

1. The St Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive, Foundation 4, Inventory 2 (1844), No.129, p.1.
2. Кастрен 1999.

**The M.A. Castrén Collections at the
Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology
and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the
Russian Academy of Sciences (MAE)**

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In the early 1840s, upon a proposal by A.J. Sjögren, the Imperial Academy of Sciences offered Matthias Alexander Castrén, Master of Philosophy of the Imperial Alexander University in Finland, the opportunity to participate in ethnographic and linguistic research in Siberia. Castrén was invited to participate in the expedition to Northern Siberia on the basis of him providing active service as a linguist and ethnographer for a period of three years, 'to divide into equal parts the sum of 3,000 roubles (silver) which has been allocated to the ethnographic side of the Northern Siberia Expedition for its entire duration and to pay those equal parts to the researcher on specified terms and with no reporting required'.¹ But as he was ill, M.A. Castrén could go to Siberia only in 1845 as a Doctor of Philosophy. His journey lasted more than four years.

Castrén's journey was a continuation of complex eighteenth century expeditions, with the Academy of Sciences organising and conducting most of them. The purpose of these expeditions was to ensure a comprehensive study of local environment, economy and lifestyle. They played an important role in the development of ethnography in Russia. The Second Kamchatka Expedition was the most valuable for the exploration of Siberia, which became known as the Great Northern Expedition. Its main task was the discovery of a sea route to the Americas and an estimation of its relations with Asia.

Castrén's main scientific interest was focused on linguistic studies. He wanted to determine which of the indigenous peoples of Siberia were related to the Finns. He visited the Ostyaks (Khantys), the Voguls (Mansi), the Nenets, the Nganasans, the Selkups, the Enets, the Kets, the Evenkis, the Khakas, the Tuvans, the Kamas, and the Buryats in order to gather material. He travelled across almost the whole of Siberia, except for the Russian Far East. As a result, he developed grammars and dictionaries for thirteen languages of the indigenous peoples of the region.

During his journey, Castrén recorded his observations of these peoples' way of life and culture,² and collected ethnographic

objects. He purchased at least some of these, as copies of receipts for the sold items can serve as the evidence for this, as can extracts from the records of 12 March 1847 (Department of History and Philology), certifying the transfer of money to Castrén, which included the purpose of purchasing ethnographic objects on behalf of the museum.³

These items, although there are not many of them, are of great importance to the Siberian collections of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences. They characterised the culture of the indigenous peoples of the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. They can also be considered as being the first exhibits of the Siberian Fund of the Museum, as a significant part of the collections from the eighteenth century, gathered mainly during academic expeditions, was lost due to various reasons.⁴ Unfortunately, in the present day, it is difficult to find out how these objects were delivered to the museum.

For a long time the ethnographic collection of the St Petersburg Kunstkamera and the Ethnographic Museum, which was separated from the Kunstkamera in 1836 (along with six other museums), went unrecorded. The registration process began in the second half of the 1890s. Record keepers mainly relied on available lists and labels provided by collectors while trying to identify exhibits' ethnic origins, the time of delivery, and the collector's name. In some cases, a collector's name, (e.g. refer to No. 45), plus the ethnic background and location of the item in question, were directly indicated on the items themselves (we can assume that the collector himself did this). By this time, the museum had already collected 29,000 items.⁵ One can imagine how difficult this work was and how much time it required.

The first inventory lists, which were printed typographically at the beginning of the twentieth century, contained the following information on the title page: collection number; donator (this could not be only a particular collector – it had to include any other names along with the institution which transferred the items to the museum); the collector's name; the method of acquisition (whether a purchase or a gift); the value of the collection in case of purchase; the name of the location at which the items were collected; the nationalities which possessed them; a brief description; documents available at registration; the record number and quantity; the record keeper's name; the time of registration; and notes to specify information about missing items. We should point out that not all inventory lists contained all of the information.

The content of the information provided in inventory lists is also variable. Some of them contain only the names of items with numbers. Others sometimes provide detailed descriptions. There

3. The St Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive, Foundation 2, Inventory 1 (1841), No. 6, p 5, 62, 62, reverse page 66.
4. The fire of 1747, an improper environment for museum exhibits, and more.
5. Токарев 1966, 397.

6. K-IV, Inventory List 1, No 3.

are also inventory lists indicating items' sizes or their names in the original languages of the people to whom they belonged.

