

6. The Changing Lifestyle

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6.1 Koryak Culture of the Past

The Chukchees and Koryaks live in north-eastern Siberia. They breed reindeer and lead a nomadic life, but at the same time, some of them live permanently on the coast, hunting sea mammals. According to the Russian researchers, when the Evens (indigenous reindeer herders) came into this region from the west in the 17th century, the Chukchees and Koryaks were already reindeer-herding nomads. Moreover, they got to adopt the Even way of breeding reindeer. As a matter of fact, the Evens mainly led their lives hunting in the Northern coniferous forests (taiga), and the few domesticated reindeer had been used as a means of transportation - people rode them, or they transported luggage on them. In fact, they hunted wild reindeer. On the other hand, the Chukchees and Koryaks controlled large numbers of reindeer, and used them as food. They domesticated part of the herd and used them to pull reindeer-sleighs, which carried people and luggage, but most of the reindeer were semi-wild. Therefore, in their nomadic life, humans were rather dependant on the ecology of the reindeer.

On the basis of the information given by the Russian researchers with whom I was working, the historical background of the Chukchees and Koryaks can be described as follows. From the 18th century to the midst of 19th century, the Chukchees that were living in the Anadiri River basin, which flows into the Bering Sea, spread their territory westward, occupying the basin of the Kolyma River - which flows into the Arctic Sea -, the Krosmazil River basin and the Indigirka River basin. However, in the late 19th century, much of the Chukchee population decreased due to the spread of disease. Consequently, the number of reindeer decreased, and the Chukchees living in the Kolyma River basin went back to the Anadiri River basin. In the 19th century, the number of reindeer bred per group of Chukchees was about 300-400 in the west, and a few groups had 2,000 reindeer, but the further east you went, the more they bred, reaching 5,000 at the most. The Chukchees living in the basin of the Indigirka River - that flows into the Arctic Sea -, and near the lower streams of Kolyma River, migrated to the coast in summer and went inland in winter. Chukchees who had migrated from the Anin River basin - a lower stream tributary of the Kolyma River - were living in the basin of the Amagon River - which is an upper stream tributary of the Kolyma River. They grazed their reindeer in the mountainous inland areas in summer, because the reindeer of other groups occupied the coast. Those who only had few reindeer gathered all of them and entrusted the management of the reindeer to one owner, while they hunted sea mammals on the coast. On the east coasts of the Arctic Sea, people made a living out of both reindeer breeding and hunting sea mammals.

The Chukchees living in the western side of the Chukotskii Peninsula, further

east of the Kolyma River, and north of the Anadiri River had been grazing reindeer on the largest scale. Among these, there were six large groups in the Anadiri River basin. In the northern upper reaches of the Anadiri River, there were 30 locations where the Anadiri-Chukchees lived; they migrated to the wetlands along the Anadiri River or the high mountainous areas in summer, and migrated to the forestlands in the valley in winter. On the northern side down stream, there were 60 residential locations where the Chonchuranskii and Onmorunskii-Chukchee lived. In summer, they went out to the Gulf of Anadiri and came in contact with the Coastal Chukchees who lived there. On the southern side of the Anadiri River, there were four relatively small regional groups; those living downstream migrated to the coasts in summer, and went inland in winter. In summer, they hunted seals and went fishing, where they came in contact with the Coastal Chukchees. Further south from them was where the Koryaks lived, and there were wars between them until the beginning of the 19th century. However, once they built a friendly relationship, the Chukchees spread their residential area to the south of the Anadiri River.

The Terkepskaya-Chukchees moved southward from the Bilikaya River, which is a tributary of the Anadiri River. They were the strongest among those present in the area, and didn't even obey the laws of that time; they were the group of people who took the initiative in the war between the Chukchees and the Koryaks. There were 50 residential units, each of which owned about 400-500 reindeer, and their population rose to 500 in the 19th century. In 1927, the local administration took a census, but since they were not given permission for this region, there is no statistical data left. And further south - actually, this region included where we were at that time - there was another group of people. However, since there are no statistical data regarding this region either, it is not clear whether there were Chukchees or Koryaks living here. As a matter of fact, the Russian researchers' principal interest lay in making that point clear, which was also the purpose of this expedition. In fact, the Birneiskii-Chukchees, which consisted of 500 people, lived east of this region, and the Waieguska-Chukchees, consisting of 130 people, lived west of the region. In the early 20th century, there were about 2,000 Chukchees living south of the Anadiri River; a total of 7,700-9,000 Chukchees grazed reindeer; and there were 650 locations where the Chukchees lived - half of which made a living by both sea mammal hunting and fishing. According to the statistics from 1927, excluding the Kolyma River basin, there were 1,328 nomadic groups, including 249 groups that also hunted sea mammals. The number of reindeer owned by each group did not exceed 1,000. There were 658 Chukchee groups living permanently on the coast, including 189 groups that also bred reindeer at the same time. Today, the Chukchees live mainly in the Chukotka Autonomous Region (Okrug) of the Magadan Oblast, which has a population of 14,000.

The Koryaks live in the northern half of the peninsula from the stem of the

peninsula. At the beginning of the 20th century, the *Chauchu* who grazed reindeer and the *Nyemran* who lived on the coast and hunted sea mammals were clearly segregated. The dialect differed largely between the Gizhigan area at the western stem of the peninsula and the Kamchatka area at the bottom of the peninsula. There were three regional groups living in the area facing the Okhotsk Sea on the west side of the stem of the peninsula. The Tygonos Group, mainly living in the Tygonos Peninsula, consisted of 381 people in 1897, and during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in 1900, Johelson counted 380. His studies regarding the Koryaks were, in fact, about this group. At the beginning of the 20th century, the number of reindeer decreased to 2,200 due to trading, epidemics and civil wars. Hence, they became engaged in sea mammal hunting and fishing. Part of the group went upstream and moved to the area that is currently the Magadan Oblast. However, their lives fell apart because the number of the reindeer decreased. The second group in the Gizhigan district lived in the area between the Tukhoi River and the Penzhina River, going further inland from the Gulf of Penzhinskii between the Tygonos Peninsula and the Kamchatka Peninsula. In 1850, in Czarist Russia, the record says 167 lived there. In 1930, there were 47 nomadic groups and 24,000 reindeer were herded. This group didn't hunt or fish very much, but were advanced in reindeer-herding. They migrated to the Yakranskaya Plateau that is upstream of the Tukhoi River in winter, and in summer they went to the Gulf of Penzhinskii. The third group lived on the east side of this group, consisting of 104 people in 1850. In fact, the numbers are not perfectly accurate, as is the case with the former group. Even today, the statistical numbers are only round figures. In 1932, 43 nomadic groups were herding a total of 28,000 reindeer. Among them, there were 8 groups that kept more than 1,000 reindeer, and one group had an extremely large herd of reindeer, consisting of 8,500. This region had perfect conditions for reindeer grazing, because the Koryak Plateau stopped the wind blowing from the sea in winter, and in summer, the wetland, that would become the reindeer's pasture land, expanded during the summer. However, the migration distance was 200-300 kilometres, which is very far for them to travel.

