping-tent, and the young men used to visit both sisters at one time. Such visits of young men to sisters who have a common tent I observed also in other places. I will give here two more cases, which concerned me personally. On my first journey to the Yukaghir in the years 1895-96, on behalf of the Russian Geographical Society, I travelled alone, without my wife; and the Yukaghir, as I learned to understand later, felt obliged to be hospitable towards me in every respect. Once I was in the house of the elder of the Yassachna Yukaghir, already mentioned, with whom I staid for about four months to study the Yukaghir language. In this house lived another family, who, for my convenience, were temporarily removed to another house. My interpreter and a Cossack (a young man who was very successful among Yukaghir girls, to the great annoyance of the Yukaghir young men) had to sleep in other houses. The elder had no children, and, besides his old wife, had with him only an adopted daughter, a distant relative, a girl of seventeen or eighteen years. I noticed, that, as soon as I settled in the house, the nightly visits of the young men were discontinued. Afterwards I learned from my interpreter, Dolganoff, that the girl was offended at my indifference to her, and that her girl friends and the young men made fun of her. Once the hostess said to me, "It seems that among you, men can live without wives." I told her that among us, if a married man loved his wife, he remained true to her, even when away from her. "Well," answered she, "it seems that the Russians here have different customs. They go to other girls and wives, even when they have their own wives with them."

The other case was also near the river Yassachna. I was staying in the summer camp of the Yukaghir near that river, before my removal to the river Korkodon. In this village there lived the blacksmith Shaluguin,

an old Yukaghir, who had a large family, among them several daughters. The youngest was considered to be the prettiest on the river Yassachna. For a long time I intended to take her photograph in her holiday dress, and meant to do it before my departure; but, as she was then staying with her relatives in another settlement, I asked the old man to send a boat for her. In spite of the fact that I explained to the old man what I wanted his daughter for, my request was understood in another way. The girl arrived late in the evening, and I put off taking the photograph till the next morning. My canvas tent was standing near the skin tent of Shaluguin. Imagine my astonishment next morning, when, stepping out of my tent, I noticed between it and that of Shaluguin a separate small tent, which the girl was just then taking away! She was in a very angry mood, and my photographs were not successful. Afterwards my interpreter told me that the young men laughed at the girl for having uselessly put up a separate tent. When I left the river Yassachna, I received a love-letter written on bark, in ideographic characters, by both the above-mentioned girls, without any sign of jealousy; but in this letter I was also told that their unsatisfied feeling towards me was reconciled by their more happy relations with my Cossack and interpreter.

In the above-recited facts concerning the free sexual relations among the Yukaghir before marriage, two phenomena may be observed. There is obviously freedom of intercourse between young men and girls within the limits of one territorial group; the other reminds us of "hospitality-prostitution." To distinguish the true character of all these phenomena, I often inquired about them of the older men. One old man told me that in olden times the girls only admitted those young men whom they loved, but that now they admit any one who comes at night; and then he told me that a few years ago there came to stay with them two young Yukaghir from the river Omolon to woo their girls; but when they saw that the girls were so loose, they left without taking any of them. Old men, as a rule, are everywhere inclined to praise the past to the detriment of the present, and no doubt in this case also the assertions of the old man are true only in part; but this shows that there is an ideal among the Yukaghir which differs from the actual practice of real life.

To the long existence of such an ideal among the Yukaghir their language and love-songs bear testimony. Thus there are in the language special words to express ideas of love and jealousy in a girl. There are two words for the expression "to love" (yo'uleŭle and anu're), and one for the expression "to be jealous" (ki'tteč). Of a girl who is true to her beloved one, the Yukaghir say o'nmogi-irki'ei-ma'rxil' ("a girl with one thought"); and of a girl who is not true, o'nmogikiču'oje marxi'lek' ("a girl with many thoughts"). A girl who is accessible is called aya'bol' or aya'bodje marxi'lek' ("a loose

girl"), from the verb aya' ("to be gay and joyful," and "to enjoy one's self"). By the same word they call a youth who courts several girls. The word "aya'bol'" is considered as an insult; and for such a girl, according to the songs, the lads do not serve. The love-songs, which will be given later on, together with other Yukaghir texts, are striking by their poetical imagination and by their depth of feeling, and show that the primitive freedom of manners before marriage does not exclude real love, nor constancy in attachment.

The ideal of beauty as stated in these songs is not always the same as ours. For instance, the beautiful complexion of the face is likened to the yellow needles of a larch-tree in autumn; a tall, well-shaped youth is likened to a young larch-tree or to a mountain-ash; the long hair of a youth, to the black tail of the squirrel; and the hair of a girl, to threads of yellow silk. The eyebrows are described as black; and the forehead as bright, and it is likened to "the sunrise." On the other hand, a girl who is not beautiful is likened to a frog or to a wolverene in the spring; that is, during the time when it sheds its coat. These animals serve as symbols of ugliness. In the love-songs which are composed by the Russianized-Yukaghir of the lower part of the Kolyma River, we meet with a much higher order of poetical imagination, evidently due to the influence of the Russians. For instance, in one song, which was also sung to me by the Yukaghir of the Omolon, Vassily Vostryakoff, the beloved girl, is likened to a high fir-tree,¹ which no one could bend down; but the singer had conquered her, and the green meadow was their feather-bed, the bush their pillow, and the warm moving cloud their coverlet.

I also inquired from the old people about "hospitality-prostitution," but they characterized it as a perfectly innocent custom. One old woman told me that the custom of putting a guest on the girl's bed does not compel the girl to cohabit with him, but, on the contrary, that a "wise" girl will sleep without divesting herself of her apron if she does not like the guest. She ascribed the origin of the custom to the conditions of life of a hunter. Hunters, in their chase after reindeer or elk, go far away from their village; and when they arrive in a strange village with nothing but their snowshoes and bows, they are offered the girl's bed to rest on. The poor Yukaghir do not possess extra blankets and other bedding to offer to a guest, whereas the cold in the dwellings is such that the rules of hospitality require that he be offered a warm bed. The sleeping-place of married people cannot be given up to him, and the girl's bed is the only one that can be spared. Thus it is not the girl who is offered, but her warm bed for the night. If, then, on account of the freedom which the girl possesses, and of the low

¹ It should be noted that the fir-tree (Russian ель, see p. 11) does not grow at all in the Yukaghir country, which circumstance indicates that this simile has been borrowed from the Russians.

estimation of virginhood, the "hospitable bed" usually signifies cohabitation with its owner, this is not implied in the hospitable offer, but depends entirely on the girl herself. It happens that girls show no favor to their "bed-guests." My interpreter, for instance, used to complain that the girls did not like him, thinking him ugly, and calling him "black-faced" (e'bibeye n'ače) on account of his dark-brown complexion.

Hence this custom of hospitality cannot be reckoned as hospitality-prostitution by origin, although in the majority of cases it becomes so as a consequence. The cases which referred to me personally, it is true, were quite of such a character; but I think that bed-hospitality has acquired this character under the influence of Russian conquerors, and is used in this sense in relation to Russian guests. In my work on the Koryak I have described the sexual looseness prevailing in the Russian settlements in the extreme northeast of Siberia, and the probable causes of this looseness.¹ 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. At present it is even thought to be a matter of honor for a girl to be visited at night by a guest of some importance. One must conclude, then, that what was first done by violence, or at the orders of Russians, found favorable soil, and in time became a custom. The natives are thus convinced that this custom prevails in the homes of the Russians, and that everything which originates with the Russians is worth imitating, because they are thoroughly cognizant of the superiority of Russian civilization to their own.

I will relate here a case which is characteristic of what has been said. In the year 1897 I visited the estuary of the Lena River. The inhabitants consist of Yakut, and of Tungus and Yukaghir who have acquired Yakut habits. I met a Swede there, a Mr. Jorgenson, who was one of the men of Nordenskiöld's expedition, but who for some reason had remained in the estuary of the Lena. He had married a Russian, and had settled there permanently. He told me of a foreign guest who visited the country. This foreigner, when putting up at one of the native dwellings, used first of all to make a demand for women. As the natives thought him a man of great importance, and as he was liberal with his presents, they complied with his demands, which were made in such a shameless way, that even the Yakut, who are known for their lack of modesty, were astonished. Afterwards the natives asked Jorgenson whether, in the visitor's native country, there was such a custom as that of offering young women to travellers. I have cited

¹ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 733.

this case to show how the freedom of the Yukaghir girls might in certain cases acquire the appearance of hospitality-prostitution.

To this should also be added, that, so long as the girl does not become pregnant, the older people look upon the visits of the young men as upon any amusement. Certainly, the relations between the young people of both sexes usually commence in innocent games and play; but the older men, who, by the experience of their own youth, well know what these frolics are, sometimes pretend to see nothing but innocent amusement in the visits of young men to the tents of the girls.

Thus one evening I entered the house of the blacksmith, an old man, in one of the settlements on the river Yassachna. Out of the closed tent of his two unmarried daughters came laughter and conversation in the Yakut language. I recognized the voices of my Cossack and of a young Yukaghir. They conversed in Yakut, because my Cossack did not understand the Yukaghir language, nor the Yukaghir the Russian language, while Yakut is the international tongue in those regions. The old father, sitting before the fire with his pipe in his mouth, greeted me, and said, "Yuok, uo'rpe lo'donuni!" ("Listen, the children are playing!") But on my next visit to the village, when one of his daughters was expecting to be confined, and her acknowledged bridegroom repudiated the paternity, the old man grew angry with the girl, and did not allow her to be delivered in his house. Of this case I shall speak later on. In general, the young men visit the girls when the people in the house or in the summer tent are asleep, and leave before the members of the family rise in the morning.

SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP. — Before entering upon a description of marriage and other family customs, it seems best to discuss the system of relationship of the Yukaghir, because in describing these customs it will be necessary to refer to the names of various degrees of relationship.

The system of relationship (i. e., the whole set of names for all degrees of relations) is designated in the Yukaghir language by three different terms, — *coro'mimebonpe*¹ ("men of the clan"), *coro'mon-ulpe* ("relatives"), and simply *le'pul'* ("blood;" i. e., kinsfolk). By the last term, *le'pul'*, one might think that only blood-relatives are to be understood, but in reality "kinsfolk" includes relatives by affinity also.

Blood-Relatives. — In giving a systematic nomenclature of the terms and degrees of relationship by blood, I will start with the generation of sisters and brothers, and then pass to the terms for ascending and descending degrees of blood-relationship.

1. *E'mjepul'* corresponds to the German *Geschwister*, but includes not only sisters and brothers, but also first and second cousins, and so on, on

¹ *Coro'mimebonpe* = *coro'mo* ("man") + *mibe* ("clan") + *bon* (suffix of the noun) + *pe* (suffix of the plural).

the father's as well as on the mother's side. This term comprises the whole generation of brothers, sisters, cousins, male and female, of a group of blood-relatives. E'mjepul', strictly speaking, means the "younger ones" (emje, "younger;" and pul', plural suffix); i. e., younger as compared with the generation of their fathers and mothers and uncles and aunts. But among the younger generation, seniors and juniors are also distinguished according to age. Thus we have the following terms: —

2. Ta'ŋa (Kolyma dialect), ko'idie or a'ka¹ (tundra dialect), for an elder brother, elder first male cousin, second, and so on.

3. Pa'ba, abu'ja, or abu'i (Kolyma dialect), and eki'e (tundra dialect), for an elder sister and an elder female cousin of different degrees.

4. Emje denotes a younger brother as well as a younger sister or younger cousins of both sexes and different degrees. To indicate the sex, when necessary, ko'yoje is added for a male, or pa'yoje for a female. Thus, ko'yojed-emje means "younger brother;" and pa'yojed-emje, "younger sister."

The eldest brother and the eldest sister will call all the rest of their brothers and sisters by the name e'mje; and the youngest brother or sister will call all the other emjepul', according to the sex, ŋa'ŋa or pa'ba. Then each elder male or female of the generation of emjepul' calls his or her juniors emje; and each younger male or female of the generation calls his or her male seniors by the name ŋa'ŋa, and the female seniors pa'ba. According to Morgan, each system of relationship expresses certain facts regarding sexual relations, which existed when the system was formed. It seems to me that in many or most cases there was no connection between the origin of terms of relationship and the actual relation of the sexes. The position of family-members in the family according to domestic rule or tribal relations, or other causes, might also have determined certain terms of relationship. When the terms of relationship do not coincide, at the time of investigation, with the family relations that actually exist, then it is necessary to be careful in drawing conclusions as to the origin of the terms. For instance, adherents of the theory of the existence of "communal marriage" among all races in the past, might discover a survival of such a marriage in the general term "emjepul'," which is applied to a whole generation related by blood. As we shall see later, however, this term is connected with a quite different marriage custom; namely, with the prohibition of sexual intercourse between members of the same generation related by blood, i. e., with a pronounced exogamic tendency. The generation of e'mjepul' includes relatives on the father's side as well as on the mother's.

¹ A'ka for an elder brother, and eki'e for an elder sister, are from the Tungus language, and are used on the tundra chiefly by the Tungus, who have become assimilated with the Yukaghir. It is noteworthy that the terms of relationship among the Tungus proper have nothing in common with those of the Yukaghir. The Yukaghir of the Alayi Clan use only ko'idie, and not a'ka.

How, then, can the origin of the distinctive terms for members of a generation who are differentiated by their order of birth, as well as the general term for the whole generation, be explained? These different terms for persons of the same degree of blood-relationship seem to me to have originated in the customs of the family law, based on the principle of the domination of the seniors in the family. As we shall see later, the eldest son or daughter becomes master or mistress of the house at the death, by old age or illness, of their father or mother; and after them, the next according to age takes this position. Generally each younger member of the family or group looks on his or her elder as his or her natural protector and ruler. I regret to say that no one could explain to me, neither could I find out myself, the meaning of the words *ta'ta*, *pa'ba*, and *abu'ja*. It would seem that *pa'ba* is a doubled *pa* or *pai*, which means "woman,"¹ as *p* in the middle of a word changes into *b*.² *Abu'ja* may be from the same root, like the word *abu'cie*, which, in the tundra dialect, means "grand-mother." *Ko'idie* is undoubtedly *koi* ("lad") + *di'e* (a diminutive or endearing suffix).³ This is the manner in which Yukaghir parents address their eldest son.

In designating by the general name "*e'mjepul'*" brothers and sisters, as also cousins of different degrees, the Yukaghir nevertheless distinguish brothers and sisters from cousins. They call them either *unke'nme* (i. e., "birth-fellow" [*u-* means "to be born;" *kenme*, "fellow"]) or *u'luol-ta'ta*, *u'luol-paba*, *uluol-emje* (i. e., "elder brother by birth," "elder sister by birth," "younger brother by birth," and "younger sister by birth"). Besides, the Yukaghir have terms for brothers and sisters of the same father and different mothers, or of the same mother and different fathers; namely, *ta'ta-moju'*, *pa'ba-moju'*, and *emje-moju'*.

I shall now pass to the terms for blood-relatives in the ascending line from *emjepul'*, and first of all to the parents.

5. *Eci'e* ("father"), which really means "guardian" or "foster," being derived from the verb *e'nde* ("to feed," "to nourish").

6. *Eme'i* ("mother"). Very probably *eme'i* is derived from *a'me*, which means "who does, produces" (from the verb *a*, "to do," "to produce," "to create").

The uncles and aunts who, in regard to the older generation of grand-fathers and grandmothers, are known by the general term "*e'mjepul'*," have no general term when addressed by their nephews and nieces. It should be noted that not only the father's or mother's brothers and sisters, but also the father's and mother's cousins of different degrees, are regarded as uncles and aunts. Further, nephews and nieces not only distinguish by different terms elder and younger uncles and aunts, but they also have terms for uncles and

¹ *Pā* is a term used by one woman in addressing another woman who is her senior.

² See Jochelson, Yukaghir Grammar, (American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. VII, p. 374).

³ Ibid., p. 384.

aunts on the father's side that are different from the terms for those on the mother's side. Thus we have the following terms for uncles and aunts: —

7. Čomō'čie is an abbreviation of čomo'je-d-eči'e (i. e., "a big father"), and means the father's elder brother, the father's elder first or second cousin, and so on. The term comō'čie literally corresponds to the English "grandfather" or German *Grossvater*, but comprises persons of different relationship. It does not mean the father's father or the mother's father, but the "big" or "eldest guardian," "provider," whose position in the Yukaghir family is occupied by the eldest brother as a hunter.

8. Idietek or edietek (Kolyma dialect), and e'čidie (tundra dialect), is called the father's younger brother, his younger first cousin, and so on. Ečidie undoubtedly means "a little father," i. e., a little provider (from ečie, "father" or "provider;" and die, diminutive suffix). Being younger, he is considered to be of less importance as a hunter and guardian than the father. The term "edietek" has probably the same origin: tek is a diminutive; and edie is found, instead of ečie, before the surd *t*.

9. Če'mmei, an abbreviation of čomo'je-d-emei (i. e., a "big mother"), denotes the mother's elder sister as well as her elder female cousins, — first or second, and so on. Concerning the mother's elder sister, one may make the same observations as I made in regard to the term for the father's elder brother. The elder sister takes care of the children of her younger sister as a mother.

10. Ni'mdietek (Kolyma dialect) and yadi'e (tundra dialect) signify the mother's younger sister, her younger female cousins, — first, second, and so on. It seems to me that ni'mdietek may be regarded as containing in its base nim (from emei), the idea of "mother," and in -dietek a doubled diminutive suffix; and this word would then mean "little mother." The word yadi'e also contains the diminutive suffix -die, but I do not know what ya means.

11. Xo'ja, xoja'die (Kolyma dialect), or xoujeidie (tundra dialect), signify the mother's younger brother as well as her younger male cousins of different degrees. Xoja'die means "little grandfather."

12. E'mjuodie (Kolyma dialect) and a'ijuo (tundra dialect) denote the father's younger sister, as well as his first female cousin, and so on. E'mjuodie means "the little dear one" (from the word e'mjuo, "the younger child" [em'je-d-uo], and -die, diminutive and endearing suffix).

As we have seen from the terms Nos. 7-12, 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 e'mjepul' — is divided into separate sub-groups, according to age on the one hand, and according to kinship of the father or 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 of the elder generation, to the group of grandfathers and grandmothers. Thus we have the following terms: —

13. *Xa'xa* (Kolyma dialect) and *xa'ičie* (tundra dialect) signify the mother's elder brothers and elder male cousins of different degrees, as well as grandfathers (paternal and maternal) and all brothers and male cousins of different degrees (first-cousins, second-cousins, etc.) of the latter.

14. *Epi'e* (Kolyma dialect) and *abu'čie* (tundra dialect) denote the father's elder sister and his elder female cousins of different degrees, as well as the grandmothers (the father's and mother's mother), and the sisters and female cousins of different degrees, of the grandmothers.

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. 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.

Now, it may be asked, if the classification of the ascending line of groups related by blood is made according to their legal position in the family, and founded on the principle of seniority, then why is the elder brother of the mother called "grandfather," whereas the elder brother of the father is called "a big father," and why is the elder sister of the father called "grandmother," and the mother's elder sister "big mother"? This question will partly be answered by the marriage customs. At any rate, the terms "big father" and "big mother" in no way indicate the right of cohabitation, which would be the corollary to a supposed group-marriage. All these relatives not only have no common rights to the other persons' wives or husbands, but, as we shall see later, are not even allowed to talk to each other.

The generation of the elder grandfathers and grandmothers, like the great-grandfather and great-grandmother, are called by the same terms as every grandfather and grandmother (i. e., *xa'xa* and *epi'e*), although sometimes the great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers are denoted by a descriptive terminology: as *xa'xa-d-eči'e* ("father of the grandfather") and *epi'e-d-eči'e* ("father of the grandmother") for great-grandfathers, and *xa'xa-d-eme'i* ("mother of the grandfather") and *epi'en-eme'i* ("mother of the grandmother") for great-grandmothers. In the same descriptive way the Yukaghir denote, although rarely, the great-great-grandfather and the great-great-grandmother; as, for instance, *xa'xa-d-eči'e-n-eči'e* ("the grandfather's father's father"), and so on.

Once an old man told me of his ancestors back to the seventh genera-

tion, and the last one he called kude'ye-n-ečie; i. e., the "father of the clan," or "forefather."

By the terms xa'xa and epi'e are also called, as among our own people, old men and women in general, although not related at all.

