**DOG BREEDING**

Dog husbandry is the most ancient kind of animal breeding coming from late Paleolithic and Mesolithic Age. Dog bones found at all the cultural sites of that period testify to this.

Siberian husky (laika) is the most popular breed in Northern dog breeding. It has a wolfish head; a wide medium-sized forehead; small, slightly rounded, broad-based, erect ears, powerful jaws with well-developed teeth; wide round paws; strong muscles; sunken almond-shaped dark-nut eyes; the female is 50-55 cm, the male—55-60 cm high. Working qualities of Siberian husky are sensitive hearing, good eyesight, endurance, strength, sagacity. There were several territorial variations of this breed in the North. In addition to Siberian husky, some other breeds were also popular. Dog breeding among Northern peoples can be subdivided into the following types: hunting, watch-dog, hauling, sled-dog breeding. Dogs have been used for hunting since the Stone Age. In the 19-20th century dog hunting was practiced in the taiga by all the peoples of Siberia. The Nanais had special hunting breeds not used as sled dogs. Reindeer-herding of Siberian huskies were widespread in tundra from the Kola Peninsula as far as the Taimyr. The Nenets specially trained them to herd stray reindeer obeying master’s commands and motions; to direct the herd; to gather reindeer together; to protect them from wolves, etc. A herd totaling over a thousand reindeer was usually guarded by two herders and several dogs, which were of great value. Hauling dog breed, when a dog is put to a hand sled, was practiced in the 19-20th century by the Khants, Mansis, Kets, Selkups, Evenks, Oroches, Udegeys, Ulta, the Upper-Kolyma Yukagirs, etc. While hunting in the taiga, the hunter hauled a sled with food or the catch in a team with his dog (the Khants, Mansis, Kets, Selkups, Evenks, Oroches, Udegeys, and Ults). The same technique was used by the Upper-Kolyma Yukagirs and the Sym Evenks to transport household goods during their travels.

The beginning of sled-dog breeding is related to the development of fishing and sea game hunting, and supplying enough forage for keeping sled dogs. It became very popular among the Northern peoples in the 18-20th century. It includes breeding of specially trained sled dogs and using certain types of dog sleds, harness, teams, and mounting. Sled-dog breeding started at different time in diverse places, there were 5 types of it.

Sled-dog breeding has declined in recent years due to the reduction of fish reserves. It exists in some areas where there are no roads for mechanical transportation.

**HORSE BREEDING**

Horse breeding is a branch of cattle breeding, the main occupation of nomadic people of the steppe and the forest steppe zones of Eurasia. Horse breeding had an auxiliary role in the economics of the Northern peoples, except Yakuts, for whom it was one of the leading branches of economics. The Russian documents of the 17th century sometimes name Yakuts as “horse people.” Other people of the North borrowed horse breeding from their neighbors—Buryats, Yakuts, and Shors. Evenks of the southern district of the Baikal area, and the upper course of the Amur river were often called “mounted”: they combined hunting with herd breeding of horses. The memory of horse breeding is reflected in the terms, folklore, and art of Khants and Mansis (settlers from the West Siberian steppe had mixed with these people). Yakuts knew both pasture breeding, and the stabling of horses when hay was stored for the winter. Yet practically all year round, horses were pastured and retrieved fodder from under the snow with their hooves. A characteristic feature of horse breeding for Yakuts and other Siberian peoples was pasturing horses without a herder. Severe conditions and the cold climate made Siberian horses especially sturdy; they had long fur, but were not very productive. Horses were used for carrying packs and riding. Mares were milked only in summer, and kymys was made of the horse milk. Horses also provided meat, skins and horsehair, which were used to make lariats and nets, and to ornament birch-bark vessels. Horse breeding is still widespread in Yakutia.

**HUNTING**

Hunting is one of the most ancient forms of human production activity. Hunting played various roles in the traditional economy of the Northern peoples. For hunter-reindeer herders (Evenks, Evens, Yukagirs, Ulta, Negidals) hunting was the main occupation, while reindeer herding was secondary. For settled fishermen on the lower reaches of a big river (Khants, Mansis, Selkups, Nivkhs, Ulchas, Nanais) hunting was of secondary importance, fish was predominated. Economic complex of Arctic hunters for sea animals was formed in the north east of Siberia. For tundra reindeer herders (Nenetses, Nganasans, Enetses) hunting for wild reindeer was the main occupation until the beginning of the 18th century. Hunting for big-hoofed animals played a major part for foot hunters of the taiga (Kets, Evenks, a part of Khants, Mansis, Selkups). Specialization in type, form and ways of hunting depended on natural and climatic condition of economy and culture type formed on this basis, ethnic traditions, and later was determined by the demand for certain kinds of hunting products (the fell of furry animals, musky gland excretion of the musk deer, dags of the Siberian stag, etc.).

Hunting of the northern peoples was both individual and collective. They collectively killed bears, wild reindeer, elks, Siberian stags, sea and other animals. With the development of trade and finance, specialization of the economy, appearance of new hunting weapons, hunting became more and more individual.

Most northern peoples considered hunting to be strictly male business. But for some peoples (Evenks, Selkups, Khants), women hunters was a common phenomenon.

Fur hunting acquired great importance in the 17-18th century due to the high demand for furry animal fells on the Russian markets and imposition of yasak. Before the 18th cent., sable was the main object of fur h. Later (due to overhunting of sable), squirrels, foxes, polar foxes, beavers, otters, and ermines became the main hunting objects. Fur hunting continued from October until January.

The northern peoples used active, passive, and mixed types of hunting. Active hunting prevailed. It was characterized by such methods as tracking, chasing, use of decoys, ambush, game drive, battue. Often these methods were combined. Some peoples used huskies for active hunting in tundra and taiga. Active hunting was mainly for meat and fur-bearing animals.

Decoy hunting was used by the Evenks, Udegeys, etc. in autumn, during heat. One of the hunters decoyed an animal using special squeakers imitating the call of an elk, musk deer, Siberian stag. Animals answered the decoy and came to the hunters.

During the same period, in autumn, some peoples conducted hunting with decoy reindeer (Nenetses, N’ganasans, Enetses, Dolgans, Oroches, Evenks, etc.). Usually they used a reindeer raised by people. They fixed a loop on its horns and allowed it to approach a herd of wild reindeer. The leading buck came out to meet it and they started to fight by crossing their horns. The loop was tightened on the horns of the wild reindeer and the hunter left his shelter and shot the animal.

Killing reindeer at fords (pokolkas) was one of the ancient types of hunting (N’ganasans, Nenetses, Yukagirs, Evenks, Dolgans, etc.). During seasonal spring and autumn migrations, wild reindeer crossed big rivers usually at the same places known to hunters. When the herd reached the middle of the river, hunters sailed (on light boats) out of their shelters, surrounded the herd trying to direct it upstream. They thrust the reindeer under the rib with the long lance. Women and inexperienced hunters stayed on the bank and prevented the reindeer from leaving the river. Thanks to their thick hair, slain reindeer did not sink. They were towed with ropes and butchered on land. In one day several hundred animals could be killed with this way of hunting.

Late in autumn when the snow cover was not so deep, the northern peoples hunted big hoofed animals. Hunting was done on foot, on reindeer by tracking down and chasing an animal. The hunter approached the animal from the lee side and shot it. At the same time, they hunted with dogs for fur-bearing animals with guns and nets.

In spring, the Evenks, Khants, Mansis, Kets, etc. hunted with dogs for big hoofed animals using skis because of the thin crust of ice over the snow. This type of hunting was similar in method to hunting on shallow snow. In the winter when the snow cover is deep, they hunted on reindeer or sleds by following the tracks of an animal.