On the east side of the Koryak Plateau at the stem of the Kamchatka Peninsula lived another group of Koryaks. Actually, this was where we were at that moment. In 1897, the Russian administrator, Patkanov, left a record saying that there was a group of Apukas, consisting of 590 people upstream of the Apuka River. As a matter of fact, since they didn't pay taxes, this number is not accurate either. This region is surrounded by highlands located at the northeastern end of Siberia, and public transportation was poor, making it difficult for outsiders to visit them. At the same time, however, this was the centre of the region where they kept large herds of reindeer. Middle-sized herds held 2,000-5,000 reindeer. In winter, they migrated to the west side of the highlands, where there was little snow, and in summer, they moved to the coastal tundra. Their migration distance reached 300-400 kilometres.

Their residences were located halfway between the seasonal migration route of summer and winter, where women and the elderly stayed behind - only men migrated with the reindeer to the pastureland. The Chukchees occupied the northern side of the Paopao Plateau, located in the north. They were the group of Chukchees that had spread their territory to the south of Anadiri River. Therefore, the Chukchees and Koryaks came in contact with each other here, and lived together. Consequently, their culture has merged together and they have built a unique social relationship.

From the northern end of the Kamchatka Peninsula, which is the stem of the peninsula adjoining to the continent, to the middle of the peninsula, there is a point where the peninsula becomes narrow. The east side faces the Bering Sea and the west faces the Okhotsk Sea, and the width is only 80 kilometres - the narrowest spot in the peninsula. It is a flat wetland here, where the Koryak Plateau from the north and the central mountain range that runs along the middle of the peninsula both end. This area, called the Palapoliskii District, is the ecological border for the animals inhabiting the forestlands of the mountain range. For instance, no moose are seen further south than this. However, wetlands don't create an ecological border for reindeer. And the Koryaks graze reindeer further south from here in the peninsula. Among the Koryaks in this Kamchatka Peninsula area, there are people who hunt sea mammals on the coast and others that graze reindeer inland. At the same time, the relationship between them has been maintained; many reindeer are being bred in the mainland of the peninsula, while along the coastal areas there are few reindeer but people fish and hunt sea mammals such as seals.

If the number of reindeer owned by the Reindeer-herding Koryaks decreases due to diseases, they gather together a number of diminished herds. However, when this is impossible as well, they go out to the shore and make a living out of hunting sea mammals. Living in one place permanently is not easy for them. Therefore, even if they only own 10 reindeer, they lead a semi-nomadic life and try to avoid settling down in one place permanently. On the other hand, those who live in one place are always trying to become nomads. They make their daughters marry reindeer-herding nomads, and trade marine products for reindeer through this family relationship. When they manage to get several hundred reindeer, they become reindeer-herding nomads. But they still continue to maintain their relationship with the Coastal Koryaks who hunt sea mammals and live by the coast permanently. Considering this pattern, there are actually cases like the following: the sea mammal hunters buy reindeer a little by little every year, and when they reach over a hundred, some family members become reindeer-herding nomads. Then when the number of reindeer increases, the rest of the family joins them and they divide the reindeer among them.

Grazing reindeer, people can live without hunting or fishing. For example, the Chukchees that own large reindeer herds don't even go hunting inland. But since the

lasso, which is necessary for reindeer herding, is made of sealskin, they have to trade goods with the sea mammal hunters that live on the coast. Furthermore, not only the Koryaks and Chukchees that hunt sea mammals, but also the reindeer-herding nomads have continued trading with the Russians.

Currently, the Koryaks mainly live in the Koryak Autonomous Region (Okrug) in Kamchatka Oblast, where there are 6,000 Koryaks. Including the Koryaks of the other regions, the population is estimated to be somewhere near 8,000. The Koryak Autonomous Okrug is divided into four administrative districts; the west side of the stem of the peninsula is the Penzhinskii District, the east side is the Olyutorskii District, the west side of the northern half of the peninsula facing the Okhotsk Sea is the Tigiliskii District and the east side facing the Bering Sea is the Karaginskii District. The government office of the Autonomous Okrug is located at Palana in the Tigiliskii District, and the district that we had chosen as the research field is now in the Olyutorskii District on the east side of the peninsula. In this district, the south and east side faces the Bering Sea, the north end shares its border with Chukotskii Autonomous Okrug by the Koryak Plateau, and on the west side, the Koryak Plateau also draws the borderline between the Penzhinskii District of the Koryak

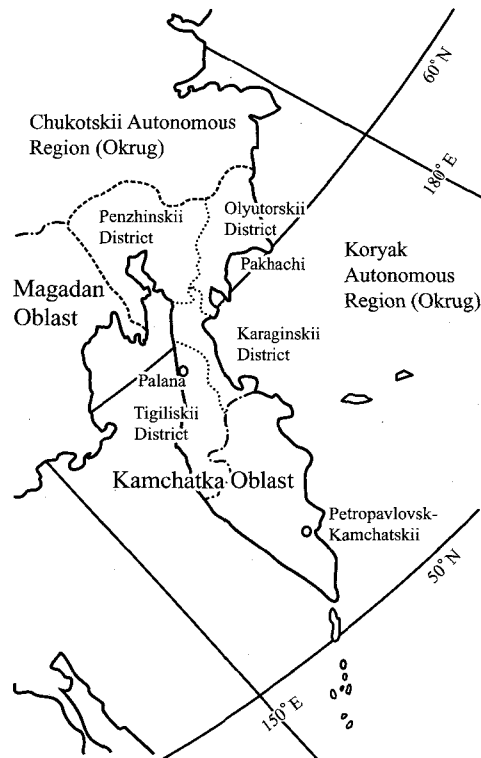


fig.3 Administrative divisions of Kamchatka Peninsula and adjacent areas. The four administrative divisions in the Koryak Autonomous Region (Okrug) within the peninsula are shown by dotted lines.

Autonomous Region. I decided to hear from Vakhtangov, Alekseev's father, about his experience of how the lifestyle of the Koryaks living here had changed.

6.2 The Changes in Reindeer Herding

"*Amtoh* (Hello)." Vakhtangov greeted me in Koryak loudly as he came in grinning. He was Alekseev's father, who was turning 71 that year. I decided to hear about the old days from him. Since it was his first experience to talk about such things in a logical order, it seemed like he started off with the things that had given him the strongest impressions. For instance, he talked about when the *kolkhoz* was first made, and then about the Japanese fishing base built along the coast. From what he told me, I vaguely learned that in their history, the *kolkhoz* was formed, then the *sovkhos*, and then the Upper Pakhachi Village was established upstream of the Pakhachi River, from which people eventually moved out and came to live in the current Srednie-Pakhachi Village. And as they went through each phase of this history, their lifestyle changed.

I wanted to hear from him how his lifestyle had changed from when he was a child to this day, without destroying his impression of the personal history that he had experienced. He lived in the village, but went out fishing or went to the tundra to gather bilberries, and was busy. So I got Alekseev and Natalia to contact him and whenever he had some spare time, I went to his house or I got him to come over to Alekseev's place to hear him about it little by little.

