

Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) was by far the most significant Finnish linguist of the 19th century. In addition to being a linguist he was also a multidisciplinary scholar, equally versatile in the fields of ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history, and human geography. He left behind a huge corpus of field data, collected by himself during prolonged expeditions to Karelia, Lapland, Arctic Russia, and Siberia between 1838 and 1849. In the short periods of time Castrén spent in an academic environment, he had little opportunity to synthesize his collections, a situation aggravated by his rapidly progressing and ultimately fatal illness. Therefore, a major part of his scholarly heritage remained unpublished when he died.

Castrén was appointed Docent of Finnish and Ancient Nordic Languages and Tribes at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki in 1841, and ten years later he became the first Professor of the Finnish Language.

M.A. Castrén considered ethnology as a historical science and an instrument for describing the early periods of Finnish history. On his expeditions, he carried out ethnographic observations and took notes of the dwellings, costumes, way of life, and customs of indigenous Siberian peoples. According to the programme drafted by the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, Castrén collected ethnological artifacts for the Ethnographic Museum in Saint Petersburg, and some items for the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Helsinki. The present work concentrates on the collections which describe Castrén’s merits in ethnological studies and museology.

The primary sources of this publication are the artefacts in the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg and the Museum of Cultures / National Museum of Finland in Helsinki.



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MANUSCRIPTA
CASTRENIANA

MATTHIAS ALEXANDER CASTRÉN

COLLECTIONES MUSEORUM

M. A. Castrén



COLLECTIONES MUSEORUM

Edited by Ildikó Lehtinen

MANUSCRIPTA CASTRENIANA
REALIA II, ETHNOGRAPHICA 1
TRAVAUX ETHNOGRAPHIQUES
DE LA SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-UGRIENNE XXII



Collectiones museorum

Manuscripta Castréniana
Realia II, Ethnographica 1
Travaux ethnographiques de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XXII

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Finno-Ugrian Society

Helsinki 2017

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Manuscripta Castreniana: A General Preface to the Series

Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) was by far the most significant Finnish linguist of the 19th century. When he died at the young age of 38, he left behind a huge corpus of field data, collected by himself during prolonged expeditions to Karelia, Lapland, Arctic Russia and Siberia from 1838 to 1849. In the short periods of time he spent in an academic environment, he was largely occupied by university teaching and social activities and had little opportunity to synthesize his collections, a situation aggravated by his rapidly progressing and ultimately fatal illness. Therefore, and in spite of his active production of specialized articles, reviews and travel reports during his lifetime, a major part of his scholarly heritage remained unpublished when he died. Ever since, the fate of this legacy has stood in the focus of Finnish linguistics.

In Castrén’s lifetime it was said that he had “written the grammars of fourteen languages”, but the actual number of separate idioms documented by him is much larger, coming close to thirty. Moreover, although his main focus was the Samoyedic branch of Uralic, he also recorded several Finno-Ugrian idioms, including varieties of Finnic, Saamic, Mari, Komi and Khanty, as well as languages and dialects belonging to the Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic and Yeniseic families. With most of these languages, he was the first to collect any kind of coherent grammatical information, which, moreover, was complemented by lexical collections of varying sizes. Not surprisingly, he is today regarded as the founder of not only Uralic, but also Altaic and Palaeosiberian linguistics. An important feature of his approach was that he worked in the framework of a consistent linguistic theory, close to what is today known as “basic grammar”.

It has to be added, however, that Castrén was not only a linguist, but a multidisciplinary scholar equally versatile in the fields of ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history and human geography. Although he had both predecessors and successors, he is with good reason honoured as the pioneer and foremost representative of the Finnish school of linguistic anthropology, a tradition that was formed several decades before the international breakthrough of the field. Using a more modern term, his way of looking into languages in their overall extra-linguistic context, would correspond to the concept of “rich grammar”. Considering his work on mythology, especially the study of shamanism, he was also the founding figure of the so-called “Northern Paradigm” of mythological studies, a branch of comparative religion whose significance has only recently been fully understood.

Folklore and mythology were discussed by Castrén in a number of public lectures he gave at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki.

Linguistic topics were treated by him in a series of academic dissertations, presented between 1839 and 1850. In addition, he authored grammatical sketches with vocabularies on Ižma Komi and Meadow Mari, published in Latin in 1844 and 1845, respectively. After his last expedition he started working on a new series of German-language academic grammars to which he gave the general title *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*. The series was authorized and financed by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, and the first volume, on Khanty, appeared in 1849. In his remaining two years, Castrén managed to complete the manuscript for a second volume, on Samoyedic.

With Castrén’s death, however, the future of his grammars was in danger, and the series would have been discontinued had it not been taken up by his colleague Anton Schiefner (1817–1879). From 1852 to 1861, Schiefner rapidly completed the project by editing and publishing, not only the Samoyedic volume, but also five other volumes of Castrén’s linguistic field data, as well as a reissue of the Khanty volume. To these, he added the German editions of five volumes of Castrén’s lectures and earlier publications, including letters and travelogues, which were also being made available in parallel Swedish versions under the name *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, published between 1852 and 1870. This 12-volume international series immediately consolidated Castrén’s reputation and has been used as a basic tool of reference ever since—even for languages for which more extensive descriptions have subsequently become available.

In spite of the extremely valuable contribution made by Schiefner to Castrén’s legacy, it was almost immediately realized that even more needed to be done. For one thing, there remained important parts of Castrén’s materials that were not included in the series published by Schiefner. Moreover, Schiefner, who was not a field linguist, occasionally made mistakes when reading and interpreting Castrén’s handwritten materials, which were not always in an accessible format. The idea of republishing Castrén’s data in a more complete and correct form was first suggested as early as the 19th century, and this became one of the long-term objectives of the Finno-Ugrian Society, which was founded in Helsinki in 1883 with the specific goal of continuing Castrén’s work in the field of Uralic and Altaic linguistics and ethnography.

During the more than 125 years of its existence, the Finno-Ugrian Society has, indeed, cultivated Castrén’s legacy by both financing new field work by many generations of scholars and by publishing the results of their work. However, the full publication of Castrén’s manuscript materials has not been realized until now. After the idea had once again been mentioned in connection with the 110th anniversary of the Society in 1993, the plan of opening a new series of publications under the name *Manuscripta Castreniana* gradually ripened. This series is scheduled to contain a critical edition of all relevant parts of Castrén’s manuscripts, including

both linguistic descriptions and non-linguistic materials. The series will consist of both printed volumes and digital materials available on the web-site of the project.

In accordance with the original agreement with the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, Castrén's manuscripts were placed in the library of the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki, where Schiefner sent them after completing his work on them. For unknown reasons, however, a small part of the materials remained in the archives of the Academy in St Petersburg. The academy also received Castrén's important ethnographic collections from Siberia. The materials kept in Helsinki have been bound into 33 mainly folio-sized volumes, which, over the years, have been preliminarily catalogued and microfilmed. Unfortunately, the work has never been professionally completed, which is why the volumes still offer surprises to those delving into them.

For the new series of publications, the Finno-Ugrian Society has mobilized a representative team of experts. The volumes, published in a free order, are to be divided into three sections: *Linguistica*, *Realia* and *Personalia*. The *Linguistica* section will contain Castrén's grammatical and lexical data on all the languages he documented. The *Realia* section will contain his notes on extralinguistic realities, including ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history and geography. Finally, the *Personalia* section will contain his letters and travelogues, as well as a biography with a full bibliography of his works. The contents of all the volumes will be annotated on the basis of today's level of scholarship. In this connection, it may be recalled that large parts of Castrén's materials, including, in particular, those dealing with subsequently extinct languages, are the only extant documents on the topics they deal with.

English was chosen as the language of this series in order to give Castrén's oeuvre the visibility it deserves among the international and Anglo-Saxon readership for whom English is the first language of scholarly communication. The Swedish and German editions, published in the 19th century, will, of course, retain their historical value, but they are inevitably losing their relevance as sources of primary data. For practical reasons, though perhaps unfortunate for some readers, certain parts of the primary material in our new series will be made available only in the original languages, that is, mainly Swedish. This is particularly the case with Castrén's letters and travelogues. Even so, the present series will provide a basis for the future translation of these materials into other languages, including English.

Juha Janhunen

Editor's Foreword

M.A. Castrén considered ethnology as a historical science and an instrument for describing the early periods of Finnish history. On his expeditions, Castrén carried out ethnographic observations and made notes of the dwellings, the costumes, the way of life and the customs of indigenous Siberian peoples. Castrén's most important ethnological works, his ethnological lectures on Altaic peoples and his lectures on Finnish mythology are included in his collected works published posthumously by Anton von Schiefner. According to the programme drafted by the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, Castrén collected ethnological objects for the Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, and some items for the Ethnographic Museum of University of Helsinki. The present work concentrates on the collections which describe Castrén's merits in ethnological studies and museology.

The primary sources of this publication are the artefacts in the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg and the Museum of Cultures / National Museum of Finland in Helsinki. The collections consist of 65 artefacts, 46 of which are in the Peter the Great Museum and 19 in the Museum of Cultures. The items are on display in different exhibitions in the museums in Helsinki, but most of them are published here for the first time. Castrén worked in the field, but unfortunately did not specify the regions where the materials were acquired. B.G. Bogoraz published information on the circumstances of collecting on 19 April 1846, when native-born Semen Petrov Belozarov obtained for five roubles a fur coat, a cap and gloves for M.A. Castrén.¹ The items purchased for the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Helsinki were presumably Castrén's personal souvenirs.

This publication includes the papers with notes and the catalogues of items. The well-known expert of the Siberian Khanty and Mansi cultures, Elena Fedorova, Senior Researcher of the Department of Siberia in the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences considers the Castrén collection, and its keeping and research in the museum to be an important step of the development of the ethnographical research in Russia. Ildikó Lehtinen, Assistant Professor at the University of Helsinki and former Curator of the National Museum of Finland, considers the Castrén Collection to be the first Siberian artefacts in the Ethnographic Museum of University of Helsinki, now the Museum of Cultures / National Museum of Finland.

M.A. Castrén's manuscripts are kept in the National Library of Finland. Castrén's ethnographic material was left unpublished by Anton Schiefner. Therefore, the Finno-Ugrian Society will publish the revised edition of his ethnographic notes on the Khanty, the Samoyeds, and Tungusic peoples in the future.

The transliteration from Cyrillic follows the scholarly transliteration standard. Following the Manuscripta Castreniana series, I have used some place-names in established forms as Yenisei *pro* Enisej, Trans-Bajkal *pro* Trans-Bajkal.

I would like to express my particular thanks to the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences for the opportunity to publish the Castrén collection in the Manuscripta Castreniana series and to Dr. Julia A. Kupina, Deputy Director of museum activities at the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) for her assistance to the realization of this publication project. The staff of the Museum of Cultures / National Museum of Finland aided me in the realization of this project. My sincere thanks for the peer review go to Professor Helena Ruotsala of the University of Turku and Professor Zoltán Nagy of the University of Pécs. I also thank the Finno-Ugrian Society for accepting this work to be included in its Travaux ethnographiques series.

Ildikó Lehtinen
23 October 2017

1. Bogoraz 1927, 34.

Matthias Alexander Castrén

COLLECTIONES MUSEORUM

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

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)**

E.G. Fedorova

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 Turukhansk district of Krasnojarsk Krai). Moreover, this collection includes items which belonged to the southern Khantys in Tobolsk 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. Алексеев, 1988, 15.

