

An ethnographer's early years: Boris Dolgikh as enumerator for the 1926/27 polar census

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ABSTRACT. To celebrate the centenary of the birth of Boris Osipovich Dolgikh, the great Russian ethnographer of Siberia, this article gives an account of his first field expedition to the Kets, Evenkis, Nganasans, and Dolgans of central Siberia. The author, himself a former student of Dolgikh, argues that Dolgikh's work as an enumerator for the 1926/27 census forged his identity as an ethnographer. He also implies that the expedition for the 1926/27 census was a cradle for the careers of many other scientists. The article is framed by a history of Soviet science by the editor. It also serves as an introduction to the unique polar census expedition, which the editor argues is better understood as 'an inscription' of Siberian aboriginal peoples than as a statistical census in the traditional sense.

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Editor's introduction (by D.G. Anderson)

Boris Osipovich Dolgikh (1904–71) is one of the most famous ethnographers of Siberia, although his work is poorly known by English-language anthropologists. This uneven fame is symbolic of one of the divides between Russian-language and English-language anthropology. To Russian scholars, Dolgikh is best known for his classic work on the clan and tribal structure of Siberia. Building on archival research, as well as his own extensive fieldwork in the 1920s and 1930s, he wrote an encyclopaedic account of the ethnogenesis of all Siberian peoples (Dolgikh 1960). To historians of science, he is associated with the founding of the Siberian section of the Institute of Ethnography of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. To Russian liberals, the fact that he advanced his career despite refusing to take membership in the Communist Party (and in spite of spending time in exile) made him a model of an independent thinker (Vainshtein 1999). Although it is difficult to speculate why his work has not attracted much attention in English-language anthropology, the very authoritativeness of his academic style might offer a reason. Writing in an extremely detailed and well-referenced manner, some of his works

ran counter to the currents of reflexive and collaborative ethnography that were being pioneered in Britain and North America. This was an unfortunate turn of events. Although Dolgikh's published work on ethnogenesis edited out the perspectives and the stories of the peoples he analysed, parallel to these works (and often in the same years) he published some of the most comprehensive collections of folklore that do offer alternative visions (Dolgikh 1938; 1961a; 1976). Indeed, reading between the lines of his more technical works, one can find a keen eye for local difference. Although his work placed archival data in the foreground, Dolgikh had one of the richest fieldwork careers of any Soviet ethnographer. It is not an exaggeration to say that he pioneered a type of ethnohistory and rapid ethnographic assessment decades before these genres became popular overseas. The year 2004 marked the one-hundredth anniversary of Dolgikh's birth. The intention of this article is to introduce this scholar to a wider audience of English-language readers.

In this article one of Dolgikh's protégés writes of the great ethnographer's early career as an enumerator for the 1926/27 polar census. In Sergei Savolskul's description of the census expedition, there is a glimpse into one of the last great ethnographic expeditions, and an important one that captured the lives of the aboriginal people of Siberia before the disruptions of collectivization and forced resettlement. This account is also important because during the 1926/27 census expedition, Dolgikh for the first time met the Kets, Nganasans, and Dolgans, who later became the focus of his life-work. In Savolskul's account of how Dolgikh worked through the census material, a rare glimpse is provided of the birth of Dolgikh's ethnographic intuition.

Although the intention of the article is both to introduce Dolgikh's work to an English-speaking audience and to celebrate the centenary of his birth, the editor — who has written this introduction — was also asked by the reviewers to comment critically on the link between Dolgikh's early survey work and the eventual

state-led restructuring of the lives of Siberian people. In a sense this request captures the divide that still exists between English-language and Russian-language anthropology. Without a doubt, the tone of Savolskul's work is celebratory and crafted in such a way as to make Dolgikh's early work appear to be heroic. This tone is not particularly popular in English-language anthropology after a decade of post-structural criticism trained anthropologists to be sceptical of the work of their elders. The will to criticise is doubly encouraged, I suspect, by the word 'census.' Following the pioneering work of Benedict Anderson (1991) and Ian Hacking (1990), it is difficult now to think of any census as a naïve and curious exploration of the world. Many censuses have become maligned, to borrow a phrase from Scott (1998), as the spectacles through which the state 'sees' its territory. There is much to be said for these critical histories of science, and I am sure that they do apply to many censuses. However, I think it is unfair to apply this critique casually to *this* census and to this enumerator at *this* time.

As Savolskul indicates in this article, this exercise went well beyond the call of gathering numeric data and included in its remit large collections of narrative and photographic data, the majority of which remains unpublished. What Savolskul does not mention is the unique quality of these data. Unlike any other survey of northern peoples of this era, or even after, the enumerators of this expedition gathered narrative, pictorial, and quantitative accounts of *every* non-native and native household living in the boreal north over the course of one entire year. The detail and variety of the records reminds us not of a directed state census intent on counting people's families and estates for a single pragmatic goal (such as taxation), but, instead, of an elaborate eighteenth-century expedition of discovery. Data were collected on capital holdings, such as reindeer stocks and equipment. However, the enumerators also evaluated the hygiene of families, reported on their ritual traditions and clothing, and collected information on their diet, vernacular, and architecture, and assembled reports on the climate and navigational routes of each region. Even if we focus on the statistical subset of the records generated by this expedition, they are unique for the fact that they document northern peoples at the level of the community, the household, *and* the individual — a very rich range of data that makes these records one of the finest sources for those interested in historical demography. This particular geographic and ethnographic endeavour was called a *perepis'* in Russian, which in modern Russian translates as 'census.' However the semantic roots of this word refer much more directly to the idea of writing than its English cognate. In this sense, Dolgikh's work during this expedition is much better described as a type of ethnographic inscription than a state-run statistical survey.

Some may find it ironic that I am defending Dolgikh as an open-minded investigator of Ket and Dolgan peoples. In other writings, I have categorised Dolgikh's later

work as one of the best examples of 'state ethnography,' which played a pivotal role in the standardization of national identifiers and the eventual evocation of an entire nationality through both ethnographic writing and bureaucratic action (Anderson 2000). I still stand by this interpretation, but not to the extent that we can then infer that Dolgikh's work is cynical, illegitimate, or inauthentic. While in the grasp of this critical mood that dominates English-language anthropology, I think we must resist the temptation to automatically interpret as anything touched by the state, at any time, as being bad.

In my reading of the records of Dolgikh's work in the 1926/27 census, as in my reading of Savolskul's account, I still see much evidence of his early obsession with making sure that his categories were clean, unambiguous, and correct. This attention to crisp detail is undoubtedly useful to a centralising state. However there is much documentary evidence to suggest that Soviet authorities spurned the detail generated by this census. The dean of Russian ethnography, Vladimir Bogoroz-Tan (1932) wrote a cranky criticism of the mass of detail collected by enumerators, which in his view made it hard to use. Other critiques followed (Terletskii 1932; Maslov 1934). The debate was crowned by an article by the Soviet modernizer Mikhail Sergeev (1933), who called for a new census to 'clarify' the class status and nationalities of families who, in 1926/27, were portrayed as being too tightly bound up in kinship networks to classify easily. The names of rich reindeer herders who were then published following the hasty 'national economic' census of 1933 were the names of people who were later arrested and presumed killed by the state security services (Maslov 1934). While it might be true that the earlier inscription campaign of 1926/27 gave the state some important clues upon which it was to organise its later, ideological census, I think it is unfair to attribute these motives in the more liberal days of the mid-1920s. It is also unfair to attribute these events to the young Dolgikh.

The fact that Dolgikh was also very active in state survey campaigns in the late 1930s (Fig. 1) is another issue that might be better debated in a different place (Savolskul 2004b).

There is also much circumstantial evidence that supports the view that this particular inscription campaign was closer to an ethnographic exercise than a surveillance exercise. For one, there is the negative indicator that very little of the data of this immense expedition were published. There is also the interesting but poorly understood fact that the main designers of the census instruments were not Communist Party activists, or even members of the famed Committee of the North, but instead a network of Russian-German geographers who were either active in the Russian Committee of the Red Cross or who were 'local-lore' enthusiasts (*kraevedy*) (GARF P3977-1-87). The Russian Red Cross dedicated itself in the 1920s to alleviating the dislocation of aboriginal people during the Russian Civil War (Malysheva and Poznanskii 1998). Although the census was run by the



Fig. 1. B. O. Dolgikh near Norik'sk on a government formation expedition in 1937.