The terms for blood-relatives of the descending grades are only of descriptive, and not of classificatory character. Thus: —

15. Adu'o, "son" (from a'dil', "boy;" and u'o, "child").

16. Ma'pxiduo or ma'rxluo, "daughter" (from ma'rxil' "girl;" and uo, "child"). Besides, in speaking of a son or daughter, the parent, as a rule, places the possessive pronoun met' ("my") before the noun: as, met' adu'o, "my son" (i. e., my boy-child); met' ma'rxiduo, "my daughter" (i. e., my girl-child).

To indicate the comparative ages of children, they add "the elder" (čomo'je), "the younger" (e'mjuoi), "the middle one" (o'rjeoi), or "the first" (aňnumelle), "the second," and so on.

The descriptive terms for nephews and nieces, according to which group of brothers and sisters or cousins of the class e'mjepul their parents belong, are as follows: —

17. Nephews: met' řa'řa-d-adu'o, "son of my elder brother or elder male cousin;" met' pabad-adu'o, "son of my elder sister or elder female cousin;" met' e'mjed-adu'o, "son of my younger brother or younger male cousin, or of my younger sister or younger female cousin."

18. Nieces: met' řa'řa-ma'rxil' (or ma'rxidu'o), met' pa'ba-marxil', met' e'mje-ma'rxil'.

The same descriptive system is applied to denoting grandsons and granddaughters.

19. Grandsons: met' adu'od-adu'o, "son of my son;" met' marxlu'od-adu'o "son of my daughter."

20. Grand-daughters: met' adu'od-marxi'l', "daughter of my son;" and met' marxlu'od-ma'rxil', "daughter of my daughter."

21. Grand-nephews and grand-nieces are also designated in a descriptive way; as, for instance, met' řa'řad-adu'od-adu'o, "son of the son of my elder brother or of my elder male cousin;" met' pa'bad-marxlu'o'd-adu'o, "son of my elder sister's or of my elder female cousin's daughter;" and so on.

Relatives by Affinity. — In the terms for relatives by affinity we meet again with the classificatory system. To designate relatives by affinity, the Yukaghir on the Upper Kolyma use four classes of terms, each of which includes persons of different degrees of affinity. These four classes are known as po'gil', nial', pu'lei, and yedi'e (or edi'e). Among the tundra Yukaghir the first two classes, pogi'lpe and nia'lpe (pł. of po'gil' and nial'), are merged into one class, nia'lpe.

Each of the four classes that occur among the Kolyma Yukaghir includes the following relatives by affinity.

Po'gil': (a) wife's father (father-in-law); (b) wife's mother (mother-in-law); (c) husband's father (father-in-law); (d) husband's 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. I think the word "pogil'" is derived from the word "po," which formerly used to be applied to captive slaves, which at present are called "hired laborers;" *gi*¹ is a possessive suffix, po'gi meaning "his laborer;" and *l'* is a suffix used in the formation of nouns from verbal forms. Besides, as will be shown later, the verb po'gilonu means "to serve for a girl at her parents' house." It may therefore be inferred that the term "po'gil'" includes persons who serve, or who are served, for a girl.

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. In the tundra dialect, as already mentioned, the term "nial'" comprises also persons who, among the Kolyma Yukaghir, form the class pogil'pe.

Pu'lei (or Pu'leye): (a) elder sister's or elder female cousin's husband; (b) wife's younger brother or male cousin; and (c) husband's younger brother or younger male cousin. The words "brother," "sister," and "cousins" must here, as throughout this chapter, be understood to comprise not merely true brothers and sisters or first-cousins, but e'mjepul.

Yedi'e, edi'e, or idi'e (tundra dialect): elder brother's or elder male cousin's wife; husband's or wife's younger sister (the former also called marxlu'o,² see p. 73).³

The characteristic trait of this classification seems to be, as will be seen further on, the definition of groups of persons related by affinity, among whom certain men must not speak to certain females or to one another.

There is another group of relatives by affinity, called ke'lil' by the Tundra Yukaghir. These are now designated by the Kolyma Yukaghir as saboyax (from the Russian *своаяк* [своаякъ]). Saboyax are (a) the husband of the wife's sister or female cousin, (b) the wife of the wife's brother or male cousin, (c) the husband of the husband's sister or female cousin, and (d) the wife of the husband's brother or male cousin.

¹ See Jochelson, Yukaghir Grammar, American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. VII, p. 376, § 10.

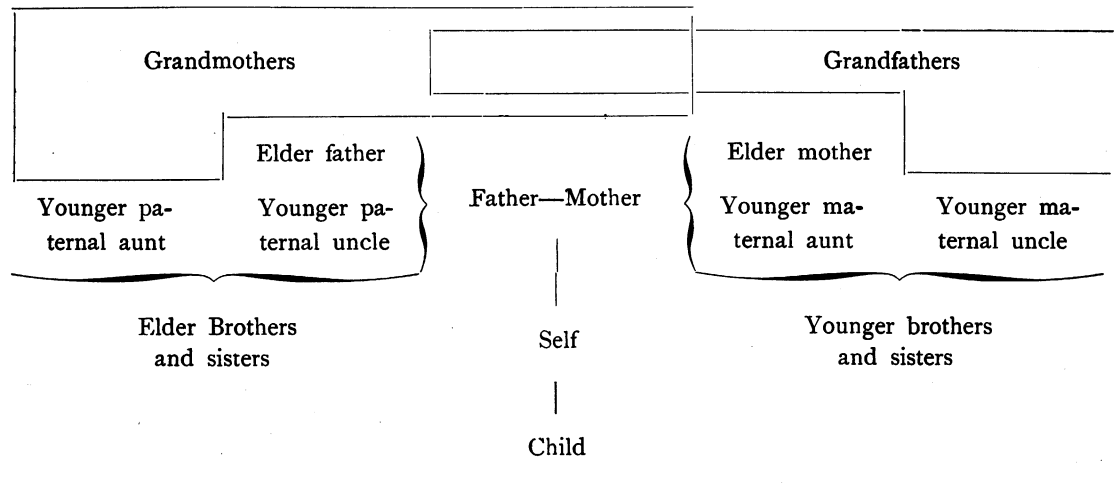
² Called, by the Tundra Yukaghir also paipule'ye, female pu'lei.

³ Excepting the irregularity mentioned on p. 75 note 3, these terms may be defined as mutual terms:

Males.	Elder	generation	and spouse	of member	of younger	generation	<i>pogil'</i>
"	Younger	"	"	"	"	"	<i>pulei</i>
Femally.	Elder	"	"	"	"	"	<i>nial'</i>
"	Younger	"	"	"	"	"	<i>yedi'e</i>

This system of relationships may be illustrated by the following tables: —

SYSTEM OF CONSANGUINITY.



SYSTEM OF AFFINITY.

The elder ¹ generation	call the	wife	of a member of the younger ² generation	<i>nial'</i>
" "	" "	husband	" " " "	<i>pogil'</i>
The younger	" "	wife	" " " "	<i>yedil'e</i>
" "	" "	husband	" " " "	<i>pulei</i>
A person calls the	male	relatives of the	elder generation of his or her spouse	<i>pogil'</i>
" "	female	" "	" " " "	<i>pogil'</i> ³
" "	male	" "	younger " " " "	<i>pulei</i>
" "	female	" "	" " " "	<i>yedil'e</i>

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 of the tribe also. A few terms, like that for uncle's wife, have not been ascertained.

The Custom of Avoidance. — The custom of certain relatives not being permitted to speak to each other is known as *n'exi'yiñi*, which means "they are bashful (in the presence) of each other" (*n'e'*⁴ is the suffix of the reciprocal voice; *xi'yiñi*, the third person plural of the verb *xi'yi*, "to be shy").

Among blood-relatives those who are *e'mjepul* are on terms of *n'exi'yiñi*. Brothers should not converse with one another, nor brothers with sisters, nor sisters with one another. By "brothers and sisters" is here meant also cousins, male and female. However, among the Yukaghir of the Yassachna River, sisters and female cousins talk to one another.

¹ Including the parental generation and elder brothers and sisters, and cousins.

² Including the generation of children and nephews and younger brothers and sisters.

³ Here we should expect the term *nial'*.

⁴ See Jochelson, Yukaghir Grammar, American Anthropologist, N S, Vol. VII.

Of relatives by affinity, the following males and females are on terms of *n'exi'yiñi* with each other in the classes *pogi'lpe* and *nia'lpe*: (a) the father with his son's wife (i. e., *pogil'* with *nial'*); (b) the elder brother with the wife of the younger brother, or the elder male cousin with the wife of the younger male cousin; (c) the elder brother with the wife of the younger brother's son, or the elder male cousin with the wife of the younger male cousin's son; (d) the elder brother with the wife of the son of his younger sister, or the elder male cousin with the wife of the son of his younger female cousin; (e) and the mother with her son-in-law (i. e., *pogil'* with *pogil'*). Besides, in the group *pogi'lpe* some of the males do not speak to each other. The father does not speak to the daughter's husband, nor the elder brother to the younger sister's husband. Persons of the *pogi'lpe* and *nia'lpe* groups may speak to persons of the classes *pu'lei* and *yedi'e*. "They are not mutually bashful, or not shy of each other" (*Titel ele xi'yiñi* or *ele n'exi'yiñi*), say the Yukaghir.

The mutual relations observed by those who are on terms of *n'exi'yiñi* are the following. Persons who are "bashful" should not uncover their bodies in the presence of each other. For instance, a daughter-in-law in the presence of her father-in-law, or a sister-in-law before the elder brother of her husband, should not uncover her legs above the knees. Men holding relations of *n'exi'yiñi* should not uncover their sexual organs in the presence of each other, or speak of anything concerning sexual cohabitation. I was once called to a young Yukaghir whose scrotum proved to be swollen on account of venereal disease. When I examined it, his father-in-law left the room. Another time I questioned my interpreter Dolganoff as to whether one of his cousins, a youth of seventeen, had already had relations with women. Dolganoff answered, "You see, we are *e'mjepul*, and are not allowed to speak of such things; but I think that he visits girls, because I heard him using bad language when talking to comrades, and that is not used by innocent youths." Once on the Korkodon, when I inquired of a brother as to the nature of his sister's illness, he answered, "I cannot know this, ask my mother or aunt."

The same girl must not be visited by two persons who are *e'mjepul*.

Persons who are mutually "bashful" should not address themselves directly to each other, or look into each other's faces, or call each other by name or by their term of relationship. These rules are observed more strictly among members of the classes *pogi'lpe* and *nia'lpe* than among *e'mjepul*. A daughter-in-law should not look into the face of her father-in-law or her husband's elder brother, neither is a son-in-law allowed to look into the face of his father-in-law or his mother-in-law. In domestic life this causes much inconvenience. When, for instance, a father-in-law tells his son-in-law to do something, he does not address him directly, but speaks in the plural, impersonally,

or by hints, not looking at his son-in-law at all. Thus the father-in-law will say, "It is time to go and inspect the traps for the foxes;" or, "I should like a drink, who is to bring the water?" or, "Go and set the nets;" and the son-in-law will go to the traps, bring the water, or go to set the nets, because it is evident that the father-in-law meant him, and not his sons and daughters, whom he could address directly. "A wise son-in-law," say the Yukaghir, "understands this, and at once does what his father-in-law tells him to do." Even children, when addressed by their father, are not called by their names, or by the word "son," but are addressed, although directly, by the word "kie," which means "friend," "comrade." In the same way a younger brother is addressed by his elder brother, only with the difference that the plural is used, — *ki'e*, *e'ye keči'nik'*,¹ (i. e., "Friends, bring the arrow"), — and the younger brother will know that it is he who is meant. Brothers, sisters, and cousins call one another *met' ta'ta*, *met' pa'ba*, *met' e'mje* ("my elder brother," "my elder sister," "my younger brother or younger sister"), only when they speak of those who are absent. It is strange that in tales we find brothers, sisters, and cousins addressing one another directly as *ta'ta*, *pa'ba*, or *e'mje*, only the verb is used mostly in the plural. This difference between the forms of address used in practical life and those used in tales may perhaps be explained by the fact that to the reciter and his audience the heroes of the tale seem to be absent, and to be like third persons.

To the number of relatives by affinity who are on terms of *n'exi'yiñi* should also be added the step-father (*ečie-moju'*) and his step-daughter (*marxlu'o-moju'*), also the step-mother (*eme'i-moju'*) and her step-son (*adu'o-moju'*).

The group *saboyax* are not bound by relations of *n'exi'yiñi*.

No satisfactory answer was given to my questions as to the origin of the custom of *n'exi'yiñi*. Certainly such general answers were heard as, for instance, "Our fathers did so," or "Wise men know that it ought to be so," which really explains nothing. Others said that the souls of these relatives are ashamed (*a'ibipecti omolitei*) when they address each other directly. It is of interest to note that the Yukaghir apply the word "*n'a'nič*," which means "taboo" or "sin," to the breaking, not of this custom, but of another custom which is evidently connected with the custom of *n'exi'yiñi* among brothers, sisters, and cousins. Thus, a girl, having reached the age of puberty, is subjected to certain restrictions during the time her brother is absent hunting. 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. In olden times a girl was not allowed to go out of the house at all while her brothers were on the hunt. She must not inquire about the hunt, or listen to the tales of her

¹ Although *ki'e* is in the singular number, and the verb *keči'nik'* is the only plural form, nevertheless in the Yukaghir language the idea of plurality is expressed with sufficient clearness, if a part of the sentence is in the plural.

brothers regarding it. "A wise girl," say the Yukaghir, "leaves the house or tent when the young men just return from the hunt and begin to relate to the older people the results and the accidents of their trip." The girl must not eat of the head or of the fore-part of the reindeer or elk which was killed. She is not allowed even to look at the head of the animal that has been killed. Evidently this is connected with the worship of animals which are hunted by the Yukaghir. The killed animal is regarded as the body of a dead person, at whose uncovered face nobody is allowed to look. All the above-mentioned restrictions do not concern the hunters' married sisters or wives. The breaking of a taboo by girls is punished by lack of success of the hunt, and then follows starvation. In the chapter on the religion of the Yukaghir I shall revert to this subject. Meanwhile I will touch upon the question of bashfulness among the Yukaghir, which is connected with the custom of *n'exi'yini*. As stated before, the Yukaghir think that the soul (*aibi*) is ashamed when certain relatives address one another directly. Notwithstanding the free habits of youths, their relations are not of a coarse, brutal character, but may be said to partake of a somewhat poetical nature. The young people quickly blush when one talks of the intimate relations of the sexes. In the past, according to the Yukaghir, a lad and a girl would meet in such a manner that no one would know of it. Even now the young men who are in the position of official bridegrooms come to their brides when all the people in the house are asleep, and go away before they awake. The Yukaghir are distinguished, among the tribes of the northeast of Siberia, by their bashfulness. When I brought my interpreter, Dolganoff, from the river Yassachna to Sredne-Kolymsk, I invited him to an evening "at home" which I had arranged. Among the guests were young political exiles of both sexes, who danced various round dances to the tunes of a gramophone. The next day Dolganoff said to me, "I saw yesterday how the Russians danced, men and women embracing each other in the presence of all; and I thought that this would be reckoned as shameful among the Yukaghir." When I measured women who wore dresses, they used to blush, perspire with fear, and shudder, at being asked to undress themselves. The young men blushed when I inquired about the parts of a woman's costume. "In the olden times," said one Yukaghir, "people would not only blush,¹ but die, from shame." I will give here briefly an interesting tradition concerning this.

There once lived two brothers. They had a *pu'lei* (their elder sister's husband) with whom, as we already know, the relations of the two brothers were not those of avoidance. Both brothers used to joke with their brother-in-law, play, and amuse themselves. But the brothers were, as usual, on

¹ In the Yukaghir language, "he blushed from shame" is *tu'del omo'lijeget ke'iledeč* (literally, "he from shame blushed").

terms of *n'exi'yini*. Once the elder brother (*ta'ta*) went out on a hunt; and when he returned, he found the young people of the village playing and dancing. His younger brother (*e'mje*), who happened to be dressed in his brother-in-law's coat, was among the dancers, with his back turned toward the new-comer. The latter mistook his younger brother for his brother-in-law, ran up to him from behind, and, intending to frighten him for fun, put his hand between his legs, accidentally touching his sexual organs. The younger brother quickly turned round; and when the elder brother noticed the mistake, he fell dead. According to custom,¹ his body was dissected to learn the cause of death, and, according to the tradition, his heart was found to be torn in two.

Since their contact with more civilized nations, — with the Russians and the Yakut, — the primitive bashfulness of the Yukaghir has decreased. Of the Yakut the Yukaghir say, "The Yakut do not know shame" (*Ya'xal o'moliŋele ele le'idi*).

MARRIAGES BETWEEN RELATIVES. — The customs pertaining to marriage relations between relatives are subject to the following influences: the jurisdiction of the Russian Church, the relations arising from the custom of *n'exi'yini*, and the dictates of practical life, the last of which is frequently found to be in oppositon to the other two. As Christians, the Yukaghir must comply, in most cases, with the Russian laws regulating marriages between relatives. Children born of marriages contracted without the sanction of the Church are registered by the Russian Administration as illegitimate, and are assigned to the family of the mother, the father having no legal claim to them.

The Yukaghir appeal to the Russian laws in various family disputes, and in some cases prefer to abide by these laws rather than live according to their own customs. When a young man, after having lived in union (illegal from the point of view of the Church) with a girl in her father's house, shows his intention of leaving his father-in-law and of taking the girl with him, her father lays claim to the children, thereby preventing the young man from leaving his house. Likewise, in case the illegally-married woman dies, her children, who bear her family name, remain with her parents, and are not given to the father.

The Yukaghir, being on the verge of extinction, show much love and care for their children. On the other hand, they are religious to some extent, and regard with respect marriage ceremonies performed in the Church; and there would be no clandestine marriages among them were it not for the exorbitant fees which the priests charge for their services.

The statutes of the Orthodox Church forbid marriages of blood-relatives to the sixth degree of consanguinity; i. e., including second-cousins. Only in

¹ See the chapter on religion.

special cases can a permit be obtained from the local bishop for the marriage of second-cousins; and on extraordinary occasions, as, for instance, in royal families, the synod may grant permission to marriages even between cousins or between uncle and niece.

The custom of *n'exi'yîñi* among *e'mjepul'* had the effect, it appears, of preventing marriages between consanguineous relatives, which it seems were common in former times. This was a means of making the transition from endogamy to exogamy, taking exogamy in its narrow sense as applying to marriages between near relatives, and not as extending to all the members of the clan. There may, indeed, be some families in one and the same clan (as will be seen in the chapter on social life) that have lost all knowledge of mutual consanguinity, or have never had any such knowledge, and consequently have no *n'exi'yîñi*, and no restraint on marriages between themselves.

Ethnologists differ in their views on the question of the origin of exogamy among various tribes. Some assert that it was the actual observation of the injurious effects of consanguineous marriages upon the offspring that gave rise to this custom. Others deny the possibility of primitive man having guided his actions by such observation and by the principle of sexual selection. My personal conviction is that this principle of sexual selection was understood to a greater or less extent even among primitive peoples. Indeed, I heard this principle stated quite clearly by the Yakut of the Arctic region. The Yakut, in general, live in very strict exogamy. Not only are consanguineous relatives, and members of one clan bearing the same family or clan name, forbidden to enter into marriage unions, but even the members of one *nasleg* — a social group comprising a few or many clans — must take their wives from other *naslegs*.

However, these 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, and marry even consanguineous relatives. I know of an elder of one rich *nasleg* who prohibited the members from marrying out of the *nasleg*, for fear that their wealth in horses and cattle might be dispersed by being given away as dowries to their poorer neighbors. These Yakut told me that they had observed that children born from consanguineous marriages are generally unhealthy. I heard similar remarks from the Yukaghir. Thus, my interpreter Dolganoff told me that it had been observed among the Yukaghir that in case of marriages between cousins, — which are contracted regardless of the custom of *n'exi'yîñi*, as will be seen later, — the children die, or the parents themselves are subject to diseases which frequently result in death. In such cases the principle of sexual selection is obscured by the belief that the unfortunate consequences come as a punishment to the parents for having entered into

a marriage union prohibited by custom. It is apparent, however, that the very custom of *n'exi'yiñi* might have originated in the desire to restrain marriage relations between relatives.

From this point of view it is difficult to explain why brothers are on terms of *n'exi'yiñi* with one another, and in some places sisters with one another. Perhaps this was designed to forestall cohabitation of brothers with one wife in polyandrous marriage, or of sisters with one husband in polygynous relations.