10. The MAE published the collection on the website, in the on-line 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 Kraj 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 palm) exceeding 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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Catalogue

The Tungusic People / Evenkis

*Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj),
Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district).
First third of the 19th century.*



1. Palma (*koto*). Wood, steel, birch bark, glue. Cutting, forging, bonding, winding. Total length 183cm, handle length 145cm, blade length 38cm, maximum stick width 4.5cm, maximum blade width 5.5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). The Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-11.



2. Hunting bow. Wood, bark, glue. Cutting, bending, gluing. Length 195cm, width 4cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-12.



3. Protective plate, used for archery. Mammoth tusk (?), rawhide. Bone carving, engraving. Length 8.5cm; width 4cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-4.



4. Men's summer coat. Tanned deerskin, cotton fabric, leather, glass beads, glass marbles, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), natural colours. Cutting, sewing, painting, beadwork. Length 93cm, width at the hem 130cm, sleeve length 44cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-24a (which forms a set with item No. 27-24b).



Published: Василевич, Г.М., 1958. Тунгусский кафтан. *Сборник Музея антропологии и этнографии XVIII*: 122–178, p. 147, Figure 10. Издательство АН СССР, Москва – Ленинград.

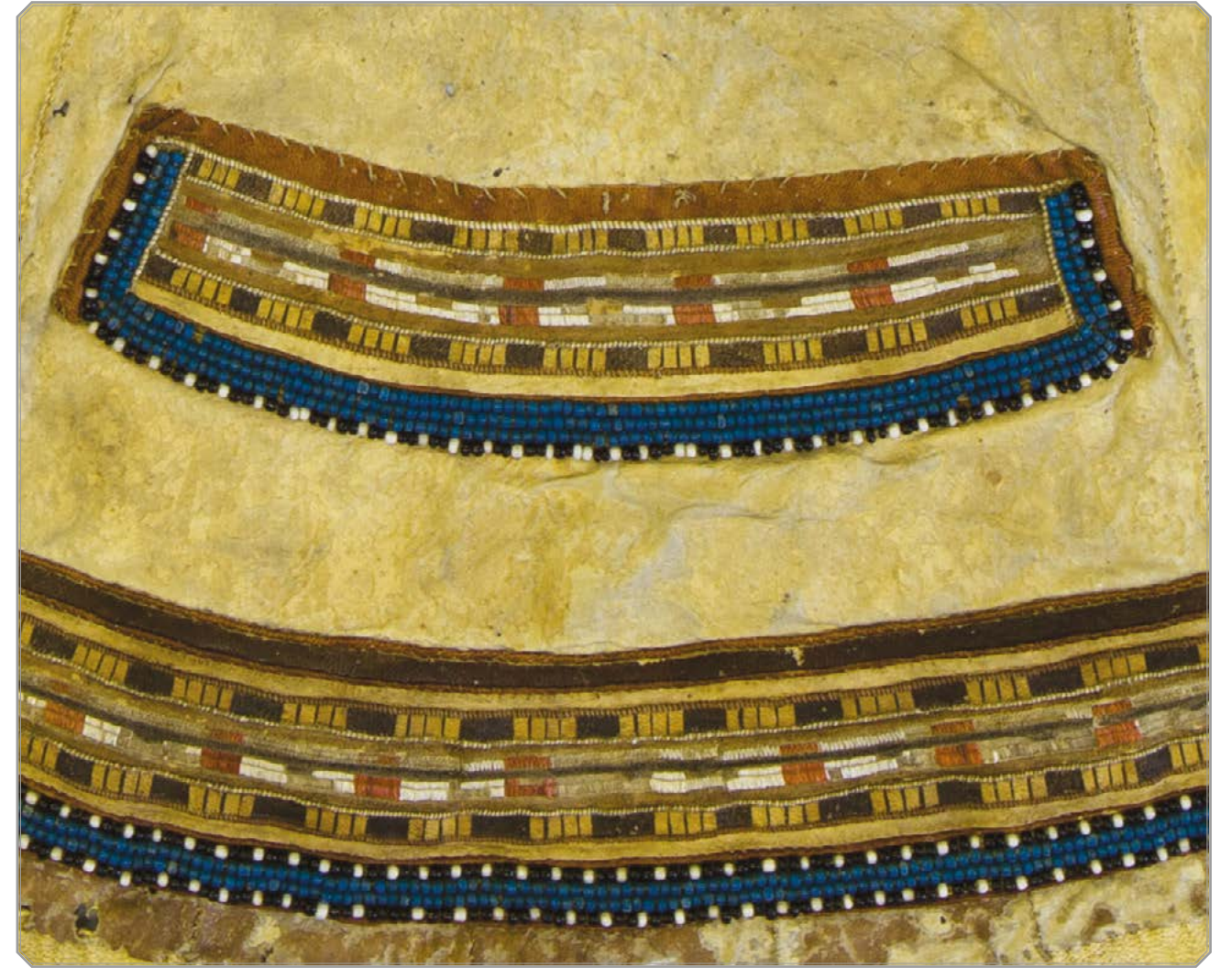


5. Men's summer breast collar. Tanned deerskin, leather, glass beads, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), metal, mineral paint. Cutting, sewing, embroidery, dyeing, metal processing. Length with fringe 88cm, width 72cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-24b (which forms a set with item No. 27-24a).



6. Men's bib. Tanned deerskin, leather, goat fur, cotton fabric, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), glass beads, natural colour. Cutting, sewing, beadwork, painting. Length 68cm, width at the base 23cm, width at the top 14cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-19.





7. Men's apron. Tanned deerskin, leather, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), glass beads, natural colour. Cutting, sewing, painting, beadwork. Length 81cm, width at the hem 47cm, width at the top 13cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-22.



8. Bib. Tanned deerskin, leather, goat fur, cotton fabric, glass beads, sinew thread (*chordae tendinae*), natural colour. Cutting, sewing, painting, beadwork. Length 68cm; width at the base 29cm; width at the top 15.5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-20.





9. Women's trousers. Tanned deerskin, fabrics, cotton, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), glass beads, pearls, natural colours, deer hair. Cutting, sewing, painting, beadwork. Length 47cm, width at the base 58cm width at the top 48cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turukansk region (modern Turukansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-18.



10. Women's bib. Tanned deerskin, leather, goat fur, fabrics, cotton, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), glass beads, pearls, natural colours. Cutting, sewing, painting, beadwork. Length 63cm, width at the base 25cm, width at the top 14cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turukansk region (modern Turukansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-16.

11. Women's apron. Tanned deer-skin, glass beads, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), natural colours, and copper. Cutting, sewing, painting, beadwork, casting. Length with fringe 85cm, width at the hem 55cm, width at the top 18cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-21.





12. Footwear. Tanned deerskin, skin strips of a deer, cotton fabric, glass beads, sinew thread (*chordae tendinae*), natural colours. Cutting, sewing, painting, beadwork. Length of the sole 23cm, width of the sole 9cm, height of the collar 72cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-27 / 1 & 2.



13. Mittens. Tanned deerskin, fabrics, cotton, deer hair, glass beads, natural colours, sinew thread (chordae tendinae). Cutting, sewing, dyeing. Length 27cm, width 12cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-13 / 1 & 2.



14. Mittens. Tanned deerskin, fabrics, cotton, deer hair, glass beads, mineral colours, sinew thread (chordae tendinae). Cutting, sewing, painting, beadwork. Length 22.5cm, width 12cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-14 / 1 & 2.





15. Mittens. Tanned deerskin, glass beads, sinew thread (chordae tendinae). Cutting, sewing, beadwork. Length 32cm, width 15cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-15 / 1 & 2.





16. Headband. Tanned deerskin, glass beads, tin, sinew thread (chordae tendinae). Cutting, beadwork, stamping. Height 6cm, diameter at the base 18cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-23.



17. Tobacco pipe. Mammoth bone, wood. Thread. Length 16.5 cm, width 1.8cm, height with cup 5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-5a, b, c, & d.





18. Pouch for tobacco with sling. Tanned deerskin, leather, glass beads, glass pearls, iron, copper. Chamois dressing, sewing, beading, moulding, hatching. Pouch length with tassels 14.5cm, pouch width 10cm, sling total length 134cm, sling width 2cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-9.



19. Spirit depiction. Wood, glass beads, skin. Relief carving, drilling. Height 20.5cm, maximum width 5.5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-30/1.



20. Spirit depiction. Wood, glass beads, skin. Relief carving, drilling. Height 23.5cm, maximum width 6cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-30/2.

Published: Иванов, С.В., 1970. *Скульптура народов Севера Сибири. XIX – первая половина XX в.*, p. 175, Figure 159. Издательство «Наука», Ленинградское отделение.



21. Masketka (metal mask). Copper, tanned deerskin. Forging, stamping. Height 16.5cm, maximum width 10.5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-31/1.



22. Masketka (metal mask). Copper, tanned deerskin. Forging, stamping. Height 19cm, maximum width 9.5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-31/2.



23. A figurine of a bear. Bronze. Casting, drilling, grinding. Length 6.3cm, width 1.5cm, height 4.2cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Tungusic people (Evenkis). Archaeological object. Used by the Evenkis. MAE of RAS No. 27-32.

Yurak Samoyeds / Nenets

*Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj),
Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district).
First third of the 19th century.*



24. Needle for netting. Mammoth tusk. Bone carving. Length 14.5cm, width 2cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yuraks (Nenets). MAE of RAS No. 27-8.



25. Snow goggles. Silver, bronze. Hatching. Length with headbands 13.5cm, width 4.5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yuraks (Nenets). MAE of RAS No. 27-2.



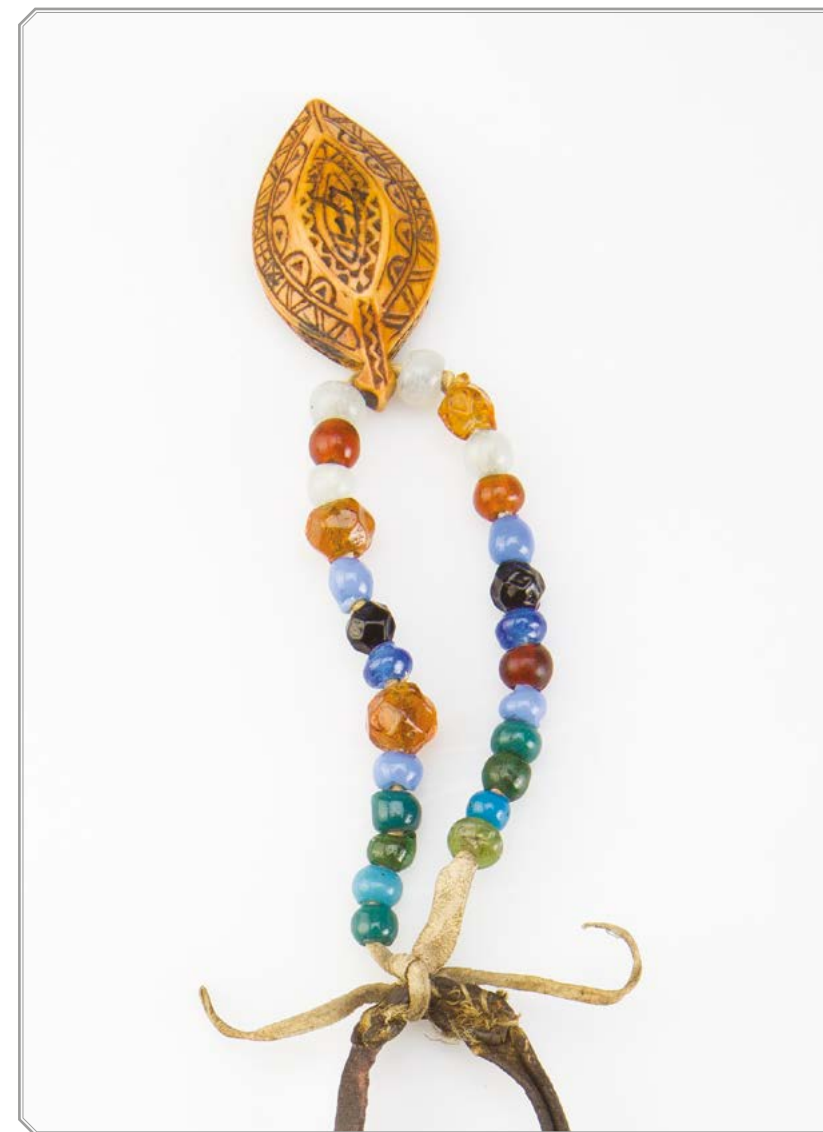
26. Belt. Leather, brass, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), elm. Leather dressing, sewing, stamping, wood processing. Length with buckles 87cm, width 6.5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yuraks (Nenets). MAE of RAS No. 638-5a.