The Evenks, peoples of the Amur area ambushed animals at their most frequented sites (solonetzes, ponds, feeding areas). The ambush was arranged from the lee side on the ground or on a tree.

Big hoofed animals were always killed by sneaking up on them, when the occasion offered, especially in summer, when animals keep to themselves. Hunting with a screen was widely used to catch sea animals. The Nenets crawled over the ice to an animal screened by an oblong shield fixed to two skids; while hunting for seal, the Chukchi crawled up to the animal using a disguise, a special cap of seal skin imitating its snout, etc. Hunting with the help of domestic reindeer, which served as a screen and led the hunter within shooting range of a herd of wild reindeer, is similar to the above-mentioned type of hunting. Passive hunting included catching animals by means of various traps: pits, loops, snares, other types of dead falls, arbalests, steel traps. Traps could be immovable and portable. They were made of wood (larch) and were often used by several generations of hunters.

Most traps were dead falls. The hunters constructed a yard surrounded by a fence with the bait in the middle. The entrance was partitioned off by a kulema, which consisted of a threshold (a log fixed under it) and a trigger consisting of three parts: two of them were fixed vertically to each another, and the third one horizontally, clamping together the first two parts. The kulema was set on the ground near a tree or on stumps.

For the bear there was a structure made of logs 1.5 m to 1 m in length and over 1 m in height; it could be smaller for small animals. The door on runners was closed top-down. Bait was put inside the trap, and a string trigger connected to the door was placed before the bait. When a bear entered the trap, it touched the trigger and the trap closed.

Crossbows for meat animals were set all the year round on paths in gangways between fences. The bow and release mechanism were made of wood. Leather or sinew tow was used for the bow-string. The bow was fixed horizontally onto a stump. The height of the whole installation depended on the animal’s size. The intensity of the shot was regulated by grooves on the trigger. The crossbow was covered with fir branches. Crossbows in the vertical position were set on paths to kill furry animals from the second part of December until the appearance of a thin crust of ice over the snow. They were checked every 4-5 days. Construction of cherkan was similar to the crossbow. They were used for fur hunting. Loops were used for hunting an elk, Siberian stags, wild reindeer, bear, lynx, foxes, upland fowls. They were made of wide thick belts of elk skin, rope, horse hair and other mat. Loops with a log (potasok) were used to hunt for meat and furry animals. The Selkups, Khants, Mansis, Evenks set their traps for upland fowls. Peoples of the Lower Amur area and Sakhalin used various traps for fur hunt. It was not typical for the Evenks.

Mixed type of hunting consisted of driving animals into natural or artificial snares—hunting pits dug on animal paths or in gangways of spec. made fences (abatis). This type of hunting for big and small animals was typical of the Khants, Mansis, Kets, Evenks, Nanais, Yukagirs, Dolgans, N’ganasans, Enetses, and Nenetses. Fence-abatis made of trees and set for hoofed animals were placed across their migration paths. The fence could be 6 to 20 km long. Arbalests, nets, loops, hunting pits were set every 100-200 m in special gangways left in the fence. Sometimes the N peoples built two parallel fences local several kilometres far from each other. They were checked every 3-4 days. A reindeer approaching the fence saw the open gangway, entered and touched the string stretched across the gangway. Game drive h. for wild reindeer was used by the Yukagirs, Kets, and other peoples; the Nenetses, N’ganasans, Dolgans, and Selkups used this method for water fowl, during molting they drove geese into nets or traps.

The bow and arrow was one of the main hunt. weapons of the N peoples until the end of the 19th—early 20th cent. In the 18-19th cent., they began using Russian-made guns . First they were flint, then grooved, and special whaling ones. The spread of fire-arms increased the effectiveness of h., primitive hunting weapons (metal bullets, etc.) became obsolete. The same reason led to individualization of hunting. Some ways of hunting lost their importance. For example, in the late 18th—early 19th century Nenets stopped using pokolkas and mass game drives. At the end of the 19th century Eskimos stopped using the old ways of hunting with the help of missile darts and harpoons from kayaks, harpoons from the banks, crawling with disguise.

There were special hunting clothes. The northern peoples had centuries-old hunting experience, they knew the biology of the animals they hunted and chase features. The northern peoples hunting beliefs were reflected in hunting rites.

Nowadays for a number of reasons the importance of meat hunting for the northern peoples has decreased and importance of fur hunting grown. The main objects of fur hunting are sable, squirrel, polar fox, muskrat. On the whole traditional methods of hunting and hunting implements have not changed. The northern peoples also use factory-made traps. Hunting weapons and equipment are being improved (carbines, snowmobiles, whale-boats with motors, etc.). Sometimes it changes the character of hunting.

**FISHING**

Fishing holds an important place in the traditional economy of most northern peoples. Fishing tools, such as bone hooks and harpoon heads, have been known there since the Paleolithic Age. Fishing became a special economic branch in the Neolithic era. Fishing determined the entire complex of the material culture of the indigenous peoples of the Amur and Ob basins, Kamchatka-Okhotsk region, and Sakhalin Island. Fish was their main food and meal for dog sled teams, and they used fish skin to make clothes and footwear. The peoples who mainly fished led a settled way of life and moved only during summer to better fishing grounds. The fish caught during the fishing season was stored in winter in the form of yukola and the remains became dog food. All northern natives were also keen on ice fishing.

There is river, lake, and sea fishing. The fishing tools are divided into simple, hook, net, and shutoff tools.

Simple tools were harpoons, scoop-nets, drag-nets, etc. Harpoons were strike (impact) or missile tools with a cone-shaped head with 1 to 6 jaggy ends. Most harpoons had 3 ends. They were of two types: missile, with a releasable head, and impact, with the head tightly fastened to the handle. Harpoons with releasable heads were fastened to the handle at the cone-shaped side. The belt (or rope) attached to the head was fastened to a ring on the other side of the handle. The harpoon was thrown as far as 5-8 m. If the head hit the fish it fell from the handle, which became a float holding the prey in place. The fisherman pulled the fish and killed it with a mallet. The harpoon with a tightly fastened head was used to kill small ordinary fish. One-jag harpoons had jags that held the fish in place. It was also used to catch big fish trapped in a net. The two-jagged harpoon was used by the Oroches to kill Siberian salmon and taimen.

Torching was popular: nocturnal fishing with the help of a torch and harpoon. Fishermen sailed in the dark, downstream, with a burning batch of birch-bark or a chip fastened to the bow. The light attracted the fish, which they killed with a harpoon. They also harpooned fish in the winter, in ice-holes, when it rose to the surface to breathe. At the shutoffs or locks, the fish were killed with pike poles and long poles with several hooks.