The question as to the significance of the custom of *n'exi'yiñi* becomes likewise complicated when applied to relatives-in-law. In some cases the intention to prevent certain sexual relations, although without regard to sexual selection, may explain the existence of the custom; but in other cases this reason is not applicable at all. For example, the father-in-law and his daughter-in-law (*po'gil'* and *nial'*), the elder brother and the wife of the younger one (also *po'gil'* and *nial'*), and the mother-in-law and her son-in-law (female *pogil'* and male *pogil'*), are on terms of *n'exi'yiñi*, probably for the prevention of sexual cohabitation between them. But why are the father-in-law and his son-in-law, or the elder brother and the husband of his younger sister (i. e., male *pogils* among themselves), on terms of *n'exi'yiñi*? Probably this has something to do with the natural modesty and bashfulness of the Yukaghir, characterized by the belief that the souls of the father-in-law and his son-in-law are ashamed when they look at each other.

Now, having attempted to explain the nature of various cases of *n'exi'yiñi*, I have yet to answer the question, Why is a woman allowed to converse with the husband of her elder sister or her elder female cousin (i. e., with her *pu'lei*), and a man with the wife of his elder brother or his elder male cousin (with his *yedi'e*)? I should say, first of all, that this must not be taken to mean that these persons were ever allowed to cohabit sexually. Such a conclusion would be contradictory to the general psychology and modesty of the Yukaghir. Besides this, there are the following objections to it.

First, there can be no intercourse (i. e., they observe the custom of *n'exi'yiñi*) between a man and his wife's elder sister or elder female cousin, neither is intercourse permitted between a woman and her husband's elder brother or elder male cousin; hence there can be no rule that the sisters of a woman might be the wives of her husband, or a man's brothers the husbands of his wife. Secondly, there is *n'exi'yiñi*, as we know, between a man and his wife's elder brother or elder male cousin (*pogil'*), but this is not the case with regard to her younger brother or younger male cousin. The reason for this, as well as for the fact that there is no avoidance between a man and the wife of his elder brother or elder male cousin, or between a woman and the husband of her elder sister or elder female cousin, must be sought in the position occupied by the elder brother and elder sister in the family.

The former may take the place of the father, and the latter that of the mother, of their younger brother and sister. For this reason the wife of the elder brother and the husband of the elder sister are also considered as potential father and mother respectively, and there is no *n'exi'yiñi* with regard to them.

The question, however, may very properly be asked, If there is no avoidance between the wife of an elder brother and the husband of an elder sister on account of their position as potential parents in the family, why does avoidance exist between the elder brother and sister themselves and their younger brothers and sisters? To this it may be answered, that if there were no avoidance between the younger brothers and sisters and the older ones, the custom of *n'exi'yiñi* could have no application at all in a generation of *e'mjepul*; for a group of brothers, sisters, and cousins cannot consist of persons of the same age. But the absence of *n'exi'yiñi* between a man and the wife of his elder brother, and between a woman and the husband of her elder sister, does not interfere with the existence of a system upon which the custom of *n'exi'yiñi* in the generation of the *e'mjepul* is founded.

Although some of the views just given to explain the complicated relations arising from the custom of *n'exi'yiñi* may be regarded as mere hypotheses, nevertheless I think that an analysis of the various aspects of this custom shows clearly that the foundation of it is in some cases the feeling of bashfulness alone; and in other cases, this feeling, together with the desire of preventing sexual cohabitation among certain relatives.

Now, having become acquainted with the influences exerted upon the Yukaghir marriage relations by the jurisdiction of the Russian Church on the one hand, and by the custom of *n'exi'yiñi* on the other, we may turn to marriages contracted in real life. The Yukaghir assured me, that, according to their former customs, marriages between relatives were forbidden only to the generation of first-cousins inclusive. Marriages between second-cousins were allowed. As soon as the latter entered into a marriage union, the relations of *n'exi'yiñi* between them were discontinued by means of a certain performance, to be described later. Some Yukaghir even added that they did not consider second-cousins as consanguineous relatives at all; but this opinion is altogether contradictory to the very sense of the term "*e'mjepul*" and the actual practice of the Yukaghir. At any rate, cohabitation between second-cousins is frequent, and such cohabitation is not sanctioned by church performances, merely because the local priests demand a certain compensation for securing the necessary license from the bishop at Yakutsk. Besides this, one meets with cohabitation between cousins, too; and the Yukaghir do not protest against such cohabitation, nor condemn it.

The following stories of consanguineous cohabitation are found in traditions.¹

¹ The texts and translations of these legends will be given elsewhere.

A shaman of the Tungus is said to have had six wives, two of whom were his own daughters. However, since this is told, not of a Yukaghir, but of a Tungus shaman (usually adversaries of the former), we may be led to the conclusion that this kind of cohabitation is regarded in tradition with disfavor.

In another story we are told that a young man had carried off the wife of his friend, and killed the latter when pursued by him. To escape vengeance, the couple retired to a distant desert, where they lived on the products of the hunt until their old age. When their children grew up, the brothers married their sisters. This story is very popular, and seems to have contained nothing shocking to the narrator or to the listener. The end of this story is usually sung, and contains some comical elements.

There is another traditional story, however, which deals with the matter of sexual cohabitation in a more serious and interesting light, and gives the key, I might say, to the understanding of the contradiction between the custom of *n-exi'yiñi* and the occasional cohabitation between near relatives. The following is a free translation of that story.

"Once upon a time there lived an old couple who had two children, a son and a daughter. When the old couple died, the son remained alone with his younger sister (*e'mje*). In the course of three months the young man was lying on his bed, and now and then looked at his sister. At last the girl said, 'Rise, elder brother.' She wanted him to eat something, but he refused. Then his food disappeared in a mysterious manner. The girl said again, 'Get up, elder brother.' — 'I will not rise,' declared the young man. 'Why don't you want to rise?' asked the girl again? whereupon the brother asked, 'Will you lie down by my side?' — 'No,' answered the girl, 'it would make the sun angry.'¹ — 'Then I will not rise,' said the brother. 'But this will lead to our death,' the sister argued.² — 'Even if we die,' replied the brother, 'I don't care.' Then the girl began to sing. 'Now, I shall not call you *ta'ta* ("elder brother") any longer. I shall call you *ki'e* ("friend").'³ I shall prepare a blanket whose bag⁴ will separate into two parts. Let this be a token that we, being of one and the same flesh and blood, born of one father and one mother, have entered into a marriage union.'

"As they were afterward sitting and talking to each other, a noise was heard outside. The girl went out, and found that a 'mythical old man'

¹ The sun inflicts punishments upon those who sin against the rules of morality, as will be seen from the contents of many similar stories.

² The implication is, that if he keeps on lying on his bed, without going to hunt, their provisions will give out, and they will have to die of starvation.

³ The Yukaghir husband calls his wife *mogiye* ("mate") or *terike* ("old woman"); and the wife calls her husband either *kie'* ("friend") or *polut* ("old man").

⁴ The Yukaghir make their blankets of reindeer-skins with the fur side in. The end of it has a kind of bag for the feet. Into this bag the person covering himself with the blanket puts his feet to keep them protected from the cold in the houses. This bag the girl will make in two parts, — one for herself, and one for her brother.

(ču'oleji po'lut')¹ had come, having a full moon instead of a face. She returned into the house, and, addressing her brother, sang as follows: —

"Rise, my friend, do not lie, or we shall perish. Moon-Face has come. Why do you lie? For three months you have been looking at me, wishing to take me as your wife. If you keep on in this way, I shall not come to you. Life is so beautiful, and we have to die! Get up!"

"Then the young man arose, and, taking his bow and arrows and his quiver, went out of the house. Outside he encountered the 'mythical old man' (ču'oleji po'lut') and entered into a conflict with him, which lasted for ten days. On the eleventh day he killed the 'mythical old man,' erected over him a willow hut covered with grass,² and returned into the house. The sister then spoke thus to her brother. 'Truly, you have loved me for three months. Now, come let us lie down together. The bed-cover is ready.' The brother looked at the foot-bag, and saw that it was divided into two parts. He lay down to sleep with his sister.

"When they got up the next morning, they heard singing and dancing outside. The girl went out of the house, and saw many hares running about, while in the willow hut a beautiful youth was sitting, combing his hair.

"She entered the tent, and asked, 'Where have you come from, beautiful lad?' He answered, 'I died while being the Moon-Face, and came to life again as a young man.' — 'And these numerous hares, how do they come here?' asked the woman. 'They have been sent to you by the master of the earth in place of reindeer, as a token of your having entered into a marriage union' though being sister and brother,' was the answer.³

"Of this consanguineous marriage was born a daughter, who eventually married the beautiful youth, and this marriage gave rise to the Moon-Face family. The brother and sister had other children, who married one another, as their parents did, and became the ancestors of the Hare Clan. From that time on," concludes the story, "when near relatives unite in marriage, they provide themselves, first of all, with a bed-cover having two separate bags at the end, one for the feet of each mate; and then the couple break the silence and begin to speak to each other."

There is, of course, no cohabitation between brothers and sisters at the present time, — at least, not openly, — but marriages between cousins occur. I saw one such family on the Korkodon River. It consisted of an old couple (cousins), three sons, and two daughters, and was a very friendly and sympathetic family. The old couple did not observe the custom of n'exi'yiñi, and their bed-cover had two bags at the end. Not only was there

¹ The Yukaghir traditions call by this name a certain class of cannibal spirits.

² This was usually done over the bodies of dead shamans.

³ The incident of the hares is apparently connected with the name of the Hare tribe, among which this tradition was found. See p. 53.

no reprehensive attitude toward this family on the part of the neighbors, but, on the contrary, it was the most honored and most influential family on the Korkodon. Being a descendant of the noted Yukaghir shamans, the old man was looked upon as the guardian of the old Yukaghir customs, and his influence was considerable.

Although the man did not suffer at the hands of his kinspeople for having broken the custom, he was subjected to prosecution by the authorities of the Russian Church. The Russian priests, instead of soliciting the higher ecclesiastical boards to legalize such families and marriages, extort from the guilty persons presents of fur skins to atone for their sin and to release them from punishment. The priest of Verkhne-Kolymsk, Rev. Suchkovsky by name, to whose parish the Yukaghir of the Korkodon belonged, not content with the gifts received of old Kudalas, — the name of the above-mentioned old man, — demanded so much, that Kudalas could not satisfy him. Thereupon the priest ordered the old man to leave his "sinful" family and to retire to the Yassachna River. Now, the Yukaghir have been so disciplined and been made so submissive, that, not only do they obey the authorities, priests, and cossacks, but they believe that every Russian is an official. The priest Suchkovsky, moreover, was the terror, not only of the poor Yukaghir in his parish, but of the Yakut and Tungus as well. I found the unfortunate old Kudalas in a scorbutic condition, among the Yassachna Yukaghir, far from his family. As the sentence of the priest was illegal, I engaged the old man as a guide, when visiting the river Korkodon, and thus brought him back to his family. How thankful he and his family were to me for having caused his return from exile! After this the priest let the old man alone, evidently fearing that he might be exposed by me; and two years later the old man died on the Korkodon.

The following is another case exemplifying the tolerance of the Yukaghir toward consanguineous marriages similar to the one just described. In one of the Yukaghir settlements, which I do not wish to name, lived an old woman with her daughter. The latter had a boy of about three years, whose father was unknown. The boy suffered from a peculiar idiosyncrasy, becoming greatly excited at the sight of an icon or cross. For this reason there were no icons in the house of these two women; and the boy wore no necklace and cross, in spite of the usual piety of the Yukaghir. I happened to visit these women once, to find out how they were getting on, and it was then that I first noticed the boy. I had been living for two months in that settlement, and knew all the children there except that boy. When questioned about it, my interpreter explained to me that the boy was not taken to the neighboring houses on account of his extreme aversion to icons. "We think," continued my interpreter with a smile, "that he is possessed, and that the Devil is raging in him. When the mother gave birth to him, she

would not say who the father was; but it is believed that it was her own brother, who died soon after. This is why he is possessed. But do not tell this to anybody," concluded my interpreter, "for it may reach the priest, which would be a misfortune for the woman."

In spite of this supposition about the descent of the child, the Yukaghir were on good terms with the mother as well as with the child. The latter was caressed and loved, as Yukaghir love children in general.

A review of the facts pertaining to marriages shows that just as, in the period of courtship before marriage, we have two distinct tendencies, — one towards loose sexual relations, and the other toward idealizing constancy and mutual faithfulness, — so also, in marriage, there are noticeable two contradictory tendencies, — a striving towards exogamy, on the one hand; and an inclination towards consanguineous marriages, on the other. This latter tendency seems to me to be strengthened by the mode of life of the Yukaghir. As a hunting-tribe they frequently have to scatter in separate 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. The custom of *n'exi'yiñi*, and the sense of shame prevailing in a high degree among near relatives, undoubtedly helped to prevent sexual intercourse among them. These, however, have been powerless to give Yukaghir marriages an exogamous character, on account of the frequent isolation of separate hunting-groups. In fact, Yukaghir marriages are even now closely endogamous. A Yukaghir seldom marries into a strange settlement or clan. On the other hand, marriages between relatives, resulting in a violation of the custom of *n'exi'yiñi*, — a custom prohibiting the parties not only from looking at each other, but also from speaking to each other, — is considered rather as an imprudent act than as a sin. "Wise people follow the custom of *n'exi'yiñi*," say the Yukaghir. But if the custom is violated, and cohabitation between relatives takes place, it is sanctioned by the symbol mentioned above, — the special cut of the blanket. Were it not for the interference of the Russian law, cohabitation of near relatives would be much more frequent than it is at present.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the tribes among whom exogamy had existed for a long time, such as the Yakut and the Tungus, resumed their old endogamous practices after having come into contact with the Yukaghir.

I have referred before to the Yakut of the Kolyma tundra, among whom endogamous sexual intercourse occurs that is hidden from the priest during his tour through the parish. The marriages of the Tungus are exogamous, like those of the Yakut. Of sixty married couples of the Tungus of the Gishiga district which I noted, all the women were of clans distinct from those

of their husbands! Every Tungus gets his wife by purchase from another clan; but the Tungus who live with the Yukaghir have abandoned that custom, and many have married in their own clans. On the tundra, on the other hand, the Yukaghir have borrowed from the Tungus the custom of purchasing the bride and taking her to the bridegroom's house.

SERVICES PERFORMED BY THE BRIDEGROOM; MARRIAGE. — The time of "free love" among young people may be regarded as a period of trial before establishing more permanent relations between the couples. When a young man has made his choice, and has decided to marry the girl who has won his affection, he begins by showing various favors and by doing some work for the relatives of his beloved. Thus, the prospective bridegroom brings the products of his hunt into the house of his sweetheart without saying a word to anybody about it. He also comes mornings and chops wood, or mends the sledge of his prospective father-in-law, repairs his gun, binds up the nets, helps in fishing, etc. If the young man is a *persona grata* to the parents or to the eldest brother of the girl, his silent favors are just as silently accepted; if not, these favors are rejected without a word of explanation. In the latter case, some one of the family will say to him, "It is not necessary, do not trouble yourself."

These services performed by the bridegroom are services for the bride, and are termed "pogi'lonu," meaning "to serve for." The term "ei'me," used to signify the same services, is evidently of later origin, being borrowed from the Tungus, who acquire their brides by purchase. "Ei'me" means "payment" or "price," but the Yukaghir do not regard the value of these services as a price to be paid, although they say of the young man, "Tu'del' ma'rxid-ei'mek ā'mele" (literally, "He the girl's price makes").

Ethnologists in general are inclined to regard the work done by the bridegroom for the bride's parents as a purchase by service. In this case, however, I think it is not so. The Yukaghir themselves told me that the period of service is intended only to test the young man's ability to work. The bridegroom is required to be a good hunter and fisherman, and capable of doing everything necessary in a household. Besides this, the purchase-price has a meaning only when the girl leaves the father's house and goes to live with her husband, depriving the father of a pair of working hands. But with the Yukaghir, as will be seen later, he gains a new worker in the person of his son-in-law, who comes to live in his house.

The period of "service" is of an undetermined duration, which depends upon various circumstances. For instance, the time may be shortened if the bridegroom possesses very good qualities, or if the bride becomes pregnant, or if the father feels sure that the young man will not eventually leave his house. The bridegroom then learns through his relatives that the bride's parents are inclined to accept him. Having received this information, he

sends a mediator, usually one of his relatives of respectable age, to the parents of the girl. The Yukaghir say that in former times no mediators were employed in such cases, but that the bridegroom would for three days chop wood before the house of his intended father-in-law. If the latter consented to the marriage, he accepted the wood for fuel.

The young man had to pass through still another test. The prospective father-in-law would go to the woods and fell as thick a tree as he could find. The bridegroom had to drag the trunk of the tree to the house of his future father-in-law, and throw it upon the tent, so that it would fall. Then the father-in-law would say, "This is a good man; he will be able to support us and to care for our safety."

Judging, however, from the texts of the addresses used by the match-maker when coming to the house of the girl's parents, we must conclude that the custom of courting through a go-between is original with the Yukaghir, and is not borrowed from the Russians or the Tungus, who also send go-betweens in such cases. The following is the text of an address which the go-between pronounces in a standing posture when arriving at the house of the girl's parents: —

"Eči'e-eme'i	ti'tin	xa'mluoje.	Xobolo'	po'lut	i'lugilele
"Father-mother,	to you	(I) am servant	(Name)	old	greetings
ya'num	monni:	'Irkin	lo'čin	pu'gojege	mo'doteili' "
sends;	he says,	'At one	fire's	warmth	let us sit.' "

Free Translation. — "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."

This address, which is an offer on the part of the bridegroom's parents to enter into bonds of kinship with the parents of the bride, puts the proposition in a disguised form, in accordance with the rules of primitive diplomacy. The father of the girl, on the other hand, wishing to display all the dignity of his house, usually answers with a refusal, saying, —

"Me'tul	ada'n	aju'be	el nu'lek' ;"
"Me	with such	words	do not meet;"

i. e., "Do not come to me with such propositions."

The match-maker, who is not even asked to sit down, pretends to take the refusal in earnest, and goes away; but some time later, or even the next day, he comes again, and says, —

"Eči'e-eme'i	met'	po'ñojen u'olie	tit	ibe'n	pu'gojege
"Father-mother,		my orphan-lad	you	to the hearth's	warmth
xo'diet	e'le	kudi'emet'?"			
why	not	admit (you)?"			

Then the father of the girl says, —

"Met' coro'monje met' coro'mopul' xo'domejen aju'bek uku'teiñimle."
 "My relatives my people what words will utter."

This means "I have to find out what the other relatives think of it." The match-maker thanks him for this answer, and departs; but some time later he returns, and says, —

"Met' eči'e, met' eme'i! xo'domeje aju'be, xo'domeje ču'ñdele
 "My father, my mother! what words with, what thoughts with,
 mo'domot'? Tit omo'čed aju mo'dilñin ke'ldelle oho'je."
 do (you) seat? Your good word to hear having come (I) stand."

At this the father of the girl invites the match-maker to a seat by his side, which signifies that his proposition has been favorably considered, and says, —

"Met' a'n'n'eče: met' a'mdeļañi e'julgume me'tke le'tete met'
 "I will say, my death till life's end to with me if (he) will be my
 numo'get e'le uke'itete met' numo'ge co'kket'."
 house of not if will go away my house in let him come."

Free Translation. — "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."

It is worth noting in this connection that the father of the girl, carrying on all these negotiations on his own authority, finds it necessary, nevertheless, to say that he has to consult with other relatives.

Having received a favorable reply, the match-maker expresses his thanks and goes away. At night, when all in the house are asleep, the bridegroom comes stealthily to the sleeping-tent of his bride, as he has been doing before. Now, however, he brings his gun, his bow, and his other hunting-utensils, and places them in a prominent place in the house. In the morning he gets up late, when all are up and the household in full action. He then applies himself to some work, as if he were an old member of the family. The young man brings nothing with him except his clothing and weapons; "for," as the Yukaghir say, "he comes to a 'ready-made bed,' and under the cover of an established household."

This is all that makes up a Yukaghir wedding. There are no performances or celebrations of any kind. The bridegroom needs only to make his home in the house of his father-in-law to become formally a husband and member of the family.