27. Twine for sled roping. Deer tendons. Weaving. The skein length 37cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yuraks (Nenets). MAE of RAS No. 638-6.



28. Tobacco pipe. Mammoth tusk (?), tin. Bone carving, drilling, hatching. Length 30cm, height with a cup 6cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yuraks (Nenets). MAE of RAS No. 27-6.



29. Pouch. Tanned deerskin, cotton fabric, glass beads, bronze, steel, bone. Skin dressing, sewing, embroidery with beads, bone carving, forging, stamping. Length 9.5cm, width 7.5cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yuraks (Nenets). MAE of RAS No. 27-10.



30. Spirit depiction. Wood. Relief carving. Height 34.6cm, maximum width 6.7cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yuraks (Nenets). MAE of RAS No. 27-27-34.

Published: Хомич, Л.В., 1977. Религиозные культы у ненцев. Памятники культуры народов Сибири и Севера (вторая половина XIX – начало XX в.). Сборник Музея антропологии и этнографии XXXIII: 5–28, р. 20, Figure 12. Издательство «Наука», Ленинградское отделение.



31. Worship item in the form of a doll. The skin of a small, fur-bearing animal, cotton fabric. Wrapping. Height 35cm width at the base 12.8cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yuraks (Nenets). MAE of RAS No. 27-33.

Ostyaks / Khantys

*Tobol'sk Governorate (modern Tjumen' region).
First third of the 19th century.*



32. Women's shirt. Nettle cloth, woollen thread, glass marbles, glass beads, copper. Cutting, sewing, thread embroidery, moulding, beading. Length 110cm, width at the base 87cm, sleeve length 56cm. West Siberia. Tobol'sk Governorate (modern Tjumen' region). Ostyaks (Khantys). MAE of RAS No. 27-35.



33. Women's shirt. Nettle cloth, woollen thread, glass marbles, glass beads, copper. Cutting, sewing, thread embroidery, moulding, beading. Length 111cm, width at the base 76cm, sleeve length 52cm. West Siberia. Tobol'sk Governorate (modern Tjumen' region). Ostyaks (Khantys). MAE of RAS No. 27-36.



Published: Прыткова, Н.Ф., 1953. Одежда хантов. *Сборник Музея антропологии и этнографии XV*: 123-233: p. 171, Figure 51. Издательство АН СССР, Москва - Ленинград.



34. Musical instrument. Wood, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), glue. Carving, gluing. Length 47.5cm, width 11cm, height 3.8cm. West Siberia. Tobolsk Governorate (modern Tjumen' region). Ostyaks (Khan-tys). MAE of RAS No. 27-37.

Yenisei Ostyaks (Kets)

*Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj),
Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district).
First third of the 19th century.*



35. Tobacco pouch. Tanned deer-skin, cotton fabric, glass beads, copper. Skin dressing, sewing, embroidery, hatching, lacing. Length 9.5cm, width 7cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Kets (?). MAE of RAS No. 27-1.



36. Box with lid. Birch, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), wood, fish glue, natural colour. Cutting, stitching, colouring, gluing. Height 11.5cm, diameter 18cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Kets. MAE of RAS No. 27-40a & b.





37. Musical instrument with a bow. Wood, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), horse hair, glue, metal. Carving, gluing. Instrument length 62cm, width 14.5cm; height 5cm, bow length 57cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Kets (?). MAE of RAS No. 27-38a & b.

Published: Алексеенко, Е.А., 1988. Музыкальные инструменты народов севера Западной Сибири. Материальная и духовная культура народов Сибири. Сборник Музея антропологии и этнографии XLII: 5-23; p. 16. Издательство «Наука», Ленинградское отделение.



38. Shaman headgear. Brass, chamois. Metal processing, chamois dressing, riveting. Height 18cm, diameter at the base 17cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Kets. MAE of RAS No.27-25.



Yenisei Samoyeds (Enets)

*Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj),
Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district).
First third of the 19th century.*



39. Quiver. Tanned deerskin, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), wood. Sewing, wood processing. Maximum length 58cm, maximum width 16cm, strap lengths 87cm and 27cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Enets. MAE of RAS No. 638-2.



40. Snow goggles. Tanned deerskin, copper, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), glass beads, coarse thread. Sewing, embroidery with beads, moulding, stamping, hatching, perforation. Length 14cm, height 8cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Enets. MAE of RAS No. 638-4.



41. Bag for storing items. Tanned deerskin, sinew thread (chordae tendinae). Sewing. Maximum height 35.5cm, maximum width 43cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Enets. MAE of RAS No. 638-1.



Yakuts

*Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj),
Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district).
First third of the 19th century.*



42. Men's summer coat. Tanned deerskin, natural colour, brass, deer hair, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), glass beads, glass marbles, cotton. Cutting, sewing, painting, moulding. Length 96cm, width at the base 66cm, sleeve length 56cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yakuts (?), Tungusic (?) people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-28.



43. Cloak belonging to a shaman. Tanned deerskin, iron, copper, sinew thread (*chordae tendinae*), natural colour. Cutting, sewing, painting, forging, stamping. Length with fringe 123cm, width at the base 61cm, sleeve length 47cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Yakuts (?), Tungusic (?) people (Evenkis). MAE of RAS No. 27-26.





Ostyak-Samoyeds / Selkups

*Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj),
Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district).
First third of the 19th century.*



44. Musical instrument with bow. Wood, horse hair, glue. Carving, gluing. Instrument length 57cm, width 11cm, height 4.5cm, bow length 39cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Kraj), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). Selkups. MAE of RAS No. 27-39ab.

Origin Not Indicated



45. Hunting bow. Wood, root, bark, sinew thread (chordae tendinae), glue, colour. Cutting, gluing, colouring. Length 164cm, maximum width 4.5cm. Siberia. MAE of RAS No. 733-3.



46. Protective plate used for archery. Iron, skin, glass beads. Hatching, skin dressing, lacing. Length 11.5cm, width 4.7cm. Siberia, Enisejsk Governorate (modern Krasnojarsk Krai), Turuxansk region (modern Turuxansk district). MAE of RAS No. 27-3.



**The M.A. Castrén Collection
at the Museum of Cultures /
the National Museum of Finland**

Ildikó Lehtinen

The Ethnographic Museum in Helsinki

In Finland, during the period 1770–1800, scholars had started the process of creating national history. At the Royal Academy of Turku, Professor Henrik Gabriel Porthan was the founder of Finnish humanistic research creating the basis for critical historical research in the field of mythology and folk poetry. In 1779, Porthan studied at the University of Göttingen, where he met August Ludwig Schlözer who identified and classified European and northern Asian languages, amongst them the Uralic family of languages. He introduced the concept of ethnography as a historical description of peoples in his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* published at Halle as part of the *Allgemeine Welthistorie* in 1771.¹ Following Schlözer's works, Porthan had extended Schlözer's pattern of relationship to include the so-called 'Finnic' peoples, the Sámi, Biarmians, Estonians, Kurlanders, Finns, Karelians, Ingrians and Votians. In Porthan's view, the description of grammar and syntax of the Finno-Ugric languages could be achieved by visiting the speakers of each of these languages and studying them in the field.² Porthan wanted to discover the historical origins of the Finnic peoples with linguistic studies, but he was also interested in prehistory, numismatics, and art. As the librarian of the Royal Academy of Turku from 1772 to 1777, he started, upon his own initiative, to keep and inventory the Academy's numismatic and art collection.³ His role was quite active as the museum keeper. The numismatic collection was augmented by donations and as a result there were 76 medals in the collection by 1796. Porthan represented the collections in his lectures, and in 1786, he was invited to be a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. Upon H.G. Porthan's initiative, the collection *Kongl. Academiens Mynt- och Medaille Samling* was inventoried in 1802.⁴ There was a modest ethnological collection at the Academy that had been acquired through commerce and seafaring and donations from Admiral Arvid Adolf Etholén in 1825–1826.

This collection was destroyed in the Fire of Turku in 1827, which also destroyed the Academy.⁵

Emperor Nicholas I's edict of 21 October 1827 ordered the University to relocate from Turku to Helsinki, which had become the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1812. In 1828, the University was renamed the *Imperial Alexander University in Finland*. The University had a Coin and Art Cabinet, containing numismatic, medal and art collections⁶, as well as artefacts obtained from 'indigenous peoples', especially from Alaska. Owing to donations from Admiral Arvid Adolf Etholén, the number of these ethnographic objects grew during the 1830 and 1840s.⁷ In 1830, Professor Johan Gabriel Linsén, the director of the museum, bought a noteworthy numismatic collection from Anders Blad, while at the same time he refused to purchase a collection of Alaskan materials offered by the widow of Admiral Schismareff. Linsén argued that there were continuous additions to the Alaska collection through donations from Arvid Adolf Etholén. Nonetheless, there was only one item from Finland, a Sámi cradle.⁸ Linsén ultimately appreciated the ethnographic collection, and in 1835, upon his initiative, it was transferred to its own museum with the original Swedish name of *Ethnographiskt Museum*, the 'Ethnographic Museum'.⁹ The collection contained 'various curiosities, such as old weapons, clothing, jewellery etc.'¹⁰ The positive attitude of the museum's director to the ethnographic collection might have been due to Linsén's visit to C.J. Thomsen in Copenhagen in 1830s.¹¹

The historian Gerhard Friedrich Müller, in Russified form Feodor Ivanovič Miller, launched ethnography as a descriptive study of peoples in the 1730s and 1740s. This was followed by the linguist August Schlözer and the librarian Adam František Kollár with their concepts of the historical description of peoples. In 1787, Alexandre-César Chavannes, professor of theology in Lausanne, was the first to use the term 'ethnologie'.¹² Ethnography as a discipline was established during the nineteenth century in specialized societies and ethnographic museums. Interest in ethnography and the collection of ethnographic material spread among European museums. The first ethnographic museums were founded in St Petersburg, Leiden, and Copenhagen in the years 1836–41.¹³ In 1841, C.J. Thomsen founded the Ethnographic Museum in Copenhagen¹⁴ using the collections of the Oldnorsk Museum as its basis. In St Petersburg, the Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences became an independent institution in 1836, and Anders Johan Sjögren became its first director in 1845.¹⁵ The opening of a new large gallery for the ethnographic collections at the British

5. Vuorela 1977, 11/1; Varjola 1981, 52.
6. *Myntsamling, Myntkabinett, Mynt-, Medalj- och konstsamlingarna, Mynt- och medaljkabinett*, Lagus 1885, 13.
7. Varjola 1990, 26–31.
8. Talvio 2005, 74–75; Varjola 1990, 26–31; Talvio 2017, 30–32.
9. Koivunen 2015, 43; Talvio 2005, 76.
10. Talvio 2005, 76: 'åtskilliga märkvärdigheter, tillkomna genom menskohand, såsom gamla vapen, klädedrägter, prydnader m.m.'.
11. Talvio 2005, 78.
12. Vermeulen 2015, 131, 314, 316.
13. Vermeulen 2015, 4, 426–427, Table 12.
14. Koivunen 2015, 43 / 65.
15. Vermeulen 2015, 409; Branch 1995, 82.