The biggest incident to affect their lifestyle was the establishment of the *kolkhoz* here in 1931. Until then, they had lived in a society where people mainly grazed reindeer, but this was organized into a collective farm called a *kolkhoz*. He said this had occurred in Usti-Pakhachi, which is at the river mouth of the Pakhachi River. A big meeting was held there. They didn't have any mechanical equipment at that time

Years	1931	1938/39	1956	1969	1993
Organizations and Settlements		Sovkhoz Korfskii (Korf in Vivenka River Region)	Sovkhoz Korfskii	Sovkhoz Korfskii	
	Chukotskii Kolkhoz (Upper Pakhaji)	Pakhajinskii branch of	Sovkhoz Pakhajinskii (Upper Pakhaji)	Sovkhoz Pakhajinskii (New Middle Pakhaji, Srednie Pakhaji, in 1972)	
	Koryakskii Kolkhoz (Old Middle Pakhaji) (Settlements in Pakhaji River Region)	Sovkhoz Korfskii (Upper Pakhaji, Old Middle Pakhaji)	Acheivayamskii branchi of Sovkhoz Pakhajinskii (Acheyvayam in Apuka River Region)	Sovkhoz Acheivayamskii	

fig.4 Changes of organization and relocation of settlements for the people in the Olyutorskii region of northern Kamchatka after 1931.

– they only had reindeer, dog-sleighs and wooden boats. Two *kolkhozes* were to be made in the Pakhachi Basin. The one upstream was the Chukotskii-Kolkhoz, whose official name was “Lenin’s Comrade.” The other one, called Koryakskii-Kolkhoz, was located a little downstream from the current Srednie-Pakhachi Village, and its official name was “General of the Red Army.” Then three *kolkhozes* were established in the Apuka Basin, which is located further to the east. The first one, called Koryakskii-Kolkhoz, was in Apuka, at the river mouth, the second one, called Chukotskii-Kolkhoz, was halfway upstream the Tilmy River, and the third one, called Evenskii-Kolkhoz, was near the present Achaivayam Village. In addition, in the Vivenka River Basin, located west from there, a *kolkhoz* was built near the current Khailino Village.

The people who gathered at Usti-Pakhachi decided to belong to the two *kolkhozes* that would be built along that river. The only difference between the Chukotskii-Kolkhoz and the Koryakskii-Kolkhoz was their names, and the Chukchees and Koryaks actually lived together. Vakhtangov himself belonged to the Koryakskii-Kolkhoz. In the Chukotskii-Kolkhoz upstream there were 300-400 members, while in the Koryakskii-Kolkhoz downstream there were less people. At that time, Vakhtangov says he was probably a boy aged about six or seven. He remembers going to an assembly at Usti-Pakhachi with his parents. If he were actually born in 1922, as he thinks, he would have been 9 years old in 1931. Anyway, this was 62 years ago.

Then I asked him about his life before 1931, and he started to talk about it. His parents kept a reindeer herd, but traded as well. They mainly lead their lives herding reindeer and hunting. When they hunted, they hunted fur animals and trap-hunted. They hunted otter, bears, lynx, wolverines and foxes. At the sea, they hunted two kinds of seals called *nyel’pa* and *wahatak* – they were only hunted for their fat. Sometimes, they hunted for walrus as well. However, since their migration route was far away, they seldom hunted them. Whales were also often seen, but they didn’t catch them. They usually didn’t hunt in spring, because the animals give birth to their young and the quality of their fur deteriorates during this season. Therefore, they hunted in the other seasons. His family owned 40-50 reindeer, and they lived with many families. His grandfather lived with his family. The relatives gathered all their reindeer herds into one, and together controlled 3,000 reindeer in total.

In summer, they went to the coast and migrated with the reindeer herd from Groznyi to Samnyenye. In winter they migrated to the inland mountainous areas. They went about 20 kilometres inland from the coast to the riverside of Imka River. This place was not so far from the present Khailino Village. During winter, they would migrate with the reindeer herd as they looked for a suitable place for the reindeer. There were 10 *yananas* pitched all together, in each of which lived a family. There wasn’t a special name for the place where they lived, which changed its

location every year. In fact, not all the villagers migrated with the reindeer. Children and the elderly stayed in one place. Men mainly did the reindeer management, but the reindeer owners took their wives and children with them to spend the winter migrating. They didn't want to pay people who were not related to them. Those who didn't have many children also migrated together with the reindeer, without taking along big luggage.

From autumn till the following March, they used American rifles and traps to hunt. In fact, they usually used Czarist Russian guns, made before the Russian Revolution. They hunted bears from April till early May, because they would just be coming out of hibernation and their fur would be of high quality then. They also used wooden traps to catch rabbits, bears and wolverines. Bear traps are called *lejip* in Koryak; when a bear enters the frame made of wooden stakes, the log that was suspended above diagonally is released and falls on top of the bear. They also caught snow grouse with wooden traps and loop traps. They hunted sea mammals from the beginning of September for a month or two until ice formed on the surface of the sea. They also hunted in March before the seals gave birth to pups. They didn't sea-hunt on the ice, but hunted in ice-free waters. Here they also used standard rifles and small-bore rifles, which used different sized bullets. In fact, until the mid 1950's,

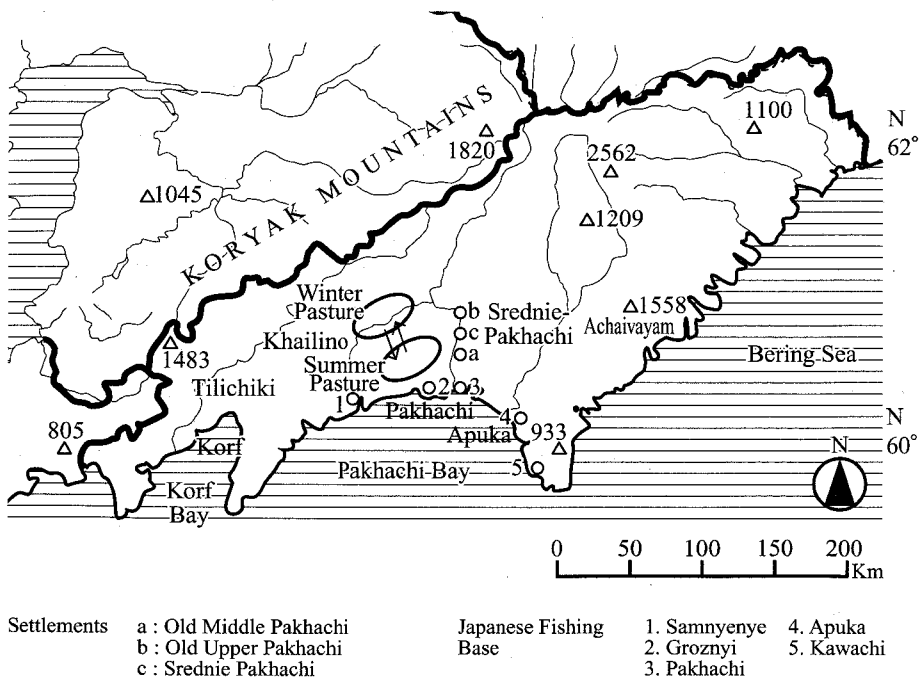


fig.5 Areas used for reindeer herding by Vakhtangov's herding unit before 1956, and the settlements and the Japanese fishing bases.

all the hunters had Winchester rifles that were made in America. In summer, they started fishing from late May, but fishing was not their main means of livelihood – it was only to earn some food for themselves and their dogs. They dried salmon roe, or *ikura*, and used it as provisions. They didn't salt it down, nor did they sell the fish or salmon roe. In September, when bilberries grew on the tundra, they stopped catching fish and collected bilberries. They also put some of the bilberries inside an iron pot and fermented them, using an old rifle-barrel, to make alcohol. (In the older days, the young didn't drink alcohol. Only the elderly drank a little bit of their home-fermented alcohol drinks.) They never fished in the ocean, only in the rivers. They sometimes used American fishing nets, but normally people used homemade nets. The women cut down a shrubby tree about a meter high, and removed the fibre inside by beating it, then twined it into threads. Then they weaved them into a net. From the same fibre, women made bags too.