Central Statistical Administration, it seems to have taken wide input from less formal groups. Thus there remains an open question of whether or not this particular undertaking was a tool of the state at all, or if it was designed and run by patriots of liberal Russian civil society working within state structures.

The following article has been shortened, edited, and annotated in places by the editor. In editing the draft translation, and then the content, I have kept the structure of whole sentences, but in some cases deleted entire sentences and paragraphs. My corrections to Savolskul's manuscript are indicated in square brackets. A longer, unedited Russian version of the same material has been published in *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* (Savolskul 2004a). At Savolskul's insistence, our separate contributions are clearly marked.

Dolgikh's early years

Boris Osipovich Dolgikh¹ was born in Riga in 1904. His father was a research agronomist and his mother a teacher. At the beginning of World War I, the family moved to Samara where Boris attended school. In 1925, he graduated from the specialized Samara industrial-economic school with the modest qualification of book-keeper. He left for Moscow that year with the aim of continuing his education and getting a university degree in the humanities. However, he was not immediately successful in gaining admission to university. Not giving

up, he rented a room, and despite lacking the formal status of a student, received permission to attend lectures on ethnography and anthropology at Moscow State University. At the same time he worked as a technician at the Society for the Study of the Urals, Siberia and the Far East. At one of the meetings of the Society he learned about the forthcoming polar census and of the opportunity to take part in it. With a reference from the famous physical anthropological expert Professor V.V. Bunak, he was included in the ranks of the enumerators of the census (Vainshtein 1999; KKKM p/p 1942-2-40:1). He then set off to work for more than a year in the districts of the Enisei north — a region then called Turukhansk Territory [*krai*].

The polar census

The polar census [*pripolarnaia perepis'*] was part of the first [Soviet] All-Union census held in 1926. Local and federal government committees first proposed the idea of conducting a national population census for the USSR in the summer 1925. In the course of discussion, many civil servants felt it was necessary to have a special census for the extreme north of the country. The responsible committees included the Central Statistics Department [TsSU] of the USSR, the Committee for Assistance to the Peoples of the North, and regional executive committees and statistical offices in Siberia, the Far East and in the European north of Russia (TsSU 1929: v).

In late March 1926 The Council of Peoples' Commissars of the USSR instructed the TsSU to conduct a household census in the following parts of the north:

- the isolated northern districts of the Far Eastern region (excluding Petropavlovsk and Okhotsk *uezda* of Kamchatsk *guberniia*);
- the northern *okruga* of Iakutiia²;
- Turukhansk Territory;
- the northern districts [*raiony*] of Kirensk and Irkutsk *okruga* (but restricted to Tungus households only);
- the Tobol'sk north;
- the Bol'shezemelsk tundra of the Komi autonomous *oblast'*;
- the Malozemelsk and Kaninsk tundras, and the islands of Arkhangelsk *guberniia* and the tundra of Murmansk *guberniia*.

Some local executive committees increased the number of places surveyed at their own expense (TsSU 1929: v).

The design of the census was worked out between the TsSU with the participation of local statistical agencies. Two main record cards were adopted: a household card recording each separate settled or nomadic household; and a community questionnaire recording every settlement and/or associated nomadic group of the aboriginal population (TsSU 1929: v).

Unlike the All-Union census of that year, it was impossible to conduct the polar census within a few months of 1926 due to the difficult living conditions of the time. Instead it stretched out for more than an entire year from May 1926 to the autumn of 1927. The local population was mainly nomadic and semi-nomadic living over a wide area punctuated by an extremely sparse and weak network of settlements. With the exception of a summer steamship service on some northern rivers, there was no motorized transport of any kind (TsSU 1929: v–vi).

The relevant committees had no problem finding people to conduct the census. Media reports in central and local papers generated great enthusiasm for the expeditions. The number of applicants greatly exceeded the number of positions in some local statistics departments. Of the 133 people who took part in the census, there were 50 people with university degrees (including nine women). Of these 'there were nine ethnographers, two ichthyologists, one zoologist, an expert in hunting, etc in the group. Some members of the expeditions could speak native languages. There were 27 statisticians on the staff and about half of the members (55 people) had worked in the north and knew the working conditions in the tundra' (TsSU 1929: vii). Of the nine ethnographers, two served in the Turukhansk polar census expedition: B.O. Dolgikh and M.Iu. Georgievskii.

The polar census was a unique project both for the Russian north and all the northern regions of the world. Nothing of the kind had been held before or has been held after. Unfortunately most of the census results have not been properly analyzed even today. Rather little is

known about its history and organization, although its main results were made public and several publications were dedicated to it. The scientific importance of the polar census is accentuated by the fact that it was held at a time when peoples of the north were still leading a traditional way of life. All of the major [modernization] campaigns aimed at changing their lives were yet to be launched. Indeed the census was aimed at getting as much information as possible about the aboriginal population before the Soviet state began restructuring its northern regions.

The Turukhansk statistical expedition

Starting in April 1926, the TsSU sent directives about conducting a polar household census to its regional offices. Within Siberia, the following administrative units³ were singled out for the census: Naryn territory of Tomsk *okrug*, Turukhansk Territory of Krasnoiarsk *okrug*, part of the Angarsk territory of Kansk *okrug*, and Kirensk *uezda* of the former Irkutsk *oblast'*. Turukhansk Territory of that period was made up of the present-day Taimyr (Dolgano-Nenets) and Evenki autonomous *okruga* as well as what is today Turukhansk district [*raion*] (Fig. 2). It also included some settlements bordering on the Enisei river [south] of Iartsevo.⁴

In May 1926, 24-year-old Adam Petrovich Kurilovich (Fig. 3) was appointed as the head of the Turukhansk expedition. He was a party official at the *guberniia* level and the only Communist Party member in the small group. Being the deputy chairman of the Krasnoiarsk trade committee, Kurilovich knew the Enisei north quite well. He had twice taken part in expeditions to Turukhansk Territory, which had been organized at the initiative of the executive committee of the Eniseisk *guberniia* and the Krasnoiarsk Committee of the North. He was the author of a number of newspaper and magazine articles about the Siberian north (Kurilovich and Sirina 1999: 146–147; GAKK P827-1-18:2-5).

After the appointment of Kurilovich, the expedition was hurriedly organized to take advantage of the short summer navigational season. Kurilovich described the situation as: 'the expedition office was in chaos in those days. Papers, overalls, boxes with equipment, food, anything you imagine [was scattered about]. The enumerators worked almost 24 hours a day. If they were too tired they slept at their tables at night. Everything was in motion and done in a great hurry. Every hour was precious as the ship was already on the dock . . .' (quoted in Kurilovich and Sirina 1999: 149).

Twelve people were chosen as 'statistician–enumerators' to do the census fieldwork. The oldest of them, A.K. Dingilshedt, was 40 years old. The others were much younger. Most of them were qualified specialists. Some of them — Dingilshedt, G.L. Kanishchev, N.V. Sushilin — were experienced statisticians. Some of the enumerators had personal or professional interests in the north that reflected their scientific backgrounds (or artistic backgrounds, as in the case of A.P. Lekarenko). The specializations of the scientists were varied. N.P.