16. Kostet 2005, 25; Vermeulen 2015, 426.
17. Koivunen 2015, 4.
18. Kostet 2010, 24.
19. Koivunen 2015, 44.
20. Färling’s catalogue. Utländska afvdelningen, 2.
21. Vuorela 1977, 65.
22. Minutes of the University Council 1850 1/V § 27; ‘Consistorium bifaller tin inlösen af en mångd. Ethnografiska föremål, samtade af Doctor Castren under hans resors.’ Record of the Ethnological collections VK432–VK448.
23. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 1856/4, 1863/7; Varjola 1989, 327; Varjola 1990, 43–47.
24. Varjola 1989, 328; Varjola 1990, 46; Koivunen 2015, 46.

Museum in 1845 influenced the founding of ethnographic institutes in Europe.¹⁶

In 1849 in Finland, the University of Helsinki appointed Gabriel Rein, professor of history and rector of the university, to the post of director of the Ethnographic Museum.¹⁷ According to Finnish museologist Juhani Kostet, the history as an academic discipline had a strong influence on the activities of the museum. Historical research needed source materials for reference, and archive institute and museums had to be provided for them. Ethnological artefacts were regarded as sources for historians.¹⁸ The Ethnographic Museum in Helsinki was quite modest; the most valuable collection was the above-mentioned Etholén Collection from Russian Alaska by Arvid Adolf Etholén, explorer and Chief Manager (Governor) at the Russian-American Company who donated the collections to the University in 1829, 1834, and 1846. The inventory indicated the amount of the items; for example 80 artefacts from the American North West, the Islands of the Pacific, and approximately 20 items from Europe.¹⁹ The museum was housed in the University building, and the items were arranged in four showcases.²⁰ The collections were only for the use of students of the University.

Henrik August Reinholm, a collector of Finnish folklore, worked as the museum assistant from 1850 to 1856. His focus of interest was the collection of basic material shedding light on the history of the Finnish people. In 1839 he began a series of expeditions to different parts of southern Finland to collect folklore materials.²¹ On 1 May 1850 the Ethnographic Museum bought from Matthias Alexander Castrén a Tungus man’s costume, a Samoyed fur coat, some pipes, spoons, a comb and a knife, and Mongolian and Chinese ritual items. The museum assistant, H.A. Reinholm, most likely received and described these objects in writing.²²

In 1856, Henrik Johan Holmberg was appointed museum assistant. He was a Finnish mineralogist and chemist who travelled in Russian America in 1849–1852. During his stay, Holmberg assembled a rich collection of natural history specimens and studied local languages and the ethnography of the indigenous Alaskans. In 1852, Holmberg published the results of his researches with the title *Etnographische Skizzen über die Völker des russischen Amerika*²³, and offered his collection to the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Helsinki, but was turned down. The museum already had enough of these items. In 1853, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen purchased the Holmberg Collection for the National Museum of Denmark.²⁴

H.J. Holmberg focused on inventorying and organising the collections of the Ethnographic Museum. He described the artefacts

in detail, and published the museum’s first catalogue in 1859²⁵. The principle of Holmberg’s classification was based on continents, with European, Asian, African, American, and Australian sections. The Finnish artefacts belonged to the European collection. The Asian collection included Chinese items, and mostly artefacts of Siberian nomadic peoples, the Samoyed, Tungus, and Yakut, obtained by Castrén. Holmberg’s catalogue pointed out two facts. Considerable additions began to be made to the collection after 1849 and it now listed 1400 items. The size of the Finnish collection changed decisively, from only a couple of items in 1849 to 525 by 1859. The principle of collecting was changing as the Finnish items became the focus with the curiosities of the ‘Other’ in the background.²⁶

In the 1850s the policy of collection was passive, with the museum receiving items as donations from all parts of the world. The Alaska collection was the result of a research expedition, others were collected as souvenirs and curiosities. The museum offered a conception about cultures and peoples living outside Europe. The Samoyed fur coat, the Tungus costume, and objects of mammoth ivory represented the cultures of indigenous Siberian peoples until 1877 when the linguist August Ahlqvist made a research expedition to Siberia and purchased a collection of 100 items from the Khanty and Mansi.²⁷

Castrén was in Helsinki after his first expedition in 1844. He studied the Komi, Sámi, and Mari languages, worked on the grammar of Yurak Samoyed, prepared his doctoral thesis, and lectured at the university on Finnish grammar. In principle, he had the opportunity to visit the Ethnographic Museum at the university, but in practice he probably did not do so.

Defining ethnography

Ethnography as an independent discipline was invented by eighteenth-century German-speaking historians. The definition comprised the origins, languages, customs, and institutions of different peoples. In 1992, Zoja Petrovna Sokolova, a Russian ethnologist and expert on Siberian ethnology, wrote: ‘It is no exaggeration to say that Castrén was a colossus in science.’²⁸ She was repeating the opinion of learned societies of his time, the Russian Geographical Society²⁹ and the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences³⁰. Castrén’s work, particularly on the Samoyedic languages and folklore, was appreciated. His work covered a large geographic area from the Altai Mountains to the Arctic Ocean and from the Yenisei to the White Sea.³¹ In 1927, Lev Jakovlevič Šternberg expressed his

25. Holmberg 1859; Koivunen 2015, 51.
26. Koivunen 2015, 54.
27. Lehtinen 2002b, 31.
28. Sokolova 1992, 10.
29. Результаты 1849, 153. Castrén was invited to become member of the Russian Geographical Society. Korhonen 1986, 65.
30. Результаты 1849, 156; Sjögren 1853, 3-32; Ламанский 1856, 24–93.
31. Результаты 1849, 156; Пыпинъ 1892, 395; Sokolova 1992, 10.

32. Штернберг 1927, 50, 53, 56; Donner 1932, 5; Aalto 1971, 87.
33. Lehtonen 1972, 226–228; Vuorela 1977, 56–57.
34. Castrén 1857, 8, Branch 1973, 256.
35. Castrén 1857, 8: ‘Det gifves ännu en kunskapsgren, som jag, både af egen böjelse och för sakens skull, anser mig förpligtad att göra till föremål för mina föreläsningar, nemligen *e t h n o g r a f i n*. Detta är ett nytt namn för en gammal sak. Man förstår dermed vetenskapen om folkslagens religion, samhällskick, seder och bruk, lefnadssätt, boningar, med ett ord: om allt, som hör till deras inre och yttre lif. Man kunde betrakta etnografi såsom en del af kulturhistorien, men icke alla nationer ega en historia i högre mening, utan deras historia utgöres just af ethnografin.’ Vuorela 1977, 20, translated by Peter Jones.
36. Haltsonen 1947, 17, 21; Lehtonen 1972, 196–197.
37. Siikala 2002, 82.
38. Lehtonen 1972, 196–197; Vuorela 1977, 17.

appreciation of Castrén’s activity from the point of view of ethnography, pointing out that Castrén was the first modern ethnologist to proclaim ethnography to be a scholarly discipline equivalent to other academic disciplines.³² In Finland, Sulo Haltsonen and Juhani U.E. Lehtonen have emphasized the significance of Castrén’s research in Finno-Ugrian ethnography. Lehtonen argued that in Finland the definition of ethnography derived from M.A. Castrén. A scientific programme to explain the origins of the Finns and Finno-Ugrian peoples determined the activities of Finnish ethnologists for decades.³³ Castrén namely defined the subject in his inaugural lecture on being appointed to the chair of Finnish Language in 1851. He saw that it was a ‘new name for an old thing’ including the observation and research of the religion, customs, behaviour and the way of life of peoples.³⁴

‘There exists a branch of learning which both my own interests and the nature of the subject itself lead me to regard as a field that I feel it my duty to lecture upon, namely ethnology. It is a new name for an old thing. It comprehends a science which deals with the religion, social conditions, customs, and traditions of nations, in brief with everything that concerns their inner and external lives. Ethnology could be regarded as a part of cultural history, but not all nations have a history in the highest sense of the word – it is this very study, ethnology, which constitutes their history.’³⁵

The examples in the comparative ethnography offered by Castrén were characteristic of religion and folklore, and its crowning achievement, the Kalevala. Along with folklore, the Finnish collectors of oral materials, such as H.A. Reinholm, Antero Warelius, Elias Lönnrot and others, noted the way of life of Finnish peasants and their material culture, including costumes, dwellings and household items.³⁶ The expeditions of Elias Lönnrot, the collector of the runes of the Kalevala included the taking of notes in the spirit of cultural history. Anna-Leena Siikala has emphasized that Lönnrot’s work reflected the German research tradition³⁷. It is also a fact that the director of the Ethnographic Museum, Gabriel Rein, supported the project of the Russian statistician Peter von Köppen, who had created a map depicting the ethnology or national characteristics of the Russian Empire. In 1846, Köppen obtained a grant for the study of conditions in Finland, and Gabriel Rein arranged that the money be placed at the disposal of the vicar of Loimaa, Antero Warelius.³⁸ In 1848, Rein published in the journal *Finlands Almänna*

Tidning an instruction for the collectors of regional history which consisted of geographical and statistical descriptions, and ethnographic observations.³⁹

During his second expedition Castrén mentioned many times that the main objective was to analyse the Siberian peoples in ethnographic and linguistic perspective. Castrén followed the tradition of Russian research expeditions in describing different peoples from ethnographic, archaeological, statistical, historical and linguistic viewpoints. Han F. Vermeulen has pointed out that in Russia, the description of peoples emerged from the field in the context of the Russian exploration of Siberia and Alaska. The scientific expeditions were part of Russian expansion and the post-conquest colonization of Siberia in the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ The German Enlightenment was a background influence, and German philosophers and explorers also had a noteworthy role in founding the new academic discipline of ethnography.⁴¹ From the point of view of research concerning the Siberian peoples, the definitive expedition was that of Gerhard Friedrich Müller in 1733–1743. He distinguished between objects from the natural world and those from material history. This distinction stemmed from the Renaissance separation of *Natura* and *Artes*. In 1740, he prepared instructions for explorers that resembled modern ethnographic fieldwork. Müller suggested that they observe ‘external’ (visible) items, such as outward appearance, clothing, and housing, via languages and physical construction, and ‘internal’ (invisible) items, such as indigenous knowledge, beliefs etc.⁴² Most likely it was his ethnographical instructions that led the Russian Geographic Society in 1846 to research the peoples of the Russian Empire in ethnographic perspective. The first chairman of the Department of the Ethnography of the Russian Geographical Society was Karl Ernst von Baer (1846–1849), who defined as the purpose of the Society the study of different peoples, the non-Russians or so-called *inorodets* (‘peoples of different birth’) of the Russian Empire. He knew that many Siberian peoples who had existed in historical times had disappeared. Von Baer approached ethnography as a science of empire, focusing on the diversity of the human race.⁴³ For Castrén, the scientific description of the Siberian peoples was a part of the idea of the nation state, or the cultural nationalism of Herder.⁴⁴ Although the task was clearly a national one, and was going to strengthen Finnish identity, the expedition followed the traditions of Russian researchers. Castrén collected material as an objective researcher. He was a theoretician, and at the same time an empiricist.⁴⁵ The research method, comparative ethnography, adopted from the German-Russian tradition meant the observation of different peoples. On his

39. Haltsonen 1947, 23.
40. Vermeulen 2015, 23.
41. Vermeulen 2015, 21, 23.
42. Элерт –Хинтцше 2009, 11–12; Vermeulen 2015, 158, 168–169, Table 2.
43. Степанов 1946, 189; Vermeulen 215, 410.
44. Branch 1995, 83.
45. Korhonen 1971, 65.

