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FIELDIANA

Anthropology

NEW SERIES, NO. 8

An Ethnographic Collection from Northern Sakhalin Island

James W. VanStone

August 30, 1985

Publication 1361

PUBLISHED BY FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

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- LEWY, T. R. M. 1979. Yage among the Siona: Cultural patterns in visions, pp. 63-80. In Browman, D. L., and R. A. Schwarz (eds.), *Spirits, Shamans, and Stars*. Mouton Publishers, The Hague, Netherlands.
- MERRETT, J. 1946. The historic tribes of Ecuador, pp. 785-821. In Steward, J. H., ed., *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. 7, The Andean Civilizations, Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
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An Ethnographic Collection from Northern Sakhalin Island

James W. VanStone

*Curator, North American Archaeology and Ethnology
Department of Anthropology
Field Museum of Natural History
Chicago, Illinois 60605-2496*

Accepted for publication March 1, 1985

August 30, 1985

Publication 1361

PUBLISHED BY FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

© 1985 Field Museum of Natural History
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 85-80317
ISSN 0071-4739
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Preface

At the close of the World's Columbian Exposition in the fall of 1893, Field Columbian Museum, later Field Museum of Natural History, was established to house the natural history collections gathered for the Exposition. Many of the collections assembled by Frederic Ward Putnam, Chief of the Department of Ethnology and Archaeology for the Exposition, were simply turned over to the new museum. A few were purchased, however, including some that had been exhibited in Exposition buildings other than the one devoted to the collections assembled by Putnam.

Among the collections exhibited and then obtained by the newly established museum was the Pogosky [Pogorsky?] ethnographic collection from northeastern Siberia (Dorsey, 1900, pp. 250–251), which consists of examples of the “industries of women” and had apparently been exhibited in the Women's Building.

When the Field Columbian Museum was incorporated in September 1893, Franz Boas was appointed the first curator of anthropology and F. J. V. Skiff the first director. The Pogosky collection received accession number 75, but the date collected, the date acquired by the museum, and the date accessioned are not given in the Department of Anthropology's catalog nor in its accession files. The accession card is signed by William Henry Holmes, who replaced Boas as curator in the spring of 1894. The accession files in the registrar's office of the museum do, however, contain limited information concerning acquisition of the collection. A telegram to Skiff dated December 21, 1893 from Alexandra L. K. Pogosky in New York says, in part, “Princess Shahovskoy willing to sell Saghalin collection for two thousand dollars.” The telegram is stamped “received department A” and is signed in pencil by “F. Boas.” Penciled in the same hand is the notation “this was Pchd.”

There are also letters in the registrar's accession files that refer to the collection. Writing to Skiff

on December 27, 1893, Edward E. Ayer, one of the founders of the museum and chairman of the board of trustees' finance committee, urged the director to examine the collection from the “Russian Woman's exhibit,” adding, however, “. . . I do not pretend to urge its purchase at any price. I merely say that, with or without a price, I believe you will be interested in personally examining it; and that I found many unique and ethnological circumstances illustrated in this collection.” In answering Ayer on January 9, 1894, Skiff mentioned that he had asked J. W. Ellsworth, a member of the museum's first board of trustees, to examine the collection. Mr. Ellsworth recommended purchase for \$1,500 but, rather than lose the opportunity to acquire it, felt that the \$2,000 requested should be paid. The accession files contain a contract for the sale signed by Alexandra Pogosky and a Peter J. Popoff, dated January 13, 1894. The collection must have been accessioned shortly thereafter. Its low number indicates that it was one of the early acquisitions of the new museum.

It has not been possible to learn anything concerning the identity of Alexandra Pogosky, but from the telegram previously mentioned it would appear that she was an agent for the owner of the collection, “Princess Shahovskoy.” In his book describing travels on Sakhalin Island in the summer of 1890, the writer Anton Chekhov noted that Prince Nikolai Shakhovskoy, whom he described as a “distinguished administrator and an intelligent and honorable man,” was appointed “the leading authority over the penal convicts in the Primorskaya oblast” in 1878. Prince Shakhovskoy produced a book entitled *The Problem of Organizing Sakhalin Island*, a copy of which Chekhov found in the office of the island commandant (Chekhov, 1977, p. 311). Chekhov makes no mention of the length of time for which Prince Shakhovskoy held his appointment in northeastern Siberia, but it seems likely that the princess referred

to in the telegram was a member of his family. Perhaps following the death of the prince, she contacted a fellow countrywoman in New York concerning the possibility of exhibiting and then selling the collection made just prior to the turn of the century on Sakhalin and nearby mainland areas.

As noted previously, the Pogosky collection contains, for the most part, items of material culture made by women. It consists primarily of clothing, but there are also examples of household equipment and a few objects associated with transportation and subsistence. The total collection is encompassed by 142 catalog numbers representing the same number of objects. The bulk of the collection is from Sakhalin Island; it includes objects made by the Ainu of southern Sakhalin and the Nivkhi (Gilyak), Oroki, and Evenki (Tungus) who inhabit the northern half of the island. There are also a number of objects from other groups in northeastern Siberia, including the mainland Evenki, Nanay (Goldi), Koryak, and Chukchi.

These objects lack more specific proveniences. Only the Nivkhi and Oroki-Evenki material from northern Sakhalin Island is included in this study. The Ainu objects are interesting and complement nicely another Ainu collection in the museum, which was assembled at about the same time, from northern Hokkaido. However, I do not read Japanese and it seemed impossible to study this material properly without a knowledge of that language.

I would like to thank Dr. Henry N. Michael for advice concerning translations from Russian. For useful comments and suggestions during preparation of this study, I am grateful to Drs. Lydia Black and Demitri B. Shimkin. The excellent photographs are, with the exception of Figures 5, 7, 16, and 17, the work of Mr. Ron Testa and Mrs. Diane Alexander-White, Field Museum of Natural History, and the drawings were made by Ms. Lori Grove. Several drafts of the manuscript were typed by Mrs. Loran Recchia.

An Ethnographic Collection from Northern Sakhalin Island

Abstract

The collections of Field Museum of Natural History contain 59 ethnographic objects obtained in the late 19th century from the Nivkhi, Oroki, and Evenki peoples of northern Sakhalin Island. These objects are described and illustrated. Information from historic and contemporary descriptions of Nivkhi and Oroki-Evenki material culture is included for comparative purposes.

I. Historical and Ethnographic Background

At the end of the 19th century, when the ethnographic collection which is the subject of this study was assembled, the northern half of Sakhalin Island was inhabited by three eastern Siberian ethnic groups: the Nivkhi, a linguistic isolate, and the Tungus-Manchu-speaking Oroki and Evenki. The Nivkhi also inhabited the lower reaches of the Amur River on the adjacent mainland, while various groups of Evenki were widespread throughout northeastern Siberia. In 1897, the Nivkhi had a total population of 4,649 (Jakobson et al., 1957, p. 218).

On Sakhalin the Nivkhi inhabited the west coast from Cape Marii, the northwest extremity of the island, to approximately lat. 50° north, and the east coast from Cape Yelizavety in the north to Cape Delisle de la Croyere, on old maps just below lat. 51° north (fig. 1). In the interior of the island the Nivkhi occupied the upper and middle reaches of the most important river in northern Sakhalin, the Tym (Ravenstein, 1861, p. 389; Shternberg, 1904, pp. 1-2). According to Shternberg's 1891

census (1933b, pp. 384-388), which gives hamlet-by-hamlet coverage, there were 1,041 persons on the west coast, 506 on the east coast, and 197 in the Tym valley, for a total of 1,744. Both Shternberg (1904, pp. 1-2) and Smolyak (1982, p. 226) noted the presence of a few families of Nivkhi near the mouth of the Poronay River on Terpeniya Bay, where they believed these families moved toward the end of the 19th century (see also Jochelson, 1928, pp. 57-60). The southern part of Sakhalin was the home of the Ainu.

The environment inhabited by the Sakhalin Nivkhi includes forests (the *taiga*), mountains, and swiftly flowing rivers as well as the sea; it is rich in natural resources. This is due primarily to differences in elevation and the presence of sea currents, the cold Okhotsk current to the north and the much warmer Tsushima current, flowing toward Sakhalin from the Sea of Japan, to the south. As a result of these currents, there is tundra vegetation in the extreme north of the island, dense forests of conifers on its mountain slopes, and lush mixed forests in the south. Prevailing seasonal offshore winds and heavy precipitation in both summer and winter are characteristic (Stephan, 1971, pp. 7-10; Black, 1973, pp. 3-6).

The Nivkhi economy at the time the Pogosky collection was made was based on fishing and sea mammal hunting, with collecting and land mammal hunting serving as supplementary subsistence activities. The people changed their dwelling places several times during the summer, moving up and down the rivers and to the seacoast. Five species of salmon were taken at weirs and with seines and nets and large amounts of dried and frozen fish were stored by Nivkhi living in villages on the

Tym River. Sea lions and seals were hunted at the mouths of rivers, particularly by groups exploiting the west coast of the island. Seal hunting began at the first sign of breakup, when the animals were killed as they warmed themselves on ice floes; it continued through early spring and into the summer.

In fall, following the fish runs, land hunting began. At this time bears come down to the rivers to fish and were hunted with bows or guns. In winter hibernating bears were hunted with spears. Fur-bearing animals, such as sable, otter, and lynx, were common on Sakhalin and were trapped; foxes and squirrels were hunted with dogs.

Some agriculture was practiced after the middle of the 19th century, but the staple food of the Nivkhi was always dried and frozen fish, which was also traded extensively with the Ainu to the south and with mainland peoples along the lower Amur River.

The only domestic animal of the Nivkhi was the dog, which served as a draft animal and provided meat for food as well as fur for clothing. These animals were also widely used as a medium of exchange and the number possessed by a household served as an index of wealth (Jochelson, 1928, pp. 57–60; Ivanov et al., 1964, pp. 769–772).

The Sakhalin Nivkhi were in contact with the Oroki, who apparently migrated to Sakhalin Island from the mainland in the 17th or 18th century. Although very little is known definitely concerning the origin of the Oroki, Taksami (1968, p. 35) believed they were derived from several Tungus-Manchu-speaking peoples of the lower Amur River, most notably the Orochi and Ulchi. Following their migration to Sakhalin, the Oroki retained the reindeer herding characteristic of more northern Tungus-Manchu speakers.

At the end of the 19th century, the Oroki consisted of northern and southern divisions. In the north, they wandered from spring to fall in small groups in all the bays along the northeastern coast, particularly in the vicinity of the mouth of the Tym River and in Piltun Bay; they then withdrew in winter into the *taiga* to places more protected from the wind. In the south, the Oroki settled in small groups on the lower Poronay River, along Terpeniya Bay, and on the shores of Nevskoye Lake. They were never numerous; both north and south divisions numbered slightly more than 700 near the turn of the century. In 1926, there were 126 living in the north of Sakhalin and about 300 in the south (Czaplicka, 1914, pp. 19–21; Shiro-

kogoroff, 1929, p. 157; Ivanov et al., 1964, p. 761; Taksami, 1968, p. 36; Smolyak, 1982, p. 226).

Although the Oroki were essentially nomadic reindeer herders, they were more sedentary than herders on the mainland due to the importance of fishing. Seal hunting was another significant subsistence activity; also, the Nivkhi regarded the Oroki as expert forest hunters. In summer the reindeer were left to wander without a herdsman so that the labor force could devote all its attention to fishing, the most reliable source of food for the entire year. The Oroki herds were small, with seldom more than 20 to a household, and the deer were used either as pack animals or harnessed to sleds. When in autumn the Oroki traveled upstream into the *taiga* to fish for grayling, they gathered their deer together. Thus their yearly round involved continual moving from the coast to the interior and back again (Ivanov et al., 1964, pp. 762–763).

The most recent migrants to Sakhalin were the Evenki, a small number of whom apparently began coming to the island from the Okhotsk coast at the beginning of the 19th century. It is possible that they learned from the Oroki about the abundant fur-bearers and good hunting, as well as the lush pastures for their reindeer. The ravages of smallpox on the mainland may also have been a factor in their movement. In any event, for a long time they moved between the mainland and the island, eventually settling on the northeast coast of Sakhalin around 1860, wandering seasonally with their herds into the interior. In the 1950s there were approximately 300 Evenki on the island (Shirokogoroff, 1929, pp. 80–81; Vasilevich & Smolyak, 1964, p. 625; Taksami, 1968, p. 29; Vasilevich, 1969, pp. 5, 25; Smolyak, 1982, p. 226).

Soviet archaeological investigations have shown that the 12th century marked the high point of Tungusic-Manchuric cultural ascendancy from North China to the lower Amur. This was the short-lived Jurchen culture, which developed a true state with quasi-urban settlement patterns and was built on local roots over a period of a thousand years; it also experienced the impact of Chinese culture. At this time materials such as cotton cloth, silk, brocade, and metal objects reached the lower Amur and eventually Sakhalin Island (Okladnikov, 1981, pp. 95–96). The Jurchen culture was destroyed by the Mongols and Sung Chinese in the 13th century, but direct Chinese penetration of the lower Amur did not occur until the Ming period (1368–1644) (Levin & Potapov, 1964, p. 693).

It is probable that direct contact between the Sakhalin Nivkhi and the Japanese did not take place until the early 19th century, at which time the latter established a few posts on southern Sakhalin (Stephan, 1971, pp. 37, 45–46). By this time the Nivkhi were supplying the Oroki with Chinese cotton material and a variety of Chinese and Japanese luxury items (Shrenk, 1899, pp. 95–96). According to Ravenstein (1861, pp. 269–274), the valley of the Tym River was a major center for trade, involving the Nivkhi, Oroki, and Ainu.

Sporadic Russian contact with the native inhabitants of Sakhalin Island probably took place in the early 17th century, when bands of Cossack explorers penetrated the Amur basin and the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk. Intensive penetration of the island began in response to the dispatch of Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan in 1852, which prompted the Russian government to build a post on Sakhalin in order to protect its establishments at the mouth of the Amur River. The Russian-American Company constructed the first post on Aniva Bay at the southern extremity of the island in 1853. There was no opposition from the Japanese, but the post was abandoned when news of the Crimean War reached the island (Stephan, 1971, pp. 43, 51–52; Tikhmenev, 1978, pp. 299–301). The establishment of a penal colony on Sakhalin in 1857 brought a rapid influx of Russian settlers. Nivkhi were sometimes employed as guards or as trackers to apprehend escaped convicts, but the Oroki, whose settlements were remote from the Russian villages and prisons, were not (Chekhov, 1977).

II. The Collection

Introduction

In the catalog of the Department of Anthropology at Field Museum of Natural History, the Nivkhi and Oroki-Evenki portions of the Pogosky collection (Accession 75) are assigned 55 catalog numbers representing the same number of objects. In addition, four objects listed as Ainu in the catalog but identified in 1907 as "Gilyak" by Berthold Laufer, Chief Curator in the Department of Anthropology at that time, are included in this study. Thus the total number of ethnographic specimens described is 59. Paired objects such as boots and leggings have one number and are counted as single specimens. When this study was

begun, all but one object was located in storage (see Appendix), a pack saddle that has apparently been missing from the collection for many years.

The present condition of the Pogosky collection is good, there being very few damaged objects. This is partly due to the fact that, until recently, many of the objects were on exhibit and thus protected in airtight exhibition cases from the dirt and dampness that then characterized the museum's storage areas. Many objects show considerable signs of use or wear, indicating that they either were part of the cultural inventory at the time the collection was made or represent family heirlooms retained as souvenirs of the past.

Documentation accompanying the Pogosky collection consists of a list of the objects with, in some cases, information about construction materials, method of manufacture, and use. When such information is included in the following pages without a source citation, it should be understood to have been derived from this list.

The contract for the sale of the Pogosky collection to the museum, dated January 13, 1894, and the receipt, dated January 22, both in the accession files of the registrar's office, indicate that photographs were included with the collection. In the photographic files of the Department of Anthropology there are 17 photographs taken on Sakhalin Island, obviously in the late 19th century. Some are identified as "Gilyak" or "Ainu," but there is no reference to their source. It has been assumed that these are the photographs which accompanied the collection; four of them are reproduced in this study (figs. 5, 7, 16, 17).

Nivkhi objects in the Pogosky collection are described within the following use categories: household equipment, clothing, and miscellaneous. Oroki-Evenki materials are described under the headings of clothing, tools, transportation, and miscellaneous (see Appendix for catalog numbers). The brief descriptions of the ethnographic specimens should be read while examining the accompanying photographs and drawings. For comparisons I have relied primarily on historic and contemporary descriptions of Nivkhi and Oroki-Evenki material culture by Russian travelers and ethnographers.

Nivkhi

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

The Pogosky collection contains seven items of household equipment made of birch bark. All are

constructed of single pieces of bark folded at the four corners, have reinforced rims, and are sewn with willow root. All are very well made and none show obvious signs of use.

Two shallow rectangular containers are identified as *dishes*, the larger to hold bear meat and the smaller for fat. The larger dish, characterized by very fine sewing, is reinforced around the rim with a continuous rectangular strip of bark notched along the lower edge for decoration. Below this rim are separate reinforcement pieces on all sides, the upper edges of which fit under the rim (fig. 2A). The smaller dish is reinforced at the rim only on the two long sides where rectangular strips of bark have been fitted both inside and out. Both the inner and outer pieces are notched along the lower edge. Additional reinforcement is provided by narrow strips of bark, the ends of which are inserted into the folds on both sides (fig. 2B).

