THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

OF THE GILYAK



Lev Iakovlevich Shternberg

Edited with a Foreword and Afterword

bу

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ABSTRACT

In 1905, the eminent dean of American anthropology, Franz Boas, commissioned a monograph on the lives of Sakhalin Island peoples from the young Russian exile ethnographer Lev Shternberg. Shternberg's *Social Organization of the Gilyak* was Boas' final requisition for the annals of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, exploring the origins of Amerindian peoples along both the Russian and American north Pacific rims.

Shternberg's manuscript made it to English translation under Boas' supervision, but political upheaval in tsarist Russia soon overtook events. For decades, this Russian ethnographic masterwork, published twice in Soviet Russia in the 1930s, was lost to English readerships, given political developments in the USSR and the climate of the Cold War. This first English edition includes a fresh analysis of Shternberg's classic work by anthropologist Bruce Grant. For the compelling Afterword, Grant returned to Sakhalin Island in 1995, one hundred years after Shternberg's first field studies, where modernday Gilyak (Nivkh) offered their own reflections on being among the foremost subjects of Russian ethnographic literature.

Social Organization of the Gilyak is at once a careful reading of indigenous life in far eastern Siberia, as well as an important building block in the ongoing reevaluation of Russian studies of kinship, religion, and nationality policy.

COVER ILLUSTRATION

The Gilyak, organized. Lev Shternberg sits at the far right of a line of Gilyak informants, 1890s.

TITLE PAGE ILLUSTRATION

Birch bark stencil adapted from Berthold Laufer, *Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes*. Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. IV (New York: Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, 1902).

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

affinity Relationship by marriage

agnates Blood relatives counting common descent through male links

only

akhmalk [Gilyak] Father-in-law ang'rei [Gilyak] Marriageable wife

bride-price or

Compensation to parents for a daughter given in marriage

bride-wealth

clan Group tracing descent to a putative, sometimes mythical,

founding ancestor

classificatory terms Kinship terms that do not distinguish between lineal and col-

lateral relatives

cognates Relatives of common descent

collateral kin Relatives of common descent through different lines

consanguinity Relationship by blood

cross-cousins Children of opposite-sex siblings

endogamy A rule prescribing marriage within a residential, kin, status or

other group to which a person belongs

exogamy A rule prescribing marriage outside a residential, kin, status,

or other group to which a person belongs

Gilyak Term of Tungus origin designating 5000 indigenous people on

northern Sakhalin Island and the Amur River delta. Since the 1920s, they have been known by their self-naming, Nivkh.

imgi [Gilyak] Son-in-law

iukola [Russian] Dried salmon

khlai nivukh [Gilyak] "The best man" and good orator

kinz [Gilyak] Spirit

kolkhoz [From the Russian kollektivnoe khoziaistvo] Term introduced

in the USSR, normally designating a collective agricultural or

fishing enterprise

levirate The right or obligation of a man to the wives of his living or

deceased brothers

lineage A consanguineal kin group following unilineal descent;

includes only kin who can trace their link through one gender

to a known founding ancestor

mos' [Gilyak] Aspic made from seal fat, fish skin, and berries

Nivkh The predominant self-naming for Gilyaks; adopted for official

purposes in the USSR from the late 1920s onwards. The Nivkh-language plural is *Nivkhgu*. The Russian-language plur-

al is Nivkhi.

parallel-cousins Children of same-sex siblings

sagund [Gilyak] Valuables

sazhen [From the Russian sazhen'] A prerevolutionary Russian mea-

sure of length, equal to 7 feet. Five hundred sazhens make a

verst. See verst.

sororate The right or obligation of a man to the sister or close female

relative of his living or deceased wife

tkhusind [Gilyak] Penalty, fine, or ransom

tuvng [Gilyak] Brothers and sisters, real and classificatory

pandf [Gilyak] Ancestral point of origin of the clan

pu [Gilyak] Marriageable husband

verst [From the Russian versta] A prerevolutionary Russian mea-

sure of length, equal to 3500 feet or 0.6629 miles. See sazhen.

yurta [Russian] Originally referred to a tent made of animal skins,

found across Central Asia and Siberia; by the late 17th century it came to include any non-Russian dwelling, including those of the Gilyak semi-subterranean (winter) and raised

wooden (summer) types

GLOSSARY OF ETHNONYMS

Earlier American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) and Soviet versions of the Shternberg manuscript used a number of 19th and 20th century Russian and European nomenclatures for the peoples they described. This edition uses Shternberg's terms from the undated AMNH Russian typescript of *Social Organization*, while indicating current Library of Congress terms in brackets on first usage. The use of Library of Congress terms is for the sake of referencing, though the Library's terms are not always consonant with autonyms, or even consistent with the Library of Congress' own system of transliteration from Russian into English (hence, Gilyak rather than Giliak; Gilyak rather than Nivkh).