It will appear from the texts of the formal proceedings between the girl's father (or his substitute, the eldest brother or uncle) and the go-between, cited above, that the girl herself has no say whatever in the matter. In reality, however, the formal courting, through the go-between soliciting the

father's consent to the marriage, is started only after the affair has been quite settled between the young people; for the young man sends the go-between only after having been the husband of the girl practically, if not publicly; so that there is hardly any courting without the previous consent of the girl.

To be sure, custom demands of the girl obedience to her parents in the matter of choosing a husband; but this holds to about the same extent as the saying "A wise girl follows the advice of her elders;" so that there is really no absolute submission to paternal authority. On the other hand, a girl seldom acts in such matters against her father's will; for his will goes no further than the formal recognition of the man with whom she has been in cohabitation, and the same relations may continue in any case. I knew a girl who lived with her uncle, and who kept up sexual relations with a young man whom she liked. She had a child by the young man, who still "served" for her. When asked by me why she did not marry him officially, she answered that she would do so as soon as she procured the consent of her uncle. The latter, however, declined all his proffers, delaying the matter, or giving indefinite answers. He had no faith in the young man, and feared that he would leave his house and would go away with his wife after the marriage.

Another case came to my knowledge, of a girl associated with a young man who was nice-looking and a good dancer, but shiftless and a poor hunter. When he began to "serve," the father communicated to the girl, through her mother, that he did not approve of her choice. The girl then obeyed her father and rejected the lover.

The following case is more striking. Some Reindeer Tungus of the Indighirka River frequented the house of the Yukaghir blacksmith on the Yassachna River to procure from him some knives and other iron products. One of these visitors fell in love with the blacksmith's younger daughter. He began to come often, and at last made a proposal. The Tungus was willing to pay the purchase-price, according to the custom of his tribe, in the shape of thirty reindeer, but would not remain to live with the blacksmith. The latter told me that it was not becoming for a Yukaghir to act according to the customs of the Tungus, and that he had no use for the reindeer. Besides, he said, he was unable to furnish his daughter with the proper outfit, and he did not wish that the strangers should ever reproach his daughter for having come to them as a beggar.

The Tungus mounted his reindeer and drove away, leaving the girl in tears, to which nobody paid any attention; but he returned unexpectedly in company with a friend, and attempted again to persuade the old man. The blacksmith remained unmoved; but when the Tungus were leaving, and the girl went out, crying, to bid her lover farewell, the father said to his wife,

"Let her go, if strangers are dearer to her than her own parents." The Tungus drove away with the girl, promising to bring the purchase-price, which he never did. Moreover, he never even came to see the blacksmith, and, according to the rumors that reached the parents, he beat his wife, who was not accustomed to constant wandering, or to riding reindeer. The mother of the girl soon died; and the Yukaghir told me, when I visited their place a second time, in 1901, that she had died of a broken heart, worrying for her daughter.

POSITION OF A YOUNG MAN IN THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHER-IN-LAW. — Although a young man is taken into the house of his father-in-law as a son, his position there is nevertheless a peculiar one. He must neither look at nor speak to the parents and older relatives of his wife. He must obey all the orders given by these relatives. The products of his hunting and fishing are under the control of his mother-in-law, and the furs of the animals killed by him he must bring to his father-in-law. Only when he becomes a father himself can he use some of the furs without asking.

In olden times the young man was obliged to defend the house against the attacks of enemies. This is apparently the reason why the son-in-law, according to tradition, would remain in the house when the father and his sons went out hunting. In case of the son-in-law's absence, one of the sons, usually the youngest, would remain in the house to protect his sisters.

There is a tradition that a Yukaghir, having come as a son-in-law into the house of a Chuvantzy, had to defend his father-in-law's house, which was being attacked by Chukchee, regardless of the fact that, according to certain traditions, fighting with the Chukchee was regarded as a sin. The young Yukaghir fell in the fight. When the Chukchee stripped the corpse, they found, through the peculiar style of his costume, that they had killed a Yukaghir, and not a Chuvantzy. They then exclaimed, turning to the sun, "See, Sun, whom we have killed! We have killed a brother."

In one story with a moral, it is told that an old hunter went hunting, accompanied by his son and son-in-law. The old man was suddenly attacked by a bear. The young people lost heart, and the old man was left to take care of himself. When the danger was over, the son struck the son-in-law, saying, "Did you marry my sister to leave her father in time of danger?" Then the old man in turn struck his son, and said, "Have you been more courageous than our son-in-law?"

The position of a young man in the house of his father-in-law is a very subordinate one. In fact, he appears to be "serving" for his wife as long as any members of the family older than her are alive. He has to do the bidding of his father-in-law, his wife's elder brothers, and other elder members of the family; but after the death of his father-in-law, his wife's uncle; and her elder brothers, or after the latter marry and go away to live with their

fathers-in-law, he himself becomes the head of the family. This circumstance explains the fact that the son-in-law is *not* on terms of *n'exi'yīñi* with his younger brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and that he is to them, not a *pogi'l'*, but a *pu'lei*. His relations towards these younger members of the family, far from being those of a subordinate, assume, under certain circumstances, the nature of paternal authority.

Many ethnologists have been inclined to regard the custom by which a young man has to make his residence in the house of his wife's family, and his subordinate position there, as an indication or survival of *maternal right*. In reality, however, we are dealing here with an agnatic family and with the principle of seniority in the mutual relations of the members of the family. The rule of the elder, however, is not absolute, and the son-in-law may also occupy the position of an agnate.

This rule, that a young man must make his home in the house of his father-in-law, is of course not without exceptions. When there is only one daughter in the house and no sons at all, or when the sons have gone away to live with their fathers-in-law, then the young man must settle in the house absolutely. There are cases, however, where by mutual agreement two families exchange daughters, and the sons remain in their respective homes. It sometimes happens, too, that the father-in-law himself lets the young man go and live with his parents when the latter have no children at all, and he himself has children. There is another custom by which the younger son and the younger daughter have to stay with their parents, and are not permitted to go away to live with strangers. This is a kind of minority right, which finds expression, as we shall see later, also in the customs regulating inheritance. The Yukaghir explain their attitude to their younger children in the following way: the parents love the oldest child most; but it is the youngest one that is most faithful, and cares for them when they grow old.

As a rule, the young man has to stay with his father-in-law; but this, after all, is only what a good son-in-law always does. When a young man wishes to leave the house of his father-in-law, the latter may refuse to give him his wife if he has no children by her. On the other hand, he himself may be driven out of the house by his father-in-law in case there are no children; but as soon as children appear, the young man may take his wife and his children and leave the house. Custom censures such action on the part of the son-in-law; but the young men of to-day are inclined to violate the custom, and it is for this reason that fathers refrain from giving their consent to the marriage of their daughters before satisfying themselves as to the faithfulness of the young man.

MARRIAGE AMONG THE TUNDRA YUKAGHIR. — While the Tungus of the Yassachna and Korkodon Rivers, who have become Yukaghirized, so to say, have completely acquired the marriage customs of the Yukaghir, the Rein-

deer Yukaghir of the tundra, who have been assimilated by the Tungus among whom they live, have themselves adopted some of the marriage customs of the Tungus. The Tungus, in turn, have adopted some of the Yukaghir marriage customs. Thus the Yukaghirized Tungus of the tundra, living between the Kolyma and Indighirka Rivers, no longer go to other clans for their brides, but even marry relatives, as the Yukaghir do.¹ The tundra Yukaghir, however, have acquired from the Tungus the custom of purchasing their wives (*marxin-woleñ*, i. e., "the price of a girl") and of having the bride settle with the parents of the bridegroom. In such cases they combine their own custom of "serving" for the bride with this new custom of purchasing her.

This "serving" is performed in the same manner as among the Koryak. The son-in-law goes to live in the house of the girl's parents, and stays there from one to three years. In the course of that time he watches the reindeer, occupies himself with hunting and fishing, and performs all kinds of labor. This is the period for testing the young man, and his services do not in any way bind the parents of the girl. They may refuse to give their consent to the marriage at the final courting, and then the young man leaves their house without receiving anything.

The regular Yukaghir character of the proceedings in the formal courting among the tundra Yukaghir is preserved, but the part played by other relatives than the father and mother is more prominent. The match-maker also brings a present to the parents, in the shape of some reindeer and skins of red or arctic foxes or other furs, to "draw out their word" (*arū'lusl pu'lgecur*). This present is called *añan-loho'lercte* (i. e., "the mouth-opener"). When the match-maker at last succeeds in procuring the consent of the parents, the bargaining begins as to the number of reindeer to be paid for the girl. When this is settled, an argument takes place regarding the time when the girl is to be removed to the house of the bridegroom's parents. When the time for removal comes, the young man leaves off his service and returns home, while his parents move their camp nearer to the dwelling of the girl's parents.

While marriages among the Korkodon and Yassachna Yukaghir are deprived of all celebration and formalities, the tundra Yukaghir observe certain formalities when celebrating their marriages. The match-maker, accompanied by his wife, comes to take the bride. He tells of the number of reindeer prepared by the bridegroom's father as the purchase-price, and inquires what the girl gets as dowry. This dowry usually consists of a certain number of reindeer harnessed to sledges. There is one sledge for the bride; another is loaded with bedding; a third contains the bride's clothing and a

¹ Out of 41 marriages among the tundra Tungus of the Betil Clan, recorded by me, 20 women belonged to the Betil Clan, and 21 were taken from the Yukaghir, Chukchee, and other Tungus clans. The Tungus proper never marry in their own clans.

wedding costume for the bridegroom, made by her. Then follow a number of sledges containing household utensils, and presents for the bridegroom's relatives. When the train is all in readiness, the bride's father kills a reindeer; and while the bride is dressing for the journey, her mother, together with the match-maker's wife, smear her joints with the fresh blood. The significance of this custom is not known to the Yukaghir of the present day. They call it *meč'ecum* (i. e., "a washing"). "Thus," they say, "is a child to be washed before it is sent away from the house to live with strangers." Then they dress the bride in her best garments, put silver snow-goggles on her eyes, and cover her face with a kerchief. Now she is handed over to the match-maker and his wife, who seat her on the first sledge, and direct the train towards the tent of the bridegroom's parents, walking along. Some relatives of either of the parties following the train shoot their guns on both sides to drive away the evil spirits that might attempt to attack the bride. This is termed "*ne'rčeru'kun yu'odik a'yil*," which means "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 prepared inside. Nobody comes out to meet the bride; but a young girl lifts the door-flap of the tent, and the match-maker leads in the bride. Here all the bridegroom's relatives are assembled. 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 match-maker's wife brings in the skins, the blanket and other articles of bedding, prepares the nuptial bed on the place previously appointed, and places the bride on 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 match-maker's wife brings the presents, consisting of kerchiefs, shawls, trinkets, knives, and other articles, and distributes them among the relatives. The bridegroom's father sometimes gets money to the amount of one ruble or more.

After the presents have been distributed, the reindeer brought by the bride are turned in among the herd. Previous to this, however, the reindeer have that part of their heads behind the antlers painted red with a paint prepared from alder-bark. This apparently serves as a symbol of sacrificial blood. Then the bridegroom, the match-maker, and the former's young relatives, take to binding together the reindeer which are to serve as the purchase-price for the bride; and the bride and bridegroom, in company with the match-maker, lead them on foot to the bride's father. The match-maker has a long leather halter, and the bridegroom has a short one. The bride's father comes out of the tent to accept the reindeer, and the match-maker gives him the long halter to symbolize that the reindeer now belong to him. The bridegroom, however, retains his short halter. Whereas among the

tundra Yukaghir the purchase-price is delivered to the bride's father after the bride and her train of sledges have reached the dwelling-place of the bridegroom's parents, this order is reversed among the Yakut and the Tungus. The purchase-price — consisting among the former of horses, and among the latter of reindeer — is first delivered by the bridegroom to his future father-in-law before the bride's train starts out. The purchase-price of the tundra Yukaghir cannot be looked upon as actual payment to the father for the girl, for the value of it is not much above the value of the girl's dowry. Besides, the bride's father does not take all the reindeer for himself; he takes only one; then gives one to his wife, and one to every one of the relatives assembled.

Generally speaking, the principle of blood-relationship operates here, which the tundra Yukaghir seem to have adopted from the Tungus, and which is much more developed among the former than among the Yukaghir proper. It is according to this principle that not only the parents, but all the relatives or the whole clan, have to be compensated for the loss of the girl. The reindeer remaining after the distribution among the relatives are incorporated by the girl's father in his own herd.

When the reindeer brought by the match-maker and the bridegroom are accepted by the girl's father, the two former return home and announce the fact formally. Then the bridegroom's father sends the match-maker to invite the girl's father and her relatives to the wedding-feast. This feast consists of reindeer-meat, fish, and berries.

It is interesting to note that a separate table-board for the young couple is put on the skins forming their bedding. The Yakut do the same in their marriage ceremonies. They separate the bride and the bridegroom at the feast from the rest of the people. This serves, on the one hand, to make them conspicuous as the cause of the celebration, and, on the other hand, indicates their subordinate position with regard to the relatives on either side.

When the meal is over, the bridegroom's father and the match-maker place on the table various presents for the bride's relatives. These presents consist of kerchiefs, chintz, plates, spoons, arrows, axes, trinkets, and other things. The bride's father approaches, takes one of the presents for himself, and distributes the rest among all his relatives present. One plate must be left on the table as a symbol of future abundance. The presents are called *ci'nei-ru'kun* (i. e., "dry things"). This exchange of gifts is designed to bring the members of both families into closer contact, the relatives of both families themselves helping to supply the articles for the presents.

After the celebrations are over, the bride's relatives retire to their homes, and the newly-married couple remain in the tent for three days without leaving it. On the fourth day they go to visit the bride's parents. The other relatives of the bride are not visited by them till a year after the

wedding. Then the relatives who have received one reindeer each of the purchase-price present the couple, each in his turn, with one reindeer. This is called *n'a'tmar me'ña* (i. e., "taking back"). This shows that the giving of reindeer to the bride's relatives is not intended as a purchase-price for the bride, but rather as an exchange of presents. Thus the tundra Yukaghir have modified the Tungus custom of buying the bride, giving it the nature of exchanging presents among relatives.

Among the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, as well as among the tundra or Reindeer Yukaghir, formal weddings at church are usually put off for one year or more after the customary wedding described above has taken place, or to some opportune time when the Russian priest happens to visit their camp.

CHILD-BIRTH. — The view is commonly held that women of primitive and low-cultured peoples have easier child-births than those of civilized and cultured nations; that with the former this process is much the same as any of the other natural and painless organic functions. I had more than one opportunity, while living among the Yakut and the Yukaghir, to convince myself that this view is erroneous. Of course, the women of these tribes are not as delicate as the women of civilized nations; but the absence of proper obstetric methods, and the necessity of being on their feet soon after child-birth, result in chronic suffering, nervous diseases, and premature age. Besides, many cases have come to my knowledge where young women have died as a result of an irregular birth, or of the barbarous practices of native midwives. In more civilized countries the lives of women would be saved in such cases.

Primitive peoples must have been deeply impressed by the painful process of child-birth and by the dangers to the woman's life attendant upon it. With the sense of causality present even in the most primitive minds, they searched for the reasons for this phenomenon. Among the various causes given by them, some appear to have some logical connection with the process, others are so absurd that one wonders how they could have arrived at such conclusions. The practical purpose of looking for causes was the desire of doing away with the phenomena themselves by acting in some way upon the causes that called them into existence.

The belief is held among many tribes that hard labor or unfortunate child-birth is caused by evil spirits entering the woman. This belief is especially prevalent among the Turkish-Mongol tribes, such as the Kirghiz, Kalmuk, Bashkir, Altaians, and also the Yakut, from whom I gathered my information on the subject. I shall deal here in some detail with the views of the Yakut on pregnancy and child-birth, first, in order to bring into contrast the views of the Yukaghir on the same phenomena; and, secondly, because the data given below have never been published.

The Yakut attribute all evil in nature to the action of evil spirits (*abasy*, *pl. abasyilar*). From this point of view it is quite logical to ascribe hard labor or premature or abnormal birth to the same evil powers. Accordingly, hard labor as well as death are not natural phenomena, but are brought about by evil spirits. For this reason the obstetric art is directed in critical cases towards struggling with the evil powers; and when the good goddess of the Yakut who is present at child-birth, *Ayisit* by name, proves unable to alleviate the woman's condition, the shaman takes the place of the midwife.

The Yukaghir ascribe hard labor to several causes different from the above. First, the child adheres to the back, abdomen, or side of the woman, and cannot tear itself loose. To prevent this, the pregnant woman must not eat either fat tried out of bones, or fat of the cow or reindeer, or larch-gum, or the inner bark of the larch, or juice of the red poplar, or fish-glue, or the fish from which glue is extracted, or *khayak* (хяякъ).¹ All these fats are believed to thicken (or "freeze," as they put it) in the stomach, and to fasten the child to the inside of the woman; but butter of the cow, and horse-fat, melt in the stomach, and may therefore be eaten. In cases where the child adheres, the Yukaghir employ mechanical means, — which will be described below, — and pharmaceutical ones. To the latter belong the following.

The woman's abdomen and back are smeared with melted butter; she also drinks melted butter or soap-water, and keeps her hair in her mouth. All these remedies, however, have become known to the Yukaghir only recently. Before the arrival of the Yakut in the polar regions, the Yukaghir knew nothing of horned cattle; and even now they get all their butter from the Yakut. The use of soap-water and the chewing of hair have apparently been borrowed from the Russians.²

Another cause of hard labor lies in the evil will of the child itself. I could not find any reasons for this belief. The Yukaghir do not regard the child before birth as an evil spirit or as participating in the actions of evil spirits; on the contrary, they believe that while the child is yet in the mother's womb, the soul of some one of the dead relatives enters into it. Nevertheless the Yukaghir would not allow two pregnant women to live in one house, that the children to be born might not communicate and agree between themselves as to which of the mothers should die. One of the women usually goes to stay in another house. According to observations

¹ This is a special kind of butter which the Yakut prepare from sour cream. It is used in a frozen state, and is cut with a knife into pieces, in the manner of lump-sugar.

² In many places in Russia, among the common people, a woman in child-bed, in case the placenta is retained, is given bread containing lice to swallow. After she has swallowed it, she is informed of the contents. This is designed to cause her to vomit, and as a consequence the contraction of her womb. The drinking of soap-water and the chewing of hair are practised by Russian women in Kolymsk, apparently for the same purpose. The Yukaghir regard it as a remedy for "loosening the child."

made by the Yukaghir, of two women living in the same house during pregnancy, one always dies.

Ignorance as to the actual originator of the pregnancy, and the absence of his help, also serve as a cause for dangerous child-birth; for the originator of the pregnancy himself may "loosen what he fastened." For this reason the midwife's first question to an unmarried woman in child-bed is, "Who was the cause of your pregnancy?" The same question is put to married women in hard labor. There are cases when the woman dies silently, leaving the question unanswered. A married woman would not confess to a breach of fidelity to her husband, and an unmarried one sometimes feels ashamed to make public the name of her lover.

I referred above to the old blacksmith on the Yassachna River who refused to shelter in his house his pregnant daughter during child-birth, because the young man to whom she had been engaged thought it was my cossack, and not himself, who had caused the pregnancy. I was just at that time in the settlement where this occurred. When the throes of travail began, the midwife wanted the girl to confess who the father of the child was. At first the girl kept silent, but afterward she mentioned her betrothed. Some one sent for the young man, requiring him, as the father of the child, to come and alleviate the travail; but he persistently refused. At last his uncle, with whom he lived, interceded. "Did you go at night to the girl to sleep?" he demanded. "Yes, I did," answered the young man. "Well, then, you must go now, when she is in child-bed," said his uncle. The young man obeyed, although he knew well the relationship that had existed between my cossack and his wife, and believed the child not to be his; nevertheless his uncle's question had shaken this belief.

As soon as he entered the tent and put his hand around the woman's abdomen, according to the midwife's orders, she gave birth to a boy. This at once convinced all the women present at the child-birth that she had told the truth. Later on, however, the young folks in the settlement found that the new-born resembled my former cossack, and annoyed the mother with their jests on this account. The boy died very soon, and I think this was a case of infanticide. After this, her betrothed married her publicly, and went to live with her parents as their adopted son-in-law.

To the causes of hard labor just mentioned, which may be termed "natural," should be added other causes apparently to be ascribed to the action of supernatural agents, although in a rather obscure way. This appears from the fact that many of the remedies applied for hard labor are of a magic character. These remedies are believed to cure by analogy or similarity, as the primitive mind believes that things bearing some external or even symbolic resemblance to one another mutually produce mysterious effects.