According to Vakhtangov, there were no major changes in his lifestyle after the *kolkhoz* was established in 1931. They owned their reindeer herds as they had before, and continued their nomadic life. This owed to the fact that the *kolkhoz* was not an organization formed to make profit, but was a formalistic collective farming system. It was not until 1956, when the *kolkhoz* was converted into a *sovkhos* – a state-run farm – that their lifestyle changed. So he told me about his lifestyle after 1931. It was in 1935 when the last American trader came. Japanese traders and fishermen had also been coming into this region. In those days Russians seldom came, but after the *kolkhoz* was established many Russians visited the area. Consequently, their lifestyle changed gradually. Large vessels came to Pakhachi and many rifles, a lot of food, salt and other implements were traded. He said he remembers bags of flour, salt, tea and hunting gear being unloaded from American ships. Then Vakhtangov started to talk, as if recalling the older days, about what had happened the first time the Koryaks had seen pigs.

“It happened in Grozny. There was a fishing base established there, where Russians lived and kept pigs. One day, some Koryaks visited this place on a dog-sleigh. The pigs got scared and made loud grunts. The Koryaks were frightened of these animals because they had never seen such an animal as a pig. They thought it was some kind of animal from the sea, and started to fire at the pigs with their rifles. They killed some 20 pigs. Then they examined the animals, and wondered why they had such short tails and odd faces without a muzzle. In the end, they thought that god must have given them this animal.”

As he finished telling his tale, Vakhtangov smiled. The Koryaks' first encounter with pigs had been passed on as an old tale among them. He then talked about the Japanese fishery bases. He remembered there had been four bases. One had been located near the Pakhachi River Mouth, the second in Grozny, where there was a

small cape, the third at a cove called Samnyenye, and the fourth at Korf, which is a gulf at the Vivenka River Mouth. He said that refrigerators had been built there filled with ice to keep the fish in them. It reminded me of the story told to me by the old lady from the tundra whom I had met as soon after I first arrived at that village. She had repeatedly told me how she had gone to where the Japanese lived and had eaten rice porridge, which she thought was delicious. It must have been from this same period of time. She talked about things that happened at Apuka, at the mouth of the Apuka River, which meant that there had been a Japanese fishery base there too. Slava, Alekseev's son, who had crossed the Apuka River and reached the eastern coast grazing his reindeer, had told me before that there was a place with a Japanese name, called "Kawachi." It used to be a Japanese fishery base, and its remains are still left there. Until the Second World War the Japanese had come to this northern coast of the Northern Pacific in search for fish. As a matter of fact, at that time, all of the Chishima (Kurile) Islands up to the end of Kamchatka Peninsula was Japanese territory along with the southern half of Sakhalin. Considering the fact that many northern sea fisheries were built along the west coast of Kamchatka Peninsula facing the Okhotsk Sea, it probably wasn't anything to be surprised about.

Vakhtangov also told us that the pastureland for herding the reindeer didn't change in 1931 or thereafter. Reindeer grazing was done in the same locations as before until 1956, when a special investigation squad was sent into this region under the Khrushchev Government, and all areas were divided into *sovkhoses* and into pasture lands within a *sovkhos*. Actually, Chukotskii-Kolkhoz and Koryakskii-Kolkhoz were just the names of the organizations and there were no villages there at first.

Then he talked about a festival held in December. In fact, this festival was something that had begun long before 1931, and more than any other subject it was the topic he talked to me about most enthusiastically. The New Year started on a full moon at the end of December. Life was not so tough in winter. It was time to rest. The herders who grazed reindeer got ready for a competition. This was a special competition, at which many relatives gathered, and prepared special prizes. Among the events, there was a reindeer-sleigh race called *koeyalan* in Koryak, a kind of wrestling called *ininki*, and a walking race called *kichauchetoginen*.

The prizes for the reindeer-sleigh were things like sleighs, rifles, bullets, female reindeer or fishing nets. Sometime the racing distance was as far as 40 kilometres in one direction. There were prizes for positions up to third or fourth place, and about 30 people participated in the race. The race was held using doubled-towed reindeer-sleighs, on which the competitors rode. Dog-sleigh races were also held. They ran the same distance as the reindeer-sleigh races, and the prizes were similar as well. There were no special prizes for wrestling. Two men stripped themselves to the waist and grappled with each other in a manner similar to freestyle wrestling.

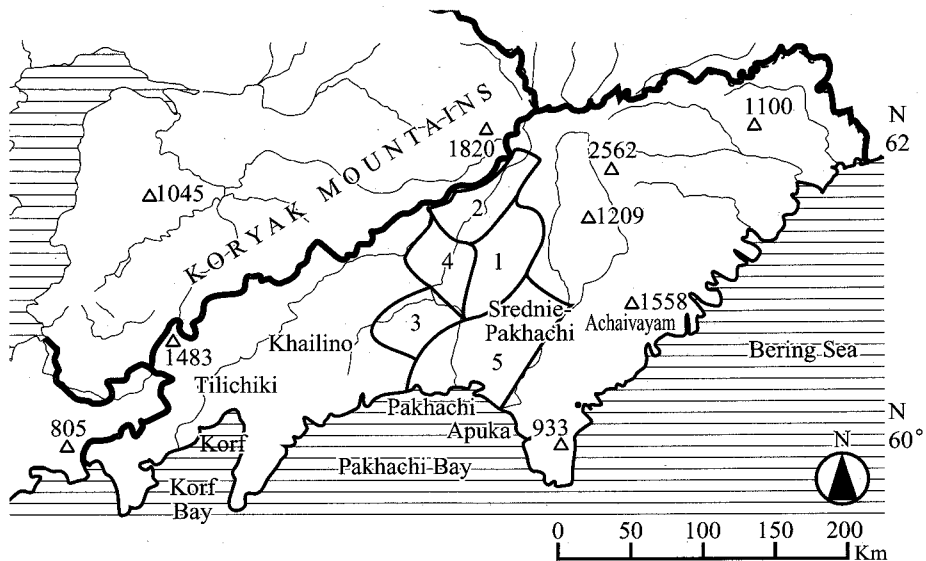


fig.6 Division of the pasture land in Sovkhoz Pakhachinskii after 1956.

The wrestler who managed to pin his opponent's shoulders to the ground was the winner. The match could be held anywhere. In winter it could be held on the soft snow, and in summer on level ground where it was safe. In a walking race, the person who walked 40 kilometres the fastest won the race. The competitors dressed lightly. They trained a special person for this race daily, thus this person didn't work daily and concentrated on training. Usually, this was done in winter. In order to walk, they only wore short shoes without snowshoes or skis. Even when the snow got deep, they didn't use any special equipment.