- 46. Castrén 1855, 31–32; 1870, 149.
- 47. Sokolova 1992, 11.
- 48. Van Maanen 1988, 15.
- 49. Korhonen 1986, 50; Fewster 2006, 99.
- 50. Vuorela 1977, 21. J.G. Frazer cited Castrén’s works, Frazer 1919, 173, 186; Frazer 1920, 141–143.

expeditions Castrén described the clothing, the dwellings, the ritual textiles and objects of the Sámi, Karelians, Russians, Samoyeds and Khanty as the collectors of oral tradition. On his second expedition, M.A. Castrén was funded by the Imperial St Petersburg Academy of Sciences. In his journal of 19/31 May 1845, Castrén noted that the Academy of Sciences and its scholars had furnished him with instructions to follow these guidelines to obtain these aims.⁴⁶ From the point of view of ethnography, the instructions were definitive: he had to get all the facts and knowledge directly from the indigenous peoples.

‘The Academy’s wish is that Mr Castrén has as his main object the study of languages and major dialects of all peoples roaming over the above-mentioned territories. ... From the historical point of view Mr. Castrén shall pay attention to the oral traditions and legends of these peoples about their origins and their ancient past. ... His long contacts with the aboriginal peoples will make it perfectly easy for him to study their physical constitution, daily life, clothes, rites, rituals and customs, standard of education and their opinions about faith as well as everything which makes it possible to describe these peoples and all their specific features.’⁴⁷

M.A. Castrén used the methods of ethnographic field work, interviews and observation. The aim was to classify and compare cultures, traditions and societies like plants and to note how a single culture evolved from savage to a civilized state⁴⁸ Castrén was convinced that ethnography was a historical science, an instrument for illustrating the earlier periods of Finnish history. The publication of the Kalevala in 1835 inspired Castrén, and he lectured on it in the spring term of 1841 at the University of Helsinki,⁴⁹ Castrén accepted that every line of the Kalevala was not original, and he followed the systematic and comparative approach for the purpose of a description of different peoples. He emphasized that by its very nature ethnography should be comparative. Castrén was an ethnological theoretician defining precisely the concept of exogamy and animism before E.B. Taylor.⁵⁰ In the field, he was an empiricist, an observer and a collector. The Finnish cultural anthropologist Olavi Louheranta has classified the behaviour of ethnologists on the basis of John Van Maanen’s categorization, placing Castrén, and also Kai Donner, the Finnish linguist and ethnologist, in the category of field workers. The typical traits were the observation, the use of indigenous peoples’ language, adaptation to attendant conditions,

the dwelling system and clothing.⁵¹ In this perspective, Castrén was a pioneer of Siberian ethnology, spending a month or more in the same place, and having the opportunity to make comparisons.

‘Comparative ethnography thus becomes unavoidably necessary for us in order to comprehend correctly our ancient songs and ancient beliefs in general. But alongside that it holds another interest for us. Together with linguistics, comparative ethnography should provide decisive results concerning the Finnish people’s kinship with other peoples. In fact, hardly any other definite way to trace this kinship could be suggested than that which is provided by a comparison of the ethnic groups’ language, religions, customs and ways of life.’⁵²

What did this concept mean in practice? In his journal entry of 10 June 1846 by the Yenisei, Castrén noted some questions connecting ethnographic study to the systematic collecting for the description of Siberian peoples.

- 1. Name.
- 2. Family.
- 3. Rivers and their names.
- 4. Livelihoods: hunting and games fishing techniques.
- 5. Religion: God, magic, spirits.
- 5. *Kalym* – bridewealth.
- 6. Funeral traditions.
- 7. Rods for hunting and boats.
- 8. The Bear.
- 9. Tents and huts ‘землянка’.
- 10. Clothes.
- 11. Traps. (?)
- 12. Medicine.⁵³

Antal Reguly, a Hungarian contemporary researcher of Finno-Ugrian languages, was involved in similar work. In 1843–45 and 1845–46, he studied the Mansi language in Siberia and at the same time he addressed their ethnography. For Reguly, ethnography was complementary to linguistic research. ‘In my studies, I am both the linguist and the ethnographer. Both sciences interest me, because it is very difficult to separate one from the other. To acquire a full result in linguistic studies, one needs the support of ethnography.’⁵⁴ Reguly defined ethnography in the same manner as Castrén did. ‘On my expeditions I had to observe all the traits, the appearance

- 51. Van Maanen 1988, 91; Louheranta 2006, 258–263.
- 52. ‘Den komparativa ethnografin blir således oundgängligen nödvändig, för att vi rätt må begripa våra forntida sånger och forntidens föreställningar i allmänhet. Men derjemte eger den för oss äfven ett annat intresse. I förening med lingvistiken bör den komparativa ethnografin lemna ett afgörande resultat i frågan om det finska folkets släktskap med öfriga folkstammar. Ja, det torde knappt gifvas någon annan säker utväg att komma denna släktskap på spåren, som jemförelsen af folkslagens språk, religion, seder och lefnadsätt erbjuda.’ Castrén 1857, 11. Translated by Jüri Kokkonen.
- 53. MAC Coll. 539, Varia 6.
- 54. Korompay 1989, 119.

55. Szij 2012, 227.
56. Branch 2006, 328.
57. Branch 1973, 256; Korhonen 1986, 48–49.
58. Lehtonen 1972, 195–200, Branch 1973, 257; Korhonen 1986, 50.
59. See Fedorova in the present volume.
60. Den 15. Mars, 45. MAC Coll. 539.
61. Den 19. Mars, 45. MAC. Coll. 539.
62. See Fedorova in the present volume.

of peoples, their work, characters, clothes, customs, superstition, mythology, antiquities and all.’⁵⁵

For both researchers, A.J. Sjögren’s contribution to ethnography and its meaning were definitive. Sjögren was deeply impressed by Johann Gottfried Herder’s ideas about oral tradition as a source for historical studies.⁵⁶ On the other hand, following Rasmus Rask’s work, he emphasized comparative language studies. They both influenced his studies in Ingria, among the Komi, and later in the Caucasus. In 1844, Sjögren was awarded the rank of full academician of the languages and ethnography of the Finnic and Caucasian peoples at the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences.⁵⁷ His post in the Imperial Academy served as a model for the Chair of Finnish Language and Literature founded seven years later at the University of Helsinki.⁵⁸

The other factor that must be mentioned to complete the field of ethnography was the role of the Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. In 1845, A.J. Sjögren became its director. The museum’s collections were quite exclusive in both the quantitative and qualitative sense, including the artefacts collected by the physical and topographical expeditions of Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, Peter Simon Pallas and Ivan Ivanovič Lepexin, Gerhard Friedrich Müller, and others.⁵⁹ The Academy encouraged the explorers to collect artefacts to categorize different peoples. Before the second expedition, M.A. Castrén spent some time in St Petersburg. He visited the Hermitage, the Academy of Art and the Cabinet of Art.⁶⁰ On the 19th March, Castrén met Prince Mixail Aleksandrovič Dondukov-Korsakov, the Vice-President of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and saw the Academy’s zoological, ethnographic, numismatic and mineral collections, and finally the collections from Egypt⁶¹ which made a deep impression on him.

Upon the initiative of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and the Russian Geographic Society, Castrén obtained an ethnographical collection of objects for the Peter the Great Museum in St Petersburg.⁶² How did the new ethnographic task of collecting items succeed? How did Castrén relate to the collection of objects for the Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial St Petersburg Academy of Sciences? In his journal entry of 1/13 December 1845 (27.2.1845–25.9.1845), Castrén listed six groups of artefacts including 10 items:

- No 1. Three common game arrows one of which is a reindeer arrow.
- No 2. Two arrows for bear hunting, the sharp one with a barb.
- No 3. Bird arrow.
- No 4. Arrow for a trap bow for otter hunting.
- No 5. The same with a string attached to the bow-string, so that when an otter touches the string along its path, the arrow will be released.
- No 6. Two common arrows for hunting large game animals, particularly reindeer arrows from Tomsk.⁶³

Unfortunately, these artefacts are not included in the collections of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of Russian Academy of Sciences or the National Museum of Finland, but Castrén mentioned them in his journal as the weapons of the Tomsk Samoyeds.⁶⁴ After that date, Castrén mentioned twice a package and the shipping of ethnographic items to the collections of the Ethnographic museum of Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences.⁶⁵ In a letter to A.J. Sjögren dated 17./27.7.1846, Castrén explained the circumstances of the collecting. The Yakut fur coat, the Tungus bib, mittens, tobacco pipe, the Samoyed snow goggles, and the Ket shaman headgear were obtained via the same rural police chief who purchased the gloves in package No 18. In Castrén’s opinion, the price was not high, maybe some bottles of vodka. The Tungus fur coat was bought inexpensively with seven roubles, and the Yakut one with ten roubles. The comb, the arrows, the wrist bracer for a hunter, and the birch bark boxes cost four bottles of vodka and some tobacco, approximately totalling seven roubles.⁶⁶ The items interested Castrén as symbols of the history of the Siberian peoples. He sent three Siberian coins, two silver *grivna* pieces and a Samoyed idol to the secondary school of Kuopio.⁶⁷ The Russian linguists and ethnologists B.G. Bogoraz, L.Ja. Šternberg, B.Ja Vladimircov, and J.P. Koškin highly appreciated highly the ethnographic collection acquired by Castrén.⁶⁸

After M.A. Castrén’s return to Finland, the press celebrated him as a researcher of Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed languages from the point of view of Finnish identity, but there were no comments on the ethnographic collection. In 1850, the Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki bought objects which Castrén had apparently obtained as mementos for himself. Perhaps the collection was numerically insignificant in comparison with the famous Alaska collection, or the meaning of

63. 1/13, December 1845 (Dagbok 27.2.1845–25.9.1845). MAC Coll. 539.
64. Castrén 1846, 32–62; Castrén 1855, 184.
65. Castrén 1855, 257, 276–277, 352–535. Appendix. List of packages boxes.
66. Package list 19, 2: Yakut fur coat, 3: Tungus bib, 4: pair of Tungus mittens, 5: Tungus pipe, 8: Pair of Samoyed snow goggles, 10: Ket shaman headgear; Package list 19, 6: comb, 7: wrist bracer, 11: birch-bark boxes. Castrén noted the package material, fabric and cord which cost 4 roubles. MAC Coll. 539.
67. Castrén’s letter 17./29.7.1846 to Fabian Collan (1817–1851), history teacher and principal of the Kuopio secondary school from 1844 to 1850. MAC Coll. 539, 37.13. I wish thank Timo Salminen for this information. Unfortunately, these items were missing in 2017. Reply from the principal of the Kuopio secondary school, Samuli Laitinen, 12.6.2017.
68. Богораз 1927, 34; Кошкин 1927, 112; Штернберг 1927, 48–56; Владимирцов 1927.