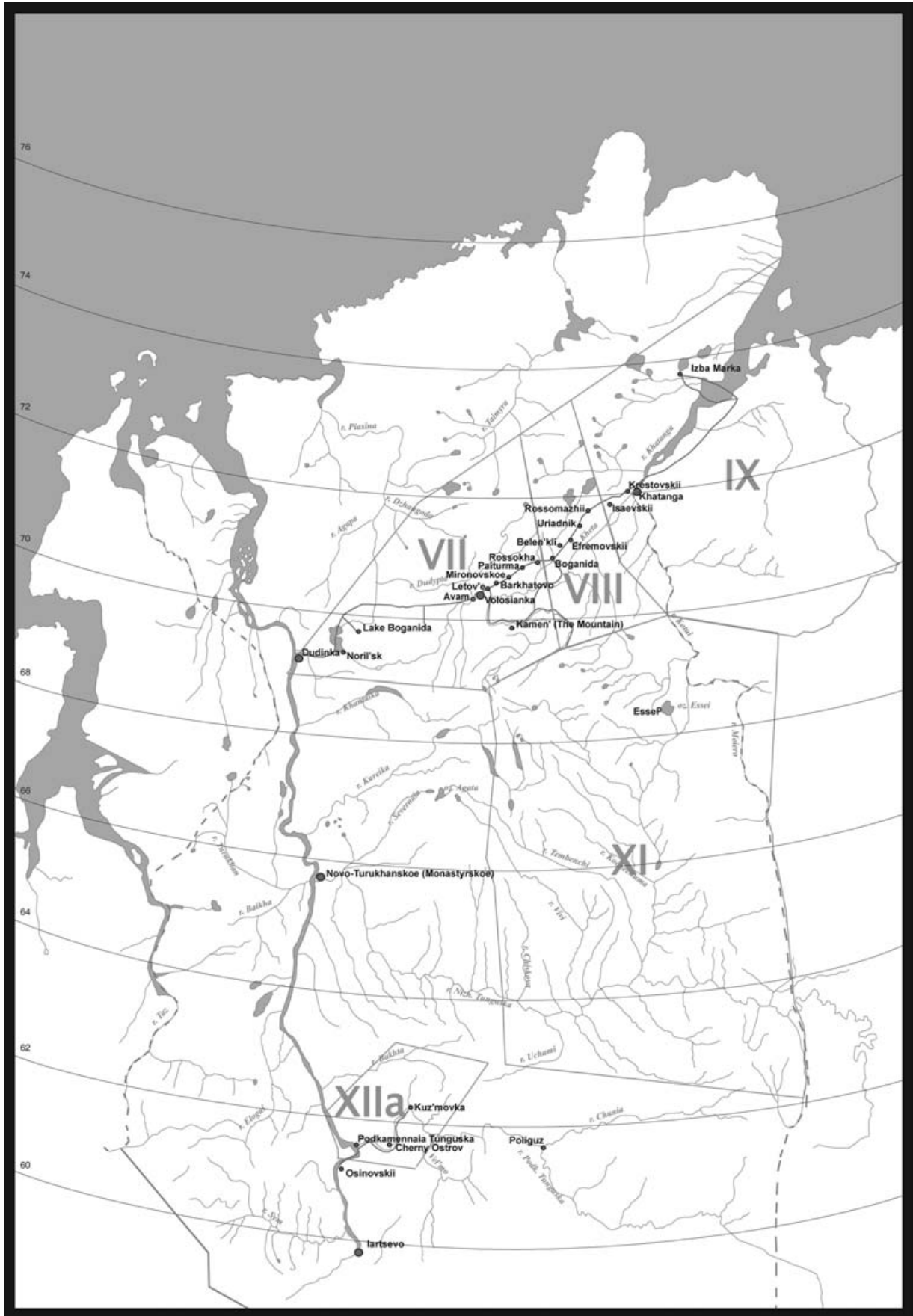


Fig. 2. Map of Boris Dolgikh's travels in Turukhansk Territory 1926/27. Map compiled by Tara Young (University of Alberta), Mikhael Batashev (Krasnoyarsk Territorial Museum), and Marina Iushkova (Krasnoyarsk Territorial Museum) on the basis of data from the original base map in GAKK P769-1-303, the map of enumerator routes in the photoalbum in KKKM 7930 bf 1, and place-names in Dolgikh 1963.



Fig. 3. The census enumerators in Krasnoiarsk before their departure. A.P. Kurilovich is seated in the centre.

Naumov was a specialist in zoology, ornithology, and hunting. N.A. Ostroumov was a researcher with the Siberian Ichthyologic Laboratory. P.M. Georgievskii, a third-year student of the faculty of social sciences of Irkutsk University, was recommended by the Irkutsk ethnographer professor B.E. Petri. At this time Petri was actively introducing statistical methods into the study of the economic and everyday life of the aboriginal peoples of Eastern Siberia (Petri 1926; Sirina 1999). As already mentioned, Dolgikh was recommended by the physical anthropologist V.V. Bunak. L.I. Girshfeld, a zoologist and a specialist in hunting, may have been recommended by his teacher B.M. Zhitkov, a famous biologist, traveller, and writer. M.A. Reingold was a lawyer. N.I. Kodolov and A.F. Tulunin had worked in the Turukhansk Territory for several years and knew the local conditions well. The former had worked in the trading companies and as the captain of a ship, and the latter had worked as an accounts clerk and a dredger in the gold fields (Kurilovich and Sirina 1999; GAKK P769-2-12: 1-33; GAKK P769-2-14: 1, 40-40v, 43-43v; GAKK P1845-1-132: 20v-21v).

A third ethnographer almost became attached to the Turukhansk expedition. In a letter dated 23 June 1926, Professor V.G. Bogoraz recommended G.M. Vasilevich as a census worker. Later Vasilevich became a well-known specialist in Evenki ethnography (Ermolova 2003). But Bogoraz was late with his request. When the letter arrived there were no staff vacancies for the expedition, and most of its participants had already left for the field (GAKK P1845-1-44: 40-41v).

In addition to the quantitative material, the enumerators also supplemented their records with travel diaries (GAKK P769-1-472: 14v). [Almost] every enumerator

also had a camera and took pictures of the everyday life of northern people as well as of the landscape (Kurilovich and Sirina 1999: 149-150). A collection of hundreds of pictures was assembled during the expedition, resulting in a large album, copies of which were sent to the TsSU [and other agencies] (Kovalev 1928; Naumov 1928; GAKK P769-1-476: 3v; GAKK P769-1-483: 42-42v). As the leaders of Krasnoiarsk *okrug* statistics department wrote in a letter sent to the Siberian regional statistics department: 'These albums should be visual evidence and a monument to the ultimate sacrifice and efforts exerted by the USSR in holding the All-Union census of 1926-1927 for the sake of science and the vital interests of the aboriginal peoples of the polar north' (GAKK P769-1-483: 42v).⁵

Later the life of most of the enumerators of the Turukhansk expedition became closely connected with the Enisei north, including its scientific research. Kurilovich and Naumov (1934) wrote the first monograph about the [geography of the] Evenki national *okrug*. They were also the authors of a number of separate works about the Turukhansk north (Kurilovich 1934; Naumov 1928, 1930, 1933, 1934). Ostroumov and Sushilin also published interesting articles devoted to the same topic (Ostroumov 1929; Sushilin 1929). Krasnoiarsk painter A.P. Lekarenko drew hundreds of sketches of the northern peoples' everyday life and landscapes, and registered folklore during his long travel in the northern parts of contemporary Evenkiia and Taimyr. Having come back home, he organized an exhibition of his sketches and drawings (Lisovskii 1974; Davydenko 1980). Dolgikh undoubtedly made the most significant scientific contribution to the study of the peoples living in the Turukhansk north.

Research work (alongside the statistical work proper) done by the enumerators was not part of the official plans for the Soviet polar census. It was to be done on the initiative of the enumerators but was nevertheless encouraged by the central leadership (Kurilovich and Sirina 1999: 158; Kovalev 1928: 222; Naumov 1930: 28).

Both the leaders and most of the enumerators of the census campaign realized that the results of their work were not limited only to collecting statistical data. After the fieldwork was done, and the results summed up and published, an exhibition called 'Turukhansk Territory' was organized in Krasnoiarsk and then in Moscow Central Museum of Human Geography [*narodovedenie*]. The exhibition included material on geography, economy, and a great number of the ethnographic items. Apart from exerting efforts to make public the results of the work of the Turukhansk expedition, Kurilovich and K.M. Nagaev — the representative of the Siberian statistical department involved in the census conducted in Turukhansk Territory — suggested publishing a series of scientific and literary works on the basis of the new material acquired in the census campaign along with the statistical data. Unfortunately, this was never realized due to lack of finances (GARF P3977-1-378: 91–92, 95; GAKK P769-1-480: 1–7v; GAKK P769-1-487: 20–20v; GAKK P1845-1-132: 21v–22). Now that so much time has passed, it is clear that the Turukhansk expedition managed not only to carry out a great statistical study but also a major scientific expedition.