All the observances to be followed by the pregnant woman, by her husband, and by the house-mates in general, may be divided into passive (or taboo), i. e., things not to do; and active, or things to do. To the former category belong the following actions. Those around the woman must not raise their voices or shout aloud. When a person who is leaving, for example, is to be called back, this should not be done by shouting. Some one should run after him and call him softly; otherwise the woman will scream with pain. — Nobody is allowed to cross the way a pregnant woman has passed, or to stop her in her walking, or to detain her in the door when she is leaving the house; otherwise the child will be detained at birth. — When a pregnant woman, having started out for some place, recalls on the way that she has forgotten something at home, she must not turn back, but must first reach the place, and then return, fetch the forgotten object, and cover the same ground once more; otherwise the delivery will be stopped in the middle. — A pregnant woman must not turn from side to side in a lying position, but must rise first and only then lie on the side she wishes; otherwise the child will not turn properly. — Women in the early period of pregnancy should not be present at a child-birth, that the woman in child-bed may not be affected by analogy with their own condition; i. e., absence of bearing-down pains and unpreparedness for the process. — Nobody is allowed to go around the house where a pregnant woman lives, for this will cause the navel-cord to wind around the child. — Two pregnant women must not eat out of one kettle, or drink out of one pitcher, or draw water out of one ice-hole; for one kettle, one pitcher, or one ice-hole symbolizes only one single free opening.

Of the things that a pregnant woman or her husband ought to do, I learned about the following. A pregnant woman must always be active, energetic, and brisk. She must do her work quickly; otherwise the child will have little energy, and the birth will be difficult. "A pregnant woman," the Yukaghir say, "must work hard if she is to have an easy child-birth." She must rise earliest and go to bed latest, and must always be doing something; so that she is not seen idle even for a minute.

Once, during my stay on the Yassachna River, I was in the house of an old man named Tulyach, writing down myths which he was telling me. It was in the daytime. All at once the old man jumped up. He heard the snoring of his pregnant niece, who had fallen asleep from weariness. He woke her, saying, "Do you want to die in child-birth, as your elder sister did?"

The gait of a pregnant woman must be light. She must raise her feet high when walking, and spurn with her foot whatever lies in her path, such as a stone, a log, or a lump of snow. This symbolizes the removal of all obstacles to the child's birth. These wearisome exercises, of course, are neither beneficial to the woman's health nor to the child. It must be added,

however, that in the latest period of pregnancy, when the woman is not in a condition for brisk walking or sprightly activity, all the actions enumerated above must be performed by her husband or betrothed.

During pregnancy the woman twists short thread for sewing, that the process of child-birth may not be long. At the first attack of labor-pains, the woman and the midwife undo their braids. Then both these women and the husband of the former must unbutton all buttons, unfasten all hooks and buckles, and untie all knots and loops in their clothes and boots, that the child may not be hampered by anything on its way out.

As I have already stated, the Yukaghir regard prolonged or hard labor as due to the adherence of the child to the mother's viscera. They therefore employ some mechanical aid to hasten delivery, besides the means indicated above, which might be termed pharmaceutical and magical.

At the beginning of child-birth, all male persons, including the father-in-law, the brothers, and the brothers-in-law, are sent out of the house. The only males allowed to remain are the husband of the woman about to give birth, whose presence is of particular importance, and her father. The latter's place may be taken by another elderly person familiar with midwifery, except a brother.

All persons of the female sex, without exception, may be present; and all the women-folk of the village usually assemble to assist at a child-birth. The woman most experienced in obstetrics serves as midwife. As soon as labor begins, the patient is made to walk about the room, in order to facilitate the "coming off" of the child. When she becomes exhausted, two women take her under the arms, and lead her about, stopping, whenever she begins to moan with pain, to give her a rest.

In the mean time the midwife frequently feels of the abdomen of the patient. If she finds the upper part of it hard, the walking is kept up; but if it is soft, — which, according to the Yukaghir women, is a sign of the child's having turned its head downward, — the patient is seated.

The prospective mother has only a coat, untied and open in front, over the naked body, and unlaced shoes on the bare feet. She has her apron and breeches off, and the front part of the body exposed.

One of the male persons present, usually the husband, is seated upon a bag filled with clothes and other domestic utensils. In case the husband is inexperienced or too young, the father or uncle of the patient takes this seat. Then the patient is seated upon the man's knees; and he encircles her body with his hands, pressing downward on her abdomen, and squeezing her sides with his fore-arms. His feet are supported by stakes driven into the ground; and his arms are pushed against the patient's body by two women, married or single, who stand on both sides, trying to increase the total pressure.

Another man embraces from behind the first man, together with the patient, to add more pressure upon her abdomen. If the embrace of the man is insufficient, a towel or leather belt is resorted to. The midwife sits in front and presses upon the lower part of the patient's abdomen. Dry hay is spread upon the floor, that the child may fall on it in case the midwife fails to take it. To be able to endure all the suffering thus caused her, the patient holds on to a leather strap suspended from the ceiling on a level with her head.

The harmful effects of these obstetric performances upon the patient and the child are obvious. They frequently kill the former, especially when her pelvis is too narrow, or when the child is in a wrong position. The Yukaghir, however, are convinced of the wholesomeness and helpfulness of these operations.

I can hardly forget one case to which I was a witness. A young woman, a primipara, had been suffering for several days without any result. She obviously had paralysis of the bladder, and did not urinate for a few days. When the woman was almost exhausted from pain and suffering, the Yukaghir turned to me for advice. I found the woman's abdomen in the form of two distinct circular parts. The lower represented apparently the filled-up bladder, and the upper contained the child that could not be delivered. Not being a physician, and having no catheter with me, I could do nothing. Only then did I realize how necessary it is for a traveller to be a physician. All I could do was to advise the application of hot poultices, and especially not to employ any mechanical means, and to leave the rest to nature.

It was late at night. I could not sleep; and towards daybreak I learned that the woman had died, having given birth to a dead child. There is no doubt that the Yukaghir disregarded my advice, and resorted to their usual mechanical manipulations, which resulted in the premature death of the unfortunate young woman.

The following no less barbarous methods (if, indeed, not more cruel), used by the Yakut in their efforts to facilitate child-birth, may well be compared to the obstetric art of the Yukaghir. The Yakut regard labor-pains, not as a natural process, but as a sickness caused by evil spirits entering the body of the patient.

The Yakut (at least, those of the Kolyma, where I made my observations) believe, like the Yukaghir, that labor may be lessened if the woman names the man who caused the pregnancy. When questioned by the midwife as to the name of the man, a woman, whether married or single, will answer the question, even in cases of casual cohabitation, and even in the presence of the parents, bridegroom, or husband; for the fear of a fatal child-birth is very great. However, in some cases, the woman does not commit herself, and refuses to answer, or tells a falsehood. It is considered especially dis-

graceful among the Yakut for a girl of rich parents to become pregnant from a domestic or from a poor man in general. Such a case exposes the girl to public ridicule, and the new-born infant is spoken of as a *saxabit ohoto*; i. e., "excreted child."

The following mechanical means are employed by the Yakut for hastening delivery. 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 cross-piece 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.

When the pressure of the midwife and the supposed help of the goddess prove of no avail, the shaman is at once called upon to expel the evil spirit (*abasyar*) of which the woman is believed to be possessed. So far as I could learn, the Yakut regard as the object of such shamanistic performances, not the saving of the mother or the new-born infant from the tortures caused by the evil spirits, but merely the combating of those spirits, which they look upon as an aim in itself. 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 labor.

Let me illustrate this by the following case, of which I myself was a witness to a certain extent. In the summer of 1895 I went up the Kolyma River in a boat, on my way from Sredne-Kolymsk to the Yukaghir on the river Yassachna. In one of the Yakut settlements not far from Verkhne-Kolymsk I found a very sick woman in a boat, who was being transported by the Yakut to the district infirmary at Sredne-Kolymsk. She had her eyes closed, and lay uttering low moans at short intervals. I was told later by the physician of Sredne-Kolymsk that the woman died in the infirmary, and that her perinæum was entirely ruptured and her bladder punctured, as the result of obstetric operations performed by the shaman.

A criminal exile named Gebler, who was in the settlement at the time of the occurrence, furnished me with a detailed description of the case in writing, of which I give here a short extract. The woman was a primipara, and the wife of the clan elder. As soon as the first labor-pains came, — which, according to the subsequent assertion of the unfortunate woman, were premature, — the husband sent for the shaman to hasten the delivery.

The shaman arrived, and at once began his performances, and, having invoked his guardian spirits, set himself to the task of exorcism.

A structure made of birch poles, as above mentioned, was built by the husband with the help of the shaman, and the unhappy woman was dragged to it by force. Her cries and resistance were of no avail. With the aid of the shaman's son and her sister-in-law, the woman was dragged to the structure. Her hands and feet were fastened with skin straps to the side-poles of the structure, and her neck bound to the cross-piece. While the assistants held the woman, that she might not tear herself away from it, the shaman began to squeeze the child out, pronouncing incantations at the same time. The woman's cries were disregarded.

At length the shaman declared that he saw a long-tailed evil spirit holding the child. The husband of the poor woman begged the shaman to expel the spirit. Then the shaman armed himself with iron tongs, such as are used by a blacksmith, and pulled the child out piecemeal. Gebler, who was in the hut at the beginning of the performance, and who did not dare to interfere, had to leave the dwelling, not being able to witness the sufferings of the woman.

When he returned in the evening, the victim, already released, lay in a pool of blood on the bare ground, covered with a fur coat, moaning feebly. The Yakut drank their tea quite unconcerned about the sufferer. Gebler intimated to the Yakut how cruel it was to mutilate a woman in child-birth and then to cast her away on the floor. The master of the house replied that his wife was not ill, but that the evil spirit had obsessed her. Then Gebler carried the woman from where she lay and put her upon a reindeer-skin, and covered her over with the coat.

The next day Gebler went to Verkhne-Kolymsk, where he found the chief of the district, who happened to have come from Sredne-Kolymsk for the purpose of collecting the fur-tribute from the natives, and he told him of what he had witnessed. By order of the official, the woman was taken to the infirmary of Sredne-Kolymsk, and the shaman was arrested. He died under arrest, evidently overwhelmed with fear at the prospect of being sent to Yakutsk.

It is an interesting fact that the Yakut have the same beliefs and employ the same obstetric practices with their cattle as have just been described, forcing the calves or colts out into the world as soon as the process of giving birth begins. When the nozzle and the fore-hoofs of the little animal appear, they at once throw a skin strap over it, and drag it out. There are also special shamans who are called upon to bless and cure the cattle. The women pronounce incantations during the labor period of a cow or mare. The following is a formula of an incantation used at the birth of a calf.

"Lax, lax, lax!"¹ Cxtohor turgän, tütä-ahar čepčeki buol, ärgathı uruñ suola." ("Lax, lax, lax! Be faster than an arrow, lighter than a hair, as usual, march through a white straight road!")

This shows that the Yakut believe in the participation of evil spirits in the birth of their domestic animals, and think it necessary to combat those spirits. However, the presence of a benevolent goddess, alleviating the labor-pains, is not lacking here as well as in the case of the women.

The Yukaghir do not associate child-birth with such beliefs; and, although in the past they had certain incantations for such cases, they are quite forgotten now. This takes us back to the interrupted description of child-birth among the Yukaghir.

If the placenta is delayed in coming out, the midwife massages the abdomen of the woman, or makes her walk about the dwelling. The woman dresses herself after the process of giving birth is over, that she may not take cold, and lies down on her side. This is done, as the Yukaghir put it, "to allow the bones, disjointed during the birth, to come together again."

The woman usually lies in bed not more than two or three hours. She begins to walk outside of 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. Their own braids of hair may also serve this purpose, in case of necessity. Then the midwife purifies the woman by means of smokes. 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 not touch her, and she must not have anything to do with any of the utensils for hunting and fishing.

The same taboo is observed during menstruation. Among the tundra Yukaghir the women are altogether forbidden to sit on their husband's sledges, where the hunting-spear is fastened.

TREATMENT OF CHILDREN. — The new-born baby is wiped with a kind of wisp, which the Yukaghir make out of soft willow shavings, and is put in a cradle to be described later. The navel-string is cut off, in the case of a boy with a curved working-knife, and in the case of a girl with an ordinary kitchen knife. A string of sinew is used for binding up the navel.

The child is nursed until it is four years old. As the Yukaghir women told me, the usual interval with them, between two successive pregnancies, is three years, and this is considered the normal period for feeding the baby at the breast. If, however, the interval between the pregnancies happens to

¹ "Lax, lax, lax!" are merely interjections.

be longer, the nursing-period is increased accordingly. Sometimes a four or five year old child returns to the mother's breast to feed with the new-born baby.

In former times, nursing infants who had lost their mothers were killed. Now attempts are made to bring up such orphans. I know of a two-year-old orphan child that was fed on fish-spawn and turbot-liver, and thrived well. In another case a new-born child was left to the care of an aged grandfather, who took the place of a nurse, and raised the child, with the aid of two women of the settlement. Having their own babies to nurse, they would come in turn and suckle the orphan baby.

A name is given to the child soon after birth, when it is christened. In former times, however, the child was not named until it began to speak. This was due to the belief that when the child is still in the womb, the soul (aibi) of some one of the father's or the mother's deceased relatives enters it, and that the name and the sex of the child are determined by the name and sex of that relative. The child is believed to announce the name of its aibi as soon as it begins to speak. These names are even now retained by the Yukaghir as nicknames, in addition to their Christian names.

The custom still survives, by which the parents, after the birth of the first child that has taken the name of some deceased relative, abandon their own names, and call themselves the father and mother of the first-born, son or daughter, so and so. Thus, a blacksmith on the river Nelema, whose Christian name was Basil, changed it to Cho'tiñi-eč'i'e (i. e., "the father of Cho'tiñi"); and his wife, whose original Christian name had been Mary, was later called Cho'tiñi-eme'i (i. e., "the mother of Cho'tiñi"), from the name of their eldest son, Cho'tiñi.

The birth of the first child is regarded as a great event in the life of the Yukaghir. It proclaims the continuation of the race, and indicates that the deceased relatives will not leave a union without offspring, but will send their souls into the womb of the woman. It is of no consequence whether these souls belong to relatives on the husband's side or to those on the wife's side. This is why the Yukaghir look upon the first child-birth as upon an occurrence of great significance in matrimonial life, and celebrate it; while the marriage ceremony itself is not accompanied by any celebration.

The festival held to celebrate a child-birth is called pa'čil. Invitations to the feast are extended not only to relatives, but to the inhabitants of the village in general.

Sterility is considered as a punishment of the spirits of the deceased relatives, who send their souls only to those relatives whom they favor. For this reason the father-in-law may send away his son-in-law, if the latter is sterile, and the husband may send away his barren wife.

In olden times barren women resorted to the assistance of shamans, who

were supposed to descend into the subterranean world and persuade the deceased relatives of the woman to send her one of their souls. In those places where there are still shamans, these practices for preventing barrenness are frequent even now. In case the inhabitants of the lower world cannot be persuaded, the shamans resort to force or fraud. With the aid of his guardian spirits, the shaman seizes a soul in the subterranean world and introduces it into the woman; but an abortion, or the early death of the new-born, may follow as a consequence of such abduction of a soul. The shamans are asked, therefore, not to use violence in their endeavors to prevent barrenness.

Nowhere among the Siberian tribes have I seen such love for children as among the Yukaghir. This may be explained in part by the fact that the tribe is on the verge of extinction, and has a great number of barren women; so that this special care and affection for the little ones are a manifestation, perhaps, of the last efforts of the tribe in its struggle for self-preservation.

However, some instances of love for children are found also in the mythology of the tribe. "There was once a hunter," one tradition tells us, "who could not procure any game for a long time. He and his wife and a suckling babe had to starve. 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 his 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." This story presents infanticide in a different light from that usually manifested among primitive tribes.

The children are so attached to their mothers that they follow them everywhere. They are given the best morsels, and are provided with warm clothing. Even the most morose people caress the little ones. Nowhere have I seen such obedient and well-behaved children as among the Yukaghir. They obey their elders promptly. This obedience is not the result of fear or strict discipline, but rather of confidence and attachment. The elders, on the other hand, do not abuse their authority, and do not impose upon the children too arduous tasks.

From the age of eight to ten years the children begin to help in the household, — the girls in sewing and the preparation of food, the boys in fishing and bird-hunting around the house. There are, of course, some capricious children, but these are usually let alone. They are not punished, for it is believed that their "souls" are freakish.

TREATMENT OF OLD PEOPLE. — The Yukaghir of to-day deny that the

custom of putting to death the old men and women — which is prevalent among the Chukchee, and was formerly in existence among the Koryak — ever existed among them; but I think that much weight cannot be put upon this denial. The influence of Russian administration and of Russian civilization upon the Yukaghir has made the existence of such a custom impossible, and even wiped out all remembrance of it, if it ever did exist.

The old man holds a position of some respect in the family life of the Yukaghir to-day. When he becomes so weak that he can no longer hunt or fish, he sits in the house doing nothing but commanding, advising, and directing the work. The old woman occupies a similar position. Her advice and guidance in all household matters are sought by the younger women of the house, — the sisters, daughters, daughters-in-law, and other relatives. If the old Yukaghir has children, he lives in their house as the head of the family, and enjoys a guarded and respected old age. This is one of the reasons why the Yukaghir love their children so much. Those who are left without children, and have to live in their old age with relatives, occupy no enviable position, and have no authority in household matters.

The advantages of having children extend even beyond the grave; for people are believed to live in the other world in the same family groups in which they lived on earth. The old parents will therefore enjoy in the other world, after their children's death, the same respectful position as heads of their families; while during their children's lives they will receive offerings from them.

Although the sons usually go to live with their fathers-in-law after they marry, the Yukaghir prefer to have male children. They say that the son's heart is always with his parents, even when he lives with his father-in-law; but a son-in-law is, after all, a *yen coromox* (i. e., "a stranger"), who can leave his father-in-law whenever he wishes. On the other hand, married sons, after the death of their fathers-in-law, go with their families to live with their parents.

In the spring wanderings or hunting-expeditions the old people are carried on sledges drawn by young women in conjunction with dogs. It must be said, however, that this is done only when the old people are absolutely unable to walk. On some occasions I have seen old women with staffs in their hands, trudging after the train. Once I saw a blind old man leaning on a boy, and walking along with the rest. "I have been used from childhood to walking, and could not sit on the sledge," he said to me.

PROPERTY RIGHTS. — The Yukaghir who subsist by hunting and fishing near river-banks are so poor, and their mode of life is so primitive, that the private possession in the family of any article, not to speak of food-products, is almost entirely beyond their conception. Whatever is procured through hunting or fishing is turned over by the hunters and the fishermen to the

women, the oldest of whom looks after its distribution. The furs of animals killed by the hunters are in the hands of the oldest man in the family, who pays the tribute or other debts, and barter them for products imported by merchants.

This privilege of the old men is becoming less exclusive, however. The grown-up members of the family (i. e., the people whose labor procures the fur) frequently take some of the furs for their own use, without asking permission of the old men. The most successful hunters are usually more independent in the use of the products of the hunt.

The patriarchal principle is weakened by the self-assertion of the individual claiming the right to the fruit of his labor, and tradition is making tacit concessions. Especially interesting in this regard are the relations between the father-in-law and the son-in-law, who, according to the custom of *n'exiyiñi*, are not allowed to speak to each other, and therefore cannot come to a verbal agreement in case of a conflict between the patriarchal principle and individual claims. According to the ancient custom, the son-in-law and all the products of his work are in the power and at the disposal of the father-in-law; but in reality this custom has had to yield to the new claims of the individual. The son-in-law often takes some furs of his own hunt and exchanges them for imported goods without asking his father-in-law.

These same contradictory elements exist side by side among females. The oldest woman in the house has under her care all the food-products, and the younger women obediently follow her orders; but if a girl needs a dozen fishes which she helped to catch, to exchange for a chintz kerchief of a Yakut trader, she will take them without asking the older woman's permission to do so.

Individual ownership is recognized to some extent with reference to articles of clothing, and hunting-implements such as the gun, the bow, etc. Each member of the family has what he calls *his* clothing, and the hunter has *his* gun. Of course, one member of the family will put on the coat of another member, or one brother will use the gun of another brother; but on the whole, private property in these articles is pretty well established. The bridegroom also takes his clothing and weapons with him when going to live with his father-in-law. The principle of private property holds also in regard to women's ornaments, and to such utensils as needles, thimbles, scissors, and thread. Here also belong the smoking-utensils — the pipe, the strike-a-light, the tobacco-pouch, and the tinder — and the canoe. But boats, fishing-nets, house and all household implements, are the common property of the whole family. After the father's death, the mother comes into control of the family property. After the death of both parents, the control of the property is transferred to the oldest members of the family.