A larger, shallow rectangular container is identified as a *platter* for berries. It is reinforced at the rim with rectangular strips of bark, the outer surfaces of which face in. Additional reinforcement is provided by strips of willow root lashed on the rim on the outside of the vessel (fig. 3A).

In the notes accompanying the collection, two containers are referred to as *buckets*, possibly because they have handles made of single pieces of birchwood attached with willow root. One bucket is folded in such a manner that the large flaps on two sides are on the outside of the container and the outer surface of the bark faces in. The rim on this specimen is reinforced on the inner and outer surfaces with narrow rectangular strips of bark. On the outer surface these reinforcement pieces extend under the flaps formed by the folds at the ends (fig. 3B). The other bucket is folded in the more usual fashion so that the outer surface of the bark faces out. The rim is reinforced inside and out with thin, narrow strips of bark; additional strips are secured against the folds on the inside and outside (fig. 4A).

A much larger container with a handle and the same general shape is referred to in the notes accompanying the collection as a *basket*. The bark from which it is constructed is folded with the flaps on the outside and the outer surface of the bark facing in. The rim is reinforced on the inside and outside in a manner similar to that of the previously described buckets but with two pieces, each encompassing half the circumference of the container, on both sides. The lower edges of the outside reinforcement pieces are notched. On the outside, just below the rim reinforcement pieces on

two sides, are additional rectangular strips of bark with the outer surface exposed and with notches along the lower edge. These have been attached by inserting the ends underneath the flaps and the upper edges under the rim reinforcement pieces. Curvilinear and scroll designs on these strips are cut in relief and the recessed background painted with white pigment (fig. 4B). The double volute is an Amur River design of considerable antiquity. It occurs on a 19th century birch bark box from the Khabarovsk region illustrated by Okladnikov (1981, pl. 115, bottom).

A small, square *dipper* is made of a single folded piece of bark reinforced at the folds with narrow strips of bark inside and out, notched along the lower edge. Further reinforcement is provided by narrow strips of birchwood just below the reinforcement pieces. The ends of these strips are inserted into the folds. Across the top is a narrow birchwood handle lashed to the rim with willow root. The section of this handle extending over the container has been narrowed on the sides and notched across the top (fig. 2C).

According to Shrenk (1899, pp. 91, 135–136), birch bark buckets were widely used by the Nivkhi, but the one he illustrated (pl. 33, no. 1) is round, apparently with a separate bottom piece. In earlier times the Nivkhi are said to have used bark cooking pots covered with clay or earth (Black, 1973, p. 29). Taksami (1964, p. 195) noted that birch bark containers were used for storing food taken on journeys. They were made in the spring, at which time women prepared bark for baskets, tent covers, and other articles. Containers in use, similar to those in the collection, are shown in Figure 5.

The Pogosky collection contains a conical fish skin *tent cover* that measures 2 m 84 cm wide at the top and 3 m 48 cm wide at the bottom; the height is 1 m 61 cm at one end and 1 m 45 cm at the other. All measurements are approximate, since the cover is dry and has been folded many times. It is constructed of four rectangular rows of nearly whole salmon skins, the top row consisting of 13 skins and the bottom row 18. Since each skin, when opened flat, narrows toward the tail, there is a triangular gap between each pair of skins. These gaps are filled with separate pieces of skin (fig. 6). Where the individual skins meet one another, an overcast stitch is used. The triangular pieces overlap on the inside and are sewn with a running stitch. Across the top and down both sides there is folded edging made from separate, thin strips of fish skin sewn with a running stitch. At either

end at the top are ties of fish skin. There is no edging along the bottom.

The conical tent with cover of fish skin is not mentioned in the sources for the Nivkhi who, at the end of the 19th century on Sakhalin Island, used a form of semisubterranean house in winter with an entrance through a long, low corridor (Ivanov et al., 1964, p. 772; Popov, 1961, p. 134, pl. 34, no. 4). Tents with fish skin covers, however, were used by the Oroki in both winter and summer (Vasilev, 1929, p. 6, photo 1; Popov, 1961, p. 134, pl. 33, no. 1). According to a note accompanying the collection, the Nivkhi dried their fish with the skins intact and therefore had to obtain most of the fish skins they required from other people, probably their relatives at the mouth of the Amur River or the Ainu at the southern end of the island.

A *cradle* in the collection is described as a model but, judging from a contemporary photograph (fig. 7) showing a woman holding a similar device, the object is at least half size. It is constructed from a single piece of birchwood, deeply concave and open at the upper end, where it narrows to a notched point. Deep notches are cut along the sides. The distal end is ornamented with a carved half circle, scrolls, and incised triangles. An infant was held in the cradle with skin thongs and a rectangular strip of cotton cloth (fig. 8). There is a small hole at the bottom through which excrement flowed into a shallow triangular birch bark container folded from a single piece of bark. This container is present but in very poor condition. Accompanying the model cradle is a rectangular *cover* of dogskin lined with pieces of plain and printed cotton cloth. The lining is attached with string.

According to the notes accompanying the collection, cradles were made by men but all the accessories by women. The cradle was hung up by a pair of straps in such a manner that it could be fixed in an inclined position. A child was secured in the cradle with its feet on a wooden bar which, when pressed with the feet, caused the cradle to rock. An illustration in Shrenk (1899, pl. 12) shows a cradle hanging in an inclined position from the rafters of a house, while a more recent photograph shows one in a similar position outside a log structure (Ivanov et al., 1964, p. 777). A cradle suspended upright is shown in Figure 5; in Figure 16, a woman is holding an infant in a cradle.

Shrenk (1899, p. 13) noted two styles of cradles, one for day and another for night use. The one in the collection was for use during the day; the night cradle, made of birch bark, was of simpler construction. The previously mentioned photograph

accompanying the collection (fig. 7) shows what appears to be a wood framework for a shade to protect an infant's head. This framework is missing from the cradle in the collection.

CLOTHING

Except for cotton and silk cloth obtained in trade from China and Japan, later from Russian traders, the principal materials for clothing among the Nivkhi were dog-, seal-, and fish skin. The collection contains garments made from all three. Skins of other fur-bearers—fox, otter, sable, squirrel—were used primarily for trim. Men's and women's clothing differed only in that the latter had more embroidery and appliqué and was made of a greater variety of materials.

The basic item of winter outer clothing for men and women was a *coat* made of dogskin, of which there is a single example in the Pogosky collection. This garment, which is not identified as to the sex for which it was intended, is made of black dogskin. The pattern is complex, consisting of many different sized pieces sewn together with light twine in an overcast stitch. This coat, which has very wide sleeves, reaches to the knees and buttons down the front, closing from left to right. In spite of the many pieces of skin used, a careful effort at matching has assured a uniform dark color for the garment. At the cuffs, rectangular pieces of dogskin approximately 9 cm wide have been sewn with the fur inside. There are thin strips of trimmed fur at the edges of the cuffs.

On the left side of the front opening, a strip of quilted cotton cloth 7 cm wide has been sewn. It is probable that at one time there was a similar strip on the right. Near the neck opening, there are two skin loops to receive buttons, which are missing; there may have been similar loops on the missing strip of quilted cloth. There is no trim around the neck opening (fig. 9).

For this type of coat, which was worn while traveling, the selection of skins of the same color was of particular importance; black or dark brown skins were much preferred (Shrenk, 1899, p. 79). An almost identical coat, but with a lining of soft young dog- or puppy skin, is described and illustrated by Prytkova (1961b, p. 233, pl. 37, no. 1). Nivkhi living on the Amur Liman and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk where seals are abundant made sealskin coats of similar design, an example of which is described and illustrated by Takami (1970, p. 179, fig. 14).

According to notes accompanying the collection, most of the work in making a dogskin winter

coat was done by men; only the final kneading of the skin was performed by women. In its preparation, a fresh skin was first stretched out on a board or on the ground and allowed to dry, either in the sun or inside a heated dwelling. When the skin was dry, it was scraped clean of flesh and fat with a knife and then well kneaded by hand. This procedure was man's work. Only when the skin began to be somewhat soft was the work taken over by a woman, who continued to knead it by hand until the skin was perfectly soft and smooth.

During the kneading process, grease was removed from the skin by sprinkling it with pieces of powdered or rotten willow wood which acted as an absorbent. Because this powder had to be removed frequently, the process of removing all the grease was a long one. This part of the preparation was also done by men.

Coats of black dogskin were very valuable because of the difficulty of finding sufficient skins of the same color. The most carefully matched coats were worn only by well-to-do Nivkhi. A less prestigious coat would be made of dogskin of a variety of colors. The sleeves of these garments were purposely made wide for the convenience of the wearer when working. A belt was usually worn with the coat so that when the wearer felt too warm the arms could be drawn out of the sleeves and the coat allowed to hang down over the belt.

In summer the outer garment of both men and women was a robe made from fish skin or from colored cotton cloth. The same garment was worn indoors in winter. A man's robe was usually somewhat shorter than a woman's, reaching just above the knee (Prytkova, 1961b, p. 233).

Although both men's and women's robes are described as being cut in one piece (Prytkova, 1961b, p. 233; Taksami, 1970, pp. 173-174), the single *man's robe* in the collection has a somewhat more complicated pattern. The front and back, of black cotton cloth, are a single piece, except for added sections near the lower edge to create a slight flare on each side and on the front along the right side. The left sleeve consists of three separate pieces; the right has four pieces, including a triangular section at the right shoulder (fig. 10). The hem of the garment and the cuffs and neck opening are reinforced on the inside with strips of rough, undyed cotton cloth. The robe is designed to close with the left over the right side and is fastened with five metal buttons: one at the neck, two on the lapel, and two more close together on the side. The button holes are loops of cotton cloth. Decoration on this garment consists of bands of brown

and red cloth separated by a narrow band of undyed cloth on both sleeves and a separate rectangular band of multicolored sections of cloth along the left lapel. The cuffs are edged with gray-green cloth, the neck opening with red material. Sewing throughout is with thread (fig. 11).

The second garment is described as a *woman's robe*, but it is the same length as the previously described specimen. The pattern of this robe is more traditional, consisting of a single piece of undyed cotton cloth which includes the inner sections of the sleeves. The outer ends of the sleeves consist of a broad section of black cloth and a narrower one of red material separated by a thin band of undyed cloth. The inside of the cuffs are reinforced with broad strips of undyed cloth, while the front and neck openings have narrow strips of black cloth in a similar position. Like the previously described robe, this one fastens from left to right; there are five buttons fastened with loops of red cotton cloth. The separate decorative band on the left lapel includes an embroidered repeated double spiral design in pink and green thread. Sewing throughout is with thread (fig. 12).

The third garment, also a woman's robe, is described in the notes accompanying the collection as being made of carp skin. It is believed to have been made by mainland Nivkhi but worn as holiday attire on Sakhalin. It is approximately 15 cm longer than the previously described cloth robes. Fish skins used in the manufacture of garments like this one were softened by being beaten with a wood mallet after they were dry.

The front and back of this garment consists basically of two broad bands of skin. Each skin was opened flat and arranged in the same manner as previously described for the fish skin tent cover. Above and below these bands are rows of rectangular pieces of skin; also, the sleeves consist of similar rows. There are, however, many places on this robe where small, irregularly shaped pieces of skin have been used to fill oddly shaped areas. A pair of rectangular bands of skin runs across the bottom, up the edge of the outer flap, and around the cuffs. The inside of the lower edge is reinforced with a strip of unsoftened skin. The outer band is dyed blue and the inner yellow. There is a very narrow band of black dyed skin above the bands at the cuffs and across the bottom. On the outer flap, this narrow inner band is red.

This robe, like those previously described, closes from left to right. There are three brass buttons with floral designs on the flat outer surface. A brass eye is soldered to the back of each button; around

the eye are the words “Japan” and “Sanpeisha.” Since the writing is in English, these buttons were clearly made for export. The second word is probably the name of the manufacturer.

This garment is elaborately decorated on the front and sides with reverse appliquéd strips of fish skin, dyed blue, into which symmetrical combinations of spirals have been cut with the aid of patterns. Those which occur around the collar, on the lapel, across each shoulder, and up both sides are outlined with narrow strips of skin, dyed red (fig. 13). On the back are a variety of spiral and scroll designs as well as stylized representations of birds (fig. 14). These ornamental designs are in blue dyed fish skin and have been sewn onto pieces of fish skin of approximately the same size, then appliquéd to the garment (fig. 15). The ornamentation is sewn with sinew and, except for repairs with thread, the robe is sewn with a combination of sinew and nettle fiber. This garment closely resembles a 19th century Nanay fish skin robe, also decorated with blue and red pigment and depicting stylized birds, illustrated by Okladnikov (1981, pl. 55).

Nettles (*Urtica*) were the main source of cordage and thread for the Nivkhi. Women cut nettles in the late fall and peeled the stalks, using only the outside, fibrous coating; the hard, woody inner part was discarded. The fibers were then put in a tow on a board and carded with a segment of clamshell. The cleaned and carded fibers were tied in bundles and stored until winter; then they were soaked in water and buried in the snow, where they were left for several weeks. Threads of different thicknesses and strengths were spun with spindles and the fibers were twisted for ropes and netting.

Robes of imported cotton cloth and fish skin similar to those in the Pogosky collection are shown in contemporary photographs (figs. 16–17) and are described and illustrated by Prytkova (1961b, p. 233, pl. 37, no. 2, pl. 38, nos. 1–2) and Taksami (1970, pp. 173–179). Prytkova (1961b, p. 233) described an overlapping belt worn with robes of this type, but neither she nor Taksami illustrated such a belt.

In addition to the robes just described, the Pogosky collection contains a *girl's dress* made primarily of sealskin. In the accession information this garment is identified as Ainu, but Berthold Laufer apparently believed it to be “Gilyak” and inserted a notation to that effect.

The dress was apparently made in two sections, the skirt below the waist and the area above the

waist, but the actual patterns consist of many irregularly shaped pieces of skin. On the sleeves, but especially on the skirt, geometric patterns have been created by inserting strips of dark skin. It is possible that some of these inserts as well as the trim on both sides of the front opening and around the lower edge are of sea lion rather than sealskin. The sewing throughout is with heavy thread or coarse twine.

Around the bottom of the skirt, just above the lower edge, strips of sealskin have been sewn with the hair inside; the outer surface has been covered with red and brown cotton cloth. There are similar strips on both sides of the front opening, although on one side the cloth-covered strip occurs only on the upper half of the garment. Similar strips also extend vertically over the shoulders; along one edge of each of these a strip of hare skin has been inserted. There are also strips of hare skin on either side of the upper section of the front opening (fig. 18).

Although this garment is described in the accession information as a dress, it is likely to have covered some kind of shirt of lighter material. Sealskin coats that open down the front were, according to Taksami (1970, pp. 179–180, fig. 14), worn by both men and women.

An interesting item of men's clothing is a *shirt-apron* made of sealskin and worn over the dogskin winter coat. The single example in the Pogosky collection is made of several pieces of skin cut wider at the bottom than at the top. Narrow, rectangular pieces are sewn around the lower edge and, at the waist, there is a loop of cotton cloth through which is inserted a rope drawstring. The sewing throughout is with coarse thread (fig. 19). A similar shirt-apron is described and illustrated by Taksami (1970, pp. 178–179, fig. 13b). According to Prytkova (1961b, p. 233) and Ivanov et al. (1964, p. 774), this garment was worn as a protection against snow and cold weather while riding on dogsleds.

In summer and winter, *leggings* were worn by both men and women below the coat or robe. The Pogosky collection contains four pairs, one of which is made of black dogskin for winter wear. Each legging is constructed of a single piece of skin sewn up one side, with a pair of triangular insets at the top to widen the upper opening. The lower section of this pair of leggings is extended by the addition of a broad strip of rough cotton cloth. At the top is a pair of skin straps for attachment to a belt and, at the bottom, a single long strap to wrap

around the lower part of the leg. The sewing is with coarse thread (fig. 20).

A second pair of leggings, presumably for summer wear, is made of carp skin finely sewn with nettle fiber in an overcast and running stitch. The complete skins of three fish have been used for each legging, with two rectangular strips at the top and smaller pieces to fill the gaps in the lower sections. The skins have been pounded to make them soft. Around the bottom edge is a narrow band of unpounded skin from another species of fish, probably salmon (fig. 21).

If it is true that women's clothing was more highly decorated than that of men (Ivanov et al., 1964, p. 774; Taksami, 1970, fig. 30), then it is likely that the remaining two pairs of leggings were worn by women even though only one of them is so designated. The upper part of the first pair is made from a single piece of dark blue cotton velveteen. Below this section is a broad band of blue printed cotton cloth bordered on both sides with narrower bands of cloth in red, pink, brown, and light blue. There is an embroidered curvilinear design of thread on the light blue band. The leggings were held in place with strips of woven decorative cotton tape near the ankle and just above the embroidered band. At the upper end is a pair of cloth ties for fastening to the belt. The inside is lined with white cotton cloth. Sewing throughout is with thread (fig. 22).