Organisationally, the Turukhansk Territory was divided into 15 census districts. The following factors were taken into account in identifying the districts. Trading centres, which attracted the local population to exchange goods, were identified. The yearly nomadic cycles of groups were studied in order to determine the places where people might remain stationary for a long period of time such as at fairs or *suglan* meeting places. The Russian districts close to the Enisei were divided into districts that included both their major settlements and the nearest nomadic routes of the 'aboriginal peoples' [*tuzemtsy*]. The enumerators' routes were organized in such a way that they arrived at a particular place at the same time that one would expect the 'nomadic aboriginal peoples' to arrive as they gathered at their traditional hunting and fishing places, or their summer and winter camps and reindeer pastures (Kurilovich and Sirina 1999: 151).

Dolgikh's introduction to Ket ethnography: summer, 1926

Dolgikh arrived in Krasnoiarsk in late May, together with other enumerators (Fig. 3). According to Sushilin's account they were inducted into how to work with their forms in a great hurry over several days (GAKK P1380-1-447: 53v). In addition, they were given an overview of the traditional life of the local population and told about the working conditions they could expect. Every enumerator was given the necessary number of statistical forms, clothing and equipment for Arctic conditions, as

well as money, maps, written instructions for filling out the statistical forms, and letters of introduction to the local authorities and to the workers at trading posts (Kurilovich and Sirina 1999: 149–150; GAKK P769-1-463: 7).⁶ They were also given a recently published book by Dobrovadrintseva (1925) about the peoples of the Turukhansk Territory.

On 9 June 1926 Dolgikh and three other enumerators became the first party to sail down the Enisei on the passenger barge *Lena*. On 15 June they arrived at Iartsevo. Girshfeld disembarked to begin surveying the Evenkis (then known as Tunguses) living along the river Sym. On 18 June, Dolgikh and Sushilin landed at the mouth of the Podkamennaia Tunguska. Ostroumov, who was to conduct the census in the lower Enisei, continued farther north alone. Dolgikh was to register all the Podkamennotungusk Kets and the Evenkis who gathered for a fair near the trading centre of Kuzmovka at that time (GAKK P1380-1-447: 54–54v). Dolgikh described his first impressions in his book *The Kets*, which he published in 1934:

When the ship . . . moored at the village of Podkamennaia Tunguska, groups of aboriginal people seemed to bloom suddenly as bright blue, green, yellow spots against the gray–black crowd of the Russians. After the mooring line was fastened, one could clearly distinguish their figures in their baggy but quite new cloth gowns. They wore their gowns tightly pulled together with belts and wore cloth leggings and substantial leather footwear. The short knives dangling on their hips looked like sailors' dirks. . . . From under the white kerchiefs [on their heads] and between their locks of black loose or plaited hair, their sharp, angular profiles reminded me of North American Indians. It was strange to think that you were in the territory of the USSR, at the heart of Asia, but not on the bank of the Red River in the USA.

Dolgikh and Sushilin stayed in the village of Podkamennaia Tunguska until 22 July (Fig. 4). Almost all the Podkamennotungusk Kets (who were called then the Enisei Ostiaks) came to the local fair by *ilimki* (small boats about 10 metres long with sails and birch cabins). At that time the fair was almost drawing to its close. The Kets were in a hurry to exchange winter furs for the necessary goods and to return to their traditional places of summer fishing either on the Podkamennaia Tunguska or on the Enisei. The enumerating had to be done in a great hurry (GAKK P769-1-306: 34). Dolgikh [started his work by] visiting the shaman Vasilii Moseikin, who enjoyed great respect and influence over the Kets. 'As soon as he was registered,' Dolgikh (1934: 113–114) wrote in his book later, 'the other Kets started coming to me.'

According to the household card filled out for the shaman, he was 40 years old, his name was Vasilii Egorovich and his 'aboriginal' name was Der'it (GAKK P2275-1-4: 25–26). He was married and had three daughters. During the past year Moseikin did not fish, yet his annual income was 350 roubles (by comparison, Russian



Fig. 4. Ket shaman as photographed by N.V. Sushilin in Podkamennaia Tunguska.

peasants who permanently lived in the settlements along the Enisei had a similar annual income). That money was his ‘fee’ charged for his performances. In winter the shaman’s family lived close to the trading station called Chernyi Ostrov, and in spring they went to the village of Podkamennaia Tunguska by *ilimka*. After the fair they went down the Enisei some 20 versts [21 km] away from the mouth of the Podkamennaia Tunguska and spent summer there.

By the time the ship *Cooperator* arrived with the second party of enumerators, the Kets had almost all been registered. During four days of work, Dolgikh had managed to register 52 Ket families with the total number of 260 people (GAKK P769-1-306: 35).

In the morning of 23 June *Cooperator* continued up the Tunguska to bring the goods to trading stations there. Two days later in the evening, having covered a distance of 200 versts [213 km], they reached a small Russian village called Kuzmovka, where Dolgikh alighted. The next morning Sushilin went farther by ship to get to Poligus trading station where he was to register the local Evenkis (GAKK P769-1-306: 35; GAKK P1380-1-447: 54v–55).

Dolgikh stayed in Kuzmovka for three weeks. The next morning he organized a meeting [*suglan*] of Evenkis to explain the census to them. Here, he also had to set a fast pace. The Tungus people could not stay long due to a lack of suitable reindeer pastures. There was the

additional difficulty that many people tried to avoid being enumerated. In spite of that, he managed to record almost all Tunguses of that district — 62 families with a total number of 425 people (GAKK P769-1-306: 35–35v, 39–40).

By mid-August Dolgikh had returned to the village of Podkamennaia Tunguska by boat, staying there until early September waiting for *Cooperator* to arrive. He spent his time processing his materials and visiting the Ket camps (GAKK P769-1-306: 39v). The young ethnographer undoubtedly had to make a great effort to clear up both the Ket clan structure and their clan names. Dolgikh wrote, for example, that while working at a Ket camp called Byzykalovka ‘an Ostiak family clan was discovered. It then became necessary to add and to correct the accounts of the entire Ostiak census’ (GAKK P769-1-306: 39–39v). Later he wrote: ‘Besides their clan names, aboriginal surnames, Russian names, and patronymics, the Kets also have their own aboriginal names that should be kept secret according to the old tradition (as well as their clan names). Whenever a Ket is asked his name he hesitates a bit and then having given it he often says that he has given his name only because he is aware of the necessity of mentioning it, he realizes that it is important for the state census’ (Dolgikh 1934: 50).

When the boat arrived he travelled together with Kurilovich and the enumerators of the neighbouring districts — Lekarenko, Naumov, and Reingold — to Dudinka. There, he put his summer forms in order. At the same time he wrote the second, more complete, account of his summer work. He wrote that for the previous two and a half months he had registered 58 Ostiak [Ket] families numbering 301 ‘souls,’ 62 Tungus [Evenki] families that ran to 431 people, 58 Russian families of 326 individuals, for a total of ‘178 families of 1058 people not counting 16 exiles in Osinovi camp [stanok]’ (GAKK P769-1-306: 40v).

Dolgikh expressed concern over the reliability of his information. He wrote that the Ostiaks (Kets) did not always give the correct information about the fish they had caught for fear of being taxed. Instead, they underestimated the amount of the fish caught (GAKK P769-1-306: 40v). It was also difficult to learn the exact number of the reindeer owned by the rich Tungus reindeer breeders. He tried to collect the information of that kind in an indirect way — from the neighbours, the records of the trading stations, etc. In Dolgikh’s opinion the indirect figures ‘were closer to the reality, in any case they were not overstated. For example, I was given information that the richest Tungus had a herd of 1800 reindeer. However it would be difficult to record them as having more than 1300 in order not to make a mistake . . .’ (GAKK P769-1-306: 41).

This summer period formed an important stage in Dolgikh’s life. It was the time when his interest in Kets was formed. It was not by chance that his first book (1934) was about the Kets. In 1948, as a research worker of the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences, he

chose to return to Podkamennaia Tunguska as the site of his first professional expedition (Vainshtein 1999: 292–293). Later in life, he always expressed a preference for Ket ethnography [and expressed this through numerous publications (Dolgikh 1950b, 1952a, 1952b, 1961b, 1982; Dolgikh and Popov 1956)].

The origins of Dolgikh's interest in Dolgans and Nganasans: winter, 1926–27

In the most remote areas of Turukhansk Territory, situated far from big rivers, it is easier to travel over the snow rather than in the marshy lands of summer. For this reason, the census organizers planned to use the winter sledging routes to get to the most isolated places, which were practically inaccessible in summer.