Apparently, this difference in inventory lists can be explained by the amount of information available to record keepers before they started the inventory. The lack of complete or accurate data about items during the registration process can also be explained by the fact that later some of them were transferred to another list: they were recorded under other numbers.

For several decades, research staff at the MAE has been re-registering so-called defective inventory lists. Detailed descriptions of the items are completed with size indications and safety information. In some cases during the re-registration of the collections, as well as their study in the course of research work, the ethnic origin of some items was ascertained.

The same is true of the M.A. Castrén collection. Initially, the Department of Siberia had only four inventory lists, including the items he brought back himself: Nos 23, 27, 638, & 733. Inventory list No 23 (1847) specified only one item – 'Ostyak dress'. But the dress is listed as missing. We can assume that it had been moved to another collection, but information on that was not available.

Regarding items in collections Nos 23 and 27, the Archive of MAE Records Department⁶ preserves the department director's comments to clarify the total number of items for the records for the year 1848. It is possible that these comments apply not only to the aforementioned collections. Inventory List No 27 provides catalogues, one of which, as far as we can understand, indicates items classified by those peoples which possessed them (the Ostyaks, the Tungusic people, the Buryats, the Yakuts, the Tatars, and the Karagas). It is written in the native languages of these peoples, but unfortunately, the handwriting is almost illegible. It also contains a number of documents: an extract from an inventory of the Castrén collections dated 11 January 1849, with labels (in Russian), a list of twelve items given to the Pedagogical Museum of Military Schools in 1873, annexes with pictures to describe two Nenets items as created by G.D. Verbov, a senior researcher at the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in June 1940, as well as a handwritten inventory of items with pictures. But when using these documents it is difficult to make any judgments concerning the fate of items from the first inventory list, if indeed they had even been delivered to the museum.

The documents entitled 'Reports by Academician Schroeder and Conservator L. Radlov on the collection's delivery to the museum during 1842–1855, 1858, 1862, and 1863, and references which relate to the placing of collections and the museum's expansion'

indicate collection receipts from M.A. Castrén in 1847 and 1849.⁷ At the same time in 1849 a write-off of ten items was recorded.⁸

Collection No 27 is recorded as having been received in 1847, although according to some catalogues 1849 was also recorded as the year of receipt. The collection period is referred to as ‘not before 1846’. Prominent scientists studying Siberia participated in the registration process of this collection at the beginning of the twentieth century, and it was they who attributed many of the museum’s Siberian collections. It was V.I. Iochelson who started the creation of the catalogue, and then D.A. Klementz and E.L. Petri continued it, and L.Ja. Šternberg finished it. A.B. Spevakovskij re-registered the collection in 1978.

Already during the registration process, some record keepers doubted whether some items (Nos 27-10, 23, & 36) belonged to the Castrén collections but, nevertheless, they considered that there were sufficient grounds to include them in this collection. Undoubtedly, those items numbered 27-1, 12, 27, 35, 38, 39 ab, and 40 ab belonged to the Castrén collections. These items are indicated with labels and markings. As E.A. Alekseenko, a scholar of the Ket culture, noticed: ‘We cannot assume an inaccuracy in the documents, since M.A. Castrén studied aboriginal languages and differentiated between the origin of items perfectly well’⁹. Therefore, all doubts regarding the origin of items only emerged after their delivery to St Petersburg.

Primarily collection No 27 included forty items, but two of them (27-7 and 27-17 ab) in 1951 were excluded as they belonged to other collections. Today, the collection includes 38 items and 48 units. These are household items and cult objects which were collected by the Tungusic people (Evenkis), the Yurak Samoyeds (Nenets), the Ostyak Samoyeds (Selkups), and the Enisejsk Ostyaks (Kets), from the Turukhansk region of the Enisejsk Governorate (the modern Turuxansk district of Krasnojarsk Kraj). Moreover, this collection includes items which belonged to the southern Khantys in Tobol’sk Governorate (the modern Tjumen’ Oblast’).

Another collection is collection No 638. It was recorded in November 1901 by D.A. Klementz on the basis of the documents designated as ‘Radlov’s lists’, former record keeper in the German language, and items of Castrén’s expedition of 1846–1848. The printing inventory was supplemented by G.D. Verbov’s comments of 15 May 1940, clarifying the origin of two items, and six labels in the Russian language. There is also a handwritten inventory made by D. Klementz with item depictions.