Evenks and their neighbors (Nanais, Ulchas, Nivkhs, etc.) used an impact tool similar to the harpoon called a marik. It was a hook tied to or placed inside a special groove on a long pole up to 6 m long. There was a belt attached to the base of the hook, also tied to the handle. The marik was used to fish from a boat and the shore. If it hit the fish, the hook slipped out of the handle and hung from the belt along with the catch. The Evenks also had a marik with an immovable hook (badar). Scoop-nets were used to scoop the fish from the traps. Sometimes these scoop-nets played an independent role: Chukchi used them to catch navaga from their canoes, Nivkhs, Negidals, and Ulchas used them to catch small fish called smelt in spring. Chukchi, Shors, and Tuvins caught fish with the help of drag-nets. Forest Nenetses, Khants, Mansis, Selkups, and Evenks used bows to kill fish. Khants had special arrows for pike with furcated bone and later iron heads. Hook tools and fishing rods consist of one or several hooks tied to a line, the other end of which is fastened to a long pole, the rod. Some peoples (N’gansans and Dolgans) used a sharpened bone spoke with a hole in the mid. used to tie it to the line instead of a hook when catching large fish. They placed a weight under the hook and a float above it, the float could be moved along the line, and thus it was possible to regulate the fishing depth. Primitive rods, “makhalkis” (from the Rus. makhat’—wave) with a hook placed right on the weight and a short handle which was used to move the rod up and down when fishing, were popular on the Amur river. Koryaks also had a floatless rod, its rod had a bone head on one end and a curved wooden or bone handle on the other. The line with the hook and weight was threaded through a hole in the head and its free end was coiled around the handle. By coiling and uncoiling the line, the fisherman regulated the fishing depth. Sometimes the rod was replaced by a wooden board with hollows at the ends. The Ket hook tool had a similar structure. Its line was tied to a wooden board with hollows at the ends. They caught fish from their boats, while moving, by throwing the line from the hull and uncoiling it when necessary. The tangrap hook had 2 or 3 jags, and a piece of light deer skin or red cloth was tied to it to serve as bait. Winter ice fishing with rods was very popular. A fisherman often put up a tent over an ice-hole.

Self-catch tools are also considered hook tools: set lines and self-catch, which the native peoples adopted from Russians. Several dozen hooks were tied by “leashes” to a long rope called “khrebtina” (from the Rus. khrebet—ridge), which was pulled on the water or over it; sometimes the “ridge” was held at the bottom by weights and the hooks hung in the water with the help of floats. The Saami tied a line with hooks to a pole dug into the bottom of the river or lake (aluvn). Usually several such poles were placed together. They were also used when ice-fishing. When catching large fish, the Amur peoples used hook traps, a big hook was driven into a log up to 50 cm long, base side down; at times the log was shaped like a fish for magic purposes. The base of the hook could have a loop at the end—esp. for the float. A hook with a float and a rock as a weight were tied to an anchor made of rods. A whole fish, a Siberian salmon or humpback salmon was placed on the hook to serve as bait.

Net tools are divided according to function into gill nets and impounding nets. Gill nets were used to surround the fish. They were woven from thin nettle or hemp fiber, deer tendons, or in the case of Yakuts, N’ganasans, Dolgans and Kolyma Evens—horsehair. They wove them with the help of a wooden or bone needle. They used a yardstick, or a quadrangular board, if none were available, they measured the necessary size with their fingers. The size of the mesh varied from 1-1.5 cm to 30 cm and depended on the size of the fish for which the net was meant. The Nanais and Ulchas had a net for catching large fish: c.50 cm long with up to 50 cm mesh; 1.5 m logs served as floats.

According to the catching type, nets are divided into bottom gill nets and free gill nets, acc. to their form—into quadrangular or bag-like. With quadrangular nets, a cloth is placed on ropes: the top with the floats, the bottom with the weights. Bag-like nets could be placed on rings. Bottom gill sets were placed in open water and under the ice with the help of a long pole. For example, the Amur peoples had a bag-like net for ice-fishing called anga. It was placed under the ice with the help of a special tool shaped like a long hook. A control rope was attached to the net and tied to a flexible rod stuck into the snow: when it trembled the fisherman knew that the fish had been caught and took it out of the net. A type of anga: kheru, c.6m long, was used by Nanais and Ulchas to catch she-whales. They floated free gill nets in different ways: one fisherman in one boat, two fishermen in two boats (“tandem”) or one fisherman in a boat while the other holds the net and walks along the shore. With the Nanais a fisherman held one end of the net and a float was tied to the other end of it, usu. a birch bark box filled with water, the more water it contained, the slower the net moved along the river.

The Koryak bag-like net had a handle fastened to its opening. Standing knee-deep in the water, a fisherman held the net by the handle and floating it along the current or tide and scooped up the fish. Bag-like nets of more complex structure formed a special class of net fishing traps.

Impounding nets or drag-nets were adopted by the local peoples of the North from the Russians. They bought net cloth or webbing made of thick thread with a mesh size of c.1-1.5 cm from the Russians as well. The net consisted of a central large bag made of small webbing and wings made of webbing with slightly larger mesh. Floats were sown to the top edge of the net and weights to the bottom edge. Usually one wing, the “river” wing, was held by the fishermen in the boat and the other, “the shore” wing, on the shore, the fishermen gradually came together and pushed the fish trapped in the net into the bunt.

The shutoff fishing technique was also popular. The Khants and Mansis, forest Nenets, Selkups, and all the peoples of the Far East were very fond of the shutoff, a type of fence made of rose willow with “gates” where they placed woven traps or bag-like nets. The shutoff way of fishing was used in small rivers (their beds were completely blocked), also in lakes and bays. In wide rivers only part of the bed was blocked and the shutoffs had an inverted L-shaped form. Winter shutoffs in small bayous were typical of the Amur, their bag-like nets were checked every couple of days. It was common to fish with primitive rods (makhalki) at the edge of the shutoff.

**REINDEER HERDING**

Reindeer herding is a branch of livestock breeding, one of the most important types of economic activities of the N and Siberian peoples. Typical of all peoples living in the reindeer distribution range: Saami in the W, Russians, Komi-Izhems, Nenetses in the north east of European Russia, Khants, Mansis, Kets, Selkups, Nenets in West Siberia, Dolgans, N’ganasans, northern Yakuts, Evenks and Evens in Middle and East Siberia, Yukagirs, Chukchi and Koryaks in the North East. The southern borders of reindeer herding are the Amur area (Evenks and Negidals), Sakhalin (Oroks), the Sayan (Tuvins-Todzhins and Tofalars). Expansion of reindeer herding in different geographical and cultural condition was predetermined by the variety of economic uses of reindeer. There are two main types of reindeer herding in the economy of the northern peoples. In tundra, reindeer provide all the requirements of human life, determine people’s way of life (nomadic) and elements of culture (settlements and lodgings, clothing, implements and food, transport, social relations, spiritual culture). Domestic large-herd is the northern type of nomadic livestock breeding. This type of economy was based on hunting for wild reindeer in the 18th cent. In the taiga zone of Siberia reindeer herding is used for transport purposes only. In this case, just a few livestock breeding elements penetrate into trade culture. In western Siberia large-herd reindeer herding is characterized by extensive seasonal migrations to tundra in summer and to the N borders of forest-tundra in winter, 24-hour grazing using reindeer-herding dogs. In the North East the nomadic range is smaller, the tradition of grazing using dogs is not practiced.

Taiga reindeer herding is characterized by the sedentary grazing system. Seasonal pasturing of reindeer is retained. During high mosquito activity and summer temptation special protective structures (reindeer sheds, shady awnings, smoky fires) are built in the nomad camps. To limit reindeer mobility, wooden fetters are put on their legs, and stocks on the neck. Dogs are not used. Transport use of reindeer differs in taiga and tundra. Pack and riding reindeer transport is used in the southern Siberia taiga by the Tuvins-Todzhins and Tofalars, and to the East of the Yenisei by the Tungus peoples. In southern Siberia reindeer are saddled like horses: a horse saddle with stirrups, common halter (a bridle with single rein attached on the l.). A soft Siberian-type saddle is typical of eastern Siberia. It has a hard base, saddletree with shelves hidden in fur bags filled with reindeer hair. This type of saddle does not have stirrups and the halter rein is attached on the right. Pack reindeer saddles can be either the Sayan or Sib. type. Sayan saddles have no cover, have narrow, separate shelves, high pommels, a choke-strap, and a crupper. Siberian saddles are covered with fur or put through wadded bags filled with hair. Pack bags are single or double rovduga bags with a draw-string neck or flap; the Evenks, Evens, and Oroks have hard baskets often covered with kamus.