When a daughter leaves the family after the death of her parents, and goes to live in the house of her husband's parents, she takes with her from the family property only her bedding and some of the dishes. With regard to inheritance of family property, the principle of minority is generally applied. When the older brothers separate from the family, or, after their parents' death, go to live in the families of their wives' parents, the family property remains in the hands of the youngest brother. He also becomes the owner of the father's gun, after the death of the latter, while all the dresses and trinkets of the mother become the property of the youngest daughter. As already stated, the youngest son does not leave the house of his parents to go to live with his father-in-law. He serves for the latter a certain time, in requital for his bride, and then she goes to live with his parents. The Yukaghir explain the custom of minority right to inheritance by saying that the youngest child loves its parents more than do the other children, and is more attached to them than they are.

Among the Reindeer Yukaghir of the tundra, the ideas as to property rights, within the family, to the products of the hunt, household implements, clothing, hunting-implements, and women's working-materials, are the same as among the Yukaghir living as fishermen on the Upper Kolyma. The patriarchal rights are more prominent among the tundra Yukaghir, whose customs have been considerably influenced by the Tungus. The son will seldom undertake anything without asking the father or the oldest member of the family, and so will the daughter always consult the mother in all her doings.

Certain changes in the property rights of the tundra Yukaghir have been brought about through the adoption by them of a custom of the Tungus, according to which the bride is purchased from her father, and removed to the house of the bridegroom's parents. A married daughter gets no part of the family property after the death of her parents, for she received her share as dowry when she married.¹ For the same reason the mother's personal property, such as clothes, trinkets, and working-utensils, comes into the possession of the unmarried girls. This custom of taking away the right of inheritance from those members who leave the family before the death of the parents agrees, in this point, with the old custom of minority right to inheritance. The above statement refers mainly to daughters. The sons of the tundra Yukaghir, according to the custom adopted from the Tungus, do not leave their father's house after marriage, but remain in the family, and share the property in common. The brothers are kept together, on the one hand by ties of kinship, and on the other by the scarcity of reindeer, which makes divided households impracticable.

¹ See p. 93.

The father's gun and clothing, however, falls to the lot of the youngest son, as with the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma. If the mother survives the father, she is considered the manager of the household property; only the reindeer are under the control of the oldest son. The brothers dispose of the orphaned girls, furnishing them with dowry, and receiving from the bridegroom the purchase-price, as is customary also among the Tungus.

POLYGAMY. — The Yukaghir, having been converted to Christianity two centuries ago, do not practice polygamy at the present day, at least not openly; but it did exist among them in the past, as is shown also by their mythology, where one of their heroes is said to have had five wives. The Yukaghir themselves assert, however, that a man seldom had more than three wives. The first wife was the mistress of the house, while the second held the position of servant and concubine. The man shared his bed with the first wife; the others, who slept separately elsewhere, were visited by him only at night, in a somewhat clandestine fashion.

In the Upper Kolyma dialect, the wife is called *o'lbole*, *modi'ye*, or *pā*; a second wife is called *lo'jū*; and a man having two wives is called *lo'jū'neye coromox'* (i. e., "a man having a concubine"). In the case of three wives, the third is called *lo'jū*; and the second, *yuku-o'lbole*, which means "minor wife." At present, however, the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma use the Russian word *teri'ke*¹ to designate the first wife; the second wife is called *yukuol teri'ke* (i. e., "little wife") or *lo'jū*; and the third wife, simply *lo'jū* ("concubine").

In the dialect of the tundra Yukaghir, a wife is termed *miri'yeñ*; the first wife being called *lu'gul miri'yeñ* ("the oldest wife"); the second, *orjelan miri'yeñ* ("the middle wife"); and the third, *u'oñolal miri'yeñ* ("the young wife").

As already stated, the bed of the first wife was publicly recognized as the conjugal bed. In one story the husband, after a quarrel with "the oldest wife," shares his bed with "the young wife."

To all appearances, the institution of polygamy must have existed to a very limited extent; for, first of all, it was not in accordance with the custom by which a young man, after his marriage, was to make his home in the house of his wife's parents. In his subordinate position, the son-in-law could hardly bring a strange woman to the house of his father-in-law, and keep her to himself independently. This could take place only when the second wife was a relative of the first, and therefore also under the patriarchal rule of the father-in-law as the chief of the family or clan. One Yukaghir told me that there were cases in the past where a man had two sisters as wives, regardless of the custom *n'exi'yiñi*, forbidding two sisters to speak to each

¹ From the Russian *трапеза* (see p. 46).

other. Mythology, however, does not recount any such marriages. It may be said that, on the whole, monogamy prevailed.

Among those having two or more wives were men who had separated from their fathers-in-law, good hunters, strong warriors, and shamans. There are also stories of strong men taking away attractive wives from their husbands by force. Women were frequently the cause of war between tribes. They also served as a price paid to settle claims arising from murder. There were also cases of polygamous marriages, where a man would live one part of the year in one family in the position of son-in-law, and the other part of the year in another family in the same capacity. One old man living on the Korkodon River told me that his own father had lived under such conditions in a dual marriage. In the summer he lived with one wife, the mother of the old man mentioned, helping her father with his fishing; and in winter he wandered with another family, helping his second father-in-law in his hunt for squirrels and wild reindeer.

Among the tundra Yukaghir, who have adopted the marriage-customs of the Tungus to a great extent, including wife-purchase and the residence of the couple in the house of the husband's parents, there have been recent cases of bigamy, where the marriage with one, "the elder wife," was sanctioned by the priest, while cohabitation with the other took place according to the old custom, the latter figuring as servant and concubine.

The immigration of the Reindeer Chukchee, in the middle of the last century, from east of the Kolyma River to the western tundras (i. e., upon the plain lying between the Lower Kolyma and the Indighirka Rivers), had a degrading influence upon the marriage institution of the Yukaghir of that place, turning it back to its more primitive forms.

Being rich in reindeer, the Chukchee paid high purchase-prices for the Yukaghir girls, and the poor tundra Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus were willing to give away their daughters for a hundred or more reindeer apiece. Besides this purchase-price, the Yukaghir father-in-law received continual assistance from his Chukchee son-in-law. This served as an inducement to a Yukaghir father who had daughters.

Yukaghir women, after coming to the homes of their Chukchee husbands, were obliged to dress in Chukchee fashion, and to share their conjugal beds, not alone with their husbands, but also with his friends, according to the custom of group-marriage.¹ This was opposed not only to Christian views on marriage, which the Yukaghir had imbibed to a certain extent, but also to their own former customs. In most cases, when a Yukaghir girl marries a Chukchee, she is forced to do so through the mercenary motives

¹ As to polygamous-polyandrous marriages of the Chukchee, see Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, pp. 155 et seq.; and Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 602.

of her relatives. I once saw a Yukaghir girl who, having been engaged to a rich Chukchee, was afraid to go to the camp of her betrothed, and wept frequently.

On the other hand, some young Yukaghir went to serve among the Chukchee as prospective bridegrooms; but, since the Chukchee did not think much of the Yukaghir as herdsmen for large herds of reindeer, such cases were rather rare. The mingling of the two tribes also led to the adoption by some of the Yukaghir of the group-marriage custom mentioned above, in which members of the group would visit one another's homes and cohabit with one another's wives. In connection with these marriage unions, which on the whole were quite rare, polygamy has been practised among the Yukaghir quite recently, as stated, but I could find no traces of polyandrous marriages either in stories or myths.

Pederastic relations or "transformed men" are still met with among the Chukchee, and occurred in the past among the Koryak and Kamchadal.¹ I found no indications of such an institution among the Yukaghir, except in the dress of the shamans, which includes articles of female attire. This tendency to disguise as women recalls the notion of changing males to females that existed among the above-mentioned tribes.

TRACES OF MATERNAL RIGHTS. — The idea of private property, as indicated before, is not much developed among the Yukaghir, and there is no inheritance in the maternal line. The children inherit property from their father, or rather from their parents. In general, patriarchal rights predominate.

I wish to point out here some facts as to the family relations of the Yukaghir which might be interpreted as survivals of maternal descent. In my opinion, however, they have nothing to do with it. Let us take, first of all, the custom according to which a young man, after his marriage, makes his home in the house of his father-in-law. Some sociologists see in this custom a characteristic of maternal rights; but, as we saw above, the son-in-law himself, generally subordinate to his father-in-law, may become, after the latter's death, the head, not only over his own children, but also over his wife's relatives, if there are no men in the family older than he is.

The question now arises, To what clan do the children belong? Do they bear the father's or the mother's clan name, in case the parents belong to different clans? It must be added, however, that most marriages take place in the same clan. The solution of this problem is made difficult by the interference of the Russian Administration. The children born in marriage after the performance of the church ceremony are registered by the

¹ See Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Vol. VI of this series, pp. 52 et seq.; Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 448-457; Krashennnikoff, II, p. 158; Steller, p. 289.

names of their fathers; but the children born before this wedding ceremony bear the name of their mother (i. e., the name of her father). Such cases, which are the result of interference of Russian law, cannot be taken as signs of maternal right.

According to some old Yukaghir, there was a custom in olden times of counting the first son and the first daughter among the mother's clan, and the other children as belonging to the clan of the father. It is hard to say just what relation this testimony bears to the customs that actually existed in the past; but, even if we admit that such a custom did exist, we do not know what its significance was. Perhaps it was one of the means of binding the son-in-law to the clan of his father-in-law by preventing him from taking the children with him, if he should have a mind to leave the clan. There is no such custom at the present time.

Here is another case in which the influence of maternal right may be inferred. The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma assert that children like their mother's relatives better than those of their father. They like especially the mother's youngest brother and youngest sister. This, however, can be explained by the fact that the children are more closely associated with the mother's family, with whom the couple lives.

As will be seen in the next chapter, the duty of blood-revenge for the death of a relative devolves upon the relatives on the paternal side, and the children take their descent from the male ancestor or originator of the father's clan. The relationship may be thus presented: The son-in-law of clan A lives in the house of his father-in-law, of clan B; and the children of that son-in-law, living with their grandfather, of clan B, take their lineage from the ancestors of their father, and not from their mother's father.

V. — SOCIAL LIFE.

When the Russians first came in contact with the Yukaghir, the latter had a clan organization. Under Russian dominion, however, the social life of the Yukaghir became greatly confused. To give a clear picture of their ancient life from the disjointed fragments of it which have survived, is not an easy task. I shall attempt it, however.

Before introducing the subject of the Yukaghir clan, I must say a few words as to the conception by the Yukaghir themselves of the whole Yukaghir people as an ethnic unit. In the absence of a tribal organization and of a central power which symbolically represents the entire people, the consciousness of ethnic unity is very feebly developed. The Yukaghir, for instance, have an ethnic name, O'dul;¹ but, as indicated above, the Yassachna and Korkodon Yukaghir apply this name only to themselves and to the Yukaghir who lived or are living in the valleys of the Kolyma, the Omolon, and both Anui Rivers. The Yukaghir of the tundra, on the other hand, are not considered to be O'dul: they are called exclusively by their clan name, Ala'yi, which means "people of the Alaseya River." The Yassachna and Korkodon Yukaghir regard the Ala'yi as a strange people with whom they had wars. In the same way the Chuvantzy tribe, who spoke the Yukaghir language and belonged to the Yukaghir people, are not called O'dul, and are considered as strangers by the Kolyma Yukaghir. The Yassachna Yukaghir would say to me concerning the Ala'yi and the Chuvantzy, "Ti'tel e'le o'dulñot, yen coro'mox" ("they are not Yukaghir, but strangers"). The Ala'yi, on the other hand, call themselves O'dul, applying the name "Kohi'me" to the rest of the Yukaghir. More striking cases are not lacking. The Tungus of the Kolyma tundra have adopted the Ala'yi dialect of the Yukaghir, and also call themselves O'dul. When I spoke of that fact to the Yassachna Yukaghir, they seemed to be very indignant about it.² My question as to whether they considered every O'dul a relative, was answered in the negative by the Kolyma as well as by the tundra Yukaghir; they added, however, that in a controversy between an O'dul and a Tungus or a Yakut, they would side with the former. Further than this, the consciousness of the ethnic unity of the Yukaghir does not advance. In the surviving fragments of their myths

¹ For the meaning of the word "O'dul" see p. 16.

² See p. 19.

we find no traditions relating to a common ancestor of the entire people, as is the case among the Koryak.¹

THE CLAN. — Before entering on a discussion of the Yukaghir clan, we must clearly define the meaning of the term "clan." Sociologists distinguish two kinds of clans, — the matriarchal, or clan proper (German, *Sippe*); and the patriarchal, or gens (German, *Geschlecht*). The Yukaghir clan possesses some traits characteristic of matriarchal organizations; for instance, the introduction of the son-in-law into the house of his wife's parents. As a whole, however, the clan as well as the family are based on the principle of the supremacy of the oldest male. The oldest male in the family, and the "old man" (po'lut) in the clan, stand at the head of limited groups of people. When the Russian conquerors, in search of responsible persons who could collect the imposed tribute, asked the Yukaghir who were their elders, they pointed out their "old men." Thus the original clan organization of the Yukaghir led the Russians to divide these people into administrative groups, preserving even the Yukaghir names of these groups, or their Russian equivalents. Through the pressure of Russian governmental forms, however, these groups gradually lost their original character of clan organizations. In some cases, as described above, the Russians united into one the fragments of several clans, thus forming groups, the members of which lacked all bonds of common blood or territory. There remained only one obligation common to the group, — to pay tribute.

Now let us turn to an analysis of the ancient clan of the Yukaghir. From an inspection of the Yukaghir names of the various groups of families, it appears that some of these names embodied the concept of blood-relationship between the families composing the group, while others pointed towards common territory or some other trait shared by the group of families. Thus we find in the Yukaghir language the following terms to designate clans: omo' kude'ye (in the tundra dialect, kure'ye) or mii'be. "O'mo" is used with the name of a Yukaghir clan as well as with the appellation of a strange people. Thus A'nid-omo'k' means "Fish Clan" (Yukaghir), while Ya'xad-omo'k' is the name of the Yakut people. The word "kude'ye" (from the root ku'de, "to become") has a variety of meanings, — "descent," "ancestor," "forefather," "descendant," "posterity." In general, this term is applied to a group of common descent; that is, of blood-relatives. Mii'be means "manner," "custom," and "law." This term no longer indicates the consanguinity of a group, but the unity of its members by common customs. The same group, finally, to which the terms "o'mo," "kude'ye," and "mii'be" are applied, are also distinguished by their territorial names. The Hare Clan, for instance, on the Yassachna River, is called Čolgo'rod-omok ("Hare Clan"), Čolgo'ro-kudeye'

¹ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 17.

("Hare descent"), and Čolgo'ro-mii'be ("Hare custom"); while the families constituting that clan are also known as Ča'xadenji (i. e., "the people from the Ča'xaden River."¹ The analysis of the Yukaghir terms for "clan" leads to the conclusion that the clans comprised not merely groups of consanguineous families, but also families connected only by the fact that they inhabited common territory. The testimony of the Yukaghir confirms the conclusion I have drawn from the above-cited names, that the ancient Yukaghir clan had the dual character of a consanguineous and territorial group. The central group of each clan consisted of several families tracing their descent from a common ancestor ("kude'ye, yexlol-kude'ye, i. e., "ancestor, the first ancestor;" or mii'bedeget-xa'xa, "the grandfather of custom;" or cān-la'rxul', "tree-root"). The consciousness of descent from a common ancestor, which unites many families of a clan, is found in a much wider range of groups than one would at first be inclined to suppose. It is true, the Yukaghir say that "the fourth generation are no longer relatives"² (ye'lexlecte kude'ye e'le coro'momuyiñi); but this refers rather to the permission of marriages between second-cousins, for families more remotely related continue to be conscious of their common descent. Cases occur, moreover, where families which have lost all trace of their blood-relationship still continue to believe in a common ancestor. Thus Tabuckan is believed to be the ancestor of the Hare Clan³ by all members of the clan, even those who do not regard themselves as related. This can be accounted for in two ways, — either the degree of relationship, having become very remote, has been finally lost sight of, or outsiders who have joined the clan regard Tabuckan as their ancestor. These outsiders constitute the territorial element of the group comprised by the clan. Having come to live on the territory of the clan, they become its members. Some families that have come from other localities claim to recollect their own ancestors.

But what is the nature of the clan ancestor? We must note, in the first place, that descent from the ancestor is counted in the paternal line. The names of male ancestors are often known as far back as six or seven generations. The ancestor of the Yukaghir on the Yassachna River is the above-mentioned Tabuckan (that is, Hare); but it cannot be ascertained whether this is the origin of the name of the entire group of the Hare Clan. The Yassachna Yukaghir themselves do not hold this view; on the contrary, I have heard tales which tell of a very different origin of the clan name. Some Yukaghir trace a connection between the clan name and the appearance of hares in the story of the incestuous marriage of a brother and sister, which I cited in the preceding chapter.⁴ From this tale, it appears that the

¹ The Yukaghir name of the Yassachna River. As to the clan names see pp. 48 et seq.

² I found a similar conception of consanguinity among the Koryak (see Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 736).

³ See p. 53.

⁴ See pp. 83, 84.

Hare Clan originated from the incestuous marriage referred to, and that Tabuckan was one of the subsequent ancestors of the clan. Another tale accounting for the origin of the Hare name is of a humorous character, and must be of recent origin. It refers to the period of the first encounter of the Yukaghir with the Russians. The Yassachna Yukaghir — so says the tale — once travelled on their reindeer to see the Russian commander, and to pay tribute. The commander kept them for a long time, while the reindeer stood outside tied to willow-trees. The reindeer were hungry, and trembled from the cold. They began to bite the willow-branches. Gradually their hides grew softer and whiter, their size decreased, their antlers disappeared. When the Yukaghir finally left the Russian commander, they found hares outside instead of reindeer. When the hares were set loose, they disappeared in the willow woods. After this, the Yassachna Yukaghir, having lost their reindeer, began to hunt hares, and their clan became known as the Hare Clan.

Two other clans of the Yukaghir bear the names of animals. These are the former Fish Clan on the Korkodon River (A'nin-omo'k or A'nil'-kude'ye), later fused with the Hare Clan; and the Goose Clan (E'rbetken-omo'k) on the Alaseya River. It should be noted that the word "erbetken" ("goose") is not Yukaghir, but Tungus.

The animal names of some Yukaghir clans might lead us to suppose that they had some connection 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," 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.¹ Thus the names of these two clans do not seem to contain any indication of a former existence of totems among the Yukaghir. The consciousness, on the other hand, of the descent of the main group of each clan from one ancestor, exists in all clans. In ancient times the clan ancestor was the object of a special cult. His descendants prayed to him in their difficulties, sacrifices of food were offered at his grave, and in honor of his memory great wooden idols were hung on trees. These idols served obviously as abodes for the ancestral spirit, and to them the Yukaghir addressed their prayers and sacrifices. These idols generally adorned highways and river-banks. One such idol, erected to the memory of Tabuckan, I found on the bank of the Kolyma, south of the mouth of the Yassachna River.²

¹ This tradition will appear in my collection of texts.

² A detailed discussion of ancestral cults will be found in the section on religion.

Now that the original social structure of the Yukaghir has been completely destroyed, it is difficult to understand what the territorial elements of the clan signified, and in what relation they stood to the original consanguineous group. According to the testimony of the Yukaghir themselves, conditions were somewhat as follows. The property rights of the ancient Yukaghir did not extend to territory. Any one could live on whatever river he pleased, and thus join one or another clan. These strangers, moreover, were not always Yukaghir. The Yukaghir assert, for instance, that their constant wars with the Tungus were not waged to gain possession of hunting-places, but were the result of the mutual hatred of the two peoples. In the modern clans of the Yukaghir we thus find descendants of other Yukaghir clans as well as descendants of Koryak, Chuvantzy, and Tungus. In other cases the memory of the foreign territorial or ethnic origin of some members of the group has been lost, the descendants of the new-comers of ancient days having merged into one unit with the consanguineous group of the clan. Whether this process was ever accompanied by a formal adoption, cannot be ascertained; but we know that the purely territorial elements were admitted to the ancestral cult of the original consanguineous group of the clan. The assimilation of the foreign elements of a clan with its consanguineous group was much furthered by intermarriage. When a descendant of a stranger who had joined the clan came to live in the house of his father-in-law, he and his children were frequently completely absorbed by the dominating family. Owing to the predominance of endogamic marriages among the Yukaghir, sons-in-law of foreign descent were of rare occurrence. In ancient times, when the clans counted more members, several adjoining villages were generally occupied by one consanguineous group (this is still the case on the Yassachna River); and sons-in-law, passing from village to village, were not strangers in the families they entered. In endogamic marriages only can the presence of the son-in-law in the household of his wife's parents be reconciled with the principle of patriarchal power; for if all sons-in-law had come from other clans, and each given clan, having lost its men, had been represented by its women alone, a matriarchal organization would have been the inevitable result, instead of the patriarchate that has actually developed.