Initially, this collection comprised six items, including item No 27-7 which was moved there (snow goggles). Currently it contains

7. The St Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archives, Foundation 142, Inventory List No 1 before 1918, No 29, p 1.4, 11.
8. The St Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archives, Foundation 142, Inventory List No 1 before 1918, No 29, p 1.6.
9. Алексеевко, 1988, 15.

10. The MAE published the collection on the website, in the online catalogue, in order to provide access to Castrén's unique collection not only for scientists but also for the wider public. <http://www.kunstkamera.ru/kunst-catalogue/index.seam?c=KASTREN>. Read 14 September 2017.

five items and five units. Items were collected from amongst the Enisejsk Samoyeds (Enets) and the Yurak Samoyeds (Nenets) in Enisejsk Governorate.

Collection No 733 is the mixed one. It was delivered in 1903 and was recorded by L.Ja. Šternberg. It comprises four items which were registered under the four numbers. They were transferred from North Asia at different times and by different collectors. One of the items, according to the inscriptions made on it (Catalogue No 45), was obtained from M.A. Castrén.

An analysis of items from the Castrén collections allows the principles of scientific collecting to be restored, which characterised field research undertaken by the scientist. The main one of them is the intention to collect a comprehensive monographic collection of the targeted peoples, one which consists of various items. This approach developed in field studies of academic missions in the 18th century was consistently embodied in the practice of collectors of the 19th and 20th centuries and can distinctively be observed in the Castrén collections.

Items collected by Castrén had been used for many years by ethnographers who were studying the Siberia region. Photographs of some of them were published (please refer to the catalogue for details). In addition, they were demonstrated in the museum's temporary exhibitions which were devoted to the culture of the Siberian peoples.¹⁰

The catalogue of the Castrén collections in the MAE was compiled according to the following principle: it is divided into blocks according to the peoples and then according to the themes. Themes blocks also provide descriptions. People blocks indicate two names for items: one that was given during Castrén's period, and the one that exists today.

The largest part of the Castrén collections (consisting of 24 items), and the most versatile, belongs to the Tungus people who settled in the vast territory between Trans-Baikal and the Upper Amur region, covering the tundra between the Yenisei and Lena rivers. Some groups inhabited territory in Western Siberia: notably the Vasjugan basin (the left-hand tributary of the River Ob in its middle stream), on the left of the tributaries of the Enisejsk. Climate characteristics and contacts with peoples who spoke other languages and cultures, led to the formation of the cultural characteristics of those Tungusic groups which inhabited various different territories.

The same reasons explain the cultural peculiarities of territorial or ethnic groups of other natives which are represented in the Castrén collections. For example, there are tundra inhabitants Yurak reindeer herders – the Eastern (Yenisei) Nenets, (covering eight

collectible items). They differ from other Nenets groups thanks to some peculiarities in their dialect and culture¹¹. Significant differences in language and culture exist between the northern and southern Khantys (on the lower reaches of the Irtyš and Konda rivers, and on the River Salym). There are three items belonging to the southern Khantys in the Castrén collections, as well as items belonging to the Kets and Enets, inhabitants of the northern part of the Krasnojarsk Krai who are among the smallest (numerically speaking) groups in Siberia. One Selkup item and two Yakut items also belonged to this region. The main body of Selkups had long lived in North-Western Siberia (the modern Tomsk and Tjumen' regions). The Yakuts settled all over Eastern Siberia, and the Tungus people influenced the culture of the northern peoples.

Hunting has always been the main occupation for a great many Siberian peoples (along with fishing and reindeer breeding). Various hunting methods, both active (using bow and arrow, guns, and glaives – otherwise known as Siberian palmas – and spears) and passive (using various types of traps), are generally known worldwide. There is hunting gear of the active variety amongst the items which were received from Castrén.

A palma or glaive (Catalogue No 1) is a single-edged hatchet on a long wooden stick which is covered with birch bark. Its use was widespread within the territory of the Tungusic people, as well as amongst neighbouring peoples. According to G.M. Vasilevič, the ethnographer who was studying Tungus culture, western groups of Tungus people used palmas where the length of the handle (the palma) exceeded a man's height, while the eastern group used palmas reaching a height of a metre.¹² This tool was used mainly for bear hunting by experienced hunters who specialised in this. The glaive was used as follows: a hunter moved close to a bear, guided the weapon so that it would strike the bear's heart, and the advancing bear bore down on the palma with its full weight.¹³ The palma from the Castrén collections has an inscription in ink (?): '(A) Tungus palma. Delivered by Castrén, 1848'.