These festivals were held in between the reindeer rituals in December. There were similar competitions held in September as well. Nowadays however these events are no longer held in September, because it is time to harvest the grass for the cattle kept at the *sovkhos*. Vakhtangov said that they used to be able to hold the races because they weren't as busy since they did not have any cattle. Then he remembered another competition. It was a ball game called *kohaplitokolam*, which was played between two teams – men against women. One player throws a ball made of reindeer hide called *hape* to someone on the opposite team; if that person can't catch the ball and is hit, he has to leave the team. If he catches the ball, then he throws it back to someone else on the other team. When there is no one left in the team, that team loses. The prizes were materials for making clothes, beads and jewellery such as earrings. They used to call the place where they traded "*yalmalka*." Although it was not one fixed place, they traded their goods here. And this was where they played the ball game. Sometimes it would be at a place going upstream the Pakhachi River, or

at other times it would be at Apuka. This game was held at ceremonies too, although not as many people participated then. Compared to that, when it was held at the trading site, the place was lively with many people from all over Kamchatka.

I had heard not only Vakhtangov but also Alekseev and his son Slava talk about the festivals with great delight. The festivals were the events they looked forward to the most, both in the olden days and nowadays.

When I was hearing about the reindeer-sleigh race, it reminded me that Alekseev had told me about the symbolic reindeer race they performed using sticks. From his explanation, he had already held this reindeer race twice that year. The competitors bring to the host of the race two sticks about 25-40 centimetres long tied together with a string as if to tie a real reindeer to the sleigh. Alekseev lets the villagers know before hand that he will hold the race. He gives cigarettes as a treat to the people who have gathered and tells them to go from there to a tree that can be seen in the distance, and come back going around that tree. The tree would be about 500 meters away. At the starting point are set prizes that are offered by Alekseev, who is the host of the race. They could be anything he cares to offer. For instance, they could be a motorboat engine, a herd of reindeer or a sewing needle. Competitors lay their sticks in one line in the direction of the tree in the distance. Then the last person in the line takes his symbolic reindeer made of sticks to the front of the procession. Repeating this procedure, the line of the reindeer-sleigh moves forward little by little as the reindeer at the back of the line proceeds to the front one after another. They go around the appointed tree and return to the starting point, which is the goal. Then the first person to reach the prize is the winner. Even if a competitor comes very close to a prize, he can't win unless he reaches it – the first to reach it is the winner. What's more, not only the person who reaches the prize, but also the last one in that line becomes the winner at the same time. As a matter of fact, this reindeer-sleigh race is held when an elder sees a dream telling him that they had better hold a race. Based on this advice, Alekseev decides to hold a reindeer-sleigh race and lets the villagers know. The race is held when many fawns are born that year in the host's herd, or when the host has many goods to give out for some reason.

It was interesting for me to compare the Koryak's symbolic reindeer-sleigh race with the way the North American reindeer hunters distribute their game. The Northern Forest Indians of Canada bring back the reindeer to the campsite, and the people there take it. The reindeer is not a personal possession, but is divided among all those living together at the camp, including those who visited the camp that day. On the other hand, among the nomadic Koryaks, the reindeer are possessions belonging to each family. The cuts in the reindeer's ears identify who the owner is. Therefore it is impossible for a family to take advantage of the many fawns born in someone else's family. Each family controls the reindeer by paying the closest attention to the reindeer's health, working to graze them, offering food to

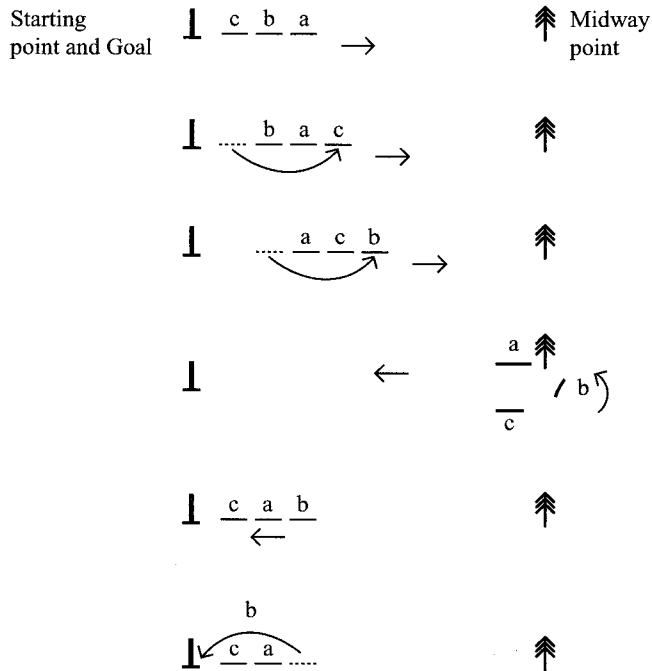


fig.7 Symbolic reindeer race, in which b is the winner.

the *Gichigi* – which is their guardian deity – and sacrificing reindeer to the various spirits. However, in reality there are people who lose their reindeer due to diseases, accidents or harsh weather. In order to solve the inequality in the distribution of wealth, they must have devised a new system to divide their resources. I guess this is the other hidden meaning of the symbolic reindeer-sleigh race.

Such a meaning might also lie behind the other prize-giving races, or the ceremonious rule to make the guests take home the leftover meat when they prepare a special reindeer-meat meal at various ceremonies. They don't do it by giving a grand feast like the Potlatch of the Northwest Coast Indians, and they don't try to make people acknowledge what is happening there socially. Nevertheless, it is true that these customs are contributing to the redistribution of wealth.

In fact, the redistribution of wealth through competitions must have more of a symbolic significance rather than a practical effect. When I had first gone to Alekseev's house, he had asked me how the Japanese received their guests. He treated us to a gorgeous meal laid out all over the table. I had vaguely answered his question, but was thinking about it because I couldn't find an accurate answer to it, when he said to me, "Here, it is said that the household will prosper when we treat guests." He had explained to me the Koryak tradition. On another day, as an answer to his question, I told him about an old Japanese tale of the god of wealth and the

god of poverty. I told him that the god of wealth lived in the houses of warm-hearted people, thus making them wealthy, while the god of poverty lived in the houses of those who envied others and were cold-hearted, thus leaving them in poverty no matter how hard they worked. Then Alekseev nodded and said, "In the Koryak tradition too, they say when you envy other people's things or talk behind their back, the same thing happens to yourself. For example, if you wish someone would break their leg, it happens to you." The possession of reindeer results in differences of economic status between people. So naturally people may well envy others or feel jealous. As Alekseev told me, the Koryak "tradition" had created a social precept that it was not good to act that way. At the same time however, by devising a system where the rich offer their wealth as prizes and redistribute it not according to personal ability but by luck, those with wealth can evade the envy of others and ensure their equality among them.

As a matter of fact, the phrase "redistribution of wealth" is an economic term, but the Koryaks must interpret it as a circulation of articles. The belief that the household prospers when you treat your guests is based precisely on the belief that the very act of treating another or the gifts themselves will then come back to your own place. Therefore, the host of the race who offers the prizes must believe that those things will eventually return to him. I had seen among the Canadian reindeer hunters how one article never remained as a single person's possession. People traded their hats and gloves freely. Those who didn't were called "*asiganintan* (miser)." The heavy winter coat which, taking a deep breath, I had given to a friend, was passed on to his friend who came to show it to me proudly the following day. Things were circulated from one person's hands to another's, building their human relationships and keeping them active. The sense of equality among the hunters – where a single person didn't hoard their possessions – is still living in the society of the reindeer-herding Koryaks, though it has changed its form in the rituals and festivals.