Autonyms are taken from Wixman (1988). Variations include popular British Library spellings, alternative Library of Congress spellings, and older imperial Russian forms.

		Current	
Lib. Congress	Autonym	Russian Style	Variations
Altai	Altai, Oirot, et al.	Altai	Oirot
Buriat	Buriat	Buriat	Buryat
Chukchi	Lyg Oravetlian et al.	Chukchi	Chukchee
Chuvan	Shelga	Chuvan	Yukaghir et al.
Chuvash	Chavash	Chuvash	Chuvash
Dolgan	Dulgaan	Dolgan	_
Enets	Enets	Enets	Samoyed
Even	Even et al.	Even	Lamut
Evenk	Evenk et al.	Evenk	Tungus et al.
Gilyak	Nivkh	Nivkh	Giliak
Itelmen	Itel'men	Itel'men	Kamchadal
Kamchadal	Kamchadal	Itel'men	Itelmen
Karagasi	Karagass, Tofalar	Karagass	Karagass, Tofalar
Ket	Ostyg, Ket	Ket	Enesei Ostiak
Khakass	Khass	Khakass	Yenesei Tatar
Koriak	Chavchiav et al.	Koriak	Koryak
Kyrgyz	Kyrgyz et al.	Kyrgyz	Kirghiz, Kyrghyz
Mansi	Mansi	Mansi	Vogul
Mari	Mari	Cheremis	Cheremiss
Nanai	Nani et al.	Nanai	Gold, Gol'd, Ulchi
Negidal	El'kan et al.	Negidal	Negda, Amgun
Nenets	Nenets et al.	Nenets	Samoyed et al.
Nganasan	Nia	Nganasan	Tavgi Samoyed
Oroch	Nani	Oroch	Orok, Orochon
Orochon	Orochon	Orochon	Orok, Oroch
Orok	Ul'ta	Orok, Ul'ta	Uilta, Oroch
Ostiak	Khant, Hant	Khant	Ostyak

		Current	
Lib. Congress	Autonym	Russian Style	Variations
Sami	Saami, Lopar	Saami	Lapp
Tofalar	Tubalar	Tofalar	Tofa, Karagasi
Selkup	Sel'kup	Sel'kup	Ostiak Samoyed
Udekhe	Udee	Udegei	Udeghe
Udmurt	Udmurt	Udmurt	Votiak, Votyak
Uighur	Uigur et al.	Uigur	Taranchi et al.
Ulchi	Ulchi	Ul'chi	Nanai
Yakut	Sakha	Sakha, Yakut	Iakut
Yukaghir	Odul	Iukagir	Yukagir

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAN (RF PF) Arkhiv Akademii Nauk Russkoi Federatsii, Peterburgskii Filial [St.

Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the

Russian Federation

AMNH American Museum of Natural History, New York

APS American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia

E.D. Eastern dialect of the Gilyak language

ESBE Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Brokgausa i Efrona [Brockhaus and

Efron Encyclopaedic Dictionary]. Russian Edition. St. Petersburg:

Brokgaus-Efron, 1890-1904

GARF Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Russkoi Federatsii [State Archive of the

Russian Federation, formerly TsGAOR, Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii (Central State Archive of the

October Revolution)], Moscow

GASO Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sakhalinskoi Oblasti [Sakhalin Regional

State Archive], Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk

IRKISVA Isvestiia Russkogo Komiteta dlia izucheniia Srednei i Vostochnoi

Azii v istoricheskom, arkheologicheskom, lingvisticheskom i etnograficheskom otnosheniiakh [Bulletin of the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and East Asia—History, Archeology, Linguistics

and Ethnography], St. Petersburg

KIPS Komitet po Izucheniiu Plemennogo Sostava SSSR [Committee for the

Study of the Tribal Composition of the USSR

MAE Muzei Antropologii i Etnografii im. Petra Velikogo [Peter the Great

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography; also known as the Kun-

stkamera], St. Petersburg

MKIVSA Mezhdunarodnyi komitet po izucheniiu Vostochnoi i Srednei Azii

[International Committee for the Study of the East and Central Asia]

NESBE Novyi Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Brokgausa i Efrona [New Brock -

haus and Efron Encyclopaedic Dictionary. Russian Edition. St.