While the common ancestral cult was not sufficient to completely assimilate the consanguineous group and the territorial one, other social factors co-operated in fusing these two elements of the clan into one unified group. Such social factors were "the old man" (*lige'ye coro'mox*); "the shaman" (*a'lma*); "the strong man" (*to'nbye coro'mox*), with his warriors; and the first hunter (*xañi'če*), with a group of inferior hunters.

"The old man" (*lige'ye coro'mox*) was the elder of the clan. His power was comparable to the power of the heads of separate families in the internal affairs of their households. He administered war and hunting expeditions.

He selected the fishing-districts, and assigned to each family its proper place. He separated the clan into detachments whenever the interests of the chase required the presence of hunters in different localities; care was taken in such cases that each detachment contained a number of good hunters and an old man as leader. During prolonged wanderings, "the old man" selected the halting-place for the night, and gave the signal to break off in the morning. He brought sacrifices to the spirit of the clan ancestor, presided at festivals, and enforced obedience to the established customs. Although the office of "old men" was not elective, but was exercised at any given time by the oldest man of the consanguineous group of the clan, cases occurred where the power of old men was given, not to the oldest in years, but to the ablest, in the opinion of other old men. In all important matters, the old man of the clan consulted the oldest representatives of the separate families, the *polu'tpe* (i. e., "the old men"), who constituted a council, and by whose advice the old man was not unfrequently guided. In the cases enumerated above, the old man's orders were blindly followed by the male as well as by the female members of the clan. In questions touching upon the private life of individual families, on the other hand, the "old man" of the clan had no authority.

The wife of the "old man" of the clan held in the clan a position similar to that of the senior woman in the family. She supervised the apportionment, among the separate families, of the products of the common chase or fishing-expeditions.

The "old man" has been replaced, under the influence of the Russians, by the elder, elected by all adult members of the clan who pay tribute. The elder is no longer called "old man" (*lige'ye coro'mox*) by the Yukaghir, but "the elder" (*čomo'jel*; from *čo'mo*, "big, great") or *ani'je* (a derivative of the root *at*, which expresses the concept of "might," "strength"). The main duty of the modern elder consists in the collection of the tribute to be paid by the clan, and its delivery to the authorities; but he also exercises in various other matters the authority of his predecessor, "the old man." In spring, for instance, when the nomadic life necessitated by the reindeer-hunt¹ begins, the elder separates the clan into groups, and instructs them what direction each has to follow. Under the pressure of Russian dominion, the elder has assumed various other rights and obligations, which only in part correspond with the anticipations and desires of the Russians. In the first place, the elder is elected for three years by a gathering of men of taxable age. The results of the elections are communicated to the District Chief, who sends them to the Governor for indorsement. It is noteworthy that the Yukaghir seldom change their elders, selecting them term after term, with the result that the elder, once elected, like the ancient "old man," continues

¹ See chapter on hunting.

to administer the affairs of the clan until his death or until extreme old age. The Russian law allows the natives to settle their own affairs (with the exception of capital offences, such as murder and mutilation) according to the customs of the people concerned, and authorizes the elders to punish their clansmen with imprisonment and even with physical chastisement. Owing to the national peculiarities of the Yukaghir, however, the elder's rights of punishment are seldom, if ever, exercised. I witnessed once how an elder of the Yassachna Yukaghir imprisoned two young men as a punishment for their indolence during a communal fishing-party. One of the houses was converted into a prison, and a Yukaghir was stationed in front as guard; but even so slight a punishment was considered severe and humiliating, and the elder set the offenders free in a few hours. The practice of corporal punishment, which was recommended to the representatives of Siberian natives by the Russian chiefs, would have been an impossibility among the Yukaghir. They would have preferred death to the humiliation of such punishment. Swearing, and even a cross word, addressed to a Yukaghir, is enough to upset his equipoise, and to oppress him as would a severe insult. This accounts for the mortal dread the Yukaghir have whenever they meet Russian chiefs: they fear that the latter might swear at them or hit them.

In one respect the authority of the modern elder goes further than that of the ancient "old man." As the office of the modern elder has been created to a great extent by the Russian Government, and continues to receive its sanction, the Yukaghir habitually submit their misunderstandings and quarrels to the judgment of the elder.

Next in importance to the "old man," in the Yukaghir clan, is the shaman. Each clan had one dead and one living shaman. The details of Yukaghir shamanism will be discussed in the section on religion: here I shall merely touch upon its social bearing. The shaman had to be of one blood with the original group of the clan, and his duties consisted in protecting the clan from evils and calamities, with the assistance of his spirits and of magical performances; he also acted as intermediary between the dead and the living members of the clan. Before any important event, — as, for instance, the starting of a journey, — the old man invited the shaman to perform his incantations for the happy outcome of the undertaking, or to conduct divinatory rites to foretell the results of the chase or the war. After his death, the shaman became even more important. The corpse of the clan shaman 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.¹ Thus it

¹ For the details of this cult see the section on religion. At present the Yukaghir call the Christian God by the name "Xoil."

appears that the shaman, like the "old man," represented the consanguineous principle of the clan, standing to the territorial element in the relation merely of a protector.

Third in importance in the clan was the "strong man" (Te'nbeye coro'mox), the hero. While the "old man" was the leader of the clan, and the shaman its protector and intermediary with the spirits, the "strong man" defended the clan against the assaults of enemies. Of course, all young men who could draw the bow were warriors, ready to repel an attack of the enemy, or, in their turn, to attack the latter; but, owing to the absence of a regular army, the main part in armed encounters was played, not by the ordinary warrior, but by the so-called "strong man," who always possessed great physical strength and alertness. The "strong men" of ancient times are endowed by tradition with supernatural strength in methods of warfare. On the "strong man" depended the outcome of the battle, and not infrequently the victory of one or the other of the conflicting sides was decided by a combat of their respective "strong men." The Yukaghir "strong men" were famous for their bravery, strength, and agility, all over northeastern Siberia. Exaggerated accounts of the valor of their ancient "strong men" may be found in Yukaghir traditions. One "strong man" could fight an entire detachment of warriors. He could evade a thousand arrows, and the spears aimed at him would hit an empty space or strike back at the enemy. In battle he would throw himself into the heart of the enemy, or, jumping on the head of a warrior, would run about on the heads of his adversaries as if they were tundra hillocks, killing them with his spear until he was appealed to for mercy. The "strong man's" bow-string was loose, so that it could be quickly and easily stretched; on his back he carried two quivers, with bone arrows; his spear was made of an elk-rib attached to a shaft of birch-wood. Over the ordinary garment he wore bone armor, consisting of rings made of reindeer-antlers strung on elk-sinew. As the cunning enemy generally approached the tents at night, in order to kill the sleeping warriors, the "strong man," whose duty it was to protect his clansmen against sudden attacks, had to be always on the watch. He lay down to sleep in his clothes, his weapons at his side; and his sleep was so light that the least disturbance sufficed to wake him. In dangerous situations, — as, for instance, when an attack was expected, — the additional precaution was taken in each village or camp of appointing for the night a guard or watchman called i'čel, whose duty it was to warn the "strong man" at the least sign of the approaching enemy.

Thus do the Yukaghir traditions picture the ancient hero, whose social function it was to watch over and protect his people from enemies. Unlike the "old man" and the shaman, however, the "strong man" was not always of one blood with the group he protected. He was frequently a stranger who had entered one of the families as son-in-law, in which case all the

members of the clan would call him "our son-in-law." All the relatives of the "strong man's" wife who were older than she called him "our son-in-law" (mit' po'gil'), while her junior relatives also called him "our son-in-law" (mit' pu'lei).¹

Notwithstanding the importance of the "strong man," the value to the clan of ordinary warriors was not underrated; for they defended the camps against the attacks of a numerous enemy, and made assaults on the hostile camps. All young men had to be proficient in the use of the bow, and each one of them aspired to become the "strong man" of his group. The training in military exercises to which the young men were subjected was conducted, not by the family, but by the clan, the older warriors being the instructors of the youths. At the present time, the "strong man" as well as the warriors, having become useless, no longer exist; and it is to be regretted that no traditions have been preserved about any ceremonies that may have accompanied the acceptance of youths into the class of warriors. It is known, however, that the military education of young men was called ki'čil ("teaching," "science"). This education was very severe. The youth, for instance, had to stand in an open space and try to avoid the dull wooden arrows which were shot at him from all four sides. The arrows, in striking, inflicted no wounds, but caused intense pain, accompanied by swellings. Sometimes the young man had to stand on all-fours, with one leg swung over the other, and the hands clasped. Then two men would swing quite near the ground a heavy log attached to elk thongs; and the youth, without freeing his hands or feet, had to let it pass under himself by jumping into the air. This exercise, which could easily result in fractured hands and feet, was known as "the jump over the log" (cebi'l-budi'ye-me'nmege). In general, the young men were taught to hit the target with their arrows, to inflict a mortal wound with the spear, to quickly disappear from a given spot, and to jump over standing men without touching them. The Russianized Yukaghir from Nishne-Kolymsk told me that their nearest ancestors were said to have astonished the Russian invaders by their ability to jump from the ground to the roofs of the wooden houses built by the Russians. Traditions tell of ancient heroes who had, besides superhuman strength and agility, also the power to exterminate their enemies in miraculous ways. Thus some heroes were able to disappear underground, and, hidden from view, to wield their spears, then to re-appear on the surface, only again to disappear in time to avoid the blows of the enemy.

THE HUNTER. — While the "strong man" alone, or with the help of other warriors, defended the clan against enemies, the clan hunter (xañi'če, i. e., "persecutor;" from the verb xa'ñi, "to persecute some one, following his

¹ As to pogil and pulei, see p 75.

footprints") — either single-handed or with the assistance of inferior hunters or "bad men" (e'rče coró'mopul') — looked after the physical needs of his clansmen, providing the "meat" (čul) of elk and reindeer, and the hides of these animals for clothes (n'er). Sometimes one individual would be the "strong man" as well as the chief huntsman of the clan; but more frequently these two honorary positions were filled by different persons, for not all qualifications required from the warrior were indispensable to the hunter, and *vice versa*. The hunter, although necessarily brave and alert, did not have to equal the "strong man" in these qualities. The former, on the other hand, needed greater calm than the warrior, and had to excel in good "heart" — that is, a good "run" (čubo'je, "the heart," also means "to run;" čubo'jel means "the run")¹ — and in endurance. The main exercises of the youthful candidate for a hunter consisted in bow and arrow practice and in fast and continuous running over long distances. The hunter's bow had to be strong, and, in order to increase the length and speed of the arrow's flight, also light; for the hunted animals — mainly wild reindeer — would not allow the hunter to approach very near. It was important to be able to strike the running animal. To string a hunter's bow tight required great strength. Weak hunters were not able to string the bow of the "first" hunter. The hunter had to be a quick runner with and without snowshoes. The Yukaghir were as famous for their running as they were for their bravery. In order to practise running, the young men frequently arranged running-contests. Even now, when the energy of these people has been totally broken, the Yukaghir are tireless runners. I have seen young men who could run uninterruptedly over the winter ice of the Yassachna River for a stretch of about seven miles without even getting short-breathed. They were merely covered with perspiration. A good huntsman, having found his trail, must be able to overtake so fleet an animal as the reindeer. In the first place, the hunter had to find the trail of the animals, which occasionally took him twenty or more miles running on snowshoes; then, after the trail had been followed and the animal overtaken, he had to approach near enough to it, without arousing suspicion, to be sure of inflicting a mortal wound with his arrow. For a hunter to let a wounded animal escape was considered a disgrace. When the animal was killed, the hunter regarded his duty as accomplished. He returned to camp, leaving it to the married women to follow in his trail for the meat. Traditions paint a vivid picture of the clan hunter, always eager to procure meat for his men, searching the wilderness by day and by night, taking no time to sleep or to eat. When the hunting-luck deserts him, he continues to run about, his eyes sunk in his head, his

¹ Čubo'je ("to run") is used only in connection with men. In referring to animals, other words are current, — peč and po'u. Čuboje also contains the concept of bravery: thus "to have a strong heart" means "to be brave."

mouth dry, his lips cracked, until he breaks down from exhaustion. Then famine sets in.

In the case of an ordinary hunt, the "old man" starts out first, and after him the chief hunter, followed by the other hunters, in the order of their superiority. When the trail of the elk or reindeer is found, the "old man" lets the chief hunter go ahead; the other men follow, but they cannot keep pace with his fast run. When they finally overtake him, he is seen resting on the snow at the side of the slain animal. When several divergent trails are discovered simultaneously, they are followed by the inferior hunters.

The clan hunter as well as the other hunters, in securing food for the members of the clan, did no more than their duty, — to care for the physical needs of their clansmen; therefore they themselves had no right to the products of their chase. "The hunter kills, other people have" ("Xaňi'če kude'dem, yen coro'mopul lí'yiňam"), say the Yukaghir. The meat of slain animals is divided by the women under the direction of the elder's wife. The hunter's family, like other families of the clan, receives its share according to the number of its members. The head of the killed animal is all the hunter himself receives; the chief hunter being, in addition, honored by his family's tent standing first in the camp, and by his wife participating in the distribution of the meat.

The positions in the Yukaghir clan occupied by the "old man," the "strong man," and the shaman, are now known only by tradition. The hunter, on the contrary, at least among the Yukaghir of the Korkodon and the Yassachna Rivers, continues to be as important a personage as ever. Hunters kill reindeer, not for themselves or for their family, but for the entire group accompanying them during the season of the chase; and the same rules are observed in the apportionment of the meat, the hunter himself having no share in it. In the matter of hunting the "meat," the communal principle of the needs of all members of the clan continues to dominate over the principle of work, — the right of the hunter to the product of the chase. He works, makes efforts, suffers terrible privations, for the people of his "blood" (le'pul'), not for himself personally. The above customs are a consequence of the material conditions in which the Yukaghir continue to live. If the able hunter were permitted to hunt only for his own family, the greater part of his clansmen would perish from hunger: hence the hunter's ambition. I have seen hunters who, after an unlucky chase, would spend a sleepless night, and renew their search for "meat" in the morning. "How can I be quiet when the people have no food?" said one of these hunters to me, "I cannot sleep, my heart whirls around too much." This state of affairs is immediately related to the religious ideas of the Yukaghir, which, in the last analysis, aim at the preservation of the clan. The spirit protectors of animals, for example, are hostile towards the hunter who, following his selfish instincts,

refuses to cede the killed animals to the other members of the clan: he is doomed to failure. These ideas throw light on another custom, according to which a man of another clan, or even of a strange people, — if he happens to be present during a chase, a fishing-party, or the apportionment of booty, — receives his share with the others. "The stranger has (his share)" ("Ke'lul coró'mox lim": literally, "comer man has"), say the Yukaghir in regard to this custom, which is reducible to rather complex causes. In the first place, the kindly treatment accorded to strangers is the natural expression of the joy of seeing a guest; in the second place, hospitality often turns enemies into friends, and strengthens the amicable relations between groups foreign to one another; and, in the third place, — which I think is the most important, — there is the fear of the evil eye and of the hostile thoughts of the stranger. The Yukaghir believe that the supply of animals can be cut short by the magical influence of hostile thoughts or the incantations of ill-wishing strangers. Therefore all efforts are made to leave the guest or the chance visitor well satisfied: they receive the lion's share of the products of the chase. It appears from these considerations that the belief in magical influences is one of the factors in the development of those altruistic actions which are generally known as primitive hospitality.¹ On one occasion three of my Yukaghir companions killed two reindeer while the latter were crossing the Kolyma River. I took no part whatever in the hunt. Nevertheless, when the animals were cut in two, they brought one half of a reindeer to my tent, saying, "There is your share."

I shall speak, in the chapter on hunting and fishing, of the communal element in fishing. At the present time the fish caught belongs, for the most part, to those who caught it, not to the clan. We might perhaps see in this the incipient consciousness of the rights of labor; but doubtless it is of importance in this connection that the materials of which the fishing-nets are now being made — namely, horse-hair and imported thread — must be secured from the Yakut or the Russians. In hunting fur-animals, which pursuit has greatly increased to meet the Russian demand, the communal principle of the clan is not applied to the hides, which are in large part delivered to tradesmen in exchange for imported objects. These furs belong exclusively to the hunter who killed the animals. A custom still exists among the Yukaghir, however, which requires that when two hunters are hunting together, and one has killed a fur-animal while the other has killed nothing, the latter keeps the hide. "He has (it)," or "(It) belongs to him" ("Tu'del lim"), say the Yukaghir. If this custom is not observed, the luck of the first hunter may turn; for the happy outcome of a hunt is ascribed mainly to the

¹ See an interesting paper on this subject by Prof. E. Westermarck, "Magic and Social Relations" (Sociological Papers, Vol. II, London, 1905).

favor of the animal's spirit protector, and this favor may have been directed towards the man who has killed no animals, instead of to his companion.

A tradition concerning an elk-hunter contains the following episode: —

"A hunter used to give to his neighbor, an old man, a hip from every elk killed. The neighbor was dissatisfied with his share, and addressed a prayer to the Sun deity to punish the hunter. In a short while the hunter died while chasing an elk."

The communal (that is, the ancient) spring chase, in which all hunters took part, always took place under the leadership of the "old man," and was preceded by shamanistic ceremonies, to be described later. A party of hunters on snowshoes starts out, led by the "old man," then follow the chief hunter (xañi'če) and the other hunters. The "old man," having found the trail of the animal, begins to "chase" it. The others follow in the order indicated. The chief hunter does not hurry: he tests his feet, swells his chest, clears his lungs, for the fast run. At last the "old man" is tired: he allows the chief hunter and the other youths to overtake him. Now the chief hunter shoots forward like an arrow, while the youths do their utmost not to be left behind. In these runs led by the chief hunter, the young men develop their speed. I was told by the Yukaghir that during very fast runs on snowshoes, bloody foam appears at the mouths of the hunters.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CLANS. — The Yukaghir assert that the separate consanguineous groups were seldom at war with one another. To be at war with their own people, the Yukaghir regarded as sin. This must be understood in the sense that the Yukaghir did not undertake armed expeditions against one another, as they did against the Tungus, whom they hated as a people. The Yukaghir, for instance, were always on the lookout for the Tungus or Koryak, in order to kill them and take possession of their reindeer. Armed encounters among the Yukaghir themselves, on the other hand, were generally due to one of two causes, — disputes about women, or blood-vengeance for a killed clansman. Traditions speak of peaceful unions and encounters of the various Yukaghir clans. In ancient times the Yukaghir from the Omolon, Anui, and other rivers of the Kolyma basin, held a summer gathering at which common plays (lo'doĵal) were organized. The places where such gatherings were held were known as ca'xajibe ("place for gatherings"). One of these places, south of the mouth of the Yassachna River, was pointed out to me by the Yassachna Yukaghir. It is located on the high bank of the Kolyma, and is now called "The Shaman's Stone." On the top of that "stone"¹ there is a large level space. The Yukaghir would arrive there from the Lower Kolyma in the spring, before the snow melts completely, on their dog-sledges and snowshoes, and would return in the summer to their villages

¹ "Stone" is a literal translation of the Yukaghir word pi'e ("mountain," "stone").

on rafts. During the gatherings, the time was spent in contests and games. Warriors of different clans were admitted to the contests, while some of the games were also military. In these only warriors participated. Others were open to all, men and women alike. It is characteristic, however, that in the games of the latter class which have survived, the representatives of the two sexes were separated, as it were, into two hostile camps. Unfortunately it cannot be ascertained how the relations of youths to young girls, on these occasions, were regulated. According to the stories of old men, bashfulness was so highly developed among the Yukaghir, that young men visited girls by stealth at night, each youth selecting his own girl by his own free choice. In case two men disputed over a girl, contests took place in which it would happen that one of the rivals was killed.