In October and early November, Dolgikh and Girshfeld were getting ready for their winter expedition in the district known for a long time as *Zatundrinskaia volost'* [literally 'beyond the tundra']. This designation referred to all of the places inland from Dudinka, where most people lived in a narrow zone at the boundary between forest and the tundra stretching all the way to Khatanga (Dolgikh 1929; Ostroumov 1929). To travel along the tundra tree line in winter, the enumerators needed two *balki*. These were small caravans mounted on skis and pulled by 12–15 harnessed reindeer. It featured a small door and a window, and its wooden frame was covered with reindeer skins. The skins in turn were covered on the outside in canvas and on the inside they were upholstered in bright cloth. Each was furnished with a bed, small table, and small metal stove. Such *balki* were often made in Dudinka (Kurilovich and Sirina 1999; GAKK P769-1-306: 7–8).

While preparing for their winter trip, the young travellers were also making plans for their personal scientific studies. Girshfeld (Fig. 5) wanted to study the fauna and the local hunting traditions associated with them (GAKK P769-2-14: 1). In addition to continuing Bunak's physical anthropological studies, Dolgikh must have been thinking of collecting ethnographic and folklore material as he had done during the summer period.

In early November the enumerators were ready to start their work and were only waiting for their money to be sent from Krasnoiarsk. Having failed to get it in due time, they sent a telegram to Kurilovich in Krasnoiarsk on 11 November, which ran: 'Going today, borrowed money from Fomichev until the money order is sent. Kodolov is quite well. Our best regards, we are in good spirits. Girshfeld, Dolgikh' (GAKK 769-2-14: 17–18).

Four days later, Kurilovich received the following telegram: 'Girshfeld in Boganida [65 km from Dudinka] committed suicide. I brought his corpse to Dudinka. Dolgikh' (GAKK 769-2-14: 32).

When Kurilovich asked about the reason for the tragedy, Dolgikh answered a week later, on 21 November: 'Buried Girshfeld. Committed suicide thinking he had syphilis. This not confirmed by doctor's examination of deceased. Shot himself at night in own *balok* with his



Fig. 5. Portrait of L.I. Girshfeld.

Paradox.⁷ Left me a letter. Found corpse in morning. Dolgikh' (GAKK 769-2-14: 32).

In his posthumous letter, Girshfeld asked his workmate to forgive him for leaving him alone and outlined the reasons for his suicide (GAKK 769-2-14: 30). Both the head of the expedition and Dolgikh must have considered the reason absurd. Kurilovich wrote to Professor B.M. Zhitkov to inform him of the sad news of the death of his student. In the letter he mentioned the sad irony that there was a medical expedition in Dudinka that could have helped the deceased to better understand his condition (GAKK 769-2-14: 40–40v). In his last letter, Girshfeld compared Dolgikh with himself: 'you are stronger, healthier — both physically and morally. The future belongs to people like you' (GAKK 769-2-14: 31v).

Meanwhile Dolgikh had to look quickly for another person who could substitute for his lost friend. The last caravans were leaving Dudinka for the *Zatundra* in late November. Since it was too late to invite an assistant from Krasnoiarsk or Novosibirsk, he had to find somebody locally. He was lucky to find a person in Dudinka — the exiled student G.F. Rikhter (Fig. 6). To soften the shock on the higher leadership of the statistical administration by the unexpected and undesirable news of employing an exile, Kurilovich emphasized in his account for 1926



Fig. 6. Portrait of G.F. Rikhter.

that Rikhter was working strictly under the supervision of enumerators Dolgikh and Ostroumov (Kurilovich and Sirina 1999: 148).

It was not by chance that the head of the expedition was so careful [in reporting the news]. Before Kurilovich even completed assembling his defence, a newspaper article sent from Turukhansk with the heading 'An exile working as an enumerator' was published on 5 January 1927 in the newspaper *Soviet Siberia*. The author wrote indignantly about the exile's participation in the census campaign. Local authorities in Turukhansk, who were bitter about not taking part in the census, must have provided this information. The authorities of the Siberian Statistical Department, anxious about the circulation of incorrect public information about the census, and that the 'oppositional' attitude of the Turukhansk District Executive Committee might harm the project, demanded that Kurilovich immediately produce a report on the work achieved in 1926. That report, aimed to display the Turukhansk expedition in the most favourable light, was presented at a national conference of the Central Statistical Administration at the end of January 1927 (GAKK 769-1-463: 14–14v). In his letter dated 13 January, the head of the expedition justified Rikhter's employment by the extraordinary situation that forced them to make such a choice. He also cited the fact that though in the Ural expedition 'most of the participants are exiles, no one

has reported any serious problems' (GAKK 769-1-463: 15–19).

For all the discussion of this one member of the expedition, very little is known about him. Aside from one photograph, all that survives are the cards that Dolgikh and Rikhter filled out together. Among the cards for Dudinka there happens to be one that Rikhter filled out on himself. According to this, he was 28 years old. He arrived in Dudinka from the Crimea in the autumn of 1926 after being exiled in accordance with Article 61 of the criminal code. His family of two remained in the Crimea (GAKK 769-1-407: 113–114). Article 61 referred to undesirable political action; for 'taking part in the organization or promoting the organization aimed at assisting the world bourgeoisie' (RFSFR 1924: 166).

Both enumerators left for the Zatundra in late November or early December. They were delayed due to the fact that the Dudinka *uezd* executive committee arbitrarily postponed the enumerators' expedition for five days in spite of the fact that the Siberian and Krasnoiarsk GPU had approved the exile's participation (GAKK 769-1-463: 18v). They had to cross Ostroumov's census district number VII, the closest one to Dudinka, to start their work on districts numbered VIII and IX at the settlement [*stanok*] called Avam.

If, during the summer, Dolgikh's work and life was channelled by the great rivers, the Podkamennaia Tunguska and the Enisei, the winter half of his work revolved around what the Dolgans called the 'Great Russian Road,' or what Dolgikh and others referred to as the Khatanga Road [*trakt*]. It was the main artery of the Zatundra. From the point of view of a person used to living in a city, it would be hard to call this feature a road. The *trakt* consisted of a number of small camps called *stanki* ('stations') linked together like a chain. There were 29 such *stanki* in Turukhansk territory from Noril'sk to Khatanga. The road continued eastwards to the Anabar district of what is now Iakutiia, and from there into the interior of the Iakut republic (GAKK P769-1-306: 16–23v; Dolgikh 1929: 51, 1963: 95–97). As a means of communication, the track was used intensively only in the winter periods. There were poor links between the *stanki* in the summer (GAKK P769-1-306: 16v). In his winter account the young ethnographer described the Khatanga *trakt* as a colonial system instituted by Russian Cossacks:

Run by the native people [*tuzemtsy*], this peculiar system originates from the days of the Russian Cossacks in times immemorial. [The system of the *trakt*] influences their yearly nomadic round, and all their life, [including] their spiritual and material culture. At present, the native people still have a deeply rooted ethic concerning any sort of newly arriving Russian. They feel that he has to be moved on to the neighbouring camp without question at any time of day or night. Everybody who has to travel along the Khatanga *trakt* recalls with gratitude those nameless pioneers who conquered the tundra. With their fists and swords they created the present order whereby

the native people carry out their transport duty. In the north we still enjoy the benefits of their labour, which continue by inertia. (GAKK P769-1-306: 16–16v)

In order to fulfil the transport obligations of the *stanok*, each camp kept a separate herd of riding reindeer. The so-called ‘master’ [*khoziaian*] of the settlement played an important role in keeping transport flowing along that road. As Dolgikh wrote:

... the master is usually the richest (but not always), the smartest, and the quickest person of the settlement who enjoys the respect of the others for this or that reason ... Such a master is completely responsible for all transportation. All newly arriving people call at his place. He treats them to a meal and he sees to it that they are given the reindeer as soon as possible. If they sleep overnight at his place, he provides them with a place to sleep in and so on. Such places are often given names after the names and nicknames of ‘the masters.’ The masters are usually in charge of local political groups. As the most influential people, they can speak in the name of the whole camp at meetings and so on. (GAKK P769-1-306: 17–17v)

Dolgikh and Rikhter came to the *stanok* called Avam on December 19 (GAKK P769-1-306: 17v, 28). Makar Konstantinovich Aksenov, the master of the camp, must have welcomed them. There was not a single house there; everybody lived in big tents constructed on sledges that looked like *balki* but were much bigger. At the time of the census, the camp was located 10 versts [11 km] away from the Avam river. Not so long ago it was situated at the confluence of the Avam and the Dudypa. It was an administrative centre of Zatundra then. The settlement constable lived there in winter and the local Avam Samoed people (Nganasans) paid *iasak* fur-tax to him. According to Dolgikh, the camp was composed mostly of nine families of Zatundra peasants [*zatundrinskiye krestiane*] but there were also four families of Zatundra Yakut people (GAKK P769-1-306: 17v). The next morning, Dolgikh left for the trading station Avam, which was situated to the northeast of the road and the camp bearing the same name. Rikhter stayed in the *stanok* to register the people there and in the neighbouring camps (GAKK P769-1-306: 28).