Petersburg: Brokgaus—Efron, 1911–1916

SOKM Sakhalinskii Oblastnoi Kraevedcheskii Muzei [Sakhalin Regional

Studies Museum], Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk

TsGADV Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Dal'nego Vostoka [Central

State Archive of the Far East, Vladivostok (formerly in Tomsk)

W.D. Western dialect of the Gilyak language

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of Russian words into English follows the Library of Congress system, with the apostrophe indicating the Russian soft sign. Hence, the often-Anglicized versions of Leo Sternberg, Waldemar Bogoras, and Waldemar Jochelson appear here as Lev Shternberg, Vladimir Bogoraz, and Vladimir Iokhel'son, unless their names appeared in the title of an article or excerpted archival correspondence. Exceptions are made for commonly accepted English usages such as yurta (rather than *iurta*) or sazhen (rather than *sazhen*').

The Gilyak language did not have a script when Shternberg first traveled to Sakhalin in the 1890s. For his early Gilyak monograph (Shternberg, 1904f–h), he developed his own system of transliteration, with extensive diacritics for rendering the language in Russian and English. He modified this system slightly for the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) Russian typescript of this book, inserting handwritten Gilyak words in the Latin alphabet. In 1931, Shternberg's Gilyak studies protégé Erukhim Kreinovich developed an official Gilyak script for Soviet administration based on the Latin alphabet. Kreinovich shifted to the Cyrillic alphabet in 1936, and the Gilyak (Nivkh) writer Vladimir Sangi proposed a new system in 1981. For the 1933 Soviet editions of the manuscript (Shternberg, 1933a, 1933b), the results were often confusing, as when they used both Cyrillic and Latin letters in the same Gilyak words (such as "чих-чидупd," a ritual offering of food, or "чаuf," the place where the offerings are made, from Shternberg, 1933a: 337). Further variations arise between the two texts when each spells the same Gilyak terms differently.

This edition makes use of Shternberg's handwritten insertions in the AMNH Russian typescript, amending them only when Gilyak (Nivkh) readers of both the language's two main dialects reviewed the typescript on Sakhalin Island in 1995 and urged revisions. Footnotes throughout the text indicate prominent examples, such as *imgi* rather than *ymgi*, *tuvng* rather than *tuvn*, and *ang'rei* rather than *angej* or *angey*. The transliteration of Gilyak words follows the Library of Congress Russian to English system, hence *jox* is rendered as *iokh*.

SHTERNBERG TIME LINE¹

1861 (May 4)	Born in Zhitomir, now Ukraine.
1866–1870	Receives early education in Jewish Letters, the Bible, and the Talmud.
1874–1881	Studies at the Zhitomir Classical Gymnasium.
1881	Enters Petersburg University, majoring in physics and mathematics.
1882 (November 8)	Arrested and exiled from Petersburg for student activism.
1883–1886	Enters Novorossiisk University in Odessa, majoring in law. Actively participates in <i>Narodnaia Volia</i> [The People's Will]; becomes editor of the bulletin, <i>Vestnik Narodnoi Voli</i> .
1885	Participates in the organization and meetings of the Ekaterinoslav Congress of <i>Narodnaia Volia</i> delegates.
1886 (April 27)	Arrested and incarcerated in the Odessa Central Prison.
1886–1889	Spends 3 years confined in the Odessa Prison before being exiled to Sakhalin by sea (March 19, 1889).
1889 (May 19)	Arrives on Sakhalin, settles in the town of Aleksandrovsk.
1890	Imperial officials, concerned with Shternberg's record for agitating for prisoners' rights, look to sequester him from Anton Chekhov during the writer's study of the island. Shternberg is relocated from Aleksandrovsk 100 km north to the more remote coastal settlement of Viakhta. He begins his studies of Gilyaks.
1891 (winter)	Travels for the first time to Gilyak communities in northwest Sakhalin.
1891 (summer)	Travels down the river Tym' to the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk to study east coast Gilyaks and Oroks.
1892–1893	Travels to southwestern Sakhalin to study Gilyaks, Oroks, and Ainu.
1892	Shternberg's initial findings on Gilyak social organization are reported to the Anthropological Section of the Society of Friends of Natural Science by N. I. Ianchuk and are recorded in the October 14 issue of <i>Russkie Vedomosti</i> [<i>The Russian Gazette</i>]. Friedrich Engels reprints Shternberg's report, with commentary on its favorable significance for understanding primitive communism in <i>Die Neue Zeit</i> (vol. 11, no. 12, Band 2, 373–375).