Most of the second pair is made from a single piece of light blue cotton cloth. On the inside of the leg, where it would not show, is a V-shaped piece of darker blue cloth which flares at the upper end so that the leggings are wider at the top than at the bottom. Ornamentation is in the form of separate bands applied around the upper edge, on the lower part of the leggings, and around the lower edge. The widest bands at the top are yellow and black, the black band with an embroidered zigzag thread design. The primary element in the decoration on the lower leg is a broad band of brown cotton cloth backed with white cloth. Into this band have been cut symmetrical combinations of bent lines and spirals edged with green, yellow, and red thread. Along the lower edge are appliquéd bands of yellow and blue patterned cloth. Sewing throughout is with thread of various colors, frequently used as decoration in the form of a running stitch across the appliquéd bands. At the upper end are ties of tanned skin. A strip of woven decorative tape is attached just above the lower decorative band (fig. 23).

Leggings are infrequently described in the lit-

erature on Nivkhi clothing. Zeland (1886, cols. 74–76) mentioned fur leggings worn in winter and briefly described canvas leggings into which hay was stuffed to provide warmth. Taksami (1970, pp. 192–194, fig. 30) described and illustrated cloth leggings like those in the Pogosky collection. He further noted that leggings were worn by hunters in winter “until 20–30 years ago.”

The collection contains two pairs of *boots*, one pair identified as women's boots and the other, of sealskin with much higher tops, probably for men (Taksami, 1970, p. 188).

The bottoms of the women's boots, made of sealskin with the hair removed, are essentially constructed of a single piece. There is a T-shaped toe seam with branches of considerable length and no instep piece. On one boot a small triangular piece of skin has been inserted on the left side, at the top of the instep; a similar piece is in the same place on the right side of the other boot. The heel seam is Y-shaped and there is a small triangular inset inside the Y at the base of the heel. The tops are made of single pieces of doubled cotton cloth, open in front and edged with an appliquéd strip in several colors, the center section of which has an embroidered curvilinear design. The tops are sewn with thread and the bottoms with sinew (fig. 24). This pair of boots is described and illustrated by Hatt (1916, p. 212, fig. 61), but the description is incomplete and the wrong catalog number is assigned to the boots.

The second pair of boots is made entirely of sealskin. The bottoms, of skin with the hair removed, are single pieces but with the same small inset in the Y-shaped heel seam that is characteristic of the previously described boots. A straight toe seam extends over the front of the boots and for a short distance on the underside. There are pairs of triangular instep pieces of bleached sealskin that join the toe seam at the center. The tops are constructed of several irregularly shaped pieces of skin with the hair outside. The color and texture of the hair on the various pieces is different, and an attempt has been made to match them so that the two boots look alike. Narrow pieces of sealskin with the hair inside are sewn around the top. Sewing throughout is with coarse thread (fig. 25).

Sealskin boots of the Sakhalin Nivkhi are described and illustrated by Taksami (1970, pp. 185–186, 188, 190–191, figs. 22, 24–26). His pattern drawings show the characteristic Y-shaped heel seam.

The Pogosky collection contains two pairs of *mitten*s. The first pair, identified in the catalog as

women's mittens, are made of cotton cloth and lined on the inside with dog fur. The edges are trimmed with strips of sealskin. On the palm and inside of the thumb, a piece of dark blue cotton cloth has been sewn. Around the piece covering the palm is a narrow border of red cotton cloth. Just above the sealskin edging is a broad appliquéd band consisting of strips of light brown, light blue, yellow, dark brown, and pink cotton cloth. Sewing throughout is with thread (fig. 26A). Because of the lining and appliquéd decoration, it is difficult to determine the pattern of these mittens. It appears, however, to be similar to that of the mittens described and illustrated by Taksami (1970, p. 185, fig. 20), which consist of three pieces: back, front and outer surface of the thumb, and palm and inner surface of the thumb. According to Taksami (1970, p. 185), mittens without flaring cuffs were more traditional than those with gauntlets.

The second pair of mittens is listed as Ainu in the notes accompanying the collection, but was later identified as "Gilyak" by Laufer. This pair is made of dogskin with trimming of otter fur; the sewing is with coarse thread. The pattern is somewhat complicated, but basically similar to that of the previously described mittens. The back consists of several small pieces of dogskin, while the palm and inner surface of the thumb is a single piece with the hair inside. The outer surface of the thumb is a single piece open at the bottom so that the hand can come out without the wearer removing the mitten. The front also consists of several pieces of skin, including a separate semicircular flap that covers the opening below the thumb. There is a broad appliquéd band of red and black cotton cloth around the wrist and a similar piece on the front of the separate flap; both are ornamented with embroidered symmetrical, curvilinear designs in red and black thread (fig. 26B). Mittens with an opening for the hand are considered to be working mittens, since the wearer could easily free his hands to untangle nets or the traces attached to sleds (Black, 1973, p. 32).

A deep, helmet-like *winter cap* is made of heavy dark blue quilted cotton cloth lined with fox fur. It is split up the back for approximately 15 cm so that the sides form flaps that extend down, well over the ears. Around the lower edge, just above the fur trim, is a border of undyed cloth with a red trim. At the top of the head the decorative element is in light blue and undyed cloth, together with a thick knot of batting covered with blue and red cloth. Down the back is a decorative flap of blue and red quilted cotton cloth lined on the un-

derside with fox fur; a large orange plaster bead is attached at the end. On each side of the split up the back are decorative strips of blue and red cloth (fig. 27B). From the description and illustration in Prytkova (1961a, p. 333, pl. 18, no. 4), this would appear to be a woman's winter cap. Somewhat similar winter headgear is described and illustrated by Shrenk (1899, pp. 86–87, pl. 21, nos. 2, 4) and Taksami (1970, pp. 181–183). Undecorated hats of the same general style are worn by women in Figures 16 and 17.

According to Prytkova (1961a, p. 333), a *boa* was sometimes put on over headgear by both men and women for extra protection from the cold. It could also be worn around the neck. The collection contains a single example, made of squirrel tails tied at the back with a piece of string and a loop of skin (fig. 28B).

Shrenk (1899, p. 83) noted that *earmuffs* were worn under a hat on long strips. The collection contains a single pair, consisting of two large semicircular flaps made of cotton cloth lined on the back with irregularly shaped pieces of dogskin and trimmed with otter fur. On the front of these flaps, elaborate symmetrical spiral designs in a variety of colors are appliquéd with thread. The two flaps are joined across the back, at the top with a strip of tanned skin and in front with a wider band consisting of narrow interwoven strips of cloth in a variety of colors. At the lower end of the flaps are strips of skin for tying under the chin (fig. 27A). Almost identical ear flaps are illustrated by Shrenk (1899, pl. 20, no. 5, pl. 22, nos. 1–2) and described and illustrated by Taksami (1970, pp. 182–183, fig. 18).

Included in the collection as samples are five small pieces of *prepared hare skin* and a single piece of *prepared dogskin*.

MISCELLANEOUS

Under this heading are described a variety of items of material culture apparently included in the collection to illustrate the extent and variety of objects manufactured by women.

A *gun case* is constructed of many small rectangular pieces of skin with the hair on; according to information accompanying the collection, these were taken "from the feet of a wild goat." The pieces are sewn together with coarse twine. At the opening are two strips of cotton cloth, one of which is patterned while the other has been embroidered with thread in symmetrical spiral designs; there is a cloth tie (fig. 29A). In the catalog, this object is

listed as "Ainu" but a handwritten note indicates that it was identified as "Gilyak" by Laufer.

The collection contains a single *knife and sheath*, the latter made of sealskin with the hair removed. The knife has a straight blade of steel sharpened along one edge and inserted into an oval wooden handle painted with green pigment. This is the standard form of a large knife carried on the belt and intended, among other uses, for cutting fish (Shrenk, 1899, p. 85). The case is made essentially from a single piece of skin sewn up one side with string. The hair is worked off and the skin brought to a clear yellow color by frequent wetting and drying. In the center of the sheath on one side a separate, diamond-shaped piece of skin has been inserted, widening the case in this area. There is a loop of hide at the proximal end for attachment to the belt and a separate fringed piece of skin attached at the distal end (fig. 29C).

A small semicircular bag with a large flap, identified as a *tinder pouch*, was worn at the belt by a man, along with a knife and pouch like the one just described, a tobacco pouch, a pipe cleaner, and other useful objects—including various amulets to ensure good fortune (Shrenk, 1899, pp. 85–86; Taksami, 1970, p. 179, fig. 15). This pouch is made of sealskin with the hair removed. The container portion is a single piece sewn up both sides with nettle fiber and the large flap a separate piece. The flap, fringed with dogskin and edged with blue cotton cloth, has an embroidered symmetrical spiral design in black thread on the outer surface. The pouch is closed with a glass button fastened to a piece of cotton cloth at the lower end of the flap and inserted into a loop of string at the base of the pouch. Attached to the back is a large skin loop for attachment to the belt (fig. 29D).

A much larger *woman's bag* was intended to hold flint, tinder, and a knife with a sheath. It is made from three pieces of sealskin with the hair on: a front, a back, and a narrow strip which separates them. Decorative strips of red cloth are sewn into the seams. At the neck is a broad band of red wool cloth, its simple embroidered design ornamented with paired glass beads. On either side of this band is a narrow strip of otter fur. At the outer edge is a loop of skin with a drawstring of the same material. Sewing is with thread (fig. 30B).

A narrow, rectangular *woman's tobacco pouch* is made from a single piece of dark blue cotton cloth sewn across the bottom and up one side with thread. At the proximal and distal ends are appliquéd multicolored cloth bands, into which have been appliquéd paper patterns of curvilinear lines

and symmetrical spirals satin-stitched with multicolored thread. Among the colors used are red, yellow, green, purple, black, and several shades of blue. Nine small brass balls are attached with rings along the bottom. At the neck, the drawstring of hide is decorated with glass beads in a variety of colors. The same kind of metal balls and rings, a length of four-ply red cord, and a brass button with a soldered eye and the words "BESTE QUALITAET" on the back are attached to the drawstring (fig. 29B).

A *man's tobacco pouch* is constructed of cotton cloth in several colors and is sewn up both sides. This pouch is pointed at the distal end and constricted toward the center; above the constriction the cloth is pleated. There is a drawstring of twisted nettle fibers. On the inside is a lining of fish skin which is sewn into the seams at the sides (fig. 30C).

Fishing was the most important subsistence activity for the Nivkhi, and the manufacture of nets may well have been the most significant contribution made by women to the group's subsistence technology. The most complete description of fishing equipment and methods is to be found in Shrenk (1899, pp. 204–222). The collection contains two objects which are identified in accompanying information as "*model fishnets*," but it may be that only one is actually a model, the other being a specially constructed segment of a full-sized gill net.

The model represents the distal end of a long-handled dip net which has a wooden hoop, possibly of birch or willow, flattened on two sides. The ends of the hoop are notched on opposite sides, crossed, and, with nettle fiber, lashed together and then lashed to a round handle. Additional support is provided by a crosspiece notched at either end and fitted over the proximal end of the handle, then lashed to the sides of the hoop with nettle fiber. At intervals around the hoop are holes for lashing to a small, round strip of wood which runs completely around the inside of the hoop and serves as a selvage line to which the netting is attached. The netting, gathered and tied at the bottom, is made of nettle fiber knotted with a weaver's knot (fig. 28A).

Full-sized dip nets like this model had long handles, as shown in Figures 5, 16, and 17. Such nets could be used for almost any kind of fish running in great numbers in small lakes or sloughs; they could also be held at the openings of traps or weirs in winter.

The segment of a gill net has square meshes

approximately 3 cm square. The netting is made of twisted nettle fiber knotted with a weaver's knot. Selvage lines placed along the top and bottom edges are of twisted willow root. Across the top is a row of wood floats which are round but stretched to a point on each side. The surfaces of the floats are flat and painted white on one side. There is a similar row of beach pebble sinkers along the bottom (fig. 31). A Nivkhi net with similarly shaped floats but with decorative designs is described and illustrated by Grabowsky (1897, pp. 98–99, pl. VII, no. 8). If the net in the collection is, as suggested, a segment of a full-sized net rather than a model, it would seem to be too light for taking salmon or other large fish. According to Taksami (1967, p. 92), the nettle fibers used for fishnets were cured with an infusion of larch bark.

DECORATIVE DESIGNS

As Black (1973, p. 41) has noted, there is no satisfactory study of Nivkhi ornamental patterns. The only published analyses in English are by Bertold Laufer (1900, 1902), though his work is marred by a preoccupation with the diffusion of decorative elements—a belief that so-called primitive art was derived from higher forms, in this case the Chinese and Japanese—and his failure to examine the art as a whole. He did, however, publish many examples of decorative patterns of the Nivkhi and neighboring peoples, so that the raw material exists for a methodologically convincing study stressing the originality of Nivkhi art.

Like Laufer, the Soviet scholar S. V. Ivanov (1961) stressed the cross-cultural comparative method as well as the importance of Chinese influences and failed to provide a unified account of Nivkhi art. Ivanov (1961, pp. 370, 374) defined an “Amur-Sakhalin Type of Decorative Ornament—Type VIII,” which is characterized by curvilinear geometric designs created from different kinds of spirals, scrolls, and rosettes as well as stylized birds, fish, reptiles, and animals. Embroidered designs in colored thread and appliqués of fish skin, paper, and cloth, as well as carving and painting on birch bark, are also characteristic. Examples of Type VIII forms and also a variety of embroidered and appliquéd Nivkhi designs are illustrated by Ivanov (1961, pp. 393–394, pls. 14–15, p. 428, pl. VIII).

Some of the decorative elements described by Laufer and Ivanov and shown in their illustrations are found on objects in the Pogosky collection. Among these are embroidered designs in colored thread (figs. 12, 22–24, 26A, 29A, 30A, 41–43);

spirals, scrolls, and curvilinear lines, frequently symmetrically arranged (figs. 12, 22, 24, 26B, 27A, 29A–B, 29D); appliquéd cloth bands (figs. 12, 22–24, 26–27, 29B, 37, 39–41, 47); and appliquéd fish skin designs which include stylized birds (figs. 14–15). Designs on objects in the collection, however, show neither the diversity nor the complexity of those illustrated by Laufer and Ivanov.

Oroki-Evenki

Of the 21 objects to be described here, 15 are identified in the catalog as having been made by the “Tungus” of Sakhalin Island, three by the “Tungus or Oroki,” and the remaining three by the Oroki. It should be noted that these identifications do not occur in the notes accompanying the collection. Proveniences for individual objects as indicated in the catalog are shown in the Appendix.

CLOTHING

Clothing of the Oroki and the Sakhalin Evenki was made primarily from reindeer skin but, since both groups spent at least part of the year on the coast, sealskin and fish skin were also used, as were imported cotton material and metal ornaments obtained in trade from the Nivkhi. In fact, except for reindeer skin clothing, the material and style of Oroki dress, including embroidery and other forms of ornamentation, were heavily influenced by the neighboring Nivkhi (Shrenk, 1899, pp. 95–96; Prytkova, 1961b, p. 233, pl. 39, no. 2).

The Pogosky collection contains a short, undecorated *coat* of reindeer skin with the hair outside; it opens down the front. The pattern is comparatively simple, as the back and both sides of the front are separate pieces. Down the center of the back piece is an inset triangular gore which creates a flare toward the lower edge. Small, separate pieces on either side of the gore at the lower edge increase this flare. Each sleeve, very wide at the shoulder, is a separate piece with the seam under the arm. To keep out the wind, a narrow piece of reindeer skin with the hair inside has been sewn onto each cuff. There is a narrow, separate collar piece (fig. 32). This garment, which is small and may have been intended for a woman, is sewn throughout with sinew in an overcast stitch (fig. 33). A similarly constructed woman's reindeer skin coat of the Oroki is described and illustrated by Prytkova (1961b, p. 233, pl. 39, no. 1).

A second coat of reindeer skin is actually a parka with an attached hood. The front and back are

separate pieces sewn up the sides and across the shoulders, but there are small inset pieces along the lower edge at the sides and in the back to provide a flare. Each sleeve is a separate piece with the seam under the arm and has strips of white reindeer skin at the cuffs. Around the lower edge of the garment is a narrow strip of dogskin attached as decoration. The hood consists basically of four rectangular pieces, with several irregularly shaped pieces at the top of the head. Around the opening are three narrow strips of skin (fig. 34). There are a pair of tanned skin ties on each side at the neck opening. The garment is sewn with sinew (fig. 35). According to notes accompanying the collection, the two coats described here were typical of the everyday winter work clothing of the Oroki and Evenki on Sakhalin.

The collection contains a pair of very short summer *trousers*, little more than a loin cloth, made of curried reindeer skin sewn with sinew in an overcast stitch. The front and back of the trousers are a single piece sewn up both sides. Each leg is a short piece folded and stitched at the edge. At the upper edge of the garment the skin is folded and sewn to contain a drawstring of tanned skin. In the center of the crotch is a crude, round patch (fig. 36).

Vasilevich (1969, p. 136) noted that this style of summer trousers was worn by a number of Evenki groups, extremely short legs being characteristic of a man's garment. Among the Koryak, curried reindeer skin was used when a certain amount of waterproofing was desirable and the garment was to be worn while fishing (Jochelson, 1908, pt. II, p. 599).