69. Szij 2012, 262, 326.
70. June 1846, Castrén 1855, 221.

the Ethnographic Museum was important only for researchers at the University. In Hungary, the case of Reguly was different. The minutes of the Hungarian Academy mentioned the Reguly report in November 1847, and the ethnographic collection was presented at the same time.⁶⁹

Before going into more detail about the Castrén Collection, a few words should be mentioned about the activities in the museum’s sphere after the 1850s. The Ethnographic Museum acquired the first Finno-Ugrian objects from the Mari (Čeremis) in 1856 by Aug. Ahlqvist, and after that in 1878–1880, from the Udmurt (Votiak) by Max Buch. In the middle of the 1880s, A.O. Heikel enlarged the collections by adding Mordvinian, Mari and Udmurt embroidered folk costumes. After the founding of the Finnish Archaeological Society in 1870, museum activity expanded in Finland, and the students of the University decided to collect items in the countryside. The ethnographic collection consisted of more than 4,000 items, and in 1877 the Student Museum of Ethnography was created. Both museum collections merged in 1893 to form the State Museum of History and Ethnography, which was the first step for the creation of the National Museum of Finland. At the National Museum of Finland, the Museum of Cultures is in charge of the ethnographic and Finno-Ugrian collections.

The Castrén Collection at the Museum of Cultures / National Museum of Finland

Castrén observed the way of life of Siberian peoples, and he described in detail the clothing of different peoples. For Castrén, the market place in Turuxansk represented a fashion show.

‘I arrived at Turuxansk during the annual market fair. The most important part of this market fair is that it is also the time the indigenous people pay their crown taxes. – – In fact, nothing as remarkable can be found from the Turuxansk market fair as the processions of the Yenisei Ostyaks and the Samoyeds from all over as they march down the streets in their strange costumes.’⁷⁰

Castrén acquired a Samoyed fur coat, and an Evenki men’s costume, both of which, according to him, reflected the character of these people. The museum’s records contain little information about the Samoyed coat. ‘Fur coat of reindeer hide. Samoyed. Obtained from M.A. Castrén for the price of three roubles.’

The Samoyed full fur (VK434) coat is a piece of overwear with the hairs cut very short. The ethnic designation of ‘Samoyed’ could be mean the Yurak Samoyed, or Tavgy or Avam Samoyed. The cut of this fur coat reveals that it belonged to the Nganasans or Enets⁷¹ According to Andrej Aleksandrovič Popov, a scholar of Nganasan culture, this type of coat was made for everyday wear.⁷² It is sewn of one white or black reindeer hide and it had to be procured during the summer slaughtering as the hairs were shorter then. On the front of the coat, there were two strips, which were bordered with ochre-coloured chamois. Below the belt, the garments were lined with two strips, which the larger one bordered with red chamois. White dog skin was sewn on the hem of the fur coat. Chamois gussets dyed with ochre are inserted in the armpits and in the cuffs. The undercoat had a hood, but no gloves.

The fur coat was worn, the exterior is without any hair, and consequently it is very difficult to note the colour of the reindeer hides. The low price, three roubles, suggests that Castrén acquired it in this condition. This Samoyed coat illustrated the image of indigenous peoples whose livelihood depended on the condition of natural environment and reindeer hides. It could have belonged to the Nganasans or Tavgy-Samoyeds on the term of *lû* or the Enets or Turuxansk Samoyed.⁷³ In the description of the Siberian peoples of G.F. Müller, there is a long note about the items of clothing of the Turuxansk Samoyeds which are called *págge*, *napku* in Russian.⁷⁴ Both Russian researchers of the Enets and the Nganasans, Andrej Popov and Nadežda Prytkova, have emphasized that this type of fur coat was quite similar among the Nganasans and the Enets.

Pirjo Varjola, who published the famous Alaska collection of the National Museum of Finland, assumed that the Samoyed fur coat was made for Castrén in a Kamassian village.⁷⁵ It is a fact that Castrén wore a Samoyed fur coat, but the above-mentioned one without hairs is not fit for a harsh climate. In the drawing made by Castrén he is dressed in a fur coat with hairs facing outwards, and open at the front. The Nganasan and Enets overwear represents an arctic type of dress, which is closed, but the Kamassians who practised hunting in the taiga-area, had a coat open at the front.⁷⁶ The package list by Castrén does not mention any Kamassian items. Instead, there is an Eastern Samoyed fur coat that could precisely be the artefact in question: ‘Similar dress was worn in official situations and particularly together with the West Samoyed or Yurak fur coat; the difference between a fur coat of the Eastern and Western Samoyeds is insignificant.’⁷⁷ My hypothesis is probably correct, because the previous one (3/1) meant an Eastern Samoyed costume, which has a horn-shaped part on the forehead. This type of

71. Popov 1966, 124–125; Прыткова 1970, 49–53; Lehtinen 2002a, 141–153.
72. Popov 1966, 125.
73. Castrén 1855, Tawgy-Samojedisches Wörterverzeichnis, II, 43-7.
74. Миллер 2009, 134–135.
75. Varjola 1981, 60.
76. A Kamassian fur coat in the collection of the National Museum of Finland made of elk hide, which was obtained by the Finnish linguist and ethnologist Kai Donner in the village of Abalakovo in 1914. VK4934:244.
77. Package box 3/3. Castrén 1855, 276.

78. Попов 1966, 126, Figure 67/B; Прыткова 1970, 58–59.
79. May 1846, Sym River. Castrén 1855, 213.
80. VK435:1, VK435:2, VK435:3, VK435:4; the last picture is missing.
81. Василевич 1958: 146–147; See also the item in the Castrén Collection mentioned by Fedorova herein.
82. Василевич 1958, 147.

overcoat was the Nganasan *sovik*, which was made for travelling and had a characteristic trait of the hood with a reindeer tail sewn to the front.⁷⁸

On the contrary, the item of Evenki men’s dress represented a festive outfit. Castrén clearly considered the Evenki costumes to be more beautiful than the other ones, and called them flatteringly the ‘Siberian nobility’. These Evenki artefacts demonstrate the aesthetic preference that was typical of the museums’ collecting activity in this period.

‘The most remarkable part of Tungus clothing is a tight tailcoat made of chamois leather or furry reindeer skin. It is usually decorated with glass beads, strips of baize and fur and so tightly fit that it is a challenge to button it up. Even in Tungus fashions the front of the costume should be open so that the bead-covered chest-piece may be seen in all its glory. On the top of their head, the Tungus people of Sym wear a small round Tatar cap which sparkles, also covered in beads. Their short breeches are made of fine chamois leather as are their shoes which are also embellished with bead embroidery. A carrier belt decorated with beads hangs from one shoulder, carrying a small flint and steel bag made of glass beads.’⁷⁹

The men’s dress contains a fur coat, a pair of boots, a bib and a strap with a powder pouch.⁸⁰ The price was higher than that of the Samoyed coat; the Museum bought these items for 15 roubles. The costume is very well preserved, decorated, and named by the museum’s record as men’s festive dress. The museum assistant, H.A. Reinholm, and later H.J. Holmberg defined the ethnic group as *Tungusic* without any notes concerning the area.

The Tungus coat (VK435:1) is made from a single reindeer skin with the legs forming the sleeves, and the hide remaining in its original form on the back. It is characterized by the cut of its straight hems with two gores.⁸¹ In the opinion of G.M. Vasilevič, this type of coat was characteristic of the Evenki in the region of the River Yenisei.⁸² The quality of the leather was affected by the changing seasons; summer coats were made from summer hides and winter coats from late autumn hides. In addition to the reindeer, the skins of wild goat were used and edged with black horsehair. The cut and the seams are sewn with reindeer-vein thread. The coat is decorated with white, blue and black glass beads along the hems, collar and shoulders. On the back, the square motif, and the two gores are

also edged with glass beads. The glass beads are sewn into a cotton fabric band of graphite colour one centimetre wide. The decoration of the back was typical of the coat’s type with a straight hem.⁸³ There are two fringes of white and blue glass beads on the back. Large glass beads have been one of the emblems of the Evenki since the 17th century. The Evenki (Tungus) living in the region between the Yenisei and Lena rivers were reindeer herders, and the body-shaped fur-coat was very well suited to long sledge trips.

The footwear (VK435:2) belonging to the costume represents the moccasin type, with a long supple collar reaching to the thigh. The material for shoes included reindeer leg skins, chamois and woollen cloth. The boots were tied to the legs with strings. The moccasins were embroidered with large white, blue, black and yellow glass beads. According to G.M. Vasilevič, shoes of these types with a high collar were made for long hunting trips.⁸⁴ The material was reindeer hide used in winter and the decoration symbolized the local groups. Embroidery with glass beads was common to all of the Evenki regions. White, blue and yellow glass beads were used among the Evenki of the River Sym and the River Podkamenaja.⁸⁵ The square motifs made of small pieces of white and black skin at the knee are characteristic of the Eastern Evenki from the River Olekma.⁸⁶ It is also a fact that F.G. Müller’s description of the Evenki men’s outfit does not include any beads. He mentioned the decoration with beads only in connection to the women’s costume, and in comparison with the dress of young men.⁸⁷

The men’s coat did not close at the front, but was instead covered with a bib (VK435:3). The bib was a piece of reindeer skin with a sharp cut. It consists of two parts, the chest and the midriff pieces. Both parts were decorated with a white cotton band which was embroidered with glass beads. At the collar and in the middle there were two chamois strings to tie around the neck and the waist. At the edge there was a piece of chamois with black horsehair. G.M. Vasilevič pointed out that the square decoration of the chest piece repeats the motif on the back of the coat. The bib furnished with the long hair of wild sheep was worn during the spring festival, *ikenipke*.⁸⁸

Across the shoulders from the right to the left, the Evenki man had a strap with a powder pouch suspended from it (VK435:4). The leather belt was decorated with glass bead embroidery and cowrie shells. The leather pouch was decorated with glass beads, fringes, and a brass chain.

The remarkable value of the Evenki dress is that Castrén was able to obtain all parts of the festive dress, the coat, the bib, the shoes, and the shoulder belt. The colourful dress was made by

83. Василевич 1958, 163, Т. II/ d.
84. Василевич 1963, 28.
85. Василевич 1963, 20, 29, Т. XVIII/2.
86. Василевич 1963, 29.
87. Миллер 2009, 138, 140.
88. Василевич 1949, 44.