Moreover, it is important that the Koryak's symbolic reindeer-sleigh race is held at the prompting of an elderly person's dream. This elderly person, who is "an experienced person," observes the human relationships within society, and makes adjustments in the relationships by using the dream – a supernatural power. Even though they never use the term "shaman," they definitely practice shamanism here. The symbolic reindeer-sleigh race is a festival or a competition where people gather and have fun, just like the real reindeer-sleigh race. But beyond it lies their traditional way of thinking about the circulation of things and human relationships that the "experienced person" adjusts by using his dream power. There they reconfirm the equality of all people, recognizing both the rich and the poor alike are the fellow members of the society.

According to Vakhtangov, the situation changed remarkably after 1956. The

Khrushchev Government introduced the state-run farming system, the *sovkhov*, saying that the *kolkhoz* was not profitable. The *sovkhov* was different from the *kolkhoz* as it was profit making and the labourers were paid. They husbanded cattle, cultivated pasture and harvested it, milked the cows and made butter. Consequently, the *sovkhov* needed many people. Vakhtangov said that he worked all year round and all summer mowing the pasture for the cattle. The work was organized according to strict regulations and he said it was tough work from sunrise till sunset. They apparently worked harder than they did at the time I interviewed them. Their working hours were defined as 7 am to 5 pm, but in reality they never checked the clock. Moreover, in 1956, a special investigative team was sent from the government to divide the reindeer's pasture. The reindeer were divided into *sovkhov*-owned ones and individually owned ones, which made people work not for their own reindeer herd, but for the *sovkhov*-owned reindeer herds. Because the government split the pasture into lots, the places for seasonal migrations changed, and their lifestyle, which had been integral to reindeer herding, fell apart. Their nomadic lifestyle in a *yanana* on the tundra altered to living permanently in a village house. For Vakhtangov, 1956 was a year of drastic change – so drastic he couldn't possibly over-emphasize it – along with 1931 when the *kolkhoz* was first established.

In fact, as I heard him talk in detail, I learned that this change was not something that happened in 1956 for the first time, but had been gradually taking place from the end of the 1930's. I say so because the change had already started to take place between 1938 and 1939 along the Vivenka River, which flows on the west side of the Pakhachi River. That year the Sovkhov-Korfskii was established and its headquarters were set up in Khailino Village. Subsequently the *kolkhozes* at Pakhachi and Achaivayam became the local branches of this new *sovkhov*. Vakhtangov didn't seem very interested whether the former Chukotskii-Kolkhoz and Koryakskii-Kolkhoz had existed until 1956 as *kolkhozes*, or whether they had already been reorganized as *sovkhoves* between 1938 and 1939. They most probably existed as what they had originally been, because Vakhtangov referred to their organization as "*kolkhoz*" up until 1956, in the same way he did when he talked about them after 1931.

From 1931 to 1940, two villages were built corresponding to the *kolkhoz* organizations along the Pakhachi River. One was Upper-Pakhachi Village upstream, and the other was Mid-Pakhachi Village about two kilometres downstream from the present Srednie-Pakhachi Village. Wooden houses were built, covered with soil to protect them from the winter chill. Vakhtangov and his villagers carried timber upstream and built them. There were about 20 of these houses in each village, and from then people lived in them permanently. However, many of them lived outside the village, so many *yananas* were seen all around the tundra. His family still lives in a *yanana* on the tundra. In addition, many families left the area, counting on their

relatives living in other regions because they didn't want to live permanently in a village. In 1940, cattle were introduced for the first time, resulting in the increase of labour for the cattle.

After the *kolkhoz* was established, people gave their reindeer to the government.

"The meaning of the word *kolkhoz* is collectivization, but people gave their reindeer to the government," said Vakhtangov. "At their own will," he added. This was certainly an official expression. He never criticized the government directly in front of Sergei, the Russian researcher. Actually, Sergei had remarked to me in an objective way, "the government had merely deprived the people of their reindeer." As a matter of fact, after 1940, adult men could privately own 25 reindeer per person, but the rest were to be owned by the *kolkhoz*.

"Before the *kolkhoz* was established, anyone could own as many reindeer as they could breed," said Vakhtangov. Sergei explained to me what Vakhtangov, who just smiled, didn't say out loud, as follows: "After the *kolkhoz* was set up, it became convenient for the government to make people pay tribute to them. It was convenient for the government to have people live in one place, rather than have them scattered leading a nomadic life. They succeeded in seizing the reindeer. For instance, during World War 2, many reindeer were requisitioned by the government."

After 1956, Vakhtangov moved from Mid-Pakhachi, which was where Koryakskii-Kolkhoz was located, to Upper-Pakhachi. In Mid-Pakhachi, the tundra became very icy, which were bad conditions for reindeer-herding. Two villages located along the Pakhachi River were merged into one. The government invested funds in the Upper-Pakhachi Village, and houses, schools, clinics and shops were built. Vakhtangov said it was convenient living there, but because of the pasture division some people got areas in poor conditions and others got areas in better condition. This situation still exists to this day, and the grazing land in the Pakhachi Basin is divided into five divisions. Four of them are used to graze the reindeer from the *sovkhos* and the remaining one is used to graze the reindeer herd, which is a mixture of privately owned reindeer. These divisions do not suit their traditional reindeer-herding cycle, in which they go to the coast in summer and migrate inland in winter. This is because out of the five divisions, dividing the Pakhachi River Basin into three parts from upstream to midstream made three. One of them covers only mountainous areas and the last one includes the coast and the highlands behind it.

Nevertheless, when I asked Slava, who is a herder of private-owned reindeer, his seasonal migration with the herd he controls extended over at least four of these divisions, crossing their boundaries. As a matter of fact, there is an agreement among the *sovkhos*. Here in the Olyutorskii District, going west to east, there is the Vivenka River, Pakhachi River and Apuka River, and the land is divided among the three *sovkhos*, which are roughly located near Khailino Village, Srednie-Pakhachi Village and Achaivayam Village. The land is owned by the government, but they are

table.4 Social and economic changes among the people in the Olyutorskii district of northern Kamchatka after 1931.

Years	Events
1931	Chukotskii-Kolkhoz and Koryakskii-Kolkhoz were established at Upper Pakhachi and at Old Middle Pakhachi.
1938 / 39	Both <i>kolkhoz</i> became to be a branch of Sovkhoz-Korfskii. But, the traditional way of life was not basically changed.
1956	Sovkhoz-Pakhachinskii was established. Pasture land was divided under the agricultural policy by Khrushcheyev.
1969	Sovkhoz-Acheivayamskii was established. The settlement of Old Middle Pakhachi was abandoned, and the people moved to Upper Pakhachi.
1972	The settlement of Upper Pakhachi was abandoned, and the people moved to the newly established settlement of Srednie (Middle) Pakhachi.
1985	<i>Perestroika</i> . Gorbachev, Mikhail S., the General Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee.
1990	Collapse of USSR. Yeltsin, Boris N., Chairman of the Russian Supreme Council.
1991	Yeltsin, Boris N., The Russian President.

leasing the land on a 25-year lease, and they have to renew the contract after that. However, if a reindeer herd from Pakhachi, for example, wants to reach the eastern coast, it has to cross Achaivayam's territory, which produces friction between the two *sovkhoses* regarding the use of land. Therefore, when there's bad weather or lack of moss, which is the reindeer's food, a reindeer herd can join another herd or they can use another *sovkhos*'s land without special permission. To cross the borders within the *sovkhos* was considered rather natural, taking into consideration the reindeer's ecology, and it was considered much more difficult to complete the annual reindeer-herding cycle within one division.