To accompany trousers of this style is a pair of *leggings* cut from a single piece of tanned and softened reindeer skin and sewn up one side with sinew in an overcast stitch. At the bottom the leggings are slit up one side for a distance of 10 cm. A narrow strip of red cotton cloth is sewn along the edge of this slit and around the bottom. At the top is an appliquéd band of black cotton cloth edged along both sides with strips of red cloth. There is a wide tie of tanned and softened skin attached at the bottom, to secure the leggings around the ankle, and a narrow one at the top for attachment to a belt (fig. 37). These leggings, not waterproof, were removed when the wearer of the accompanying trousers entered the water.

The Pogosky collection contains six pairs of *boots*, three for winter and three for summer. One pair of winter boots, which reach to the knees, is made of rectangular strips of reindeer skin sewn

vertically and taken from the legs of the animal. The front piece extends over the instep and top of the foot. A narrow strip of skin extends around the foot just above the sealskin sole. A narrow welt of sealskin separates the sole from the upper part of the boot. Near the top is a decorative strip of beaver fur and above that a band of black cotton velveteen sewn to tanned, softened reindeer skin (fig. 38, right). The top is edged with red cotton cloth. The pieces of reindeer skin are sewn with sinew and the ornamentation at the top is stitched with heavy thread. Ties of reindeer skin originally attached at the ankles have been cut off (fig. 39).

Associated with these boots is a pair of *stockings* of commercially tanned cowhide. The leg is a single piece sewn up the back with sinew. A separate instep piece extends approximately halfway up the leg and is decorated with parallel lines created by taking a narrow tuck in the skin. The sole is a separate piece with a T-shaped heel seam. Around the top are a broad appliquéd band of dark blue cotton cloth and narrower bands of red cloth, outlined with strands of bleached nettle fiber and sewn with sinew. At the edge is a narrow strip of tanned cowhide. A pair of wraparound ties of the same material are attached just below the decorative bands (fig. 40).

A pair of winter boots which reach to the hips, made of rectangular pieces of reindeer leg skin, is in method of construction almost identical to the previously described boots. The soles are made of sealskin. Sewing throughout is with sinew in an overcast stitch. Near the top is a narrow band of beaver fur and above that a broad appliquéd band of red wool cloth, decorated with embroidered floral designs in black thread and edged with light blue cotton cloth. At the ankles are wraparound ties of bleached sealskin (fig. 41).

Another pair of hip-length winter boots is also made of rectangular pieces of reindeer leg skin. A long piece in front extends over the instep to the toe and, on either side, triangular pieces fill out the front half of the foot. The front piece and the two triangular sections are outlined with narrow strips of white reindeer skin extending up both sides of the boot to join a band of beaver fur near the center. This band extends only around the front half of the boot. Just above the point where the vertical white strips join it are triangular insets of white skin outlined with strips of red wool which also extend across the top of the beaver fur decoration. Around the tops of the boots are appliquéd bands of cotton cloth, including a broad band of black and narrower, paired bands of red, white,

and purple. Sewing on these decorative bands is with thread. The soles are of sealskin, but there is no welt between the sole and the upper. At the ankles are wraparound ties of tanned, softened reindeer skin (figs. 38, left; 42). This pair of boots is quite large and was clearly intended to be worn with skin stockings similar to the pair previously described.

A pair of woman's summer boots is constructed of three pieces of cowhide. The back and sides consist of a single piece while the front is of two pieces. The upper piece extends from the top to a point just below the center of the boot; the lower extends over the instep and top of the foot to the toe. The sealskin sole narrows to a point at the front and extends up over the toes. At the top, a broad band of tanned and softened reindeer skin has been attached along the upper edge only. A band of orange woolen cloth runs along the lower edge. Crosses and floral designs in pink, blue, yellow, and purple thread are embroidered on the reindeer skin. Wraparound ties of tanned and bleached reindeer skin are attached at the ankles (fig. 43).

A second pair of summer boots has leg pieces made from a single piece of tanned and softened reindeer skin, with the seam down the front. Sewing is with thread in an overcast stitch. The soles and uppers are of sealskin, the latter very dark, and there is a welt of bleached sealskin between the two. A separate instep piece of dark sealskin is embroidered with thread in a variety of colors. A narrow strip of bleached sealskin is sewn into the seam which joins the upper to the instep piece. Toward the rear of the foot is a rectangular strip of red cotton cloth between the upper and the leg piece. Wraparound ties of dark sealskin are inserted through loops of bleached skin on either side of the foot at the rear and sewn into the seam near the instep. There is no decoration at the top of the leg pieces. All sewing in the sealskin sections of the boots is with sinew (fig. 44).

The third pair of summer boots appears to have been made from commercial leather shoes or boots over which cotton cloth has been stretched. The leg pieces are made from heavy black cotton batting covered on the outside with thin black cloth with a satin finish. At the upper edge, the covering is of blue cotton cloth decorated with short lines of red thread and a border of embroidered red thread. The area of the foot has been covered with cotton cloth of various colors. Just above the sole, which is a separate piece of commercial leather, is a band of white cloth with an embroidered line

in red thread and, above that, a band of green. The upper part of the foot is covered with black cloth and embroidered with scroll and stylized floral designs in red and pink thread. Ornamental lines in yellow, pink, red, and blue thread are sewn into seams that run around the top of the foot and down the center of the instep; they also run up the entire length of the leg piece seam in front and halfway up a seam in the back. Sewing throughout is with colored thread (fig. 45).

TOOLS

The Pogosky collection contains three *skin-working tools*, forms widely distributed throughout Siberia. They are described and illustrated for the Evenki by Vasilevich (1969, pp. 94-95, fig. 10). A fresh skin, from which much of the fat has been removed, is stretched and dried for a few days. Then a short-handled scraper (fig. 46C) is used to remove the remaining flesh and fat. This implement has a handle of birchwood split its entire length. Inserted at the distal end of this slit at a pronounced angle is a round metal blade, open in the center and sharpened around the outer edge. There is a lashing groove at the proximal end, where the split halves are bound together with a narrow strip of sealskin. The implement is held with the blade facing the worker and pulled toward her.

When this scraping is complete, the skin is coated with fish liver oil or wet powdered wood, folded, and left for a few days, after which it is again scraped and kneaded, this time with a long-handled scraper (fig. 46B). This implement has a straight handle of birchwood, oval at the distal end, constricted in the center, and rectangular in cross section at the proximal end where it is ornamented with a simple notched design. The metal blade, inserted into a slot at the distal end, is round and flat, with an opening in the center; it has a serrated working edge.

The final step in the skin preparation process involves smoking the skin to soften and give it added strength. Smoking is often performed by simply spreading the skin over the smoke hole of the tent. Then the inner surface of the skin is kneaded softly with a "skin brake" (fig. 46D). This two-handed implement has a long, oval handle of birchwood, into one side of which is inserted a long metal blade with a slightly concave and serrated working edge. The manner in which such an implement is used among the Nentsy is illustrated by Khomich (1970, fig. 2, p. 105).

A long, rectangular *bag for holding skin working tools* like those just described is made of many small pieces of reindeer skin sewn with sinew. At the upper end is a wide strip of tanned reindeer skin with a tie of the same material. There is also a skin tie near the center of the bag and a short flap of skin at the bottom (fig. 46A).

TRANSPORTATION

The Pogosky collection contains three *panniers* or pack bags used in pairs over the back of reindeer by a number of Siberian peoples, including the Oroki and Evenki. Two are rectangular with a rigid framework of birch bark and are referred to in the Russian literature as "hard" bags, while the third, made only of skin, is "soft."

The first of the hard bags has a framework consisting of five pieces of birch bark. The bottom and ends are a single piece, while there are two rectangular pieces on each side. Over this framework is stretched a cover, primarily of reindeer skin, made from a number of pieces. On each side is a square decorative panel which includes a narrow strip of white skin and a toothed design in brown skin incorporating yarn of the same color. A similar white strip with toothed design runs around the bag just below the rim. At the rim is a decorative border of dark blue and red cotton cloth. Along the upper edge of this decorative strip is a broad band of commercially tanned cowhide which folds over the rim of the bag. Loops of sinew extend around the lower edge of the cowhide band, which is loose so that it can be tied to cover the contents. The reindeer skin cover is stitched with sinew to the bark framework, at frequent intervals and in such a manner that the stitches do not show on the outside. At either end near the rim are paired fringes of commercially tanned hide with large, yellow glass beads at the upper ends. There are large loop carrying straps of reindeer skin on both sides of the bag (fig. 47).

The framework of the second hard bag consists of three pieces of birch bark. The bottom is one piece and each side is a large piece that extends around to form the ends. The cover consists of a single piece of sealskin, with the hair removed, sewn across the bottom in two places and up one side. A decorative border is formed by a strip of tanned reindeer skin divided into four bands by strands of bleached nettle fiber sewn with sinew. The lower band is colored with red pigment and the next is decorated with a toothed design in black pigment; the two narrow bands at the rim are col-

ored red and black. This border of tanned reindeer skin extends over the rim. There is a drawstring and cloth ties so that the skin can cover and protect the contents of the bag. The sealskin part of the cover is not fastened to the bark framework. On either side are three sealskin straps for fastening the bag to the saddle (fig. 48).

Hard panniers used by the Okhotsk Evenki, closest neighbors of those on Sakhalin, are described and illustrated by Vasilevich and Levin (1961, pp. 16, 23, pl. 10, no. 2e, pl. VI, nos. 1-3), who also illustrated a reindeer carrying a bag of this type (pl. 10, no. 1). According to the same authors (p. 17), the Oroki made pack bags covered with sealskin.

As the name implies, the soft pannier does not have a rigid framework. The example in the collection is made entirely of reindeer skin sewn with sinew. The lower part of the bag is constructed of skin with the hair on. The bottom and ends consist of two pieces, and panels on each side consist of three pieces including triangular sections at the bottom. Above this section of the bag is a narrow strip of reindeer skin with the hair removed and, above that, a much wider band of the same material. Brown yarn has been sewn into the seam joining these two bands. Decorative fringes of commercially tanned cowhide are sewn at intervals into the seam that joins the dehaired portion to the lower part of the bag. On either side is a large loop carrying strap of sealskin, with a single short tie of reindeer skin at the rim (fig. 49). Vasilevich and Levin (1961, pp. 16, 23, pl. 10, nos. 3b, c, pl. VI, no. 5) described and illustrated soft panniers like the one in the collection.

At one time the Pogosky collection contained a pack saddle similar to those described and illustrated for the Evenki by Vasilevich (1969, p. 98, fig. 11, no. 1) and Vasilevich and Levin (1961, pp. 16, 23, pl. 8, no. 3, pl. V), but unfortunately it has disappeared from the collection. All that remains is an elaborately decorated *pack saddle cover* of reindeer skin.

Each half of this saddle cover essentially is made from a single piece of skin taken from the head and neck of a moose. Triangular pieces have been added at the lower edges of both halves to provide a slight flare in those areas. Small round pieces of skin cover holes where the antlers emerged. The two halves of the cover are separated by a rectangular mosaic pattern of alternating brown and white pieces of reindeer skin with strips of red cotton cloth sewn into the seams. On either side of the cover a strip of red cotton cloth extends

down from the mosaic band, and small half circles of skin with red cloth sewn into the seams occur on both sides of the mosaic. Paired strips of red cloth have been inserted into slits in the skin near the center on each side. Around the edge is a border of black dogskin, into the seam of which are sewn, at regular intervals, tufts of white reindeer hair. Sewing throughout is with sinew (fig. 50). A sealskin *strap* 2 m in length was presumably used when packing reindeer.

MISCELLANEOUS

A rectangular birch bark *pouch* consists of two pieces: the container portion, which is a single piece, and a separate flap. Each side of the pouch consists of two narrow pieces of tanned reindeer skin sewn vertically with thread. The flap is attached with a similar piece of skin. There is a skin wraparound tie attached to the flap in three places. The outlines of a crude design on the front and back have been impressed into the bark with a tool that created small, paired, semicircular impressions. The surrounding areas are painted with red and black pigments (fig. 30A). The use of this pouch is unknown.

III. Conclusion

As Black (1973, p. 102) has pointed out, it is possible to compile a sizeable bibliography for the Nivkhi, but the quality and usefulness of relevant sources varies considerably. If this is true of Nivkhi sources in general, it is even truer of those dealing with material culture. No comprehensive study of Nivkhi material culture, whether of those people living on the lower Amur River or on Sakhalin Island, has been published. Moreover, the extensive collections in Soviet museums and the American Museum of Natural History are only sparingly referred to in the literature.

According to Black (1973, p. 103), and as will have been noted in the preceding pages, the most important source relating to material culture is the work of Leopold von Shrenk [Schrenk] (1899) who led a scientific expedition to the lower Amur River and Sakhalin in 1854–1856, following the first intensive Russian penetration of these areas. Even Shrenk's significant work, however, is more important for its illustrations than for descriptions of material items. Somewhat more detailed, particularly with reference to clothing, but lacking

illustrations and presumably based on secondary accounts, is the work of N. L. Zeland (1886).

Of contemporary sources, the sections in the *Istoriko-etnograficheskiy atlas Sibiri* (Levin & Potapov, 1961) by Prytkova (1961a, 1961b) and the article by Taksami (1970) on Nivkhi clothing are certainly the most useful, although again it is the illustrations that are important because the text descriptions are relatively superficial. Taksami's (1964) brief article on Nivkhi objects in the collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad describes contemporary rather than traditional or modified-traditional items of material culture. Information on material culture in the article on the Nivkhi (Ivanov et al., 1964) included in *The Peoples of Siberia* (Levin & Potapov, 1964) is, of necessity, extremely brief.

As might be expected, sources for the material culture of the Oroki are exceedingly rare. Prytkova (1961a, 1961b), although very brief, is by far the best; also, the illustrations in the atlas are useful. Not surprisingly, Shrenk's (1899) treatment of the Oroki is very sketchy, since these people must have been difficult if not impossible to contact in the 1850s.

Literature on the material culture of the Sakhalin Evenki is virtually nonexistent. It has seemed best to restrict comparisons to the illustrations of objects in the *Istoriko-etnograficheskiy atlas Sibiri* which accompany the sections written by Prytkova (1961a, 1961b) and Vasilevich and Levin (1961).

The portions of the Pogosky collection described in this study are small and obviously cannot be considered representative of either Nivkhi or Oroki-Evenki material culture. As indicated in the preface, the collector was attempting to assemble a representative collection of objects made by the women and, at least for the Nivkhi, the inventory would appear to be reasonably complete. Since related collections in American and Soviet museums have never been adequately published, it seemed reasonable to make this small collection better known to students of Siberian material culture.

A notable feature of the Pogosky collection is the extent to which exotic materials are represented. The earliest sources mention cotton cloth, metal buttons, and coins for decorating women's clothing, as well as other imported items. It is clear that, by the middle of the 19th century, if not earlier, the traditional material culture of the Nivkhi, particularly clothing, had been modified considerably by either direct or indirect contact with

the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. It is equally clear, however, that at the end of the century materials taken from the local environment were still a very significant aspect of Nivkhi material culture. There are very few items in the Nivkhi collection that are not, at least in part, constructed of material native to the environment.

Perhaps the most obvious point to be made about Nivkhi clothing as shown in the Pogosky collection is that the combination of local and imported materials resulted in garments that were well adapted to the cold, damp, and rapidly changing climate of Sakhalin Island. Another point that can be made concerns the degree of craftsmanship displayed in the Nivkhi collection. In spite of long contact with outsiders and the ready availability of exotic materials, Nivkhi women at the end of the 19th century retained their skill in preparing seal-, dog-, and fish skin. They were also fine seamstresses with thread, sinew, and nettle fibers, and made excellent birch bark baskets. Although the Nivkhi borrowed extensively from other peoples and, at the time of Chekhov's visit in 1890 sometimes wore convict overalls in summer (Chekhov, 1977, p. 147), they were invariably successful in combining borrowed and local elements in a distinctive manner.

The Oroki-Evenki portion of the Pogosky collection is so small that few generalizations can be made concerning it. It is obvious, however, that a much greater percentage of the Oroki objects is made entirely or mostly of locally available materials than is true of the Nivkhi collection. As Chekhov (1977, p. 154) noted, the Oroki were still extremely isolated at the time of his visit to the island and had virtually no contact with the Russian settlements. Only slightly later, in 1898-1899, Laufer (1900, p. 326) observed that the Oroki had preserved more of their traditional culture than their Tungus-Manchu-speaking relatives on the Amgun River, a tributary of the lower Amur. This may also have been true of the Evenki who migrated to Sakhalin from the Okhotsk coast in the 19th century.