During these gatherings, friendships were made between members of different clans, offensive unions against hostile peoples were formed, and shamanistic contests were held in which the powers of the spirit protectors of the shamans were tested.

"A friend," in the sense of one with whom one has fraternized, is, in Yukaghir, *ahi'me*; "to fraternize," *n'e'ahime*. When a new friendship is made, presents are exchanged. By this union the friends are bound to assist each other in material needs and during encounters with enemies. *Mit ahi'meyeili* means "we have closed a friendship." A friend, in the sense of "companion," is called *ki'e* or *ke'nme*. Women and girls also form friendship unions with each other, and exchange presents on such occasions.

GAMES. — I will mention the following games which are still being played.

Ball Game (*Le'ptule-lo'dol'*). — In ancient times the ball game was similar to that of the Koryak, Chukchee, and Eskimo. The young men participating would kick a large skin ball upwards with their feet. I have never come across this game at the present time, but have witnessed a ball game of a different character, played by men and women together. Girls and young men sit down on the ground in a circle. One of the players throws a rather heavy ball — a wooden ball enclosed in skin — into the circle, and the others try to catch it. The one who succeeds has the right to hit the knees of any players he pleases with the ball. The young men generally exercise this right on the girls, and *vice versa*. The possessor of the ball continues for some time to hit the knees of his companions with it; then he suddenly throws the ball into the circle. To be struck by the hard ball is rather painful, and the players occasionally take advantage of this method to settle their love-accounts. I once witnessed how a young man, having caught the ball, began to hit the knees of a young girl, his beloved, whom he suspected of unfaithfulness, furiously with it. The girl sat motionless, silently enduring the pain, until the youth ceased to strike her, and

threw the ball into the circle without touching any one else. While it was obvious that the young man had embraced the opportunity offered by the game to punish his sweetheart, nobody interfered with him. The one who throws the ball generally swings his arm in such a way as to leave the others in doubt whether he intends to throw it into the circle or to strike anybody present.

Grandfather Game (Xa'xadieñonut lo'dol'). — This game is played in the same way as the "Raven" game of the Koryak.¹ The mother, with her children holding on to one another in a file behind her, tries to protect them against the attacks of a mythical "grandfather-cannibal." The latter succeeds in catching the children, one after another, then fights with the mother herself and conquers her.

Elsewhere I have referred to those Koryak games in which the men and the women play the parts of two hostile parties.¹ In the Yukaghir ball game the same tendency, somewhat less pronounced, has been observed; but it appears very strongly in the following game.

Chest-Tree Game (Me'lun-cā'le-lo'dol'). — A row of girls, and opposite them a row of young men, lift with their hands a heavy log, and press against it with their chests, trying to throw the opposite row to the ground. When a party of one or the other sex begin to yield, the old men or the old women come to their rescue. The log selected is of considerable weight, and cannot be thrown to the ground without hurting the feet of the players. When the conquered party fall to the ground, the players are rather painfully squeezed by the log.

"With-Closed-Eyes Game," or Blindman's Buff (A'ñjedaibilel-lo'dol'). — It is hard to say whether this game has been borrowed from the Russians or whether it is original with the Yukaghir. The game differs from blindman's buff, however, in that the girls and the young men are separated into two parties. The girls and youths are blindfolded alternately. When a young man is blindfolded, he catches only girls; while his male companions are the spectators, and do not take part in the game. When a girl is blindfolded, she, in her turn, catches only men, the other girls being for the time spectators and out of the game until it is the turn of the men to play.

The Yukaghir include in the term "games" (lo'dol') also various kinds of contests and amusements, in which only the men take part.

"Mutual-Fight Game" (N'e'niñčil-lo'dol'). — This game includes all kinds of fighting.

"Overtaking Game" (A'ndajal-lo'dol'). — All the contestants in this game shoot off an arrow from one and the same bow, and he whose arrow flies farthest is the winner.

¹ Compare Jochelson, The Koryak, Vol. VI of this series, p. 780.

Common-Run Game (N'eki'eyil-lo'dol'). — All running-contests are included under this name. The contestants run over a stretch of four or five miles to an appointed place, and back to the starting-point. The one who reaches the goal first receives some insignificant prize. The runs are made on foot, or — in the winter-time — on snowshoes. On snowshoes greater distances are covered, generally over the ice of frozen rivers. It is curious to watch how fast the Yukaghir can run without snowshoes through soft and deep snow. They pull their feet out of the deep snow with great quickness and agility by throwing their legs apart in a peculiar fashion, and bending down with the entire body.

Stride Game (Oye'ñie-lo'dol'). — In this game a given distance must be traversed in the least possible number of steps. The contestants are permitted to jump. Leaning on one leg, they thrust themselves into the air, return to the ground with the other leg, and so on.

Field-jumping Game (Čebe'lge-me'nmegel-lo'dol'). — The participants jump over a bent stick, the ends of which are held, one in each hand, like a rope.

In a number of games that are not of the character of contests, women are not allowed to take part. These are games representing the chase after animals, in which women, especially girls, naturally cannot participate, any more than in an actual chase. Such, for instance, are the to-be-bear game (me'mečëñonul-lo'dol') and the to-be-wild-reindeer game (tolo'uñonul-lo'dol'). In these games, in which the chase after the bear or reindeer is mimicked, one of the players represents the animal by running round on all-fours, while the rest take the part of hunters. The bear or reindeer tries to evade the dull wooden arrows shot off from toy bows, but is finally killed by its persecutors. The participants in these games, especially those representing the animals, exhibit great skill and agility.

Dances. — The dances of the modern Yukaghir represent a mixture of the circle dance of the Tungus, with movements mimicking animals, like those in the dances of the Koryak and Chukchee. The circle dance is similar to that of the Tungus. The dancers, men and women, arm in arm, but without any definite order, form a circle, and, tramping with their feet, begin to move slowly from right to left, following the sun. The entire dance consists of four kinds of steps. First the left foot is moved along the ground to the left; then the right foot is in the same fashion brought near the left; and finally the dancer stamps the ground twice with both heels together, standing on his toes, and without moving from the spot. At the same time the dancer bends and unbends his knees, sways his body to and fro, lifts and lowers his shoulders, bends his head first to one side, then to the other. All these movements are performed simultaneously, and with the same rhythm, by all dancers. The grace thus displayed by some of the dancers is admira-

ble. I have seen the same dance in Tungus camps, but found their motions less pleasing. The circle dance of the Yakut is still more clumsy. But let us return to the Yukaghir dance. The movements, at first slow, become quicker and quicker; the dancers become excited; the circle revolves with greater speed. Gradually other persons present begin to be affected by the dance. Old men and women join the circle. Children and infirm persons, who were standing aside, begin to stamp the ground on one spot, imitating the dancers. On holidays the Yukaghir will whirl around in a circle all day long; they dance to exhaustion, nay, to intoxication. Some leave the circle to rest; others, having regained their strength, break the chain and join the dancers, again closing the circle. The circle dance is accompanied with singing, which consists of four notes corresponding to the four steps. The words sung — *hō'yoi-hē'yui* or *hē'ke-hā'ka* — are Tungus. The Yukaghir do not know their meaning, and hold them to be pure interjections. It seems obvious to me that this dance has been borrowed from the Tungus. Possibly the Yakut have also borrowed it from the latter; but among the Yukaghir this dance is at times accompanied by singing and motions which are absent in the circle dance of the Tungus, but have become familiar to us in the dances of the Chukchee¹ and the Koryak.² The Tungus singing referred to above was from time to time interrupted by a guttural rattle¹ and by other sounds in imitation of the cries of various animals. Some of the dancers, generally girls, produce very skilfully a guttural rattle resembling the grunting of seals, while the others answer with higher guttural sounds. Strangely enough, however, the Yukaghir themselves were not able to tell me what animals they were imitating. At times their singing recalls the various cries of sea-animals. All these sounds in general seemed to me to be imitations of sea-animals and sea-birds, — imitations not recognized by the Yukaghir themselves, at least not by the modern Yukaghir. Only one mimic dance, with the accompanying onomatopoetic sounds, refer to a bird hunted by the Yukaghir, — the swan. The dance is known as the "dance of the swan" (*yo'mi-čomo-lo'ñdol'*³). The dance is performed in combination with a circle dance. Girls and youths form a circle, and turn from right to left around a couple who represent the male swan making love to the female. The male circles round the female, lifting alternately the left then the right wing (that is, arm); while the female tries to evade his approaches. At the same time the dancing couple imitate the sounds by which the male and the female swans call each other in the pairing-season. This dance discloses how carefully the Yukaghir observe the ways of animals. It is performed with great vivacity and grace.

¹ See Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 268.

² See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, p. 782.

³ *Lo'ñdol'* means "dance." *Yo'mi-čomo* ("swan") is composed of *yo'mul* ("neck") and *co'mo* ("large" or "long"); hence *yo'mi-čomo* signifies literally "long necked."

CEREMONIAL ADDRESS. — There exists among the Yukaghir the custom — very unusual for a primitive people, but very common among cultured nations — of using the plural form of address to convey respect. This custom is known as *n'e'xomieñi* ("they respect each other," or "they spare each other").¹

In ancient times adult Yukaghir always used this form of address when meeting one another. This plural form of address must not be confounded, however, with those cases where the father-in-law, by the custom of *n'exi'yiñi*,² addresses his son-in-law in the plural in order to avoid addressing him directly.

CUSTOMARY FORM OF SALUTATION. — At the present time, when Yukaghir men meet each other in travel, or when a guest enters the house, they shake hands like the Russians, saying, "Doro'bo" instead of the Russian "*Zdoro'vo*" ("Well! Be well!"); but in ancient times the expression "*N'e'nuyeili*" ("We have found each other") was used instead, followed by the questions still current on such occasions. In these questions allegorical expressions or special terms are always used; for the point of interest is generally the chase, which is always talked about in a special jargon, in order that the spirit protectors of the animals which form the subject of the conversation should not understand it. I give here a number of examples.

"How do yow feed in your country?" (*Lebie'-budie' tit e'njebon xo'domei?* literally, "Land-over | your | food | how is?") or "How does the food question stand with you?" (*Te'nmulanden xo'do mo'domot?* literally, "From the side of the throat | how | you live?") — "We get along in some way or other" (*Xo'xode modoyei'li*).

"How is the squirrel-hunt?" (*Cā'lgen pe'tn'ulbon xo'domei?* literally, "On wood running how is?") — "It is met with in forests on the hillocks" (*Cā'lo-pedie xodenianui*: literally, "On the hillocks walks").

"How is the chase on those running at the border of willow woods [that is, hares]?" (*N'a'n-mad-ih'i'lgen pe'tn'ulbon xo'domei?* literally, "Border of willows on running how is?") — "On islands it is met with" (*Emu'lpe coro'-mon'anui*).

"How stands the fox-hunt?" or "Are there any foxes?" (*Yo'ñinol-no'do xo'domei?* literally, "With snout animal how is?") — "On the trails it is" (*Čugo'le kice'anum*).

"How is the hunt on those jumping in the tree-tops of the red poplar [the ptarmigan]?" (*No'lutičegen mo'njinulbon xo'domei?* literally, "Red poplar tops on jumping how is?") — "When leaving the house in the morning, one hears the twittering of ptarmigan" (*Ogoye'lme ukei'lukone aju'gi me'dununui*: literally, "In the morning when one goes out, his word [voice] is heard").

¹ This form is the third person of the reciprocal verb (see Jochelson, *Yukaghir Grammar*, in *American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 7, §§ 75, 98, pp. 392, 403).

² See pp. 75 et seq.

"How is the bear's trail?" or "Does one meet the bear?" (Yen-no'do čugo'gi xo'domei? literally, "Other animal's trail how is?") — "(The bear's trail) here and there is to be seen" (Tīleme yedu'oinunui).

"How is the fishing in your river?" (Tit u'und-eme'i tī'tkele xo'do e'ndem? literally, "Your river-mother you how feeds?") — "Our river-mother us well feeds" (Mit u'und-eme'i mī'tkele o'moi e'ndem).

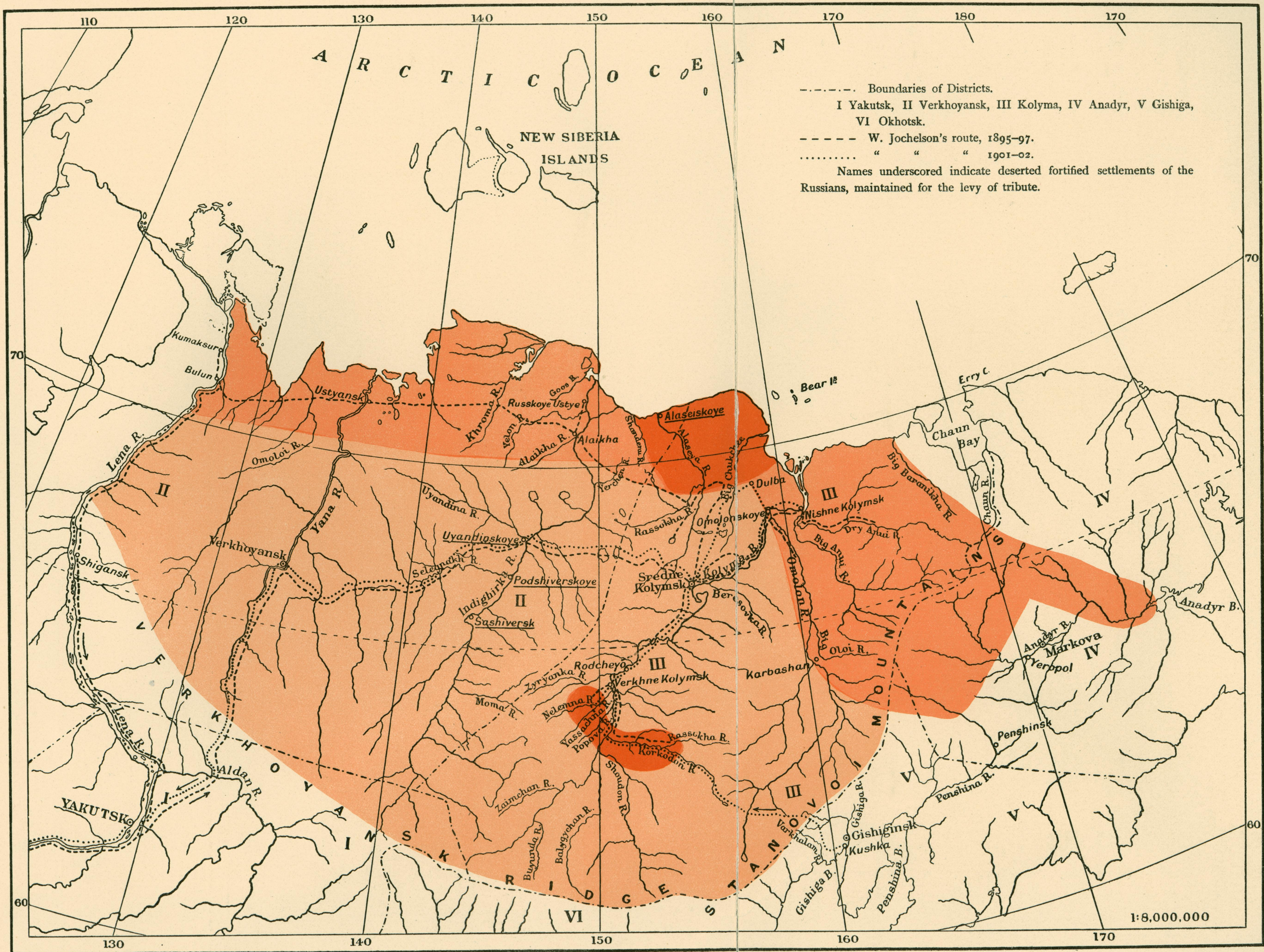
Thus the results of the chase are always being inquired about according to the season and the animals hunted, — in spring, wild reindeer; in autumn, fish; in winter, fur-bearing animals.

BLOOD-VENGEANCE. — Blood-vengeance is called in Yukaghir le'pud-o'icil' ("blood-anger") or čubo'je-yo'ño ("heart-anger"). O'ici and yo'ño mean "to be angry" as well as "to take vengeance." Le'pkudiče o'icim means "a blood relative takes vengeance;" le'pudeget' lepu'din o'icim, "he takes vengeance from blood to blood" (i. e., one generation after another). There is another word used in the sense of taking revenge, — ei'me ("exchange, pay, payment"). One says, for instance, "Tu'del me'tin e'imecum" and "Tu'del me'tkele o'icim;" that is, "He takes revenge on me." In general, the Yukaghir do not easily forget an offence, and try to repay the offender with an equal offence. Murders, however, and vengeance for murders, are out of the question at the present time. The Yukaghir have long since discontinued such violent acts, fearing that the culprit might be punished by the Russian Administration, or summoned to the court in Yakutsk. As a result, the manners of the Yukaghir have become much milder. Conditions of life in general have changed so considerably, that occasions for bloody encounters no longer present themselves. Many tales referring to the custom of blood-vengeance, however, have been preserved entire. According to these tales, the rules regulating the custom of blood-revenge were the following. 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. As avengers, relatives are classed in the following order. The younger brother's avenger is his elder brother. "His heart is soft" (Čubo'jegi puko'leoi), say the Yukaghir in regard to the elder brother as avenger. He starts out directly to kill the murderer. The tales refer to elder brothers who assumed the guilt of their younger brothers in order to save them from persecution. If the one killed is the elder brother, the younger brother takes the fact much more coolly, for "his heart is hard" (čubo'jegi i'kleoi). He does not kill directly, but requires from the murderer an explanation of his act, not infrequently letting him off with a ransom. Of several younger brothers, the dominant voice belongs to the brother next in age after the one killed. For ransom, the culprit's family gave to the victim's son or younger brother a young girl, who entered the

house of the victim's family. It is said that the Yukaghir knew of no other ransom. In the absence of brothers, the cousins of the victim, or the younger brothers of his father, are the avengers. In cases where the victim had sons, they must avenge him instead of his brothers. The eldest son must be the one to kill, while the others assist him. A girl's avengers are her father, or, if the latter is dead, her brothers. A woman is avenged by her husband, or, if he is absent or old, by her sons. If she has no sons, her brothers become her avengers. The customs in regard to revenge for the murder of relatives on the mother's side are not in accord with those previously described. If the mother's younger brother (Xojā'die) is killed, he is avenged by his nephews, for "the children love, more than any other relative, the younger brother of their mother."

In connection with the custom of blood-vengeance, I will say a few words about slaves and captives. Slavery has existed among the Yukaghir. A slave was called *pō*, which means literally "worker."¹ All captives were slaves. Men as well as women belonged to this class; but the latter, in the position of hostages or wives, enjoyed a much greater independence than male slaves, especially if they had children by their master-husbands. The male slave was much more dependent and miserable. According to the traditions, he was barred from entering the class of warriors — for a captive's faithfulness could not be relied upon — as well as the class of hunters. The slave staid 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 permitted to do such work as the fitting-up of sledges and nets, and to participate in fishing-parties. While the traditions speak of ancient slavery, it appears from some tales, curiously enough, that the Yukaghir, in their battles with the Tungus, used to put the women and children to death instead of taking them home as captives. Other tales, on the contrary, relate that girls used to be taken as captives and distributed among the warriors. In still other tales the victors spared the lives of the conquered if the latter consented to give them girls as tribute. In one tradition about a battle of the Yassachna Yukaghir with the Tungus, we find it related that the Tungus, having won the battle, demanded that the surviving Yukaghir deliver to them all the Yukaghir girls as tribute, else they would all be put to death. The Yukaghir gave their consent; but the girls, sixty in number, having learned the fate which awaited them, ran away to the tundra, and hid themselves behind the hillocks. Thus the Yukaghir were not able to keep their word, and were killed by the Tungus. The girls were also found by the Tungus, who carried them away as captives.

¹ For a hired laborer, in the modern sense, the Yukaghir have another term, *u'ičil* (from the verb *ui*, "to work," "to do," and *xa'mul'*).



Ancient territory of the Yukaghir and related tribes.

Present territory of natives of pure and mixed Yukaghir descent.

Present distribution of the Yukaghir language.

THE YUKAGHIR AND THE YUKAGHIRIZED TUNGUS.

By W. JOCHELSON.

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