In tundra from the Kola Peninsula to Chukotka, sled reindeer transportation is used. Sleds are the main vehicles here. They differ in shape of poppets depending on the reg.: in the European part of Russia and western Siberia poppets are placed obliquely in eastern Siberia, straight, and in the north east in an arch. The number of reindeer harnessed to riding and cargo sleds varies from one to eight. One-reindeer relay is typical of the Oroks, Chukchi, Koryaks and neighb. Evens two-reindeer relay is used by the Evenks, Evens, Yakuts, and Negidals, sometimes by Chukchi and Koryaks. Samoyedes and neighbor peoples of western Siberia (Khants, Mansis, Kets, and Dolgans) harness three and more reindeer to a fan-shaped riding sled. A two-reindeer team is used with cargo and women’s riding sleds. The fore-deer (the leading one) in Samoyed teams is placed at the left side, in Chukchi, Koryak, Even, Evenk, Yakut, Dolgan, and Negidal teams at the right.

The reindeer harness consists of a halter with reins and strap with a traction belt. There are simple and complex types of halters. The simple halter consists of a loop and lead of one or two separate belts. It is typical of pack-riding and sled reindeer herding of Chukchi, Koryaks and neighb. Yukagirs, Evens and Evenks. It can also be used for cargo teams of Samoyed reindeer herding. The complex halter is used in Samoyed riding teams. Its head bridle consists of several belts connecting two or four bone plates which fix the halter on the reindeer’s head. The chain connecting the halter to the harness of the next reindeer is fixed to one of the plates.

Straps are simple and compound. The simple strap is a loop which is thrown over the reindeer’s shoulder and between its fore legs. It can be an extension of the traction belt (Negidals, Evenks, Evens, Yakuts, Oroches) or it can be a separate belt connected to the traction belt (Chukchi, Koryaks, harness for the cargo sled of Samoyedes and neighbor peoples). Samoyed peoples used a compound strap as the riding harness. It has choke-straps and a belt clasping the reindeer’s body and preventing the strap from twisting and the lead from falling down (the belt was also used in the Tungus-Yakut riding team).

There are three ways to connect the traction belt to the sled: fastened (fixed), cross-over and block types. The fastened type is the simplest and is used by the Chukchi and Koryaks (the traction belt of each reindeer is tied separately to the sled binding). The Orok traction belt was forked at the end and tied to the runners btw the hind legs of the reindeer. For spans, the Yakuts, Evenks, Evens, Dolgans, etc. used the cross-over type of hauling belt fixation. The end of the traction belt/cord was passed through the “ram” or btw the runners of the sled front (like the cargo team of Nenets and Mansis). In Samoyed teams the traction belt/cord was connected to the sled front by blocks—a system of rings and loops, the complexity of which depends on the number of reindeer in the team: for spans (cargo sled), the traction belt for both reindeer was passed through the rings of the corner blocks at the front ends of the runners; in a three-reindeer team, the block for the mid. reindeer was passed btw the other two; in a four-reindeer team, the central block was fixed to the front cross-bar of the sled and the blocks for the two mid. reindeer were passed through the belt loops formed btw it and the side blocks, etc.

According to one of the modern classifications, there are several types of reindeer herding: 1) Saami using reindeer for pack and in teams, milking, pasturing with dogs, using a decoy reindeer; 2) W-Siberia or Samoyed reindeer herding draught, decoy reindeer, pastoral dog, no milking; 3) Tungus (Sib.)—pack-riding reindeer herding with saddle without stirrups, partly draught, decoy, milking, no pastoral dog; 4) North east draught reindeer herding use of a decoy, no pastoral dog; 5) Sayan pack-riding reindeer herding with saddle and stirrups, milking, no pastoral dog, no decoy.

According to the available data reindeer herding as part of human culture appeared quite late. The most reasonable conception of the origin of reindeer herding was developed by G.M. Vasilevich and M.G. Levin and is a hypothesis about the Sayan and Baikal centers of reindeer herding formation. Currently the hypothesis has its followers as well. S.I. Vainshtein established another monocentric Sayan-Altai theory of reindeer herding formation according to which it appeared at the end of the 1st millennium BC within the Samoyed ethnic environment under the influence of the cattle-breeding tradition. It is supposed to be transported pack reindeer herding of taiga hunters and reindeer herders. At the end of the 1st—beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, reindeer herding was mastered by the Turks, which led to the formation of the Sayan type of reindeer herding in the mid- 2nd millennium AD. In the Sayan area, Samoyed reindeer herding was borrowed by the Tunguses. Then reindeer herding came to the North, where it became sled reindeer herding under the new geographical condition. There are four official reindeer breeds.

The largest is the Nenets breed, which is widespread in Murmansk and the Arkhangelsk oblast, Komi Republic, Yamal-Nenets, Khanty-Mansi, and Taimyr areas. Reindeer are pastured in large herds in the tundra and forest-tundra. Reindeer exterior – appearance and body build satisfactory body development in length and width, the front part of the body is developed better than the back part, moderate withers height, length of legs, head is not long, front part is wide and well-developed. Adult buck weighs 52-56 kg, does are 36-53 kg .Using does as draught animals often led to a reduction in their reproduction functions and size of their offspring.

The smallest Chukotka breed is widespread in Chukotka and Koryak areas, and in the north east of Yakutia. Does weigh 5.4 kg at birth, and bucks 6.4 kg. However, during the first months Chukotka reindeer undergo rapid growth. During the short vegetation period, for example, they are able to restore winter weight losses in full and reach top condition by September. An adult buck weighs 58.8 kg, and a doe 49.1 kg.

Evenk reindeer are herded in Evenk Area, Tuva, Buryatia, S part of Yakutia, Khabarovsk Territory, Amur, Chita and Sakhalin oblasts. They are tall, have long legs, and are recognized as the largest in the world. An adult buck weighs 135-168 kg, and a doe 108-120 kg.

Nearly 600,000 Even reindeer (the fourth breed) are distributed throughout Yakutia, Magadan and Kamchatka oblasts. These reindeer are relatively tall, with a deep but narrow chest, long croup, strong bones. Adult bucks weigh 110-125 kg, does 91-103 kg. Reindeer pastures cover one quarter of the entire dry land on the planet. There are 6.5 mln reindeer in the world, 60% of them are domestic. In Russia, reindeer pastures amount to over 300 mln ha, or 20% of the entire country area.

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**Part III**

**DWELLING, FOOD, CLOTHING AND METROLOGY OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE NORTH**

**CALENDARS**

As in all nations, traditional calendars of northern peoples were lunar, timed to the Moon’s phases. The word for a calendar month in the Khant language is iki; in Mansi - etpos; in Nenets - ibry; in N’ganasan - kicheda; in Evenk - bega, in Nivkh – long. All meanings of them is “Moon,” “month”. Each calendar had 13 months or traces instead of 12 according to number of lunar phases. Sometimes there were more than 12-13 months. And the calendar had no standard length for a month; it could be 15-20 to 90 days depending on the season.

The northern people believed a year was divided into halves, the summer and winter ones. The Even calendar had 6 natural seasons: early spring, late or second spring, summer, Indian summer or early autumn, late or second autumn and winter. The Evenkis had 7 seasons; they divided the spring into 3 parts: early spring, spring proper and late spring. Autumn had 2 parts: autumn and late autumn.