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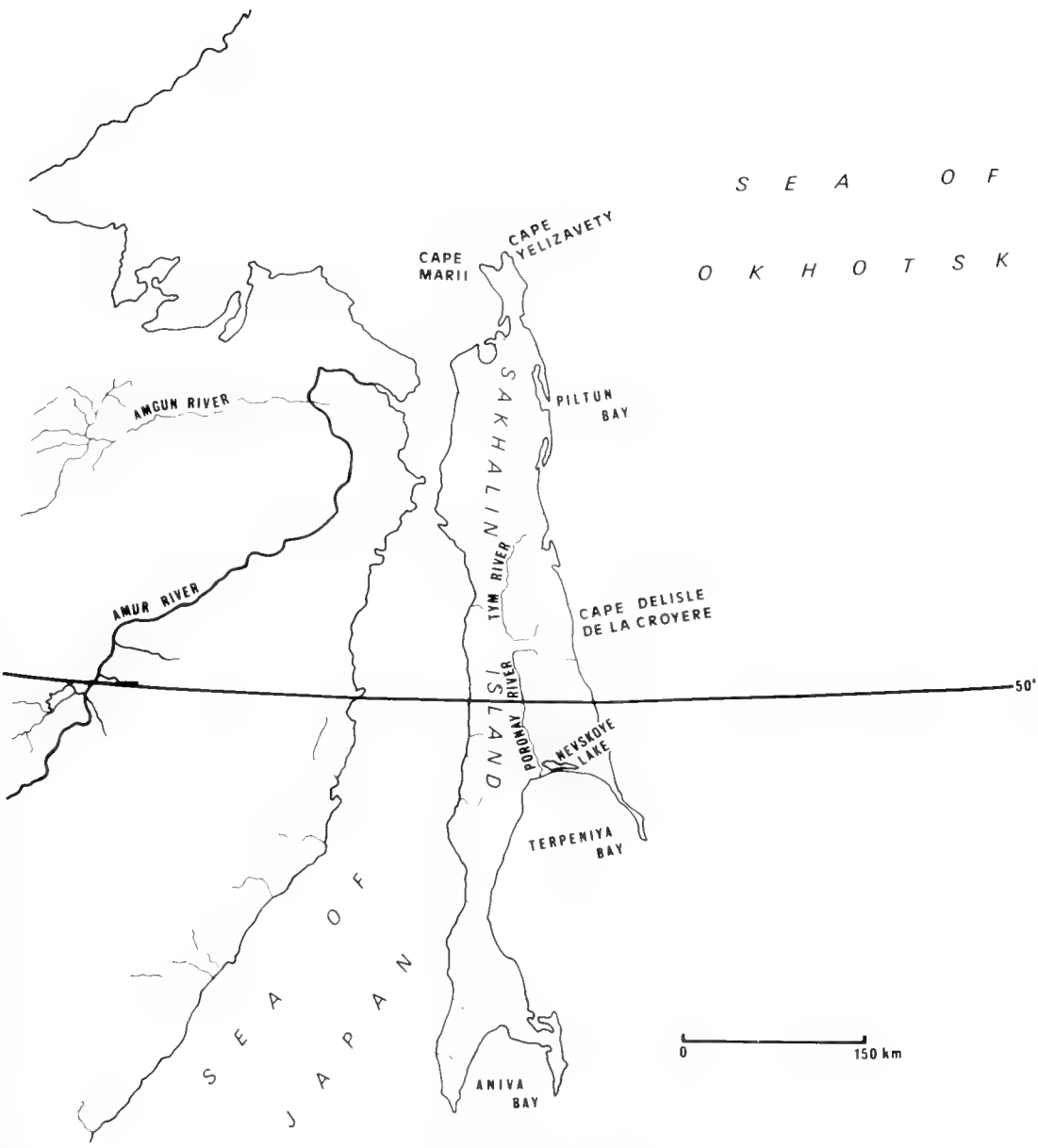
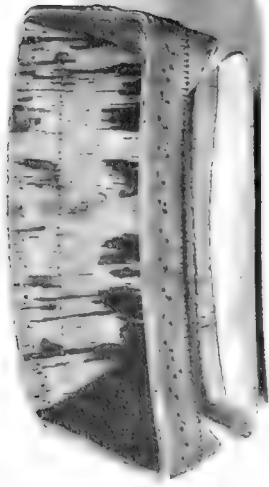


FIG. 1. Map of Sakhalin Island.



A



B



C

FIG. 2. A, dish (32010); B, dish (32013); C, dipper (32030).



A



B

FIG. 3. A, platter (32006); B, bucket (32022).



B

A

FIG. 4. A, bucket (32025); B, bucket (32019).

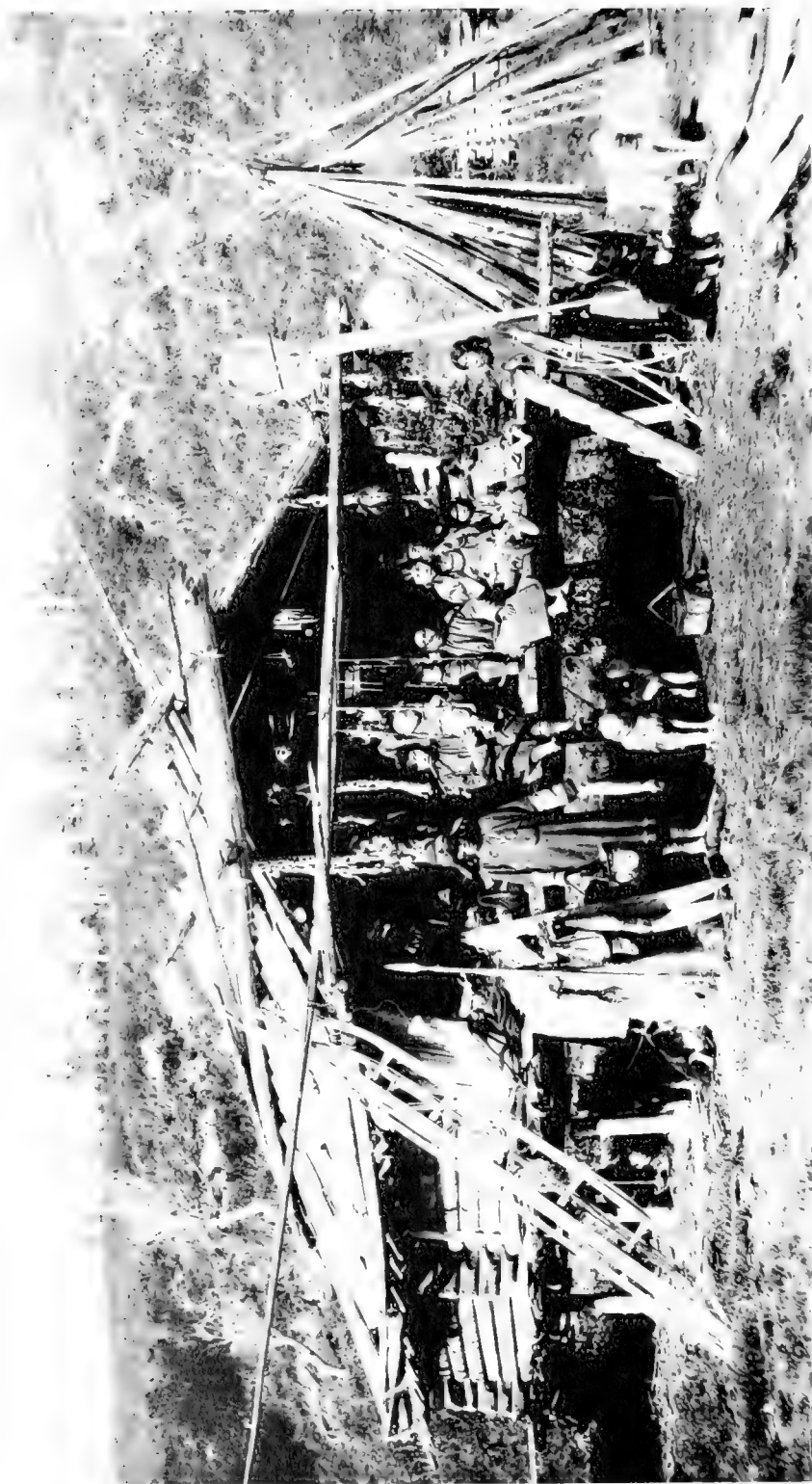


FIG. 5. A Nivkhi dwelling and its inhabitants. In summer the Nivkhi lived in houses built on piles. These structures usually consisted of two parts, a rear section which served as living quarters and a front section for storage (Ivanov et al., 1964, p. 774). For a detailed discussion of this type of house on the lower Amur River, see Shternberg (1933a, pp. 315-318) (neg. no. 20688).

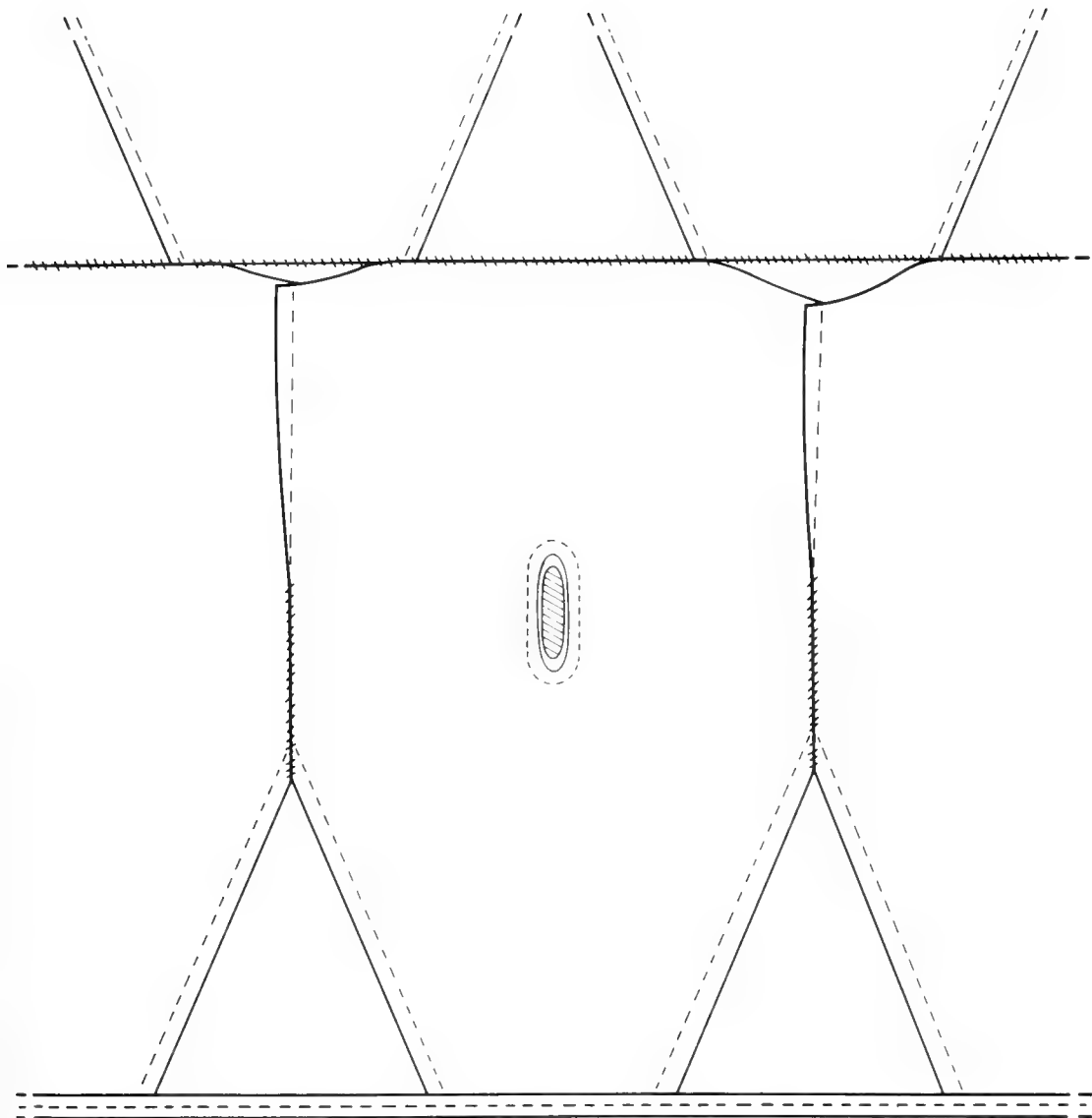


FIG. 6. Section of a fish skin tent (32074).



FIG. 7. Nivkhi woman holding infant in cradle (neg. no. 20673).



FIG. 8. Model cradle (32089).



FIG. 9. Coat (32058).

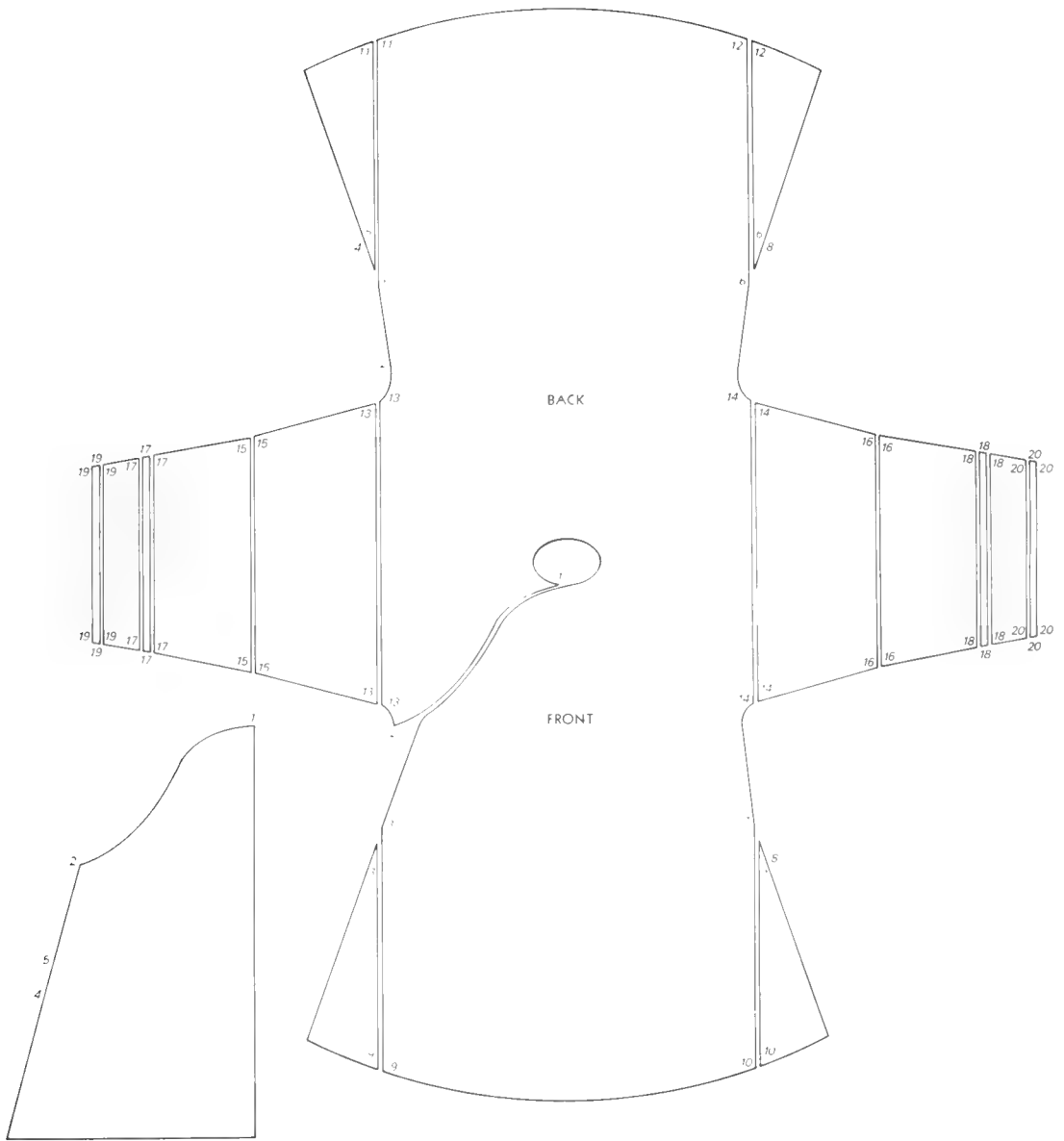


FIG. 10. Man's robe (32069). The numbers on this and subsequent pattern drawings indicate points of contact.

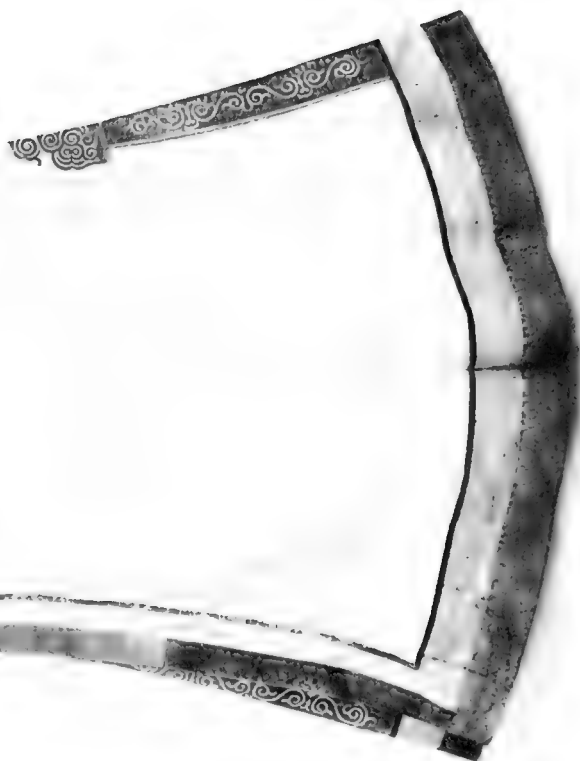
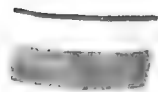
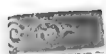
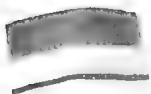


FIG. 13. Woman's robe, front (32086).