Source: Modified from [Anonymous], "Lev Iakovlevich Shternberg, Vazhneishie biograficheskie daty," Ocherki po istorii znanii VII (1930), 7–19.

Publishes his first ethnographic work on Gilyaks, "Sakhali skie Giliaki" [Sakhalin Gilyaks] in Etnograficheskoe Obozr nie [The Ethnographic Review, Moscow] 17(2): 1–46. Makes second summer trip to northwest coast Gilyaks, up Cape Mariia; begins to study the Gilyak language. Organizes and heads a regional studies [kraevedcheskii] mus um in the town of Aleksandrovsk. Temporarily relocates to the Amur region to study continent Gilyaks. Makes three expeditions to Gilyaks, Oroks, and Ul'chi alor the Amur. Makes three expeditions to Gilyaks, Oroks, and Ul'chi alor the Amur. Officials remand the final 17 months of his 10-year sentence Shternberg leaves Sakhalin with permission to return to Zhtomir. Lives in Zhitomir under police surveillance. Takes part in the preparations of the journal Dal'nii Vostok [Far East]. Partial edits his Gilyak linguistic material. Meets his future wife, Sar Arkadievna Ratner, director of the Women's Academy in Zhiomir. Receives permission to return to St. Petersburg through the intervention of Academician Vasilii V. Radlov. Becomes editor of the ethnographic sections of the prestigion Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Brokgaus i Efrona [Encyclopaed Dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron, Russian Edition].
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Begins work at the Kunstkamera [later the Museum of Anthr pology and Ethnography (MAE)], St. Petersburg, as a voluntee
Reenters Petersburg University; joins the staff of the MAE as Junior Ethnographer. Additionally, writes the charter for the Mezhdunarodnyi komitet po izucheniiu Vostochnoi i Sredne Azii (MKIVSA) [International Committee for the Study of the East and Central Asia], Russian Section, and becomes a member of the Russian Writer's Union.
1902–1917 Acts as Secretary of the Russian Section of MKIVSA; edits the newsletter, IRKISVA.
1903 Travels to Berlin and Leipzig to visit ethnographic museums
1903–1917 Participates actively in both open and underground Russia Jewish movements.
Becomes Senior Ethnographer at the MAE. Travels to Berliand Stockholm to cultivate museum exchanges.

1905	Travels to New York; meets with Franz Boas to negotiate publication of <i>The Social Organization of the Gilyak</i> in the Jesup North Pacific Expedition series; meets with American Jewish activists.
1906	Travels to the International Congress of Americanists in Quebec City as a delegate from the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences.
1907 (January 17)	Presides over first congress of the Evreiskaia Narodnaia Gruppa [Jewish People's Group] in St. Petersburg; serves as one of group's chief strategists and ideologists.
1908	Elected to the organizing committee of the Evreiskoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo [Jewish Historical Society], St. Petersburg.
1908 (June)	Attends International Congress of Americanists in Vienna.
1908 (September)	Travels to Prague to purchase ethnographic collections.
1910	Returns to Sakhalin and the Amur for the first time since his exile there; it is his last visit.
1911	Travels to Stockholm to purchase ethnographic collections.
1912	Elected to the Organizational Committee of the International Congress of Americanists. Becomes Assistant to the Director of the MAE.
1913	Travels to Stockholm for ethnographic collections; elected to the Berliner <i>Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnographie und Urgeschichte.</i>
1915	Travels to the World War I Russian battle front as a delegate for the Committee to Aid Jewish Refugees.
1917	Serves as Chair of Commission on the composition of an ethnographic map of Russia for the Russian Geographic Society; teaches ethnology in the Eastern Studies Department of Petrograd [St. Petersburg] University. ²
1918	Becomes Professor of Languages and Material Culture at Petrograd University; organizes the Department of Ethnography within the Geographic Institute; later becomes Professor and Chair of this department. Also works as Chair of the Komitet po Izucheniiu Plemennogo Sostava SSSR (KIPS) [Committee for the Study of the Tribal Composition of the USSR].