In most cases the names of months in the calendars were associated with natural changes in climate, length of day and night, arrival of birds, and economic activities: hunting, fishing, reindeer breeding, gathering. Thus, the names often had similar meanings. It might be the month of great darkness. In Mansi, the term *vat sagrap nal* means 30 axe handles, since one axe handle could be made in a day, and the month had 30 days. In Selkup, the term was *nopit gogal ireti* the month of the mitten thumb, since an old woman could make only one mitten thumb a day. There were also “the greatest frost” months, when everything is cracking in Selkup. There was also the time of birds’ arrival: in Nivkh the crow month for March-April. Another designation was the month of the eagle’s arrival in Nenets for January. And there was the time of abundant mosquitoes for June.

 Peoples engaged in fishing had many month names associated with fishing activities and the migration of fish. There was the month “to set up fish locks” for April-March and the month of “seining for nelma” for August. The month of hunchback salmon and of autumn chum salmon was in Nanai for July.

Month names of peoples breeding reindeer were associated with their main occupation. For example, May - with reindeer calving. Widespread “hunting” names includes wood grouse land on sand, loops for sable, time to go to taiga, shooting wild deer, moose hunting, birds shedding feathers, hunting geese, ducks, wild deer month etc.

Some Yakut month names reflect the distant past, when Yakuts populated areas of farther South: opening up of rivers for April, hayfork or haystack-making month for August. Some month names of Evens, Chukchi, Koryaks were timed to feasts: time for dances in Even for June-July and winter reindeer slaughtering for December-January; in Chukchi spring thanksgiving, autumn walrus; autumn reindeer calf feast, the feast of reindeer horns. Sacrifice month in Khant was October. The Even month names were also associated with games: the time for sport was June-July. The Tungus-Manchurian peoples (Evenks, Evens, Ulchas, Nanais, Oroches, Negidals) had a calendar in which months were named after parts of the body. The Evenk calendar had 13 of them: the head was the beginning of a year, the left shoulder, the left elbow, the left wrist, or joints at the base of fingers on the left hand and so on. Further on, the months were in reversed order: last joints of fingers of the right hand; middle joints of fingers on the right hand, joints at the base of fingers on the right hand and so on. Nanais, besides common month names, had numerous ones for some of them: April was the sixth month, May -the seventh, June - the eighth, July - the ninth, and August - the tenth.

Today peoples of the North have a universally accepted Julian calendar. Only old hunters remember the traditional calendar and associate their economic activities with it.

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**DWELLING.**

Dwellings of Northern peoples can be classified according to various criteria. According to the materials used: dwellings may be made of wood (logs, planks, rough-hewn piles, poles, chopped blocks, branches), bark (either of birch, or bark of other trees: spruce, larch, fir), felt (used for covering), bones of marine mammals, mud, beaten cob, they may be wattle, covered with reindeer skins, etc. According to their position to the ground level: dwelling may be surface, underground (dugouts, semi-dugouts), and elevated (on piles); according to the planning: quadrangular, round, polygonal dwellings; according to the shape: conical, span-roofed, lean-to, spherical, semi-spherical, sectioned cylinder-shaped, pyramid or truncated pyramid-shaped (tabernacular), quadrangular with roofs of various shapes (span, lean-to, conical, etc). According to the construction: frame (with frame made of vertical or inclined piles, covered with skins, bark, felt, etc), log frame (combination of log and frame technique in one construction), and frameless (log or plank d., including plank structures built as log huts). According to the period of residence: permanent, seasonal, temporary; acc. to the way of life (nomadic, semi-nomadic, settled): stationary and portable.

All these types of dwellings (no less than 80) were represented among peoples of the North. The most diverse were the dwellings of settled and semi-settled fishermen and hunters of the Ob, Yenisei, and Amur (Khants, Mansis, Selkups, Kets, Ulchas, Nanais, Oroches, Oroks, Nivkhs, Negidals, and Udegeys), whereas nomadic reindeer herders of the tundra and forest-tundra (Nenetses, Nganasans, Nothern Evenkis, Evens, Khants, Mansis, Selkups, Komi-Zyryans, Saami, Chukchi, and Kereks) usually built dwelling of one type. There were various wooden constructions covered with bark or skins (choom, log hut, golomo, yurt, etc). Felt-covered dwellings were widely spread in the Southern part of the region (Evenkis). Dwellings made of bones of marine mammals—in North East of Siberia (Chukchi, Eskimos, and Koryaks), beaten cob and mud houses were typical of Teleuts and Yakuts (these dwellings have a frame of wattled twig walls and piles). The most common type is a frame structure. Within this type there are two groups: light structures made of poles, bark surface structures with span or lean-to roof, semispherical; and fundamental structures made of logs, piles overlaid with poles, bark, turf, mud, or snow in winter; usually these dwellings are underground or semi-underground.

The first group includes temporary frame constructions used as night quarters (shelters, tents). These are of various types: 1) lean-to roof screening constructions made of inclined piles and poles, covered with bark and skins with needles “forest house made of needles” , with branches “house made of branches”, with planks, with hay, made of logs in semicircle; shelters of this type are also known to Kets, Itelmens, Nanais, Udegeys; 2) constructions resembling halves of a choom; these were also used by the Selkups, the Evenks, peoples of the Amur throughout the year.

There were also lean-to roof frame constructions with or without sidewalls. The roof was fixed to two piles or poles. Various frame and bark dwellings serve as temporary and seasonal shelters for hunters and fishermen. Especially widespread are conical frame dwellings, the most typical of which was the choom. A very peculiar type of such dwelling was the Yakut uraha. Some types of choom, as well as some Evenki underground turf-covered with frames made of logs split in two halves were cone-shaped, too. Evens used cylindrical-conical frame structure.

Spherical frame constructions, permanent or temporary, round at the basis, were made of bent twigs and covered with birch bark, grass, cane mats. The same structures were used by the Yakuts and the Udegeys.

Semispherical frame constructions of Kets were seasonal or temporary dwellings of fishermen. The same dwellings, but with a quadrangular base, made of bent twigs with an open or closed front wall, were used by the Khants and the Selkups. They were covered with bark or branches. The Kets also made such dwelling joined with a fireplace in the centre and a smoke opening between two parts of the building.

A frame construction in the shape of a dissected cylinder made of bent twigs and bark with a quadrangular base served as a fixed-site seasonal dwelling for fishermen of Ulcha, Nivkhs and Kets. The same dwelling was known among the Nanais.

Span-roofed frame structures , fixed-site, seasonal, or temporary, had variations in their construction: e.g. span roof formed by inclined poles, connected by two at the top with a ridge pole placed inside the coupling fork (Nivkhs); or a structure supported by two vertical poles with a ridge pole placed in their forks upon which inclined poles of the covering leaned (Khants, Mansis). The covering itself could be made of poles, bark, planks, branches, etc. Such dwellings were used by fishermen of the Ob, the Amur and their tributaries.

A bark-covered frame dwellings with a smoke opening in the ridge was particularly typical of Ob Ugrians. It was made of two types: either twinned or rectangular span-roofed frame structures. The fireplace was in the center with an opening for smoke in the roof. The skeleton of the bark-covered d. was often left in its place, but the coverings were transported from one place to another.

Some peoples made their frame dwellings a more expensive investment: the structures were rectangular, with a span roof, the walls notched, weaved of twigs, coated with clay (fanza); these dwellings could be permanent or fixed-site.