In 1959-60, three years after the government's special investigative team had divided the land into divisions, the Pakhachi Branch of Sovkhoz-Korfskii became Sovkhoz-Pakhazhinskii. The former Sovkhoz-Korfskii was divided into two small *sovkhoses*. One of them was Sovkhoz-Korfskii, whose headquarters were at Khailino, and the other became Sovkhoz-Pakhazhinskii, whose headquarters were at Upper-Pakhachi. Consequently, the Achaivayam Branch of the former Sovkhoz-Korfskii became a local branch of Sovkhoz-Pakhazhinskii. Then in 1969 the headquarters of Sovkhoz-Pakhazhinskii moved from Upper-Pakhachi Village to Achaivayam Village. As a result, Pakhachi then became a branch of Sovkhoz-Pakhazhinskii. After that, three *sovkhoses* were reorganized as independent

sovkhoses in the Vivenka Basin, Pakhachi Basin and Apuka Basin, called Sovkhoz-Korfskii, Sovkhoz-Pakhazhinskii and Sovkhoz-Achaivayamskii, all of which still exist today. The official name of Sovkhoz-Achaivayamskii when it was reestablished was *pyatidesyatilet SSSR* (Fiftieth Anniversary of the Soviet Union), which they say is still used today.

In 1972, all the residents in Upper-Pakhachi Village moved to the present Srednie-Pakhachi. There were much snow during that year, and when the snowmelt overflowed many houses were flooded. In Upper-Pakhachi Village, Vakhtangov was living in a log house he had built with his family because it was a lot warmer than living in the houses given out by the government. This was how Vakhtangov moved from the tundra to Mid-Pakhachi Village, which is now in ruins, then to Upper-Pakhachi Village, also in ruins, and finally to Srednie-Pakhachi Village, which is where we were at that time. Supposedly, there are living now in this village, all the reindeer-herding Koryaks and Chukchees of the Pakhachi River Basin.

Vakhtangov recalled this history and continued. "Before 1931, I was living with my brother, uncle and grandfather, and our reindeer herd had reached 3,000. This went on until 1940, but after that, my family could only own 50 reindeer, which we supplied to the government as provisions for World War 2. At that time, the *kolkhoz* only owned 200 reindeer. After World War 2, there were no good reindeer managers. This must be one of the reasons why the number of reindeer decreased. Three years prior to this, my son Alekseev and I had owned and controlled a total of 100 reindeer. But people didn't need to keep large reindeer herds anymore, because they could work for the *sovkhos* and get paid. The rest of the reindeer were managed by the *sovkhos*. In 1956, Sovkhoz-Pakhazhinskii had 18,000 reindeer, and besides them there were 5,000 privately owned reindeer. However, at the moment in 1993, there are only 12,000 reindeer in the *sovkhos*, and only 2,000 private-owned reindeer. Ever since 1976, the government has been making the *sovkhos* produce 3-4 tons of reindeer meat annually."

6.3 The Changing Style of Houses

The *kolkhoz* and *sovkhos* brought about a drastic change not only to the Koryak's pattern of seasonal migration but also to the style of their houses. Traditionally, they lived in semi-spherical tents called *yanana* made of reindeer hide. The Chukchees call them *yaranga*. In this region, they are also officially called *yurta*, as that is the Russian name for the similarly shaped tents that the Central Asian nomads use. In traditional reindeer herding - which went on till 1940 according to Vasiliev's story - they pitched the *yananas* at the place between the winter and the summer grazing lands. During the summer, the elderly, women and children lived there and only the men went to the coast with the reindeer. When the reindeer herd came back in autumn the whole family migrated to the winter grazing

land with their *yanana*.

After the *sovkhos* was established, a village formed where people lived permanently, and the elderly, women and children got to live throughout the year in houses built in the village. As a result, the *yananas* were the first things to disappear. Children went to school in the village and people went to the cinema and visited shops to buy alcohol. The children's parents continued to live on the tundra, thus having to live far apart from their children. This all happened in the 50 years after the war. While they had led their traditional lifestyle, they had never been far apart from the reindeer at any time during the year. In winter, they had migrated together with the reindeer, and the family had lived together. They had also educated their children within that lifestyle.

In the course of collectivization, the government thought that the reindeer-herding nomads should have their own schools, hospitals and shops. They promoted this idea with the backing of the Soviet authorities. As a result, the traditional culture and language of the Koryaks were bound to be lost. Small camps were gathered and made into villages, which made it easier for the administration to control people. The villages were incorporated within a *sovkhos* and the land was owned by the *sovkhos*. This was how the traditional lifestyle was disrupted. The reindeer herders continued to live on the tundra, but their wives and children ended up staying behind in the village. The chiefs of the *sovkhos* villages mostly weren't local people, but were Russians or Ukrainians. Under the present circumstances, children go to vocational colleges outside the village after graduating from high school in the village. Then they either return to the village and work in the administrative office, or chose to work on the tundra after finishing school in the village.

Since the *sovkhos* has been established, they have been using small tents with a triangular-pyramid shaped roof made of reindeer hide as their houses. This modern tent, compared to a traditional *yanana*, is lighter and is easy to move. When they move, they use two reindeer-sleighs, as they used to do when moving a *yanana*. One reindeer-sleigh is used to transport the reindeer hide used as the walls and roofs of the tent, and the other smaller reindeer-sleigh is used to carry the tent poles. This makes it easier to move over the snow. They once tried to introduce the use of portable tents, but they found that they couldn't use things made from iron because their hands would stick to them when they touched them: the winter temperature in this area being so low. Consequently, their small modern tents are still made of reindeer fur and wood, just as the *yananas* were.

In order to pitch a tent, they choose a place where the surrounding hills and mountains protect them from the wind, and where there is wood to use as fuel. Once the location is chosen, they level the ground by using a shovel made from a wooden shaft with a flat triangular reindeer scapula attached to the end. Then they pitch the tent, which I had seen them set up some time ago. Soon after I got to the village,

Natalia took me to the tundra and showed me how an old man, who was a friend of hers, pitched a tent to live out the winter. At the front - where the entrance is - and back of the tent they set two poles on each side, and then put a pole across each of them, which became the beam. Then from the outer side of the two linked poles, they set Y-shaped poles on each side so they wouldn't fall over, tied a line on either side of the linked poles and pulled them down and fixed them to the ground. Over this framework they put a roof made of reindeer hides sewn together. When the wind is strong, they control the tent height by spreading the lower part of the combined poles. This is how they construct the traditional *yananas* as well.

Going through the entrance, there is an iron stove on the side immediately to the left, and the stovepipe is placed outside the tent. This stove is used for heating and cooking. Farthest from the entrance, they make the place for the bedroom. They cover the floor with pine needles and on top of that they spread reindeer's winter fur. This also looks the same as a traditional *yanana*. Inside a *yanana*, they made a small square room as the bedroom. However, in this modern tent, instead of making a little room, they sleep inside a bag made of reindeer hide. In fact, they still point their heads toward the entrance, as they did in *yananas*. Sleeping bags for one person have a small vertical opening at the bottom: through this, the person enters the bag head first so he ends up sleeping with the bag pulled over his head. In fact, sleeping bags for married couples are larger than this with a big opening on the front. They take the greatest care not to get the sleeping bags moist. In the daytime, they roll the sleeping bags up and put them by the fire. Moreover, people don't sit on them, so as to prevent the reindeer fur from getting bent and broken. As the shafts of hair are hollow, the heating effect is lost if they break.