89. Левин 1936, 74; Прыткова 1953, 295–296; Иванов 1963, 276.
90. Иванов 1963, 276; Василевич 1969, 33; Федорова 1988, 91; Lehtinen 2002a, 141.
91. Бахрушин 1955, 71, 80; Карлов 1982, 98–99; Lehtinen 2002a, 123, 128.
92. Sirelius 1903, 20, 25, 56; Иванов 1963, 260.
93. Иванов 1963, 265.

combining different kinds of leather of various colours. The Evenki knew how to dye chamois and leather with alder bark, and also using mineral colours.⁸⁹ Four kinds of fringes were used on the furs and footwear of Evenki men: short reindeer hair, long dog or wild goat hair, long horsehair, and fringes cut out of chamois. The symbolic meaning of this decoration might be related to ritual activity.⁹⁰ With regard to bead decoration, beads were important products of the fur trade in Siberia. Cheap glass beads helped in the conquest of Siberia. In the 1540s, the Evenki were recorded as trading valuable furs for large glass beads. In the 16th century, an expedition led by P. Golovin along the River Lena had 100,000 different coloured glass beads with them along with tin and brass products and broadcloth for the needs of the indigenous peoples. Small sand beads were made in Venice, Bohemia, or Germany, and big white and blue beads in China. Since the 17th century, glass beads have been an item of fashion among the Siberian peoples such as the Evenki.⁹¹ In travel accounts from the 18th century, Evenki dress is shown as very decorative.

The Castrén Collection includes an Evenki comb of bone (VK436). Referring to its shape, the museum assistant noted, ‘the comb resembles a ‘hair comb’ used by European women a few decades earlier’. It probably resembled the Spanish or mantilla comb which used to adorn loops of hair, known as Apollo knots. The handle was decorated with incised bullseyes, and paired lines pigmented black.

On the package list, Castrén noted about the comb that it was ‘used by both peoples: by the Khanty and the Tungus. Both peoples used bone and mammoth tusk to make small objects such as blunt arrows, armguards or bracers, spools for thread, pieces for the reindeer harness, cases for women’s musical instruments such as the mouth harp and others.’⁹² Sergej Vasilevič Ivanov, a scholar and expert of the art of Arctic peoples, was of the opinion that the carved motifs, such as points, diagonals, paired lines, zigzags and bullseyes, are typical of both peoples.⁹³ The incised designs were pigmented with dirt or soot. Evenki men wore their hair long, with a headband of cloth or a piece of chamois decorated with beads. The women combed their hair into two braids. The Khanty had black hair combed into two braids, which was the custom among both women and men. This raises the question whether the comb was made for personal use, for Evenki or Khanty users or for Russian merchants? It was probably made for an indigenous user and perhaps it is the one that is mentioned in the package list. If this is the case, why is it noted only in connection with the Tungus and not the Khanty? A hypothetical explanation could be that the museum

assistant was professionally involved with the former items, which were Tungusic.

The Yakut spoons (VK437, VK438, VK439) of mammoth tusk suggest the curiosities of the Arctic Circle. The museum bought three spoons for one rouble. Two of them were shaped like an 18th-century European silver spoon without any ornaments. The handle of the smallest one was decorated with carved lines and points.

A.A. Popov carried out an expedition among the Dolgans in 1930–1931. He studied their technology, among other things work with bone and mammoth ivory. He described the cheek plates for the reindeer harness and the technique of carving. Like the Nganasans and the Khanty, the Dolgans mostly carved diagonals and lines with the point of the knife, and two nested circles, bullseyes, with a tool including two nails.⁹⁴ It is unclear whether the above-mentioned spoons were used by the Yakuts themselves or by a European voyager, even by M.A. Castrén himself. The spoon with a short handle and a round bowl represented a type used in the Middle Ages, and earlier in prehistoric times. A similar spoon was drawn on the list of G.F. Müller, but it was made of wood.⁹⁵ The other ones with oval bowl resemble the Russian wooden spoons.⁹⁶

The collection includes two tobacco pipes, one of which is Samoyed (VK432), and the other one is from China (VK447). The Samoyed pipe is carved of mammoth ivory. The bowl is decorated with metal inlay and the mouthpiece is reinforced with metal. The assistant described the Chinese pipe as an opium pipe, but this was later corrected to ‘tobacco pipe’. This pipe is also carved of bone and the mouthpiece is reinforced with white metal, which is decorated with checkerboard motifs.

At the end of his expedition, Castrén crossed the border into China, where he spent two months among the Buryats. He visited the Tamča Monastery in Selenga (1 March 1848), and noted in detail the interior and the decoration of the temple. The following items relating to Buddhism could have originated from his trip. In her studies of the rituals of sovereignty in Buryat Buddhism, Anya Bernstein has pointed out that in the 1700s the Buryats had no stationary monasteries, but instead mobile yurt temples. After the arrival of Tibetan and Mongol lamas, and the growth of Buddhism, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Tamča (Tamčinskij) monastery or *dacan* in the village of Gusinoe ozero was founded. In 1846 in the Trans-Baikal region there were 4,509 lamas, 34 monasteries, and 144 free-standing temples.⁹⁷

The Buddha statue is of bronze (VK440). The pose is the common one, with the legs crossed, the left hand in the lap, and the right hand pointing to the ground with the palm facing inward towards

94. Попов 1937, 113–114.
95. Миллер 2009, 193, Figure 6.
96. Analogous Yakut spoons in the collection of the Peabody Museum 24-48-60/D2297; 24-48-60/D2298; 24-48-60/D2299: <https://www.peabody.harvard.edu/>. Read 26 March 2017.
97. Tamchinsky datsan: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamchinsky_datsan; [https://vbuddisme.ru/wiki/Гусиноозерский_\(Тамчинский\)_дацан](https://vbuddisme.ru/wiki/Гусиноозерский_(Тамчинский)_дацан). Read 16 June 2017; Абаева 2004, 406; Bernstein 2013, 3, 20.

98. Bell – Halén 1980, 25; Hallén 1987, 94. Bernstein noted that during the postsocialist period, 450 more statues were found in the ruins of the Aninsk Monastery. Figure 12. shows the same kind of Śākyamuni statues like the one in the Castrén collection. Bernstein 2013, 108, Figure 12.
99. Bell –Halén 1980, 201; Halén 1987, 87; Bernstein 2013, 40–41.
100. Heissig 1980, 46, 52, 102. In 1866, Adolf Bastian visited a Buryat Mongol shaman who referred to the cosmogony of the Buryat Mongols, and identified the deity as *Burchan*. Koepping 1983, 227.
101. Bell – Halén 1980, 227–234; on the Mongolian *dorje*: Berger & Bartholomew 1995, 258.

the Buddha. The headgear is a blue hood or cap with a button on the top. The statue is gilded and the lips area painted red. Castrén stated that ‘this work symbolizes the icons of the common god as the following three items. The name is ‘the statue of Cokjamiini’ (Buddha)’. The Finnish scholar, Harry Halén pointed out that it is a Śākyamuni, and by the way of its posture it represents the Buddha as Calling the Earth to Witness.⁹⁸

In the museum’s records the bronze statue (VK441) is named as ‘a common, Mongolian Burchan (icon of god)’. It represents a male figure in war dress with bushy hair across his chest. In the hand can be seen a scabbard for knives and the man has an abominable grimace. In the right hand there is a scabbard for a sword (the sword is broken), and in the left hand a human heart.

Harry Halén maintains that it is the deity Beg-tse, one of the fierce protective deities, the *dharmapālas*. The deity stands defiantly, one foot resting on the belly of a horse, the other on a man. He wears armour, with his left hand across his chest and the right hand holding the scabbard of a sword. There is a scorpion on the neck of the statue. The expression of the deity is ferocious.⁹⁹ The name given by Castrén, *Burchan*, suggested the Mongol shamanistic religion. One of the names of the *Tngri*, a deity of Shamanism is *burqan* which also used to mean Buddha.¹⁰⁰

Castrén acquired a ritual thunderbolt sceptre (*vajra*, *do-rje*, VK443) and a ritual bell (*ghantā*, *dril-bu*, VK442), the most important ritual elements in Vajrayana Buddhism. The sceptre, from which Vajrayana Buddhism takes its name, symbolizes the active male aspect of enlightenment often equated with skilful means, compassion or bliss. The bell (Tib. *drilbu*) represents wisdom – a female principle – the true understanding of emptiness. Like the church bell, the Buddhist hand bell sends the message to evil spirits that they must stay away from the consecrated area where the ritual is being performed. When used in rituals, the vajra is paired with the bell. It represents the masculine principle and is held in the right hand, whereas the bell, held in the left hand, represents the female principle. The bell is visualized as the body of Buddha, the vajra is visualized as his mind, and the sound of the bell is visualized as Buddha’s speech in the teaching of the dharma.¹⁰¹

The bell is made of bronze. The handle is topped with a closed vajra with four prongs. In the handle there is a depiction of two faces, probably symbolizing Prajnaparamita (Perfect Wisdom). The clapper is missing. There is a knob in the middle on the vajra sceptre and four prongs at each end.

M.A. Castrén himself used snuff during his journey, and offered it to his informants. In the

Castrén collection, there are two snuff bottles. The oval shaped bottle is made of the peel of a fruit, probably calabash, decorated with silver inlay and green, red, and blue precious (?) stones. (VK445) The other one is of square shape, almost circular. The bottle is made of bone and decorated with silver inlay and there is a plaited band around it decorated with precious stones and email cloisonné. Both sides are decorated with floral motifs. Martha Boyer’s publication included a similar snuff bottle named *küküür* representing the Olon-Obotei tribe of the Manchu. This item was collected by Henning Haslund-Christensen in the 1930s.¹⁰² (VK446) Both objects are described as ‘very old, and interestingly decorated’. Both had a silver stopper also decorated with stones. Bottles of this kind with stones, corals and turquoises and repoussé elements applied on the surface are usually Mongolian-style bottles. The use of snuff gained popularity among the Mongols, and women or men greeting each other would exchange snuff bottles.¹⁰³

The Castrén collection originally included a cap (VK444), made of silk and sable fur which was estimated to be valuable and bought for the sum of 12 roubles and 50 kopecks. The headdress was listed with the Buryat, Mongol and Chinese items, but without any mention about its origin, the people or the area concerned. It may have been a Buryat cap or a Buddhist ritual headdress. The item is noted in the records of the museum as ‘missing’.

The value of the Castrén Collection

M.A. Castrén was primarily interested in the comparative study of languages as a tool for the reconstruction of Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed origins. He had to pay attention to languages as well as material culture, customs, economy and religion. Following the example of German scholars and explorers, D.G. Messerschmidt, F.G. Müller and P.S. Pallas, he collected items for the Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, but also some artefacts for the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Helsinki. The collection shows that interest in linguistics and ethnography did not always exist in isolation. Although the Samoyed languages were the subject of attention for the linguist, the Samoyed items are very poorly represented, but by contrast, the Evenki culture is represented very richly.

The report to the Imperial St Petersburg Academy of Sciences dated 12/24 February 1852 there were no notes about the museum collection.¹⁰⁴ The artefacts were not collected systematically. Beauty was the main criterion for selection. Alongside their aesthetic

102. Boyer 1952, 148, Fig. 104.
103. Boyer 1952, 156, Fig. 107; Berger & Bartholomew 1995, 144–145.
104. Castrén 1870, 151. He mentioned only the manuscript concerning the ethnography of the Altaic peoples.