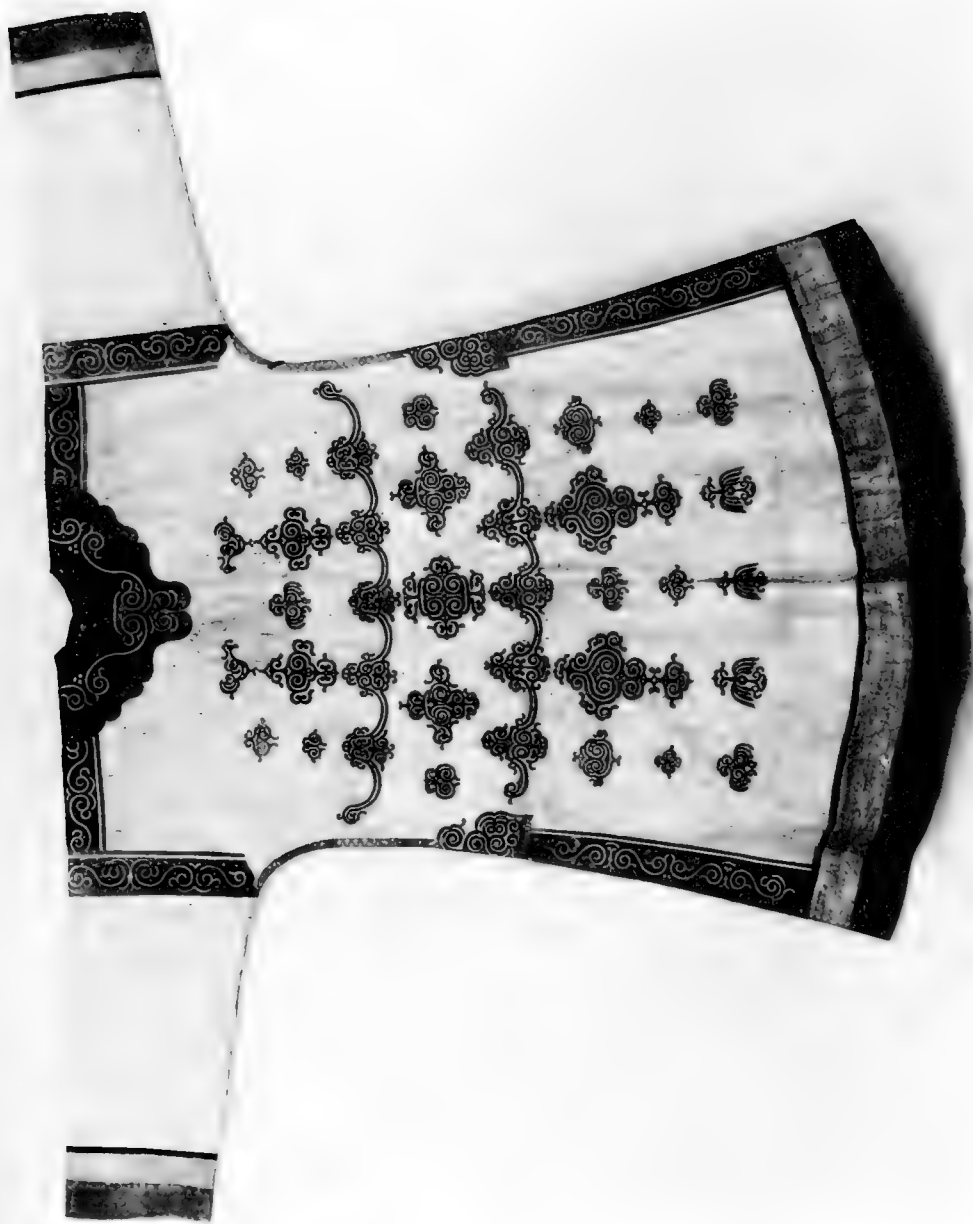


FIG. 14. Woman's robe, back (32086).

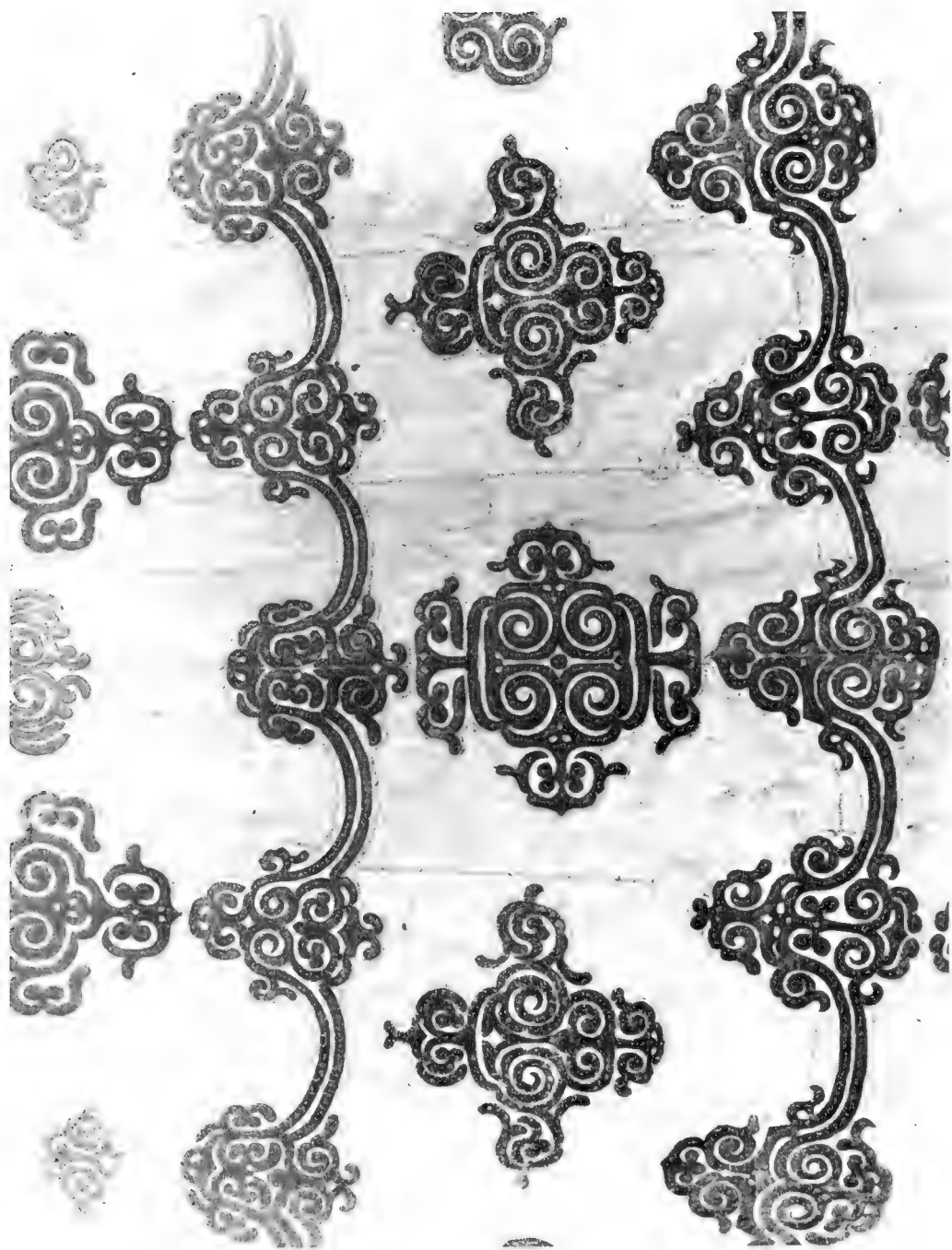


FIG. 15. Woman's robe, detail of back (32086).



FIG. 16. A group of Sakhalin Nivkhi (neg. no. 20684).



FIG. 17. A Sakhalin Nivkhi family (neg. no. 20683).



FIG. 18. Girl's dress (32051).

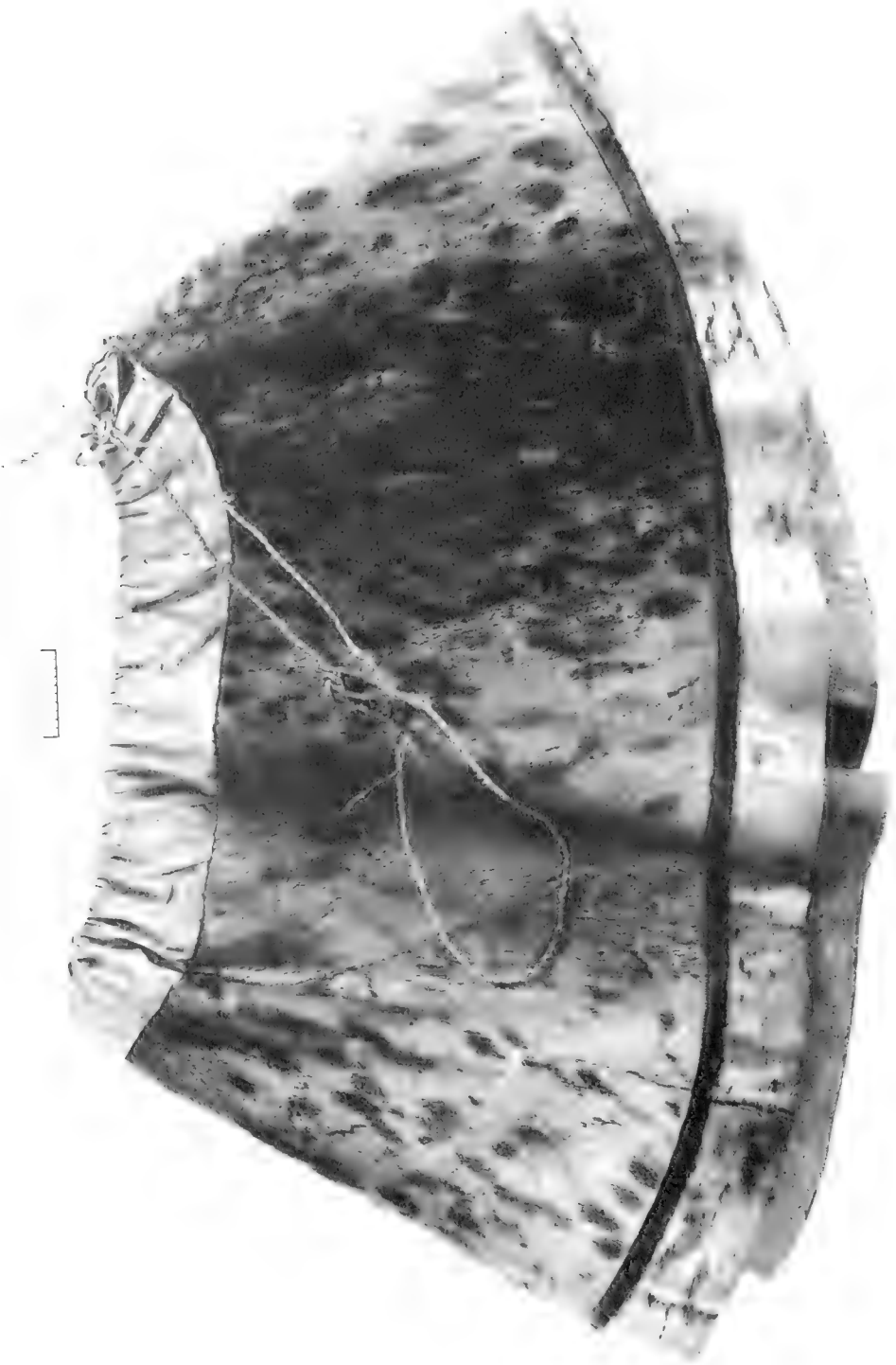


FIG. 19. Man's shirt-apron (32052).



FIG. 20. Leggings (32096-1, 2).

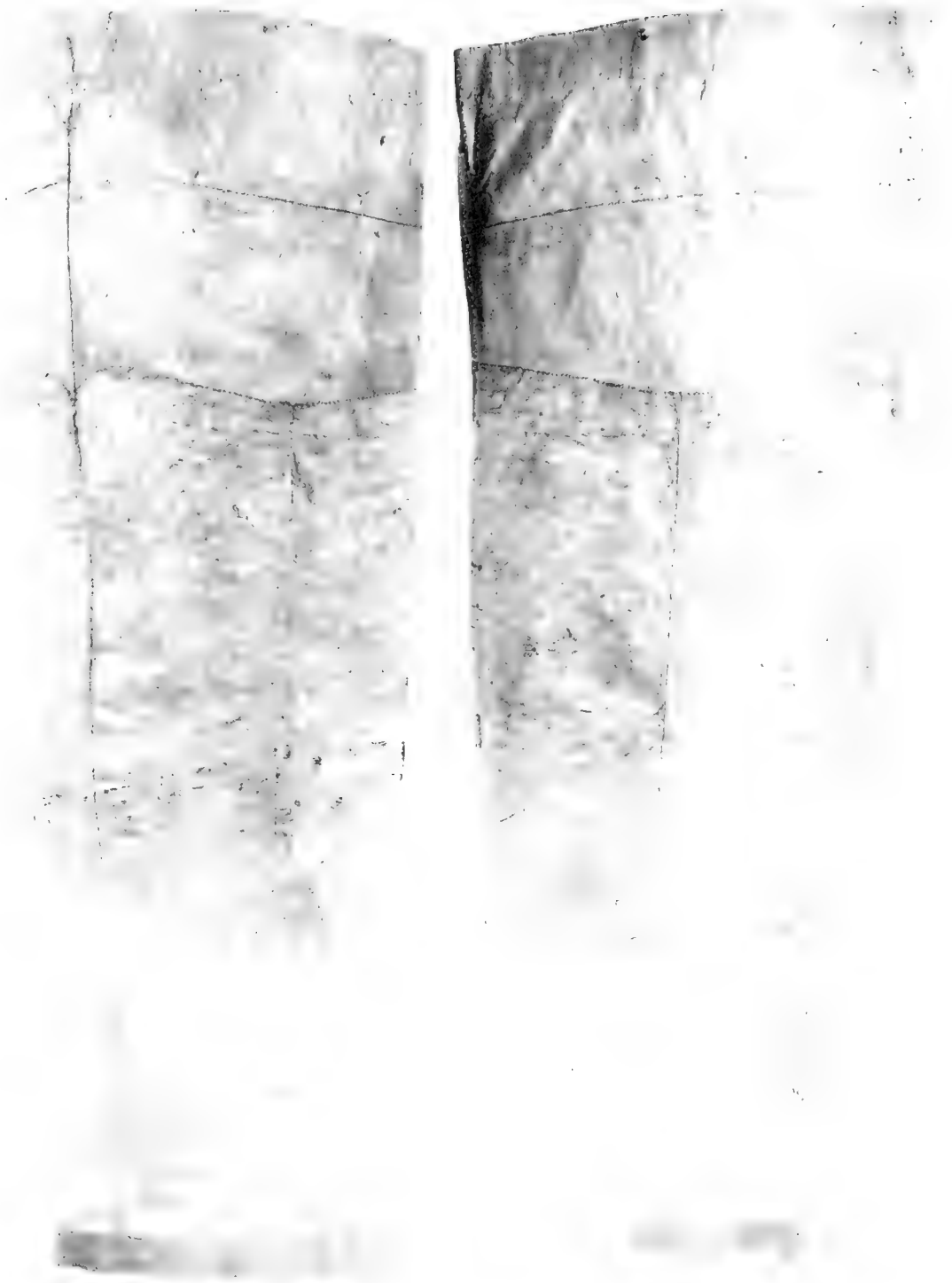


FIG. 21. Leggings (32122-1, 2).



FIG. 22. Woman's leggings (32100-1, 2).



FIG. 23. Leggings (32095-1, 2).



FIG. 24. Woman's boots (32119-1, 2).



FIG. 25. Boots (32117-1, 2).



A



B

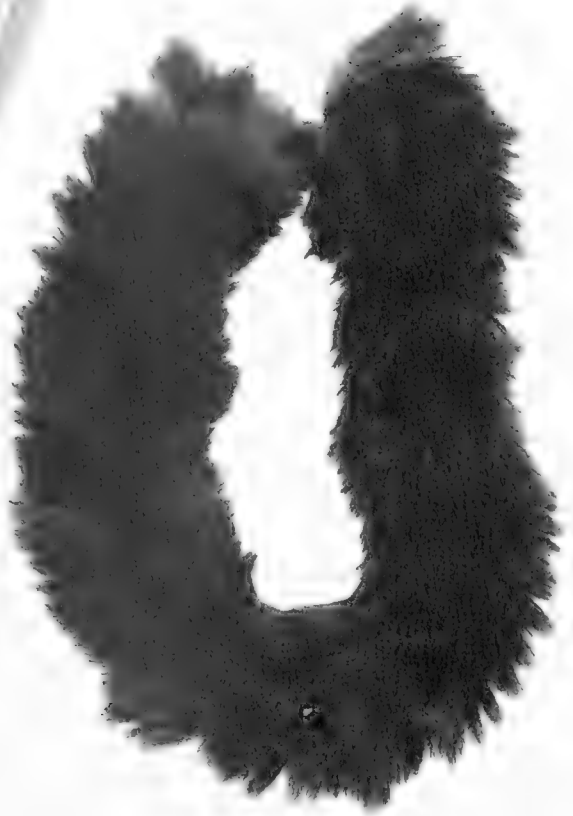
FIG. 26. A, mittens (32062-1, 2); B, mittens (32063-1, 2).