The main active hunting weapon for the Tungus, as well as for other Siberian natives, was the bow (Catalogue No 2) (although firearms forced it out of use during the 19th century). This item is a type of composite bow, something that was common all over Siberia. There is an inscription on the inner side which reads: 'Castrén 1848. Castrén. Tungus bow.' Composite bows are made from two well-dried (the drying process taking under two years), naturally curved wooden plates of two types of wood: spruce (*Picea obovata*) and birch or larch (*Larix sibirica*) and Siberian pine (*Pinus sibirica*). The plates were sealed together with fish glue. On the outside, the

11. Хомич 1995, 28.
12. Василевич 1969, 64.
13. Василевич 1969, 58.

14. Василевич 1969, 62–63.
 15. Василевич 1958, 125.

bow was covered with a thin layer of birch bark, and its sides were often wrapped around with animal tendon.¹⁴

The second bow (Catalogue No 45) from the Castrén collections is also a composite bow, but its ethnic origin has not been identified. It also has an inscription which simply reads: ‘Castrén’, most likely made by the collector himself.

A safety plate or bracer made out of bone or metal was standard equipment for hunting with a bow. It was placed on the thumb of the left hand to protect it from the shock of the bow string (known as a bowstring impact). Armguards (in essence safety plates) were also common all across Siberia. The Castrén collections have two such items. One is Tungus (Catalogue No 3), while the ethnic origin of the other has not been identified (Catalogue No 46).

Bows with arrows which bore arrowheads of various forms were used in hunting for both large and small game (animals and birds). A quiver was a container which held arrows, which leads to another important issue worthy of mention: there are very few quivers in our Siberian collections. This is why the Enets quiver is so valuable (Catalogue No 39).

Another item which was required to complete a hunter’s equipment was so-called snow goggles, in the form of plates or a bandage with narrow horizontal slits. They were worn on a bright sunny day to protect one’s eyes from the bright glare generated by the snow, usually in spring. Siberian peoples used different materials to make such sunglasses, from bark to ivory. The Castrén collections have two items of metal snow goggles: the Nenets goggles (Catalogue No 25) and the Enets goggles (Catalogue No 40).

Fishing played a significant role in the economic activities of indigenous Siberian peoples. Unlike other forager activities, it provided the population with a sustainable food source. Castrén acquired only one item which was related to fishing tools, this being a bone needle for making and repairing netting (Catalogue No 24, the Yuraks).

Most of the Tungus items from Castrén’s collections are clothing, mainly men’s clothing. The following outfit shall be placed first: a kaftan with a bib (Catalogue Nos 4 & 5). According to G.M. Vasilevič, who studied the Tungus clothes, the MAE collections have more than a hundred variants of Tungus-type coats, which can be divided into two major types: coats with ‘tails’ at the back and coats with a straight cut lower edge, into which two gores have been inserted.¹⁵ She supposed that extension to the coat tails was a result of the fact that different Tungusic groups at different times rode deer. People would jump on a deer from the ground or from a platform, leaning with one hand on a supporting stick and the other on the

saddle. They needed a coat with an extended hem, with the tails moving freely¹⁶.

Initially, the cut of men's and women's coats were the same. The materials used to form the coats depended upon the season: reindeer skins were used in winter, autumn, and spring coats, while deer or elk rawhide and woollen cloth were used for summer coats.

The coat from the Castrén collections belongs to the type with straight hems with two gores. A similar cut was used by different groups of Tungus people (the Evenkis), along with the Evens, while it was also popular with the Dolgans and Yakuts. These groups used the same style for shamanic costumes¹⁷. The Evenki fur coat, which was made out of a single skin, is characterised by the cut of its straight neck with cuts for sleeves. The seams which connect the upper flaps with the back are placed on the shoulders.¹⁸

The Castrén collections have another, similar coat (Catalogue No 42), which is indicated as being a Yakuts summer kaftan, but with an explanation in the inventory list stating that it could belong to the Tungusic people who were inhabiting Turuxansk (MAE, inventory list No 27).