The second group of frame structures was represented by a variety of building techniques: frame and pile buildings, notched walls, surface and underground dwellings. Frame constructions with piles, pyramidal and truncated-pyramidal structures were typical, the dwellings were surface or more often underground. The frame of a pyramid construction was formed by 4-8-12 inclined piles connected at the top, which were then overlaid by poles, half-beams, bark, turf, mud, or snow. In truncated-pyramid constructions, four inclined corner piles were joined by their tops within a quadrangular frame, forming a small roof, in which there was an opening for smoke, and in larger structures also for entering the dwelling. Frame underground or semi-underground dwellings of a pyramid or truncated-pyramid shape (Khanty, Selkups, Kets “mud-house,” Evenki, Nivkhs) were underground or partially underground structures with the frame formed by vertical and inclined piles, a covering of poles, half-beams, and mud (turf). Winter dwellings usually had 1-2 small windows, and were entered through an entry-corridor, earlier through the roof. Varieties of this construction were used by many Northern peoples (Saami, Evenks, Kets, Selkups, Dolgans, Evens, Itelmens, Aleuts, etc). The most ancient was the underground type, which developed along the line of gradual raising of the dwellings to the surface and transforming of the structure into a surface dwellings.

Log constructions (Khanty, Mansi, Nivkh, Yakut) were structures made of logs bound in different ways (“in a corner,” “dog’s head,” “in a cup,” etc.). In most cases the technique of building log houses was borrowed from the Russians, but some peoples (Khants, Mansis, Teleuts, peoples of the Amur) developed building techniques of their own. The dwellings were surface, underground or pile, it was roof flat, span with an opening for smoke in the ridge beam, or a pyramid. Usually such dwellings were quadrangular. The Yakuts built polygonal log houses, which were used as permanent fixed-site dwellings, sometimes as household structures (ambars).

Plank constructions (Khanty): the ends of planks were coupled like in log structures, or inserted in the notches of the corner piles, or placed between two corner posts, or butted. Such structures of the later period (19th cent.) were used as summer dwellings by the Khants, the Mansis, the peoples of the Amur (frame log structure), and the Teleuts. Ugrians of the Ob strengthened the walls and frontispiece with vertical poles or beams joined together, passed through holes in planks, and fixed with special clips or with rope made of cedar roots. The Khant and the Mansi hunters sometimes built span-roofed plank d. with one mudsill and two supporting piles made of tree trunks, to which a longitudinal beam was fixed, bearing roof planks. Pile-buildings on 4-6-8 piles were used as summer dwellings by Ob Ugrians (log structures, Khanty yukh-kat), the Ulchas (genga), the Nivkhs (frame log structures), the Itelmens (pyramidal frame structures made of pillars and poles, grass-covered). The main dwellings of nomadic reindeer herding peoples were portable tents made of reindeer skins (Nenets choom, Chukchi yaranga).

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**CLOTHING**

Clothing of the Northern Peoples is very efficient and adapted to the local climatic conditions, economic activities and way of life. It is made mainly of local materials: skins of the reindeer, seals, wild animals, dogs, birds (loons, swans, ducks, etc.), fish skin (mainly used by the peoples from the Lower Amur area), Yakuts used cow and horse skins. Rovduga (reindeer or elk skin chamois) was widely used. Clothes were lined with squirrel, fox, hare, polar fox, and lynx fur, Yakuts used beaver. Skin of domestic and wild reindeer bagged in the taiga and tundra were very important. Peoples hunting sea animals (Chukchi, Eskimos, Koryaks) exchanged their products for reindeer skins. Seal skin was not usually suitable for making clothes.

In style clothes can be divided into two main types: buttoned-up (without placket) and an open garment (with a long vertical front opening). Buttoned-up clothes is mainly for men and was typical for reindeer-herders and sea hunters. There were different styles. Buttoned-up fur kukhlyanka worn by the Chukchi is wide, short, double, similar to that of the Koryaks, Itelmens, and Eskimos. The collar had a cord for making it tight and a small chest-piece sewn to it for protecting a face during snowstorms. Koryaks sewed their kukhlyankas with longer chest-pieces than those of the Chukchi, with a wide strip sewn onto the hem, and a collar trimmed with dog’s fur. Summer kukhlyankas were usually made of rovduga. Women wore buttoned-up clothing only during long sled trips.

Open-type clothing was widely used in taiga areas. This type of clothing includes Evenk caftans, fur coats (parkas, dokhas), coats of peoples from the Far East. It was comfortable both for walking and riding trips in taiga to Nenets, Khants and Mansis. Evenks, Evens, and Dolgans wore long fur chest-pieces under their caftans with narrow flaps. Open-type clothing of Yakuts was sewn with turn-down collars, special cut of sleeves, gussets, canting folds, etc. and was copied by the Evenks, Yukagirs, Oroches, etc.

Outer clothing especially winter clothing, was usually worn with a belt, buttoned-up clothing was worn with big full front. Knifes for different destinations, fire strikers, cases with flint, matches, etc. were hung on the belt.

The lower part of the body was usually protected by single or double fur pants and in summer with pants of rovduga or cloth. Short pants made of rovduga, fabric, fish skin were typical for Evenks, Evens.

Clothing was usually supplemented with headgear in the form of hoods and caps of fur or different fabrics fur-lined or padded.

**WAYS OF DECORATING CLOTHING**

Most clothes of the Northern Peoples were richly decorated. Embroidery of the Northern peoples is their main means of decoration for clothes, footwear and headdresses. Their needlework is close to embroidery. When making clothes, footwear and bags, by sewing together dark and white pieces and stripes of rovduga or mandarka using tendon threads, these craftswomen obtain a fine stitch both from the right and back sides. Probably, embroidery in decorative stitches descends from the art of sewing.

Embroidery in white reindeer hair (taken from the neck of the animal) is the oldest form. It is typical of the Khants, Mansis, Evenks (who sometimes dyed reindeer hair a reddish-brown color), Evens, Nganasans, Dolgans, Yukagirs, Chukchi, Eskimos, and Koryaks. There are different types of embroidery in reindeer hair. Later reindeer hair was replaced by silk and cotton threads purchased from the Russians and Chinese.

FUR MOSAIC is one of the most widespread ways of decorating clothing, footwear, headgear, and utensil items of native Northern peoples. Compositions made from cross-linked color contrasting pieces of fur. Cut out by hand or with the help of a pattern, they are shaped as stripes, rhombuses, triangles, circles, and other geometrical figures. Very small parts are cut without pattern or with the help of a ruler. Light and dark skins with similar short nap are usually selected. In sewing the pieces together, the regular direction of nap is followed. Hair that juts out from the cut of the leather is cut off with a knife. The parts are sewn together so that no threads are seen.

For Evenks, Evens, Yukagirs, Dolgans, and Yakuts, mosaics is usually a combination of stripes and squares on clothes and footwear. Evenks used the fur mosaics technique while making rovduga and kamus carpets and kumalans. Circle carpets, symbolizing the Sun, were usually made from color contrasting pieces of kamus with the pattern emulating chiaroscuro: in the carpet’s middle section there was a small circle radiating light and dark beams. The carpet was bordered with coarse and springy fur with a long nap.

Mosaic from leather of different colors was made in a similar manner. The mosaic technique was also used to decorate clothes, footwear, and utensils with colored cloth. As with fur, stripes, squares, rhombuses, and geometrical patterns were cut from cloth and stitched into the fabric or a slit in the hide (clothes, footwear, headgear, mitten, and bags).

The art of fur mosaics is still popular in the North and is used to trim bags, footwear, caps.

APPLIQUE is one of the most popular types of decorative trimming for clothing, footwear, and household objects among the Northern peoples. Applique involves application of one material to another that serves as a base. The applied material usually differs from the base in color and often also in texture. Folk craftswomen knew various types of applique: leather on leather, fur on leather, leather on fur, and cotton or wool on fabric, fur, or leather.