² [*Editor's note:* The city of St. Petersburg [*Sankt-Peterburg*], founded by Peter the Great in 1703, was renamed Petrograd by Nikolai II upon Russia's entry into World War I in 1914 to downplay Germanic overtones. Soviet officials renamed the city Leningrad following the death of Lenin in January of 1924. The Russian Republic returned to the original name of St. Petersburg in 1992.]

1924

1925

Becomes Professor in the Department of Primitive Art, Institute of Art History, Petrograd.

A : 101: (1 x :1 x : 1 x

Appointed Chair of the Jewish History and Ethnography Society and chief editor of its journal, *Evreiskaia Starina [Jewish Antiquity*]. Appointed to the prestigious rank of "member-correspondent" [chlen-korrespondent] of the Soviet Academy of Sciences]; attends the International Congress of Americanists in Stockholm. Meets with Boas in the Hague.

Becomes a founding member of the Komitet sodeistviia naro-

dnostiam severnykh okrain pri Prezidiume VTsIK [Committee for the Assistance to Peoples of the Northern Borderlands; commonly known as the Komitet Severa or Committee of the

North].

1926 Becomes a founding co-editor of journal Etnografiia [Ethnogra -

phy, 1926–1930; later Sovetskaia Etnografiia (Soviet Ethnography), 1931–1991; and Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, 1992–]. Travels to Tokyo to attend the Third Pacific Rim Congress;

visits Hokkaido to study Ainu.

1927 (June 1) Becomes editor of the KIPS journal, *Chelovek* [*Man*].

1927 (August 14) Dies at his dacha in Dudergof, outside of Leningrad.

Under the supervision of Shternberg's widow, a special com-

mission releases the posthumous publication of the first two major Shternberg collections: *Giliaki, orochi, gol'dy, negi-dal'tsy, ainy* [*Gilyaks, Orochs, Gol'ds, Negidals and Ainu*] (Khabarovsk: Dal'nevostochnoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo), and *Sem'ia i rod u narodov Severo-Vostochnoi Azii* [Family and Clan Among Peoples of Northeast Asia] (Leningrad: Institut

Narodov Severa).

1936 Publication of the third major posthumous Shternberg volume,

Pervyobytnaia religiia v svete etnografii [Primitive Religion in Light of Ethnography] (Leningrad: Institut Narodov Severa).

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Notes on Contributors

Though many people have worked on the *Social Organization* text since Boas commissioned it from Shternberg in 1905 (appendix A), some of the key editors and translators are noted here.

IULIA PAVLOVNA AVERKIEVA [PETROVA-AVERKIEVA] (1907-1980) was born in the small coastal village of Poduzheme in Karelia. She entered Leningrad State University in 1925 to work under Bogoraz, studying to become a specialist on peoples of the American northwest coast. Under a short-lived US-USSR exchange of anthropologists, she went to New York in October of 1929 to study with Boas, later accompanying him to British Columbia in October of 1930 for 6 months of fieldwork among the Kwakiutl. Archival sources (appendix A) show that she assisted Boas in the editing of Shternberg's Social Organization text during her stay, and translated at least one chapter into English (Chapter 14). She returned to Leningrad in May of 1931. After a brief marriage to Petr Averkiev, who disappeared in the 1930s and may have perished in Stalinist camps, she married Apollon Petrov, a Sinologist and diplomat. They had three children, and went on to reside in China from 1942 to 1947. Shortly after Averkieva returned to Moscow, she was arrested for purported crimes against the state. Authorities exiled her for 7 years, first to Mordova, and then to Siberia. Petrov died in 1949 during her internment. She returned to Moscow in 1954, and joined the staff of the Institute of Ethnography. During her 26 years there, she rose to considerable prominence, chairing the Sector of American Studies, editing the flagship journal, Sovetskaia Etnografiia [Soviet Ethnography], and maintaining, as few Soviet ethnographers could, an active network of international colleagues.