Two-leaved Tungus coats were supplemented by bibs. In the Castrén collections, these items are represented quite significantly. The main difference between a male and female bib, according to G.M. Vasilevič, is the shape of the hem: men's bibs have a sharp cut, while women's bibs have a straight one.¹⁹ But the bibs which are available in the Castrén collections have a straight hem (Catalogue Nos 5, 7, & 11). They are all labelled to show whether they are intended for men or women. Therefore, any group which had these items would all have been wearing bibs of the same shape, regardless of whether they belonged to men or women.

Bibs of this type usually consist of two parts: with one of them covering the chest and the other covering the belly. Chamois straps were used to tie the bib at the neck and waist. Bibs had decorations on the chest, at the waist, or at the hem. To the east of the Yenisei Tungus, women's bibs had ornaments in the form of beaded embroidery on fabric strips which were sewn on chamois.²⁰

It should be noted that during early registration all of those items which were of the same general form were referred to either as bibs or aprons. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that, as mentioned above, there were four record keepers who used different terms for the same thing.

A Tungus suit included more than simply a coat and a bib. Clothing for the lower half of the body consisted of a form of trousers. It should be noted that this item of clothing does not appear very often in museum collections. These women's trousers

16. Василевич 1958, 123–124.
17. Василевич 1958, 146.
18. Василевич 1958, 147–148.
19. Василевич 1949, 44; 1969, 132.
20. Василевич 1949, 46.

21. Василевич 1969, 137.
22. Василевич 1969, 136.
23. Прыткова 1961, 331.
24. Рындина 1995, 337.

(Catalogue No 9) are made in three parts: a large piece of chamois folded in half and sewn along the sides, plus two trouser legs.

Footwear is a compulsory item of wear for all of Siberia's peoples. One pair of Tungus shoes is present in the Castrén collections (Catalogue No 12). The material for shoes included reindeer leg skins, chamois, and woollen cloth. The style was the same for all, regardless of gender and age. There is evidence that women's shoes had more decoration than those for men²¹ but, apparently, in order to be able to determine to whom shoes belonged, the size should be the main focus. In general, all Tungus groups used shoes of the same moccasin type²² with a sufficiently high collar and a main body which is based on the one-piece leather-hide shoe.

Costume details such as mittens were distinctive items for Siberian groups. The difference lies in the fact that some groups sewed them tightly to the shoulder, while others, such as the Tungus, wore them as an independent element of the suit (Catalogue Nos 13, 14, & 15). A common feature for all mittens is a cut on the palm side which allowed the wearer to slide out their hand without actually removing the glove.

Tungus beaded headbands are considered as being an archaic form of headwear (Catalogue No 16).²³ Groups living on the Ob and Yenisei watershed usually wore them and, in particular, those on the rivers Sym and Pim. Both men and women used them. Men's headband wrappings were tighter than those for women, and were then placed on a scarf which was tied at the top (ibid).

In the Castrén collections the clothes of the Southern Khanty are also present. These consist of two women's blouses (Catalogue Nos 32 & 33), made of home-made nettle linen (southern groups of Ob-Ugric peoples had knowledge of weaving). Shirts and blouses were made in the so-called tunic style: without shoulder seams. The linen was folded in half, and then cuts were made for the neck, and then a long middle cut was made in the chest. Sleeves were sewn onto the central linen, the lower part of which had a long gore sewn into it and a small square underarm gusset, usually in red, as well as two side linen pieces which were joined at the top of the sleeves.

These Khanty shirts were richly decorated with woollen threaded embroidery, usually in red and blue. The first shirts to be included in Castrén's collections, are characterised by the so-called intrans embroidery²⁴, which covered the entire front, upper back, and arms. The ends of the sleeves, bottom, neck cutting are usually decorated with embroidered multi-coloured beads. Nettle linen shirts were worn with a unique collar, which consisted of a strip of cloth on a solid base (it was worn in the neck), and two openwork beaded bands passing into the chest area. This collar was 'portable':

it was attached to the shirt in only a few places. During the nineteenth century embroidered shirts changed. Embroidery was preserved only in the upper area and on the sleeves. Shirts were worn with skirts. By the beginning of the twentieth century they had almost entirely fallen out of use.

The Yuraks' leather belt is another clothing item in the Castrén collection (Catalogue No 26). Such belts were required for reindeer breeders. They were decorated with metal or bone plates and buttons. Also included were a sheath with a knife, a pouch with a whetstone, and a bear fang, which was an amulet, which were all hung on the chain or the belt. These belts were popular amongst other Siberian peoples who adopted reindeer breeding from the northern Samoyeds.