Fabric applique is common on clothing of Yakuts, Yukagirs, Evenkis, Evens. Caftans, dresses, and robes of Khants, Yukagirs’ breastplates, and Yakut horse cloths are works of art. The design was set off from the garment in a strip of fabric in a contrasting color (usually white). Without the aid of a stencil artisan could apply any pattern, sewing from the reverse side with machine-like stitches.

Applique of rovduga is found on Yukagir purses and Evenk tobacco pouches, and was used by the Khants and Mansis to decorate footwear.

An original technique of decoration among the Chukchi is balls by circular rosettes. Cut-out circles of mandarka are attached to a strip cut from white kamus. The strip goes around the circle so that the nap shows on the outside. A white mandarka circle is fastened to the leather base of the ball with transverse stitches, so that inside there is a strip of kamus and a gleaming brush of white hair shows through on the outside. The result is a distinctive rosette.

*Biser* is small glass beads widely used by the Northern peoples to decorate clothes and utensils. Before glass beads appeared here, the native population used “home-made beads”—circles, small balls and columns, cut from mammoth bone and painted in different colors by natural dyes to decorate clothes and everyday belongings. Old glass beads were different in forms and color shades and were valued very highly in the North. Evenkis exchanged a deer for several red glass beads. Women masters still appraise them and take from old things to new ones.

Women combined beadwork with applique made of strips of colored fabric, edgings of long-nap fur, embroidery using the neck hair of deer, leather painting, fur mosaic, etc.

The skill of beadwork is passed from the older generations of Northern peoples to the younger ones. Northern women use bead ornament in combination with cloth, leather, and fur to decorate clothes, shoes and headgear. Even the smallest routine clothing and household items are amazing in the richness and complexity of their decorative beadwork embroidery. In recent times beadwork has become especially widespread. Beadwork makes it possible to create rich compositions, complex rosettes, pendants, contributing to the development of national decorative art. Every Northern ethnic group uses the beads effect, color range, and combination of beads with different materials in its own way.

Shamans occupied a special place in the social structure of Yukagir society; they were patrons of the clan. Under the influence of Tunguses, special shaman clothing and accessories became part of Yukagir traditions.: tambourine, beetle, caftan, breastplate, hat, footwear, and images of the shaman’s helper-spirits. The strongest spirits were mammoth, bear, wolverine, and souls of the ancestors.

The shaman’s caftan had a red pattern (drawn with ochre or alder sap), which divided the garment into two parts, the lighter right part with seven cross-like figures of birds, and the darker left one with seven man-like figures of ancestors. A rovduga strip in the center, embroidered in reindeer hair, symbolized the world tree. The shaman’s headwear followed Even tradition: a round cap of kamus, lighter on the right, darker on the left, topped by two cylinder-shaped “horns.”

**FOOD**

Studying of specificity of traditional food of peoples inhabiting the territory of Russia is the most important section of modern ethnography.

In the ethnographic and historical literature an enormous material on history and culture of Northern peoples is gathered where the traditional food is considered to be an organic part of people’s culture.

Food, its ingredients, ways of cooking of daily, festive and ceremonial dishes of any people is an ethnic tradition, a component of culture. Each ethnic group has a historically developed traditional cuisine. It is caused by way of life, forms of keeping an ethnic subsistence economy, customs, traditions, creed which are directly depended on geographical and climatic conditions of a region of permanent residing of North Minorities, and the place of their permanent residing is Far North.

One of the main guarantees of a safe human life in extreme conditions is a qualitative food which compensates negative influence of climate on an organism therefore northern peoples have paid a great attention to a good healthy food since the old times.

Peoples of the Arctic regions being engaged in reindeer breeding, hunting, fishing and gathering are still keeping nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life. Everything is subordinated to objective circumstances in it: a human, objects and tools of work, household activities, traditions, customs, beliefs, material, and spiritual culture and a fundamental basis of health formation - eating.

**Food of the Evens**

The traditional Even diet consisted of venison, the meat of wild animals, fish, and wild plants. The main dishes were boiled meat (ulre), boiled fish (olra), fish soup (khil), yukola (kam), a ground powder of dried fish (porsa), fermented fish (dokche), uncooked fish, heads and tendons, chipped frozen fish (talak), and other dishes. A sweet root (kochia) was laid in for the winter and eaten boiled or

uncooked, sometimes with dried salmon caviar. The roots of the Alpine bistort (nube) were boiled and eaten with venison, with wild leek (ennut), or with boiled fish and meat. For making beverages, Evens used imported tea, and also infused flowers, leaves and fruit from the wild rose plant, and willow herb leaves. They gathered edible, curative and household plants: berries (tevte) such as crowberry (omtachan), blueberry (git), cloudberry (innamta), honeysuckle (khutamta), cowberry (khimta), etc.

**Food of the Evenkis**

The basic Evenki ration consisted in game and fish. Tea was taken before eating. The Evenkis preferred boiled meat with broth, meat and fish roasted on rods, ground jerked meat scalded with boiling water and mixed with bog bilberries (kulnin), smoked meat with red billberries (telik), thick meat soup with blood (nimin), sausage with fat (kuchi), blood pudding (buyukse), winter soup of dried meat with flour or rice and ground bird cherries (shcherba), frozen fish (talaka), boiled fish mashed with fresh caviar (sulta). The Okhotsk, Ilimpeya and Amur E. made yukola, ground it to powder (purcha) and ate with seal oil. The “mounted” E. ate horse flesh. In summer, reindeer milk was widely used: it was added to tea, berries, sometimes used to churn butter. Tea was also drunk with red bilberries and rosehip. The E. had been familiar with grain and flour before the Rus. arrived but used flour only to make soup or fried it with fat (Transbaikalia cattle breeders). Baking bread was adopted from the Rus. The E. smoked leaf tobacco.

Traditional birch bark household utensils: vessels (chuman—a square and flat vessel, chumashka—a small cup, tuyas—a tall vessel for water, etc.), boxes for storing supplies, clothes, tools, women’s articles; saddle bags, food and tobacco pouches, etc. Plates and dishes dug out from wood were also used. In the 19th cent., the E. began to use purchased articles—copper cauldrons, teapots, porcelain cups kept in a special “tea” box.

**Food of the Yukagirs**

The diet of Yukagirs consisted mainly of meat and fish. Venison was eaten red and boiled; in winter they ate stroganina, chipped frozen fish; in spring and summer, long thin meat straps were smoked over the fire and dried in the sun. Dried meat (ekhaleng), strung on a sinew thread, was stored in sacks on ambar pilings and boiled in winter. Tubular bones were used for melting oil. Fresh beaten reindeer blood was used for making soup (khasha). The hunters’ kill was also part of the diet: for taiga Y. this was hare and partridge meat, for tundra Y. (in autumn and summer) duck and goose meat. The stomachs of geese and swans were eaten uncooked. In summer, Y. ate fish boiled, and also prepared it for storage, either dried, fermented in pits, or stored in the permafrost. They made stroganina (chakhaa), dried fish or yukola (uikele, pounded to powder, or porsa (bargu). Burbot bellies and liver were eaten uncooked; the insides and caviar were fried. Caviar and fish also were used for making flat cakes. In summer, fish was wrapped in osier leaves and left for a day, after which the dish was consid. ready. Pounded, boiled fish with bilberry and oil (kulbikha) was a delicacy, as well as fish flour, boiled with reindeer blood or pine sap (anil kerile). Y. also ate berries (mount. cranberries, blueberries, canker-berries), cedar nuts, larch sap, onions, sarana root, chaga mushroom, and (unlike Yakuts and Evens) oth. mushrooms.