Franz Boas (1858–1942), the German-born dean of American anthropology, received his doctorate in geography from the University of Kiel in 1881. After a year-long stay in the Arctic from 1883 to 1884, he shifted to anthropology, soon after beginning his first field studies among Bella Coola Indians in British Columbia. Boas founded the first department of anthropology in the United States, at Clark University in 1888, and later moved to Columbia University, where he taught from 1899 to 1936. He worked as a curator at the American Museum of Natural History in New York from 1895 to 1905, during which time he organized the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Although he left the Museum in 1905, he maintained close ties. Boas trained a generation of influential American anthropologists; in 1926 alone, former Boas students chaired every single department of anthropology in the country. He published over 600 articles and many books, including *The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island* (1909), *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911), and *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1928). He died during a luncheon at the Faculty Club at Columbia University in 1942.

ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER (1880–1940) was born in Kiev. Having begun his undergraduate degree at Harvard, Goldenweiser received his A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. (1910) degrees from Columbia. Prior to translating portions of Shternberg's *Social Organization* text, he published his first book, *Totemism: An Analytical Study* (1910), and

went on to publish nine others, most concerned with native American life. Goldenweiser taught at a number of institutions, including Columbia, the New School for Social Research, Reed College, and the Universities of Washington, Oregon, and Wisconsin.

BRUCE GRANT has worked on ethnographic and historical aspects of Nivkh (Gilyak) life since his first fieldwork on Sakhalin Island in 1990. His book on state intervention in Nivkh lives since the 1890s, *In the Soviet House of Culture: A Century of Perestroikas* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), was a winner of the 1996 Book Prize awarded by the American Ethnological Association. He teaches anthropology at Swarthmore College.

ZOIA IVANOVNA IUGAIN (1929–1996) was born in the town of Muzma on the Amur River in the Russian Far East. She came to Sakhalin Island after World War II and worked for many years in the Red Dawn Collective Fishery in Rybnoe, on Sakhalin's northwest coast. In the summer of 1995, she read through the manuscript with Grant and Lok, making linguistic and ethnographic commentaries.

ALEKSANDRA VLADIMIROVNA KHURIUN works as a correspondent for the Nivkh monthly newspaper, *Nivkh Dif.* She lives in Nekrasovka on Sakhalin Island. In the summer of 1995, she read through the manuscript with Grant, making linguistic and ethnographic commentaries.

IAN PETROVICH KOSHKIN [AL'KOR] was a student of Shternberg and Vladimir Bogoraz in Leningrad in the 1920s. In the 1930s, amidst new ideological demands on scholarship under Stalinism, he wrote ambiguous prefaces for and edited the works of Shternberg and Bogoraz, using the pseudonym Al'kor. He became director of the Institute of Northern Peoples in Leningrad before being arrested in the late 1930s and disappearing.

ERUKHIM [IURII] ABRAMOVICH KREINOVICH (1904–1984) was 17 years old in 1924 when his friend Ian Koshkin took him to one of Shternberg's lectures in Petrograd. He enrolled that year as a graduate student, becoming Shternberg's Gilyak studies protégé. He worked as Native Affairs director on Sakhalin Island in Aleksandrovsk from 1926 to 1928, making extensive field trips to central Sakhalin Gilyak communities. Returning to Leningrad, he assisted in the editing of the Shternberg archive between 1929 and 1935. In 1931, he published the first Gilyak (Nivkh) literacy primer, Cuz Dif. Kreinovich's far eastern experience made him the object of suspicion in the Stalin years: He was arrested in 1937 on grounds of conspiring with "a Trotsky-Zinovievite terrorist spy organization in cohorts with the Japanese." He served a 10-year sentence in Magadan, only to be sentenced again, for the same crime, to a further 10 years upon his release in 1947. When he attempted suicide at the outset of his second term, he was allowed to work as a medical assistant for prisoners in a village outside of Krasnoiarsk until 1955. The government exonerated him later that year. After returning to Leningrad, he joined the staff of the Institute of Linguistics.