FIG. 27. A, earmuffs (32059); B, winter cap (32060).



A

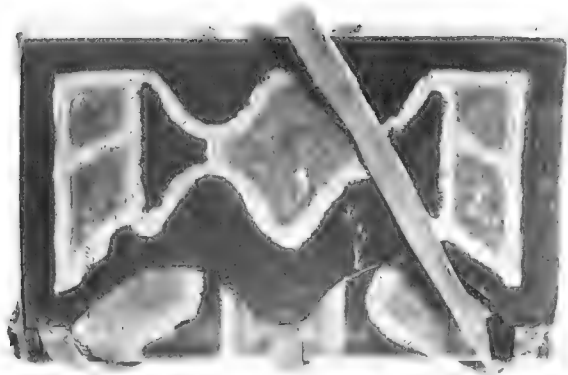


B

FIG. 28. A, model fishnet (32130); B, boomerang (32057).



FIG. 29. A, gun case (32065); B, woman's tobacco pouch (32066); C, knife and sheath (32055); D, man's tinder pouch (32067).



A



B



C

FIG. 30. A, pouch (32064); B, woman's bag (32068); C, man's tobacco pouch (32071).

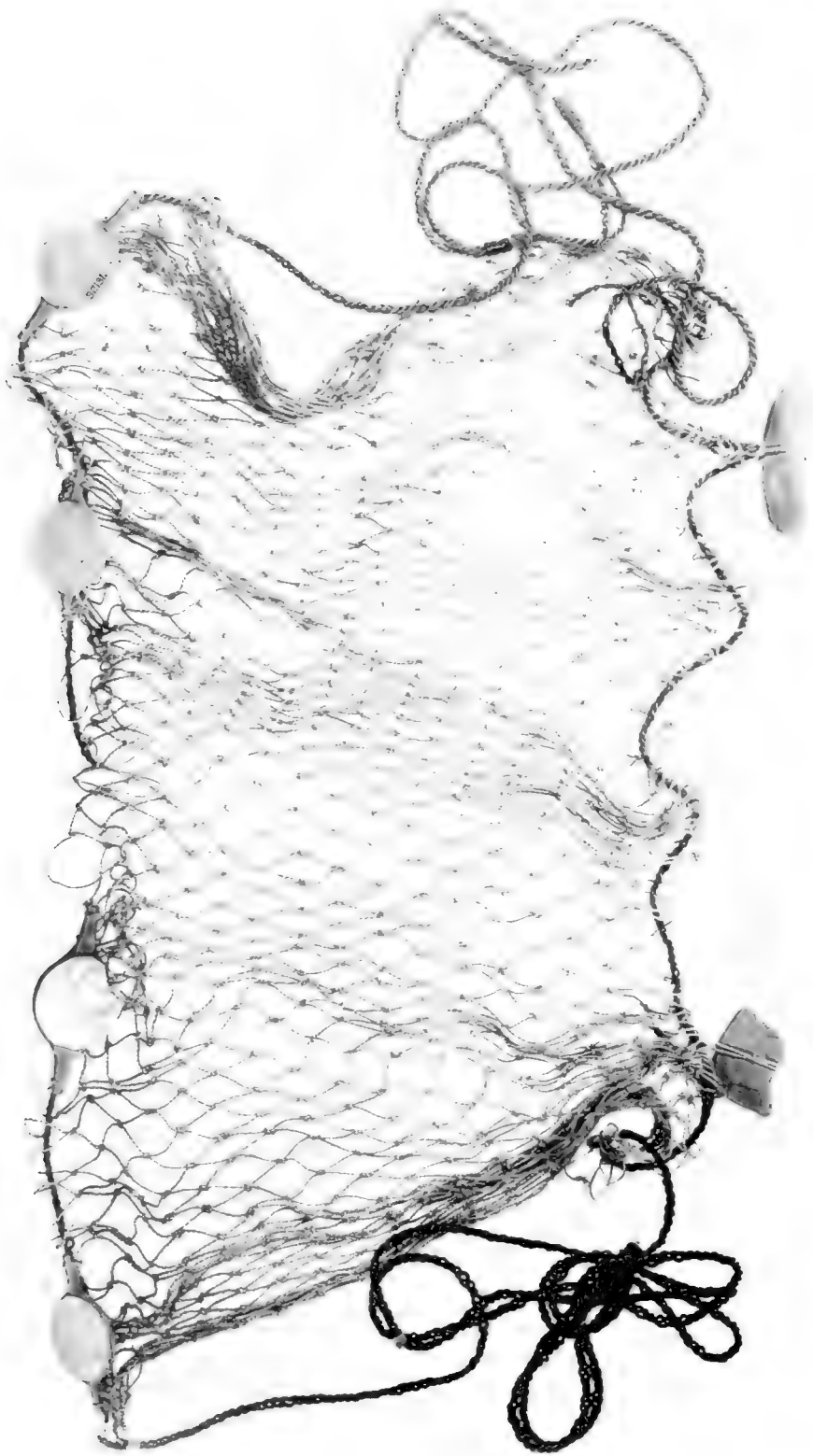


FIG. 31. Model(?) fishnet (32131).

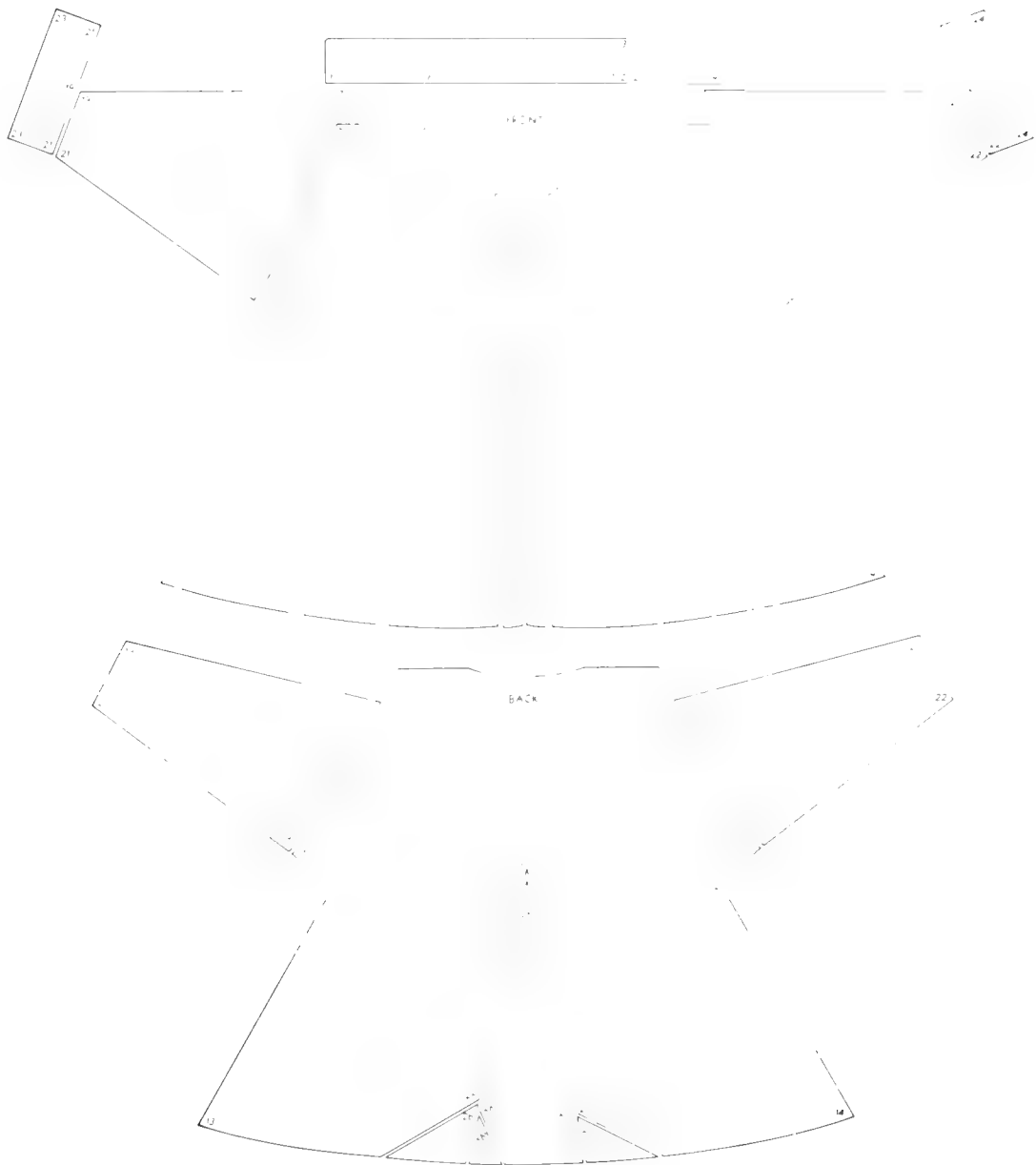


FIG. 32. Coat (32132).



FIG. 33. Coat (32132).

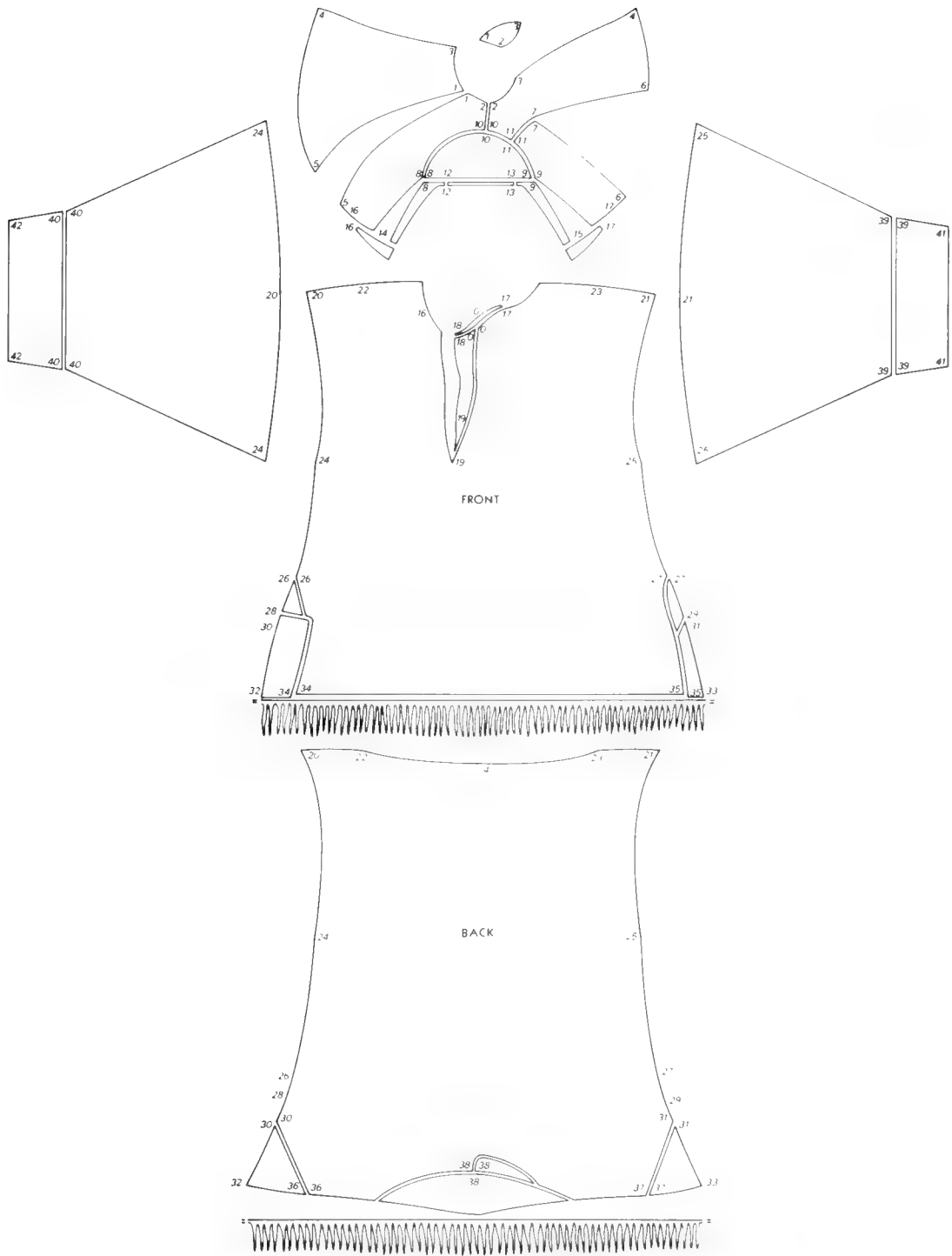


FIG. 34. Parka (32061).



FIG. 35. Parka (32061).

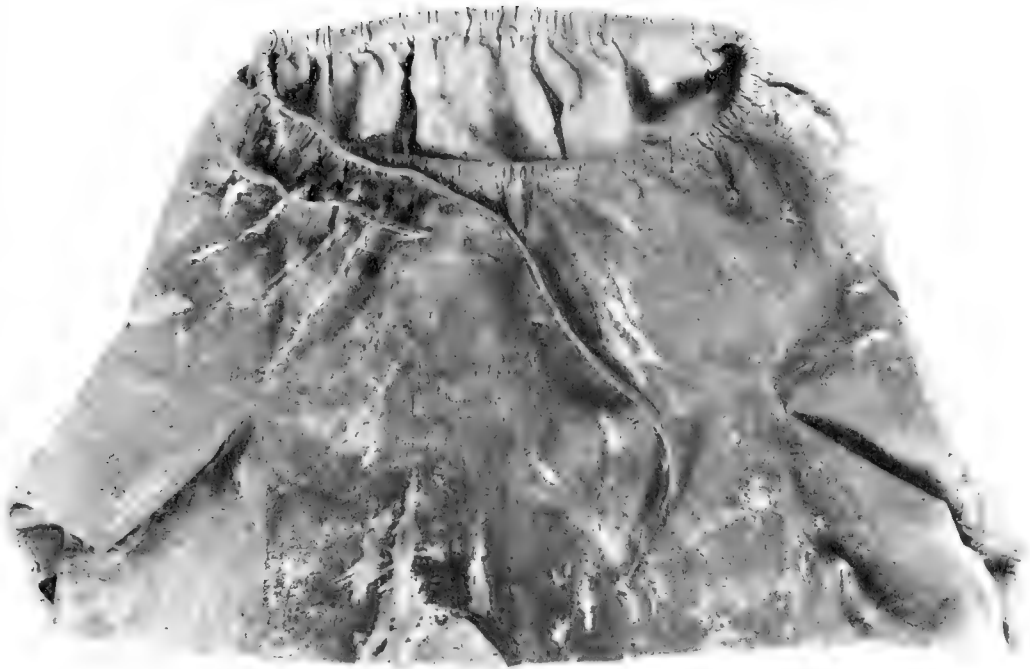


FIG. 36. Trousers (32088).