Yukagirs used stimulants (fly-agarics), smoked tobacco and thyme leaves, and made tea of canker-berries and chaga. Fish and berries were stored in birch-bark containers (ochcho), woven baskets of osier. The most common house wares

were wood. plates, and round or rectangular vessels of birch bark. Sacks of rovduga or fabric were sewn for storing porsa, dried fish, and meat, and women wore bags of birds’ legs or rovduga for handicraft.

**Food of the Chukchi**

The tundra Chuchki ate venison; coastal Chukchi—the meat and fat of marine mammals (walrus, eared seal, bearded seal, ringed seal, harbor seal, whale). Venison was eaten frozen (chopped into small pieces) or parboiled. During mass reindeer slaughter reindeer stomach contents were preserved by boiling them with adding blood and fat. Reindeer blood was frozen or drunk fresh. Soups were made with vegetables and cereals.

The coastal Chukchi considered walrus meat esp. nourishing. It kept well if prepared in the traditional way: squares of skin together with meat and fat were cut out of the back and side parts of a carcass, liver and other cleaned innards

placed inside the cut-out pieces, the edges sewn together with the skin facing outside, and the result was a roll—k’opalgyn-kymgyt. Before the frosts the edges were pulled together even more tightly, to prevent the contents from going too sour. K’opalgyn was eaten fresh, somewhat sour and frozen. Fresh walrus meat was boiled. White whale and gray whale meat and skin with a layer of blubber were eaten fresh or boiled.

In the N and S areas of Chukotka Pen. fish was common in the diet: dog salmon, grayling, saffron cod, sockeye

salmon, flounder. Yukola was made of large salmons. Many reind. breeding C. prepared fish using new techniques: dried, brined, bloated, salted the caviar.

Vegetable foods, such as herbs, roots, berries, laminaria were a traditional component of the ration of the reindeer and coastal Chukchi. Dwarf willow leaves, sorrel, roots were preserved: frozen, soured, mixed with fat or blood. Round loaves were made from ground roots, meat and walrus oil. They had long used purchased flour for making gruels and flat cakes fried in seal oil. During the Sov period, purchased groceries, such as bread, sugar, butter, milk, flour products, cereals, vegetables, fruit, started displacing tradit. foodstuffs**.**

**Food of the Yakuts (Sakha)**

Traditional diet: milk, meat of wild animals, horse meat, beef, deer meat, fish, and edible plants. Fish was the food product in Northern areas where there was no cattle, and in poor families. Horse meat was considered especially valuable. They mostly ate boiled meat (busput et), fried liver (chokhochu), zrazy, small potato pancakes with a meat filling and fried in fat (sya etinen suulammyta), giblet soup (botrakh min), brisket meat soup (budurgei min), crucian carp soup (sobo mine), stuffed crucian carp (ykhaarylammyt sobo), caviar pancakes (iskekh aladiy), thin sliced frozen fish, or stroganina (ton balyk); fish was also frozen and soured for the winter in pits (syma). Dairy dishes: milk foam (urume), whipped cream (kyuerchekh), sour milk (suorat), horse milk koumiss (kymys), butter (aryy), etc.; cream was stored up for winter, kept frozen in large birchbark tubs with berries, roots, bones, etc. (tara). They used flour to make broths (salamat), flat cakes (leppieskete), pancakes (baakhyla), etc. They ate mushrooms, berries, meadow and shore onions, wild garlic, sarana roots, bearberry, etc. People living on the Olekma R. began eating vegetables long ago.

Traditional wooden utensils: cups (kytyia), spoons (chabychakh, khamyiakh), hand mixers (ytyk), whisks for whipping cream (kuerchekh), birchbark boxes for keeping berries, mushrooms, butter, dry goods, etc. Chorons played an important role at the feast ysyakh and were of two types: on a cone-shaped tray and on three legs shaped like horse hooves.

**TOYS**

Toys of the Northern Peoples are a wonderful reflection of material and spiritual culture. They helped to form and to develop children’s vital skills and focus them on the execution of certain functions in society.

Toys for boys reflected hunter’s, fisherman’s, reindeer-herder’s work and helped in developing dexterity, accuracy, persistence, industry, the most important skills for a getter. Favorite boys’ toys were small labor instruments and hunting weapons, the most important among which were a bow and arrows, and a lasso. Toys for small children were made by adults. Step by step 6-7year-old children started to make toys themselves continuously improving their quality. For 10-year-old boys a bow becomes hunting weapon used for hunting small animals. Thus gradually mastering toys, a child transforms them from a game object into a labor instrument. Boys of fishing peoples (Nanais, Ulchas, Khanty, Mansi) play with stuff that teaches them fishing: fishing rods with fishhooks, small wickerwork boats, oars. Boys play with the old parts of hunting weapons as well (traps, snares). Adults showed children the mechanism and the way to use these instruments. Toys were also represented by toy sleds, bone halters, cloth harnesses. Playing and training with this stuff helped to develop skills required for future work. Games with rabbit feet, reindeer horns, birds’ wings also helped them understand the world around.

Among northern toys one can always find many things corresponding to the age of the child, such as small knifes, hatchets, pouches, skis. It demonstrates that a child was treated as a real man. Different kinds of arrows, knifes were hung over the cradle as amulets protecting the baby’s life and facilitating the development of certain traits.

Though toys were not always similar to real things, this did not hinder liveliness of the game, but rather developed a child’s fantasy. Among toys of the northern peoples there are wooden stylized figures of animals and unprocessed bones of animals and fish. These things represented animals (dogs, reindeer) the most frequent in children’s everyday life. Nanai children harnessed wooden dogs to sleds gave them “food”, imitated a fight of the pack for food, and Nganasan children made argish out of reindeer teeth and “wandered” from place to place.

Among girls’ toys one can find stones, bones, chips. Chukchi imitated yaranga with fish skulls placed in a circle. But dolls were girls’ favorite toys. While playing girls learned traditional rules of baby treatment. By clothes and sizes dolls were divided up into children, women and men.

Koryak and Chukchi dolls were made of reindeer skin with fur inside and usually imitated babies. Nenets traditional doll consisted of the head made of waterfowl beak and the body made of oblong piece of cloth with vertical multicolored stripes sewn upon it. Khanty dolls were similar. Nanai and Ulcha dolls were flat except a head and were made of paper or cloth. The face had no eyes and the body had neither legs nor arms. Clothes were a little longer than the doll itself, they were placed against its back and pressed on by a plait. This helped to change doll dresses easily.

Such faceless, armless and legless dolls are typical for most of Sib. peoples. It is connected with the natives of animism tradition. Deliberate separation of the doll from a real human image is connected with a fear to animate and humanize the doll by details and thus to allow children to play with toys that have supernatural power.

The absence of a face was compensated for by detailed clothing. Selection of materials (fur, rags, beads) and hair pins was so accurate and thorough that a dressed doll became alive, understandable and complied with the child’s game requirements. Usu. dolls formed whole families (husband, wife, children).

Six-year-old girls started to sew clothes for dolls themselves, they also made mats, blankets, toy kitchenware. It served as good education for adult life. When Chukchi girls reached nubility, dolls became a sort of amulets promoting child-bearing. That is why they were never thrown away but handed down from mother to the eldest daughter. The “older” the doll was, the more obvious was its power. According to superstitious ideas of the Nenets, by breaking and losing dolls the girl foreshadowed her own future.

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