Unlike in the summer period, when Dolgikh registered most aboriginal people during their visits to trading-fairs, in winter he had to travel to every camp and every tent. This led to an important qualitative difference in his ethnography. Instead of using trade-related events, their transport plans were defined by the way that local people distributed themselves. Dolgikh described his census district as follows:

It consists of the camps of the Khatangsk *trakt* from Avam to Khatanga... The camps are arranged in rows, although part of their population lives aside from them or in cabins, small wooden-dwellings [*balagany*] ... or tents ... they never settle far from the *trakt* and always maintain direct communication. The people living in a camp usually know the whereabouts of their relatives. The people living around the track

always consider themselves members of a certain camp [*stanok*]. All camps consist of groups of cabins. The exceptions are the two outlying camps of Avam and Krestovskii where the inhabitants never stay close to their houses for some reason. Volosianka should be marked separately as it is not an ordinary settlement but the capital of a small district. (GAKK P769-1-306: 26)

He also recorded that:

In some places [the row] becomes so thin that it is made up of only one nomadic camp. In other places (especially near the above-mentioned trading stations) it consists of a few rows. The Samoeds of census districts 8 and 9 never go south of the line defined by their *trakt*. They usually settle some 50–60 versts [53–63 km] away from it in winter. The total number of the Samoed nomadic camps in census districts 8 and 9 is more than 40. The average number of the families of a nomadic camp is 3, and they live in 1 or 2 tents. The maximum number of Samoed families in a nomadic camp is 9. Of course there is no road between the camps, but due to their tradition of visiting each other often the Samoeds are always in the know of all the recent movement in their community [*orda*]. If a nomadic camp happens not to be found in its place it can easily be tracked by its trail. This is quite difficult to do at night, and practically impossible after a blizzard. But usually someone from the relocated camp visits the neighbours and informs them of their present whereabouts. Having asked the neighbours one can learn ‘the address’ of any Samoed in the same way as a city-dweller does when inquiring at an information bureau. (GAKK P769-1-306: 25v–26)

South of the Khatanga *trakt*, in a deserted part of the upper Kheta and its tributaries leading to the foothills of the Putoran plateau (known as The Mountain [*Kamen'*]), Dolgikh encountered the camps of the [Lake] Essei Yakuts and the Ilimpei Tunguses.⁸ These camps were composed of two to three families. In the summer they usually travelled south up on to The Mountain. The nomadic camps situated there did not form a chain. There were three separate and discrete zones adjacent to the *trakt* to the south (GAKK P769-1-306: 23–26v). Dolgikh’s handwritten records from the foothills of the Putoran plateau are some of the best-preserved and most detailed ethnographic accounts that exist for this region.⁹

Dolgikh and Rikhter often worked separately to accelerate the tempo of their work. As soon as they met, they made an arrangement for their next meeting. As a rule it was a settlement along the *trakt*. Having parted at camp Avam they met again at camp Volosianka. There were two big cabins that belonged to the trading station of the Enisei Consumers [Trading] Union. Most of the population in Volosianka and the neighbouring area were made up of Tunguses who lived in *balki* (GAKK P769-1-306: 17v–18v, 28). Having finished their work, the enumerators parted again. Rikhter left for the settlement of Letov’e to register the Nganasan people. Dolgikh directed



Fig. 7. B.O. Dolgikh with his guide, a *stanok* Belen'kii.

his caravan to 'The Mountain.' It took him almost a month to register the nomadic camps of the local Tungus people and the Essei Yakut people there. He reached 'Belen'kii' on the crossroads between the Khatanga *trakt* and the road to Lake Essei only in mid-January 1927 (GAKK P769-1-306: 17v–18v, 28) (Fig. 7).

At Belen'kii, Boris Dolgikh met Savel'ev, an *instruktor* for the Turukhansk executive committee, who was on his way to Khatanga. Khatanga, until recently, had been the regional capital of the Zatundra *volost'*. Dolgikh asked Savel'ev to negotiate the eastern boundary of the census districts with an official of the Yakutsk statistical expedition. Dolgikh must have learned from Savel'ev that 'comrade Rikhter' was in a Samoed nomadic camp located to the north of the camp of Rassokha. When they finally met, it became apparent that Rikhter was tired of the monotonous work in the tundra. They decided to work together. Then Rikhter would go to Belen'kii, and the lower Kheta where he would register the Yakut people (mainly the Essei Yakuts) (GAKK P769-1-306: 28–28v).

On 28 January the enumerators parted near the upper Viska, the tributary of the Boganida. Moving from one Nganasan camp to another Dolgikh headed for the *stanok* of Khatanga. He marked the last Nganasan *chum* on the eastern border that was close to the camp (*stanok*) of Isaevskii. Then he moved along the *trakt*, and having covered overnight the distance of 150 versts [160 km], he reached Khatanga on 8 February. He was given a letter there written by Govorov, a Yakutsk enumerator, who had already left for camp Kazachii situated to the east of Khatanga. Govorov asked the Khatanga camp

(*stanok*) and the adjoining district to be registered by the Turukhansk enumerators (GAKK P769-1-306: 28).

Khatanga was the largest camp (*stanok*) on the *trakt*. At that time there were 12 houses and a church. About 10 Russian families lived in Khatanga year around. They worked as officials of both the Khatanga Consumer Society and the state trading organization. In contrast to other places, the surrounding camps were deserted in summer as the people working there would leave them by May and return the next winter. The local people who remained worked with reindeer and moved along the *trakt*. Besides the Russian officials there were about 20 Zatundra Yakuts and Dolgans aboriginal families living in the area. They spoke a version of Dolgan that from Dolgikh's point of view greatly differed from the same language spoken in the western part of the *trakt* (GAKK P769-1-306: 22v).

Having spent a few days in Khatanga, on 13 February Dolgikh went to the neighbouring Anabarsk territory of Iakutiia to get to 'Mark's Cabin.' This was a small settlement situated on the river Bolshaia Balakhnia 15 versts [16 km] away from its confluence into Khatanga Bay. It was the most northerly location registered by the members of the Turukhansk expedition (Kovalev 1928: 218). The population of 'Mark's Cabin' was made up of two families (nine people) of Zatundra peasants who 'grew completely unsocialised,' Dolgikh wrote, 'they did not speak Russian at all and had no contact with the outside world' (GAKK P769-1-306: 23v). He emphasised that 'Mark's Cabin' was the most northerly situated aboriginal winter camp in Asia.

Zatundra peasants had lived even farther to the north along the western shore of the Khatanga bay. One can still see Khoziaskii and Portniaginskii camps (*stanki*) on the map. Today there are only empty houses there. There are some traces of the camps of the Russians settled still farther to the north. To be more exact they settled to the west of the confluence of the Nizhnii Taimyr into the sea. The Samoeds say there is a house in the mouth of the nameless river. Going up that river the Samoeds found another house and then at a distance of a day's ride they found still another house. There were some things in the house, such as a cradle. They assumed the house must have belonged to the Russian people. These houses must have been left from the time when the Russians tried to colonize the northern shore of Taimyr. (Dolgikh 1929: 67)

Dolgikh was greatly impressed by that trip to the remote parts of the north. [As he travelled he may have recalled] the lives of Russian explorers of Siberia who he later presented in one of his articles (Dolgikh 1943).]