People spend most of their time in the tent. In winter, the temperature difference between the inside and outside the tent increases. To protect the inside of the tent from moisture, people work outside. This is also a common factor with the lifestyle in a traditional *yanana*. They also don't make the fire burn very strongly in the stove. If the stove gets hot, condensation forms inside the tent. When people come back to the tent in the evening, they drink tea and eat their meals, then go to sleep. In the morning, the women get up and make tea. Then the men get up as well, drink tea, and everybody goes outside.

When living in tents, they are most careful to avoid dampness; when people come back from outside, they shake off the snow from their clothes before entering the tent. When they do this, they use a stick called *tejyigivin* to beat the snow off. Even today, this stick is not only used to get the snow off, but to beat the frozen moisture off the sleeping bag when it is taken outside in the mornings. They also take the sleeping bags outside to get rid of lice. In the same way it is very important to protect clothes from dampness. If they get damp, they are easily damaged. That is why they have to get the snow off their fur clothing. They dry the clothes by hanging

them inside the tent. Below the main beam, they string up another wooden pole - parallel to the beam - from which they can hang their clothes. This is somewhat different from the traditional lifestyle in a *yanana*, where they hung their clothes inside their bedroom. The winter clothes are double-layered. When they come inside the tent, they take them off and hang them inside out over a wooden pole. When they light the stove, the inside of the tent suddenly becomes hot. They don't need to wear their heavy winter clothing inside, which means they also take off their winter boots called *plaket* - the upper part is made of fur from the reindeer's legs and the sole is made of seal skin or the skin from reindeer's hooves.

Ever since the *sovkhos* was established people have been using small modern tents for reindeer herding and family life in *yananas* has disappeared. A working party called brigade, which consists of five to six men and two women per herd, grazes the reindeer in winter. There are only two women, because the *sovkhos* is based on a system that says it will only pay up to two women. As a matter of fact, there have been cases where four women have worked under the wages of two, and split the wages equally between them. In the *sovkhos* of Srednic-Pakhachi Village now, all the women who want to go accompany the men, and everyone is paid. However, the *sovkhos* is out of funds at the moment, and the wages aren't paid. In summer, only men graze the reindeer, taking along with them a small canvas tent. Nowadays, and in the traditional lifestyle as well, when there are not many male herders women can accompany them.

By the way, a few years ago, they attempted a new method of building a base in the summer pastureland. Up to that time, necessities such as tea or food had been packed on the back of horses or put on sleighs pulled by tractors for the herders that led their herds on foot. They had been left in the midst of the grazing land once every 2-3 days to facilitate the herders' daily life. The idea of the house was to put a small hut on a sleigh and leave it in the middle of the summer grazing land. This became a place where the herders could come once every few days and wash themselves, receive what they needed and take a break watching TV. One was built for each working party that belonged to the *sovkhos* of the village. In addition, this idea had been extended to schools and clinics, but in the end, it didn't go well and was discontinued. In the village, there still remains a weather-beaten wooden hut built on top of a sleigh.

Actually, looking at it from the viewpoint of how they graze reindeer, the current manner is not radically different from the traditional way. That is to say, in the traditional system there was the master of the reindeer herd, his assistant and four to five other herders. The master lived with his family in a *yanana* in winter, and the other herders and assistants also lived with their families in *yananas*. In the *sovkhos* system, the head of the working party that manages the reindeer herd plays the role of the former "master." He lives with his wife in a small modern tent, but the others

work herding reindeer without their children or wives. However, the two women who accompany the party are most often the wives of the male party members, so some men do get to live with their wives. These women are good at cooking; sewing together reindeer fur and making clothes, while some of the other women who don't join the working party drink alcohol in the village.

The difference between the *sovkhos* way of grazing reindeer and the traditional way is that the quality of the party-leader's assistant is dropping. In the traditional manner of grazing, the assistant was a very experienced person who worked as his master's right-hand man. Nowadays, on the other hand, the *sovkhos* assistant can be a young man, just out of the local high school. Even the head of the party seems rather unenthusiastic managing the reindeer herd because he is not managing his own reindeer herd but is merely working as a wage earner. This is what Vasiliev meant when he said that there weren't any good reindeer herders now that the *sovkhos* had been established.

"A good master increases his herd, but a drunken master that doesn't work loses his reindeer," says Alekseev. That is why he and his father Vasiliev don't drink alcohol. If a reindeer herd is left alone, it will divide itself into small herds and go off somewhere. Since they are semi-wild, it is natural for them to shy away from human beings. Men running around the herd somehow keep the reindeer gathered into one cluster. When another herd comes near, they mingle together. Although they have markings on their ears, it is quite a job to separate the thousands of mingled reindeer again. Alekseev's son, Slava, is a good herder, and from what he has told me, in order to bring back a few reindeer that have dropped out of the herd, he circles those reindeer from the outside, driving them toward the herd. At the same time, if he finds a small herd of reindeer that has dropped out of another herd, he circles around it, gathers it with the reindeer that have dropped out of his own herd and finally merges them with his herd. Of course, this is not the usual way to increase the number of reindeer in your herd, but I can see how people say a drunken master who can't keep an eye on his reindeer loses his reindeer herd.

After the *sovkhoses* had been built and the *yananas* disappeared, they had to live in the houses in the village both in summer and winter, which created a major problem for them. Since then they haven't been able to smoke their reindeer hides. When they lived in *yananas*, they first used the reindeer fur as carpets in the bedroom, then as bedroom wall divisions, then as the floor of the *yanana* and finally as the top part of the *yanana*. As a result they were thoroughly cured by the smoke given off by the constantly burning fire inside the *yanana*. The smoked fur was water-resistant, so they could trim the fur and use it to make summer clothes. In the modern winter tents where they use stoves, the smoke is exhausted outside through a stove pipe. As a result, they can't smoke-cure their reindeer hides.

Therefore, they decided to pitch *yananas* close to the village and live there

in summer. The people who lived there were those who didn't own village houses given by the government because they had gone on with their nomadic lives on the tundra after the *sovkhoses* were built and hadn't come to the village; or they were people who did own houses, but their married children's families - the parents were now grandfathers and grandmothers - were going to live there. Or like Alekseev's father, Vasiliev, and his wife, there were people who did have a house in the village, but would spend the daytime in summer in huts they had built themselves near the village to fish and make dried fish, returning to the village house only at night to sleep; in winter, they would pitch *yananas* and live there. Maria lived in a hut she had made near the village as well, and lived in a *yanana* in winter. Moreover, although they aren't *yananas*, there are people who live out the winter in modern winter tents made of reindeer fur. For example, Alekseev himself lived in a tent when he felt like it and then came back to the village house to spend some time there too. In addition, the old man I had seen building his own tent on the tundra near the village was going to live there during the winter. That was the present situation of Srednie-Pakhachi Village. I can't forget the strange scene I had witnessed when I first visited there. There were wooden houses and shops; the two-storied building of the administration office and an apartment block; a modern village provided with a thermal power plant that was smoking away; and traditional *yananas* made of reindeer hide scattered across the tundra beyond the village. This odd combination of modernity and tradition was the direct result of the changes in their housing and nomadic life.