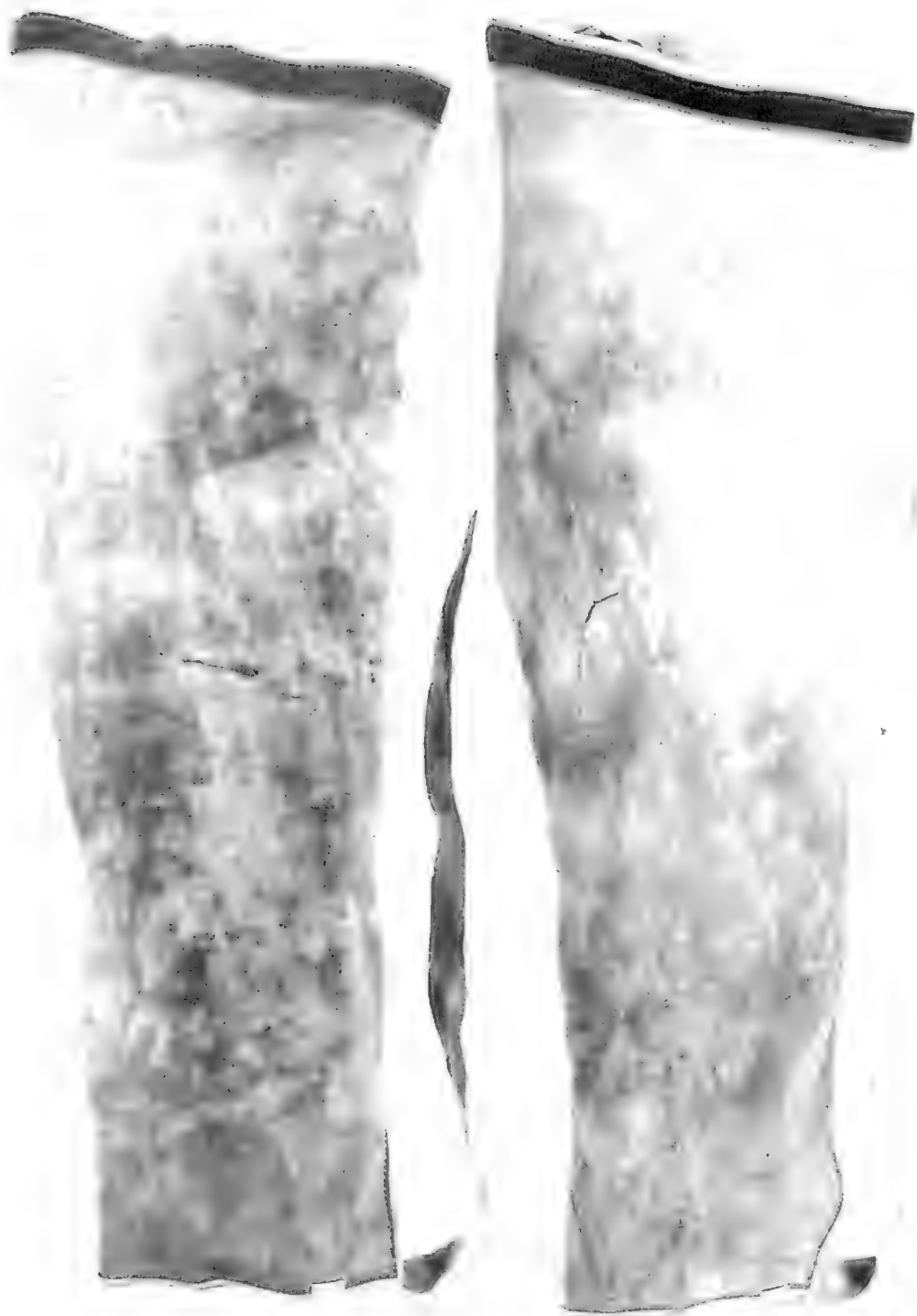


FIG. 37. Leggings (32129-1, 2).

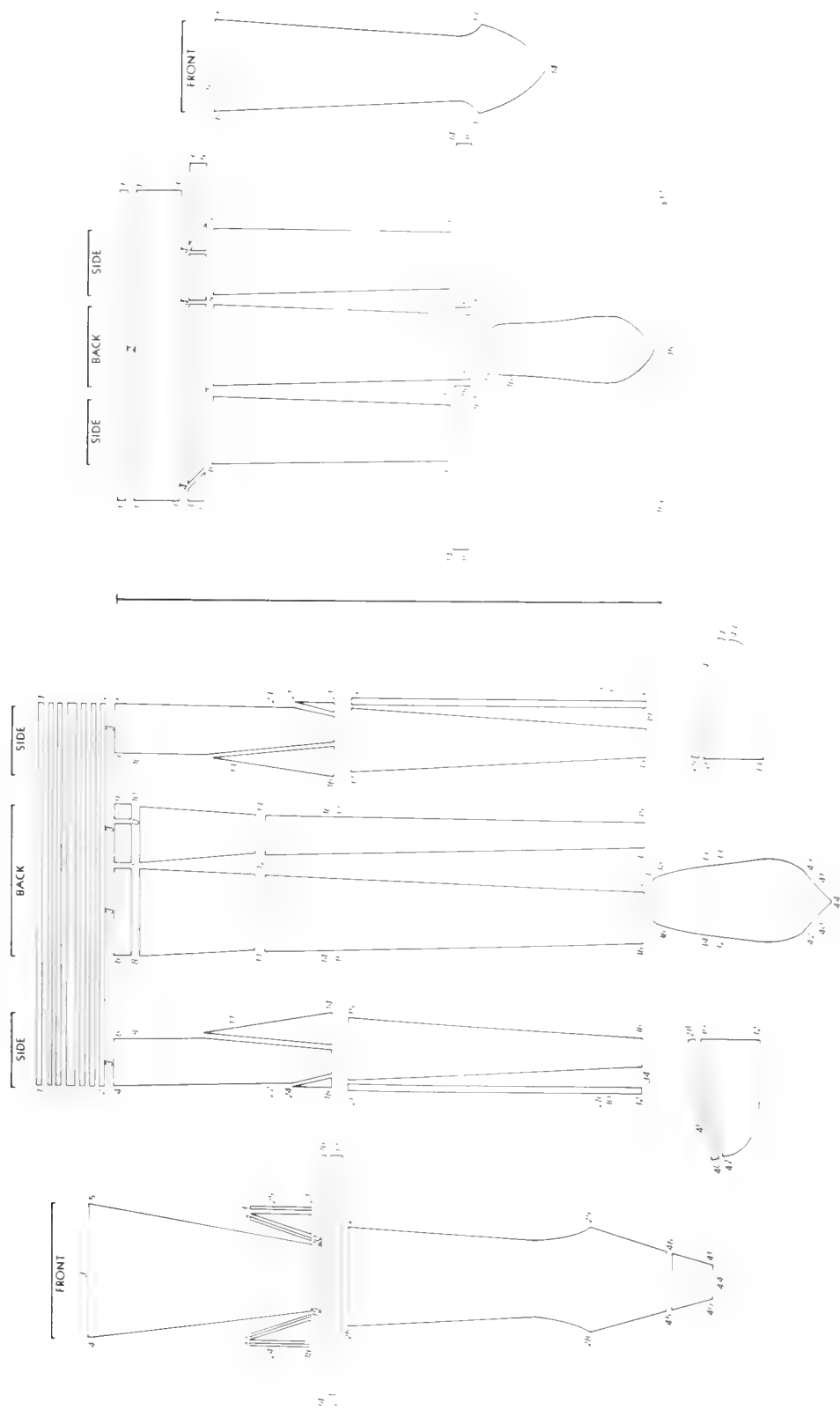


Fig. 38. **Left**, winter boots (32112-1, 2); **right**, winter boots (32114-1, 2).



FIG. 39. Winter boots (32114-1, 2).



FIG. 40. Stockings (32115-1, 2).



FIG. 41. Winter boots (32111-1, 2).



FIG. 42. Winter boots (32112-1, 2).



FIG. 43. Woman's summer boots (32105-1, 2).



FIG. 44. Summer boots (32106-1, 2).



FIG. 45. Summer boots (32118-1, 2).



FIG. 46. A, tool bag (32123); B, scraper (32124); C, scraper (32125); D, "skin brake" (32126).

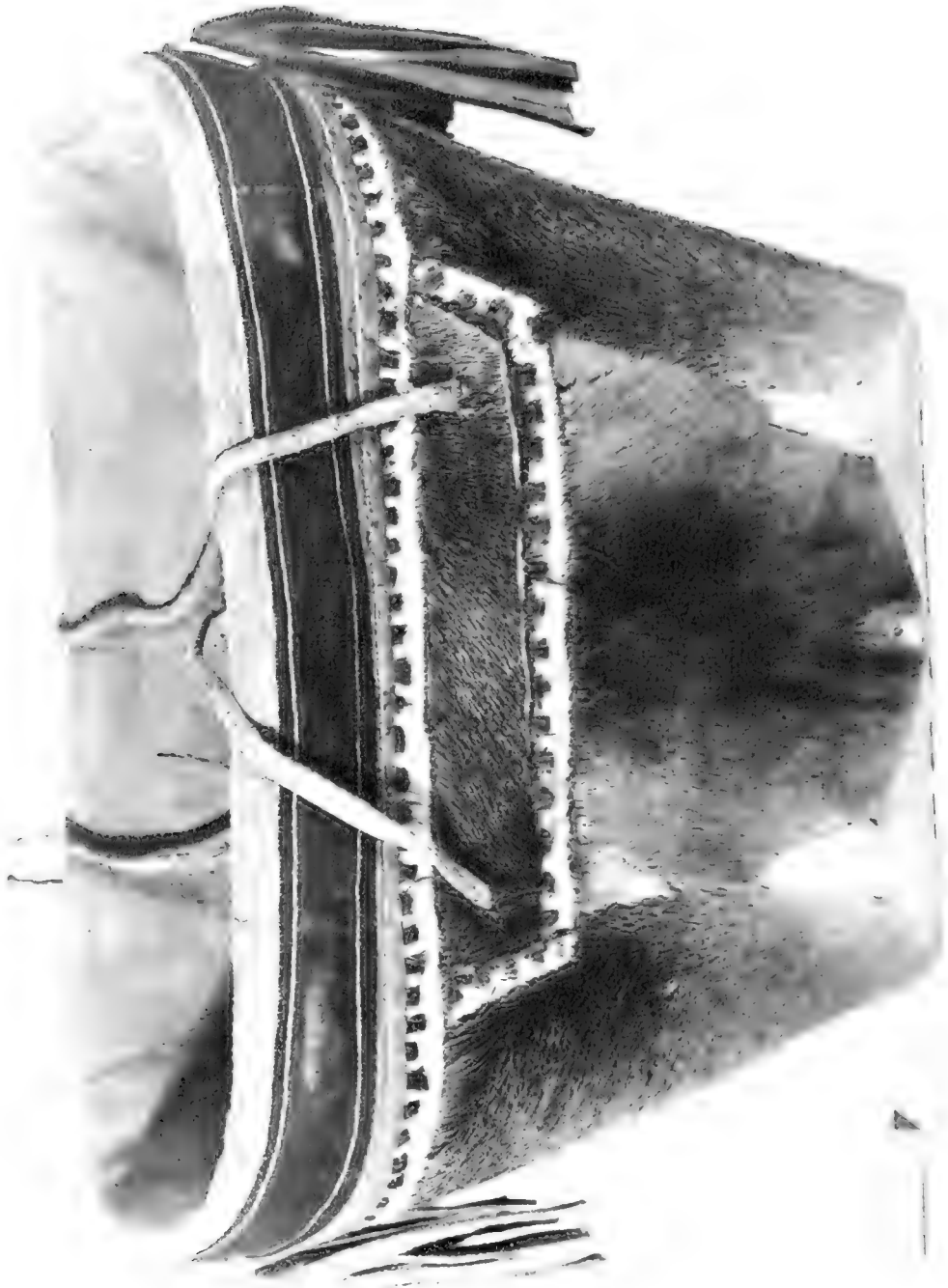


FIG. 47. Pannier (32093).



FIG. 48. Pannier (32127).

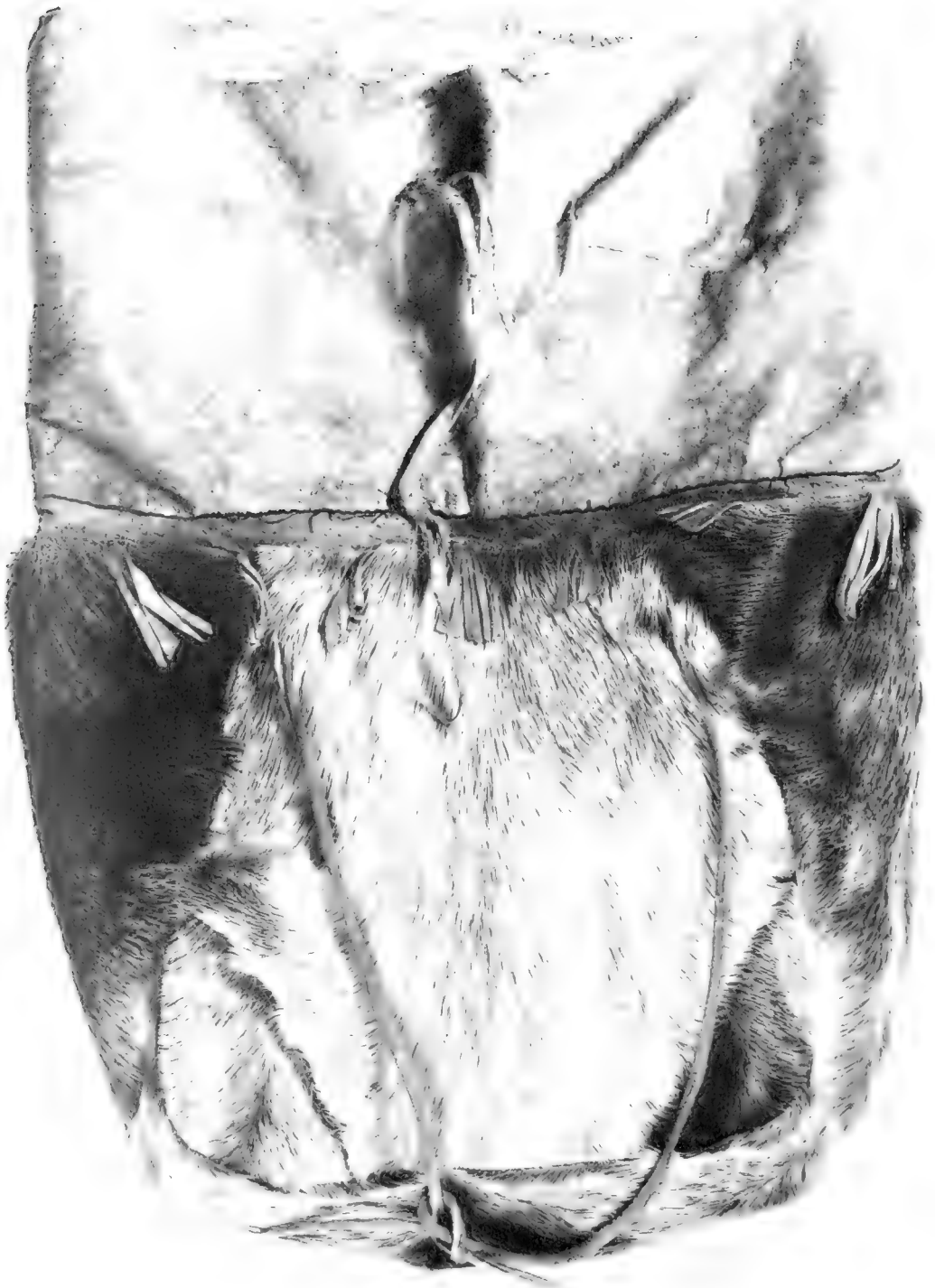


FIG. 49. Pannier (32092).

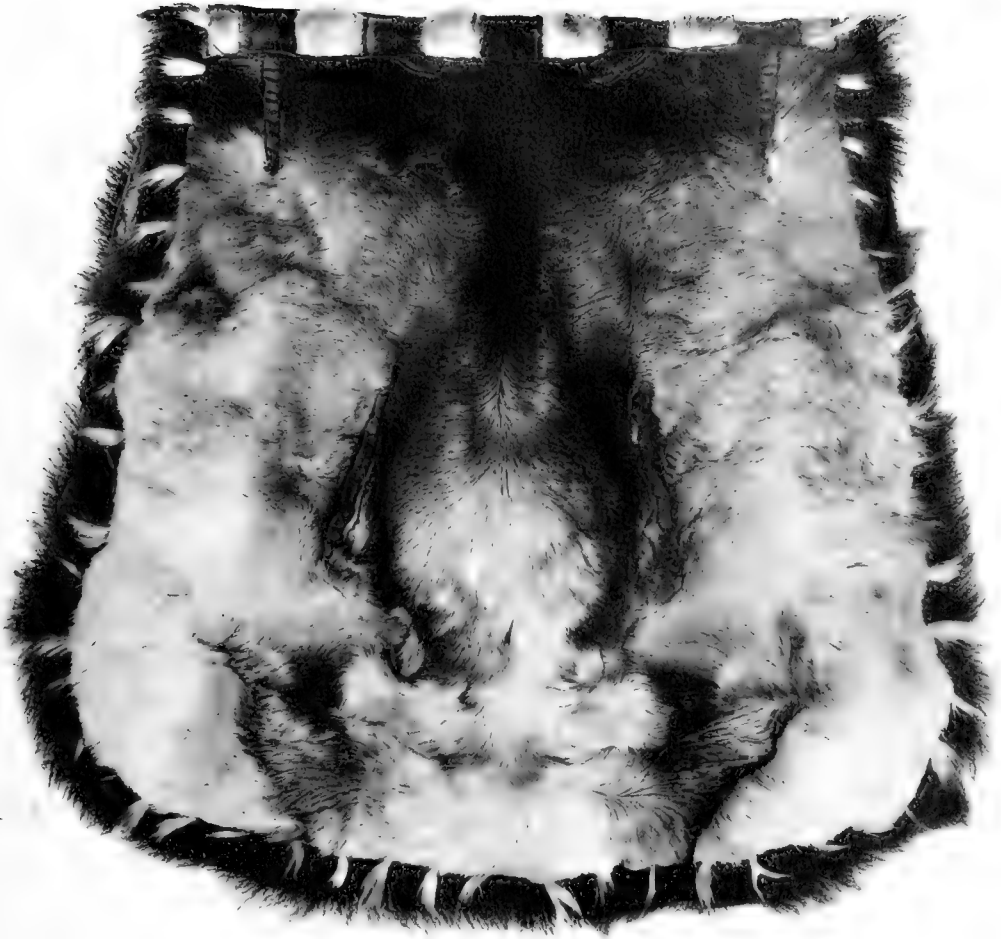


FIG. 50. Pack saddle cover (32045).





Field Museum of Natural History
Roosevelt Road at Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60605-2496
Telephone: (312) 922-9410

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



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