The collection has only one item which relates to any means of transport, this being is twine (Catalogue No 27) which was used to strap the load to the sled, and which was made of woven reindeer sinew in three strands. This item belongs to the Yuraks.

A birch bark box for tea and sugar which comes from the Kets (Catalogue No 36) and a chamois bag for storage which came from the Enets (Catalogue No 41) represent utensils items in the collection. Birch bark utensils were used by the entire indigenous population of Siberia's taiga zone. Utensils were varied in form, the method used in connecting the various parts together, and in ornamentation²⁵. The box which was acquired by Castrén was manufactured in the following way: first hoops of bird cherry tree were bent and dried. Then two layers of bark were cut to make the bottom section, with ends of bark strips forming box walls being connected together, following which the outer layer of the wall was bent around and connected to the bottom. The top cover was detachable and was also made of two layers of birch bark. As decoration for the outside of the box an ochre ornament was covered with a thin layer of fish glue and dried so that it could not be removed²⁶.

Utensils made of other materials, such as chamois or fur, were usually used by reindeer breeders. Other groups also used them, but later on bags of various sizes were used for storing food, clothes, and other items.

Smoking accessories also appear in the collections as items used by Siberia's native peoples. Birch snuff boxes were popular items amongst the northern groups, while tobacco pouches were much rarer. A smoking pipe was not common for all groups. The Castrén collections have two pipes which are made of mammoth bones (Catalogue Nos 17 & 28). They belonged to two different groups, the Tungus people and the Yuraks, and they differed in form.

- 25. Refer to Федорова 1994.
- 26. Алексеенко 1967, 115–116.

- 27. Василевич 1969, 130.
- 28. Иванов 1954, 573.
- 29. Прокофьева 1971, 80.
- 30. Прокофьева 1971, 80.
- 31. Прокофьева 1971, 24.
- 32. Иванов 1970, 233.
- 33. Прокофьева 1971, 41.

The Tungus pipe is particularly valuable because these people more often used metal or wood rather than bone pipes²⁷.

In addition, the collection has three pouches for holding tobacco. The Tungus pouch (Catalogue No 18) has a sling to wear over the shoulder. Pouches from the Yuraks (Catalogue No 39) and Kets (Catalogue No 35) come without a sling. All pouches are made of chamois and are decorated with beads and marbles.

The Castrén collections have items which were used for cult practices by northern Siberian peoples. The most significant one is the shaman's kaftan (Catalogue No 44). Its ethnic origin is difficult to identify, as this was not initially indicated. A.B. Spevakovskij described it as a Tungusic item, but one of the inventory lists in collection No 27 has a comment which defines it as a Yakut item. S.V. Ivanov, a leading specialist in the art of the Siberian peoples, points out in one of his articles that there is proof that this kaftan belonged to the Yakuts²⁸. In E.D. Prokof'eva's article on the shamanic costume of Siberian groups, this costume is referred to as the shamanic costume of the Turuxan Evenkis (the Yakuts)²⁹. The author assigns it to the category of shaman kaftans sewn from whole animal skins, for which not only armholes are cut. Two (or more) wedges were inserted into the hem of the skin in order to ensure that the kaftan had enough 'give' for movement when required. Kaftans of this style were typical for the Evenkis of Viljujsk, Barguzinsk, Ilimpijsk, Turuxansk, Trans-Baikal (Oročens), Amur-Zeja, the Angarsk origin, the Dolgans, the northern Yakuts, and the Šors³⁰.

The shaman cloak in the Castrén's collections has a large number of metallic trinkets and pendants added to it. The sleeves are decorated with plates symbolising the bones of the wing, while the sides have narrow plates on them which depict the ribs of an animal or a bird³¹. The sleeves are designed as wing elements, with a fringe which serves as feathers. Round metal badges on the shoulders symbolise joints connecting the shoulder to the collarbone. It is possible that the practice of decorating shamanic costumes with bone-like materials replaced genuine human bones, which were once attached to clothing³². Other round discs depict the sun, the moon, and the water-hole through which the shaman descends to the underworld. Anthropomorphic figures sewn onto the cloak represent the souls of the shaman's deceased ancestors³³. The quantity and quality of pendants depend upon the shaman's category. The number of images on the dress corresponded with the number of spirits associated with the shaman. The collection of pendants symbolised bird feathers and shamanic armour. The Yakut shamanic cloak symbolised a bird skin, which provided its shaman with the ability to fly. This was its

main value. At the same time all pendants symbolise the shaman's protector.