He defended his first doctoral (*kandidatskaia*) dissertation in 1959 on the Yukaghir language and his second doctoral (*doktorskaia*) dissertation in 1972 on the Ket language. Among his many publications, his 1973 book *Nivkhgu* remains a centerpiece of Gilyak (Nivkh) scholarship. Showing courage in an often anti-Semitic Soviet Union, he published by choice under the name Erukhim, rather than Iurii, which he used more commonly.

GALINA DEM'IANOVNA LOK is the director of the north Sakhalin Nogliki branch of the Sakhalin Regional Museum [SOKM]. She has worked extensively among Nivkh communities on North Sakhalin and the Amur. She read the manuscript with Grant and Iugain on Sakhalin in 1995, making linguistic and ethnographic commentaries.

SARRA ARKADIEVNA RATNER-SHTERNBERG (1870–1942) met her husband Lev when she came to Zhitomir, Ukraine from St. Petersburg in 1897 to head the Zhitomir Academy for Women. Little is known about her early biography or whether she continued to teach when they moved to St. Petersburg in 1899. After the death of Lev Shternberg in 1927, she was active in overseeing his archive and worked as Chair of the Sector of American Studies at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad. She died during the German siege of Leningrad in 1942.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Like many Western anthropologists of Siberia, I first came to Shternberg's *Social Organization of the Gilyak* through an unpublished English typescript archived at the American Museum of Natural History. Lev Shternberg was one of the founding deans of the Russian ethnographic school, and the recondite English translation of this cardinal study of Gilyak social relations has long remained an inviting draw for anyone engaged by the history of Russian anthropology. The story of the manuscript's odyssey through the halls of anthropology on both sides of the Atlantic at times has rivaled the importance of the manuscript itself. First commissioned by Franz Boas in 1905—and later passing through the hands of Alexander Goldenweiser, Vladimir Iokhel'son, Erukhim Kreinovich, Roman Jakobson, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Rodney Needham, among many others—it was an inviting project to assume when I completed my own ethnographic fieldwork among the Gilyaks (Nivkhi, by modern nomenclature), 100 years after Shternberg's imprisonment on Sakhalin Island.

Surely, The Social Organization of the Gilyak, in Russian or in English, is one of Shternberg's most difficult texts. Here the reader finds a densely composed tract on the arcana of primitive marriage and a foundational text in the development of prescriptive alliance theory for the anthropological study of kinship. But to be fair to Shternberg, this current edition is also a group effort in the most literal sense. At least three translators, if not more, took part in the production of the Museum's original English typescript, annotated by hand in different places by Shternberg, Boas, and, following Shternberg's death in 1927, at least three Soviet editors (appendix A). To that end, we can think only loosely of Shternberg's work as a "manuscript." The book is a historical artefact, Shternberg's fullest work in English translation, presented here to readers in a renewed and vigorous climate of international exchange in Russian anthropology. As editor, I had recourse to four Russian versions that approximate the current text—a Russian typescript archived with the Museum in New York, Shternberg's serialized 1904 monograph of Gilyak life (Shternberg, 1904f-h), and two Soviet editions of the work, published in 1933. It was at times small comfort when, faced with puzzling English renditions of Gilyak kinship terms, I discovered that the four Russian editions often differed more so among themselves than across the greater Russian-English language divide. Rather than seeing this as a handicap, I have used editorial notes to privilege the divergences in order to generate a maximal context for the book's argument. What I hope to bring to the text, particularly in the Foreword, is an intellectual setting for the lived experience of Shternberg's project; in the Afterword, Gilyak (Nivkh) readers bring an essential perspective on what Shternberg's work means to them today.

Field and archival research for this English edition of Shternberg's *Social Orga-nization* text was conducted over the course of four trips to Russia: to the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in March 1994, July 1995, July 1996, and March 1997; to Moscow during June and July 1996 and January through May 1997; and to Sakhalin Island in May through July 1995. I am grateful for financial support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, which generously facilitated the 1995 summer research, and to the Faculty Research Program at

Swarthmore College. Swarthmore's Office of Word Processing got the project off the ground when they agreed to take Shternberg's well-worn, faded typescript and transfer it to the computer age.