Two weeks later Dolgikh came back to Khatanga and started registering its population and that of the nearby settlements. On 7 March he headed west visiting other camps situated along the Khatanga *trakt* that he and Rikhter had missed as they concentrated their attention mainly on the nomadic camps situated to the north and the south of the *trakt* (GAKK P769-1-306: 28v). By mid-March he had registered the people living in six

camps. When he reached camp Rossomakhii he learned that Rikhter had finished the census work on the Kheta and was working in a big camp called Uriadnik. It was named after its 'master,' a well-to-do Zatundra Iakut, Evdokim Averianovich Porozov, who had 500 reindeer (GAKK P769-1-306: 28v). On 20 March Rikhter told Dolgikh that Lekarenko had returned from Essei and was staying in Belen'kii camp. Having finished the registration in Rossomashii and near it, Dolgikh went to Belen'kii to meet his colleague (GAKK P769-1-306: 28).

We do not know what they discussed at this meeting. Lekarenko must have told Dolgikh his impressions of his more than half-a-year-long trip. He must have shown him his pictures drawn during that period and told him about his collection of the folklore material. Lekarenko made 22 records of Nganasan folklore while Dolgikh, who was very busy conducting the census that winter, managed to record only three (Dolgikh 1976: 16). Later, Dolgikh compiled two collections of Nganasan myths and legends (Dolgikh 1938, 1976).

Lekarenko's [unpublished] field diary complements the work of Dolgikh.¹⁰ It lifted the veil of the world of the busy Khatanga *trakt* that presented a striking contrast to Ilimpiisk and out-of-the-way places the painter had just left. On 10 April he wrote:

The days are sunny . . . It is enjoyable [now] to ride. Though tired after winter the reindeer are drawing quickly along the well-worn *trakt* — of course the movement in this tundra is incomparable with that of Ilimpia where there are few reindeer — few traders, where it is difficult to move because of the forest and deep snow. There is a sharp contrast here — more people, the track is like a highway along which the Russians and the aboriginal peoples move day and night. They use *balki*. (KKKM *off* 7626-100: 115–115v)

This is the way Lekarenko described camp Rossokha, where he stayed at night having covered the distance of 80 versts [85 km] during a day:

. . . we stayed in the house of a rich Iakut in a leather double-breasted jacket, fur boots adorned with beads, having a pair of rings on his fingers who spoke Russian. We talked about different things while having tea, of course we touched upon a problem of making the tundra Soviet and I asked him whether they respected the Soviet power and he answered: 'We respect it but not completely' . . . (KKKM *off* 7626-100: 115–115v)

After leaving Belenkoe, Dolgikh met Rikhter again in Efremovskii camp, where they discussed the final stage of their work. Rikhter (Fig. 6) was to finish enumerating the population in Efremovskii and proceed to registering the population of Boganida and Rassokha camps situated to the west of it, while Dolgikh was to register the population of the camps of Paiturma, Mironovskii, Barkhatovskii, and Letov'e. Having finished the work, Dolgikh recorded his three Nganasan legends (AIAE fond Dolgikh, file 1). Upon leaving Letov'e on 22 April, he left a note in

which he asked Rikhter to register the population of the camp Volosianka, which was next to Letov'e. Meanwhile Dolgikh went to the final western census district on his list, called Avam (GAKK P769-1-306: 28v).

In early May, Dolgikh finished his work there and went to Dudinka without waiting for Rikhter. On the way he registered part of neighbouring district VII, which had not been registered by Ostroumov. In mid-May Rikhter joined him near the mouth of the river Talovaia. It was a period of spring slush; they joined the caravan of the State trade organization on 20 May, and a week later they arrived at Dudinka (GAKK P769-1-306: 28v–29). That was the end of their more than half a year's work in Zatundra.

After a short rest they started registering the population of Dudinka, the settlement of Malaia Dudinka, and the people living in tents nearby (GAKK P769-1-306: 29). Along with the local population they had to register the exiles, including the newly arrived ones who came there by the ship *Spartak* (GAKK P769-1-442: 1–14, 23–34). According to the selective study of the forms filled out during the polar census, the total number of the exiles in the Turukhansk Territory on the Enisei made one-tenth part of the whole population (GAKK P769-1-423; 433; 442; 444; 445).

At the end of June, Dolgikh returned to Krasnoiarsk by ship, arriving there on 15 July. He continued analysing his census data there, and compiled a short account of the trips made during the census campaign in Taimyr. He finished his report in early October, handed it over together with Rikhter's account, and left for Moscow.¹¹ He [later made] a complete account of the work done in Taimyr and the ethnographic material (separately for the summer and winter periods) through April 1928 (GAKK P769-1-306: 28–30v).

[Dolgikh's full report remains unpublished in the Krasnoiarsk State Archive.] His report consists of three parts: 1. the administrative structure of Zatundra; 2. the trade and goods supply in Zatundra; and 3. the transport scheme and demography of the Zatundra. He wrote that his report did not reiterate the data that he already filed in his community diaries for the region (GAKK P769-1-306: 27–27v). Unfortunately all the census forms filled out for the settlements of Taimyr as well as the additional data and the ethnographic maps are no longer in the Krasnoiarsk archives.¹² At the end of his report Dolgikh raised a problem of the ethnic identification and ethnic boundaries between the Tungus and the Dolgans for the first time. He returned to this question in subsequent scientific work (GAKK P769-1-306: 27v; Dolgikh 1929, 1950a, 1952c, 1963, 1967).

Reading the report one can feel Dolgikh's keen interest in the life of the aboriginal people and his attempts to defend them from the tyranny of the local administrative officials and the mercenary motives of the local trade system. This applied aspect is characteristic of his further activities. [For example,] Dolgikh documented the indignation of the Nganasans from Avam, in particular

those who came under strong pressure of an official from the Turukhansk district executive committee who was encouraging them to elect the Khatanga *volost'* council according to a list provided by him. The Nganasans said the officials from Turukhansk:

... sometimes did some mean tricks like frightening people with 'an iron cage' and 'the people with rifles from Krasnoiarsk' and blatant lies connected with voting for the Volost' Executive Committee [VIK] at clan meetings. All those things caused great indignation among the aboriginal peoples that led even to boycotting VIK by the Avam Samoeds, overthrowing the clan council elected under the pressure of the official of the Turukhansk district executive committee, and making a decision to submit a petition to All-Union Executive Committee in connection with the incident. (GAKK P769-1-306: 2-2v)

Dolgikh judged the Khatanga VIK harshly for its initial work. He noted that its officials had poor qualifications, including the most recent arrivals, and that they abused their power. In criticizing the local authorities the enumerator stressed the following fact:

An official of the Turukhansk district executive committee behaves in the tundra like an old regime police officer ... Both the secretaries and the instructors are semi-literate, their attitude to work is that of vulgar administrators who think that their duty is 'to pull and not to allow,' they do not understand the aboriginal people and interpret their reserve and conservatism by our urban standards of 'the dominant influence of the religious trance' and 'kulak ideology' and consider that it is their duty to struggle against it in an administrative way (one of them hit on an idea to forbid the shaman performances and to take away all shaman drums and costumes), they do not understand the ethnographic and cultural-historic value of the tribes living in their 'private domains.' (GAKK P769-1-306: 2v-3)

Unfortunately the pessimistic point of view expressed by Dolgikh turned out prophetic — the conflict between the population and the authorities became aggravated in the early 1930s — in the period of collectivization and dispossessing the kulaks. As a reaction to the forced actions of the authorities, the population of the Avam and Khatanga districts rose in armed resistance to the commissioners for collectivization, and the local detachments organized to render them assistance. The conflict that led to the deaths of more than 20 representatives of the authorities was resolved after the negotiations with the leaders of the rebels and the promise not to pursue the people who threw down their weapons (Pluzhnikov 2002).

The role of the polar census in Dolgikh's life and scientific work

Dolgikh's participation in the polar census was undoubtedly one of the most important periods of his life. It is safe to say that his first visit to the north defined his life both as a citizen and a scientist. When he returned to

Moscow, on Bunak's recommendation, he was admitted to the university without taking any examinations and began his studies as a second-year student. In 1929 he published his first article based on the material gathered in Zatundra in the journal *Severnaia Aziia* (Dolgikh 1929). Dolgikh also took part in the preparation of a map of the distribution of native peoples in Siberia known as 'Terletskii's map'.¹³ A.P. Kurilovich cited the map in a letter sent to the Siberian territorial statistic administration in June 1927: 'By the way Dolgikh asked me for permission to use the statistic material of the expedition for making the ethnographic map of the Turukhansk territory. I believe such kind of initiative should be supported by all means' (GAKK P769-1-480: 6-6v).