The shamanic outfit for the majority of the Siberian peoples included more shoes, gloves, and headgear. The headgear in the Castrén collections was acquired from the Kets of Inbatskoe village. It represents the so-called crown (Catalogue No 38) – the most popular form of shamanic headgear in this region³⁴. The presence of figures of birds placed at the top of metal plates on the crown mean that the crown belonged to a shaman, one who identified himself with a bird³⁵, symbolising this shaman's ability to rise to the upper world.

Two more items represent shamanism. These are Tungusic masketkas – metal masks of rather small sizes (Catalogue Nos 21 & 22). They were often sewn into chamois or fabric. It could be a 'portrait' of a deceased shaman. Evenkis' shamen practised the cult of the shaman ancestor whose spirit seized the shaman's body during the ritual and helped him. According to S.V. Ivanov, such items can be regarded as the ancient custom of leaving at home the prepared head of the dead shaman³⁶. During the ritual, the shaman probably placed a mask over his face, symbolising a shaman ancestor. It could have been a skull mask or headgear which covered the skull. The Tungus people apparently had their skull masks replaced by wooden masks, and later by metal masketkas. But in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they were almost never used. Instead they were replaced with maskoids or small masketkas, either wooden or metal ones, which decorated the shaman's costume along with other symbols. Following the shaman's death his masks, maskoids, and masketkas were usually buried with him³⁷. S.V. Ivanov presumes that Item No 27-31/2 represents not only a face, but the whole person, since it has a number of holes that can represent body or spine, and arms and legs³⁸.

There are other items which represent spirits. These are anthropomorphic figures of small size. S.V. Ivanov specifies these Tungusic depictions as items of unknown purpose. He classifies them as anthropomorphic sculptures of the West Siberian type, common also amongst the Ob Ugrians and Nenets. Sculptures of this type are characterised by features such as legs, short hands, and well-defined facial features, often including a rounded head³⁹.

Anthropomorphic figures (Catalogue No 30) which belonged to the Yuraks are most likely to be an image of the spirit (*sjadej*) which relates to hunting. Such images had a flat, round face, with eyes in the form of holes or metal rivets, and roughly outlined hands and legs. Wooden figures of such spirits were placed on sacrificial grounds or kept in animal skin tents⁴⁰. They were even provided

34. Алексеенко 1967, 180.
35. Алексеенко 1967, 189–190.
36. Иванов 1970, 167.
37. Иванов 1970, 234–235.
38. Иванов 1970, 236.
39. Иванов 1970, 175.
40. Хомич 1977, 19–20.

with 'food' – their faces were smeared with blood for good luck when hunting. Such figures rarely had clothes on.

The Yuraks owned another cult image (Catalogue No 31). It was made of the skin of a small fur-bearing animal, wrapped in a cotton fabric in such a way that the animal's head can be seen as the head of the spirit and the fabric as part of the very clothes themselves. Ob Ugric people also possessed similar such items. These were the images of spirits' personal protectors, and the animal skin symbolised the zoomorphic spirit's hypostasis.

Almost all Siberian peoples used archaeological objects which had been found in the ground as worship items. A bronze bear figure from the Castrén collections is one of these (Catalogue No 23). According to V.V. Radlov, the famous Orientalist-Turkologist, ethnographer, and archaeologist, its origin can be traced back to the Bronze Age in the vicinity of the Enisejsk headwaters.

The last group of items from the Castrén collections includes stringed bowed musical instruments. These are of the same type, although they belonged to various groups: to the Ostyaks / Khantys (Catalogue No 34), the Enisejsk Ostyaks / Kets (Catalogue No 37), and the Baišensk Ostyak-Samoyeds / Selkups (Catalogue No 44). These musical instruments are of a hollowed leaf-shaped form with the stand for strings. The strings are made of horsehair or horse tendons. The same materials were used for bows.

The items, which we introduced and which are presented in the catalogue, had been in active use two centuries ago. Some of them have been analysed in a number of scientific papers. However, the examination of the Castrén collection has not yet been completed. It will attract the attention of researchers for quite some time to come, as it is one of the earliest museum collections to be devoted to Siberian ethnography.

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