A number of colleagues in Russia extended considerable help for this study of a famous ethnographic ancestor. I owe particular debts to Michael Allen, the late Zakharii Efimovich Cherniakov, Galina Ivanovna Dudarets, Nelson Hancock, Aidyn Jebrailov, Aleksandr Krotov, Sergei Murav'ev, Nikolai Pesochinskii, the late Aleksandr Pika, Tat'iana Pika, Sergei Pshenitsyn, Galina Aleksandrovna Razumikova, Natal'ia Sadomskaia, Anna Vasil'evna Smoliak, Ol'ga Stakhova, Masha Staniukovich, Ol'ga Vainshtein, and Nikolai Vakhtin. Many of the archival documents in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg would not have been available to me without the kind interventions of Ol'ga Ulanova. The unusually generous staff of the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk directed me to many of the sources on Shternberg used here and have provided ongoing logistical support since my first visit there in 1990. I am particularly grateful to the Museum's Director, Vladislav Mikhailovich Latyshev, as well as Tania Roon, Igor' Samarin, Ol'ga Shubina, Sasha Solov'ev, and Marina Ishchenko. The Institute for Advanced Research in the Humanities at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow extended their considerable resources for the final stages of writing and editing during my stay there in the winter of 1997.

On North Sakhalin, Nivkh friends and colleagues took more trouble than usual to entertain their Canadian visitor; many read the manuscript in its entirety in order to share their comments 100 years after Shternberg first arrived on the island to write about their relatives. I am especially grateful to Zoia Ivanovna Agniun, Galina Fedorovona Ialina, Sasha Iugain, the late Zoia Ivanovna Iugain, Rima Petrovna Khailova, Ivan Khein, Vera Khein, Aleksandra Khuriun, Murman Kimov, Lidiia Dem'ianovna Kimova, Nadezhda Aleksandrovna Laigun, Zoia Ivanovna Liutova, Galina Dem'ianovna Lok, Elizaveta Ermolaevna Merkulova, Antonina Iakovlevna Nachetkina, Ol'ga Ngavan, Pavel Nasin, Raisa Taigun, Kirill Taigun, and Natal'ia Dem'ianovna Vorbon.

Outside Russia, friends and colleagues, who might have learned long ago to plead other obligations when I have shown up on their doorsteps with works-in-progress, read through drafts of this volume in many different incarnations. I thank David Anderson, Eileen Consey, Aleksei Elfimov, Claire Feldman-Riordan, Lisa Haj-jar, Laura Helper, Jamer Hunt, Karen Knop, Igor Krupnik, Brigitte Lane, Dana Lemelin, Nancy McGlamery, Anne Meneley, Rachel Moore, Patricia Polansky, Nancy Ries, Evelina Shmukler, Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov, John Stephan, and Robin Wagner-Pacifici. Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, Lydia Black, and Sergei Kan gave sharp, incisive readings of my own commentaries, as well as the English translations, for the presses of the American Museum of Natural History and the University of Washington. Lawrence Krader and Rodney Needham, each indirectly connected to the manuscript in their earlier careers and for whom my queries might have constituted a spectral return, were generous in consultations. At the American Museum of Natural History, Petica Barry expertly oversaw the illustrations and mapwork, while Brenda Jones shepherded production. Laurel Kendall, the Museum's Curator of Asian Ethnography,

brought her keen eye and patience to this book in ways that far exceeded her initial responsibility for overseeing its publication 90 years after Boas preceded her.

More than one friend on Sakhalin Island warned me about "the Shternberg curse" when I first took up this project, and even the briefest perusal of appendix A, chronicling the manuscript's sometimes tortuous, sometimes comic route to completion since it was first commissioned in 1905 lends some support to this shadowy thought. In 1994 I managed to level both my car and a passing deer in a collision on the very day I learned about funding for the summer Sakhalin trip; in 1995 I deftly short-circuited two computer keyboards in as many weeks while transcribing the Sakhalin interviews; and in 1996 my very first troublesome encounter with poison ivy gave way to a month of monstrous disposition beginning the very day I was returning to Shternberg after the school year's hiatus. Thinking, then, that the American Museum of Natural History might not be the only august body to have wanted this long-lingering project to reach completion, my genuine hope is that this book is one Shternberg himself might have recognized and liked.

Bruce Grant, Swarthmore, 1998