Following his participation in the census, the young scientist's career seemed to be clear. But it so happened that his life was defined by other factors. In 1929 Dolgikh was denounced and arrested for his critical remarks about mass collectivization and the dispossession of *kulaki*. He was lucky to be sentenced to only a four-year exile on the Lena River. After the exile he lived and worked in Irkutsk. He was to return to what became known as Taimyr and Evenkiia in 1934, working as a government economist in early Soviet organizations responsible for regulating land-use. At the same time he went on collecting research materials. In 1937 he became an ethnographer in Krasnoiarsk Museum of Regional Studies, where he worked for seven years (Savolskul 2004b). In 1944 he became a post-graduate student of the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR on the recommendation of S.P. Tolstov, recently appointed the head of the Institute, and moved back to Moscow. Dolgikh worked there until the end of his life in 1971. He went on a number of expeditions to the Krasnoiarsk north among Kets, Nganasans, Entses, and Dolgans. He was awarded the degree of candidate of historical sciences in 1947 and a doctoral degree in 1958. He wrote several books and dozens of articles that become classics in Russian ethnography (Vainshtein 1999; Dolgikh 1972).

Dolgikh demonstrated his skill in using both ethnographic, folklore, and historic information and statistical data, including the material of the polar census, at the very beginning of his scientific career. I believe that his creativity stems from his intensive work during the census campaign in the north. It exposed him to the fact that there is a diversity of life beyond mere figures that express so little when viewed by an outsider. He brilliantly displayed that creative manner of working both with historical and folklore material in his further work. He again resorted to a complex method of investigation in his candidate degree research, which was devoted to the traditional social structure of the peoples of Central Siberia. The polar census was one of the main inspirations of his research. Dolgikh demonstrated both his profound knowledge of the systematic, complex approach involving a variety of sources of qualitative and quantitative nature, and his great creative determination and efficiency in full measure in his

major research — a great, fundamental monograph *The Kin and tribal structure of the peoples of Siberia in the 17th century* (Dolgikh 1960).

It must be remarked that Dolgikh's efforts forged his strong emotional relationship with the Krasnoiarsk north. He directed his attention to the people there like a kinsman. For example, in 1934, after receiving permission to move back to Moscow, he preferred to stay in Krasnoiarsk in order to participate in a series of government expeditions (Vainshtein 1999). The peoples he met in his youth became his first 'ethnographic love,' the love for the whole life. Those 15 months of the work as an enumerator of the polar expedition were a turning point in Dolgikh's life. The future scientist displayed a keen personal interest in such problems as the traditional social organization of the Siberian peoples, the mystery of their origin and ethnic culture, the problems of their social-ethnic identification, the transformation of their social relations, and their economic and cultural life.

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Notes

- As pointed out by M. Batashev of the KKKM (personal communication), Dolgikh's patronymic at the time of the polar census was not 'Osipovich,' as he later became known, but 'Iosifovich.' See Kurilovich and Sirina 1999; GAKK P769-1-7; GAKK P769-1-306: 15. His original patronymic was used as late as 1935 (GAKK 2275-1-114: 231).
- Editor's note: The polar census also surveyed the Tungus populations of the four southern *okruga* of the Iakut Republic (NARS(Ya) 70-1-382).
- Editor's note: The early 1920s were an extremely creative and dizzying time for the development of administrative development. Between 1925 and 1930 the administrative structure changed three times. This article has used the original Russian terms for all units with the exception of two units that were relatively stable: the *krai* [territory] and the *raion* [district]. It should be noted, however, that although this article analyses Sibirskii *krai* from 1925 to 1930, in 1930 it was divided into western and eastern Sibirskii *krai*, and then in 1932 to the system of *oblasti and kraia*, which existed more or less intact from 1932 until the time of publication.
- Editor's note: The 1926 borders of Turukhansk *raion*, Krasnoiarsk *okrug*, stretched farther west than the present boundaries of Krasnoiarsk *krai*. Reaching the Taz river, they included much of what is today Timemenskaia *oblast'*. On the eastern side, the boundary with the Iakutsk Autonomous Republic was disputed, resulting in a compromise where Krasnoiarsk enumerators went as far east as Lake Essei but Iakutsk enumerators covered the eastern portions of what is today Khatangskii *raion*. The southern boundary of the *raion* was very amorphous. The most southerly territorial unit was known in the census memoranda publications literally as the 'districtless district' (*vnevolostnaia volost'*). The enumerator Tulinin surveyed the Evenki populations in what is today Severo-Eniseiskii *raion*, but the taiga lying in between what is today the most easterly corner of Baikitskii *raion* and the westernmost regions of Irkutsk *oblast'* was almost entirely left out. See Sushilin 1929.
- Editor's note: One of the surviving photo albums of the Turukhansk expedition has been digitised by N. Martynovich and M. Batashev of the KKKM with funding from the British Academy. It has been made available to researchers on the internet at www.abdn.ac.uk/polarcensus.
- There is a list of the census forms given to Dolgikh on 8 June 1926 with his signature in GAKK P769-1-487: 14.
- Editor's note: The 'Paradox' may have been the name of a hunting rifle (A. Sirina, personal communication).
- Editor's note: In central Siberia the word *kamen'*, which in modern Russian means 'rock,' takes its meaning from the old Russian. It is used to mean any prominent upland area that is important for pasturing reindeer in the summer.
- Editor's note: Copies of Dolgikh's primary field records for the area known as The Mountain, and for Rikhter's work in central Taimyr, are preserved in Iakutsk in NARS(la) P70-1-1004 and P70-1-1005, but not in Krasnoiarsk. We are grateful to Dr Tatiana Argounova-Low for locating them.
- Editor's note: We are grateful to Nataliia Orekhova of the Krasnoiarsk Territorial Museum for finding this previously lost diary, and to Nadezhda Makarova of the same museum for transcribing it. A selection of excerpts from the diary, in Russian, is in press in a book tentatively entitled *Pripolarnaia perepis' Turukhanskogo Kraia*, due to be published at the end of 2005.
- We failed to find Rikhter's report in the Krasnoiarsk or Novosibirsk archives. There is a note that E.I. Kovalev, the deputy head of the Siberian territorial statistic department took it from Krasnoiarsk to Novosibirsk together with the reports of other enumerators of the Turukhansk expedition (those of Dingilshedt, Naumov, Kodolov, Georgievskii, Reingold, and Dolgikh) (GAKK P769-1-487: 5; P769-1-463: 25).
- Editor's note: Significant parts of Dolgikh's handwritten collection of ethnographic studies can be found in NARS(la) P70-1-789 interfiled in between community diaries. Our team is presently compiling a DVD electronic edition of digital copies of these diaries.
- The map was drawn by P.E. Terletskii, who supervised the preparation of the materials of the polar census in the TsSU, and it was published by the Committee of the North. The map credits in its title B.O. Dolgikh and

Ia.P. Terletskii, students of Moscow State University, and A.M. Karetnikov.

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Archives are indicated using the following abbreviated notation:

AIAE: Arkhiv Institut Antropologii i Etnologii [Archive of the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology];

GAKK: Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Krasnoïarskogo Krai [State Archive of Krasnoïarsk Territory];

GARF: Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii [State Archive of the Russian Federation];

KKKM: Krasnoïarskii Kraevoi Kraevedcheskii Muzei [Krasnoïarsk Territorial Museum of Local Lore];

NARS(la): Natsional'nyi Arkhiv Republiki Sakha (Iakutiia) [National Archive of the Republic of Sakha (Iakutiia)].

References to specific documents within archives are also abbreviated by indicating the classmarks for the *fond*, *opis*, *delo* (*oredinits khraneniia*) with their unique numbers separated by hyphens. References to specific folios (or their versos) are made with the number of the folio following a colon. Thus (GAKK P769-1-306: 15) represents the document at GAKK fond P769 opis 1 *delo* 306 list 16.

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