105. Шерген 1853, 22; Castrén 1855, 262.

value, ethnic costumes contain more socially important information than any other products of material culture. Castrén's journals indicate that he knew the difference between the costume types of Siberian peoples. On the other hand, the nomadic way of life limited the amount of individual property among Siberian indigenous peoples. Castrén described the yurts and mentioned some items of clothing, knives, small bags, boxes and weapons, but nothing else. The number of items of clothing depended on the yield of the hunting year. Collecting clothes was not such an easy task. Castrén himself desired to wear the dress of the indigenous peoples. In October 1846, Castrén became ill, because he neglected to buy a Samoyed fur coat.¹⁰⁵

The pipes and spoons made of mammoth tusk were probably acquired as curiosities for the sake of their exotic material. It is very difficult to explain the reason to obtain the Buryat ritual objects. The monastery made a deep impression on Castrén, with possibly the collections of the Hermitage or Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg also in mind.

In the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Helsinki this small material represented Siberia and the culture of its indigenous peoples until 1877, when August Ahlqvist donated a collection of Khanty and Mansi items. The collections of the Ethnographic Museum with the collections of the Finnish Archaeological Society (present-day Finnish Antiquarian Society), founded in 1870, and the Student Nations' Museum of Ethnography, founded in 1876, provided the basis for the National Museum of Finland. The Siberian collection of the National Museum of Finland went on to receive considerable additions from the expeditions of Finnish ethnologists and linguists, such as U.T. Sirelius in 1898–1900, Artturi Kanisto in 1901–1906, K.F. Karjalainen in 1898–1902, Toivo Lehtisalo in 1911–1912, 1914, and Kai Donner in 1911–1913 and 1914. At the National Museum of Finland, the Siberian artefacts belonged partly to the Ethnographic collections and partly to the Finno-Ugrian collections of the present-day Museum of Cultures / National Museum of Finland.

The Castrén collection is one of the earliest collections from Siberia and a demonstration of an ambitious effort in what at the time was still a new discipline, ethnography. Castrén's significant ground-breaking research reached the European scientific community. He considered ethnography to be a distinct discipline, and he in fact lectured at the University of Helsinki on the ethnography of the Altaic peoples. He also planned to publish the ethnographic notes from the expeditions. His legacy and example were of vital importance to later generations. Castrén's works in ethnology such

as *Ethnologiska föreläsningar öfver altaiska folken* (Ethnological Lectures on the Altaic Peoples) and *Föreläsningar i finsk mythologie* (Lectures on Finnish Mythology) are of classical value. He was the first Professor of Ethnology in the world, and all great researchers in the history of this discipline, Adolf Bastian, E.B. Taylor, J.J. McLennan and James G. Frazer, used in their studies the valuable information that they found in the works of M.A. Castrén.¹⁰⁶

106. Vuorela 1977, 21.

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Catalogue

The Samoyeds



1. Enets or Nganasan full fur coat representing overwear with the hairs cut very short. It was sewn of one white or black reindeer hide and it had to be procured during the summer slaughtering as the reindeer hairs were shorter then. On the front of the coat, there are two strips, which are bordered with ochre chamois. Below the belt, the garment is ringed with two strips, the larger being bordered with red chamois. White dog skin is sewn on the hem of the fur coat. Chamois gussets dyed with ochre inserted in the armpits and in the cuffs. The undercoat had a hood, but no gloves. Length 74cm, width of hem 58cm. *Pels av renskinn. Samojedisk.* Holmberg catalogue 152. Castrén Collection VK434.

Published: Lehtinen, Ildikó, 2003. A la mémoire de Mathias Alexandre Castrén. *Remota relata. Studia Orientalia* 97: 141–153. Finnish Oriental Society, Helsinki.



2. Samoyed tobacco pipe carved from mammoth tusk. The bowl is decorated with metal inlay. Length 16cm, diameter of bowl 4.5cm. *Pipa af mammuthben.* Holmberg catalogue 152, Färling catalogue 364. Castrén collection VK432.



3. Samoyed knife sheath of wood, decorated with leather and leather fringes. The sheath is an example of the aesthetic art of the Samoyeds. The knife is missing. Length 24.5cm. *Knif med träskäft. Dessa pjeser vitna hvarken om smak eller konstfärdighet hos Samojederna.* Färling catalogue 365. Castrén collection VK433.

The Evenki / Tungusic Peoples

Evenki men's dress consisting a fur coat, a pair of boots, a bib, and a shoulder belt with a powder pouch

4. Tungus coat made of a single reindeer skin, with the legs forming the sleeves. On the back, the hide has remained in its original form. It is characterized by the cut of its straight hems with two gores. In addition to the reindeer hide, the skins of wild goats edged with black horsehair were used. The cut and the seams sewn with reindeer vein thread. The coat is decorated with white, blue and black glass beads along the hems, the collar, and the shoulders. On the back, the square motif and the two gores are also edged with glass beads. The glass beads are sewn into a one-centimetre-wide cotton fabric band of graphite colour. The decoration on the back was typical of the type of coat with a straight hem. There are two fringes on the back made of white and blue glass beads. Length 91cm, width of hem 51cm. *Rock av brunt, sämskartadt skinn*. Holmberg catalogue 147, Färling catalogue 366.

Castrén Collection VK435:1.

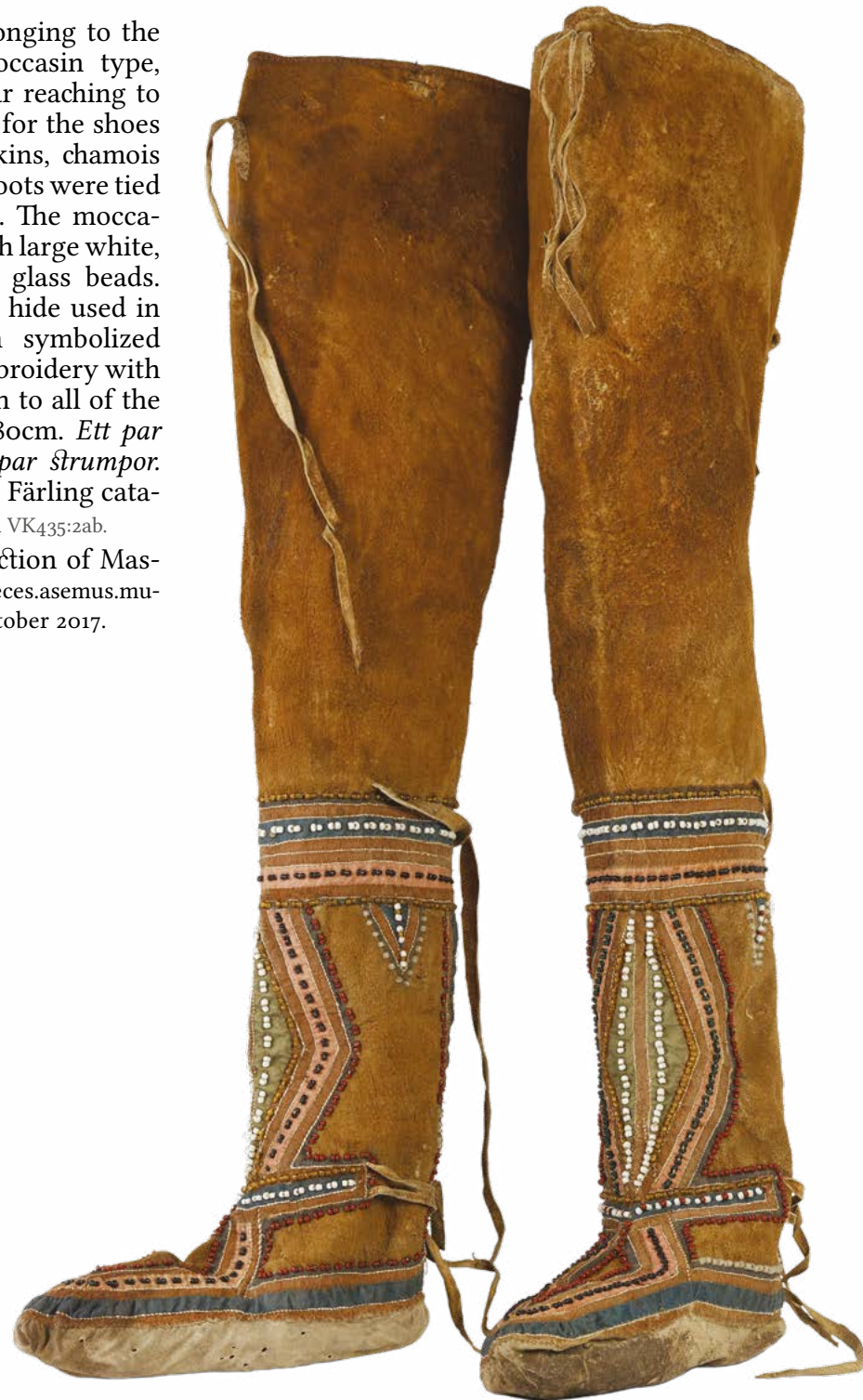
Published: Virtual Collection of Asian Masterpieces = VCM <http://masterpieces.aseumus.museum/index.nhn>. Read 24 October 2017; Lehtinen, Ildikó, 2002. Costumes of the Siberian peoples – practicality and luxury. Lehtinen, Ildikó (ed.), *Siberia. Life on the Taiga and Tundra*: 69, 108–145. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.





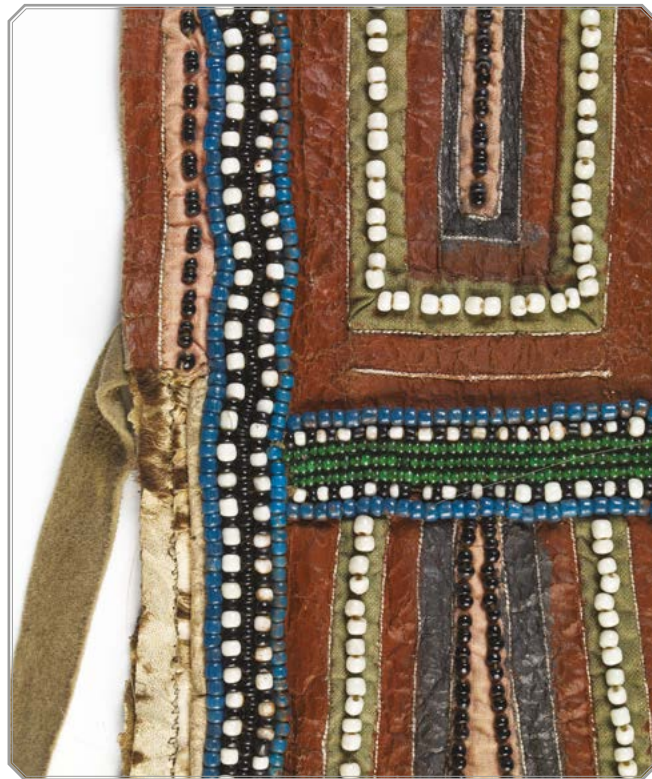
5. Tungus footwear belonging to the costume are of the moccasin type, with a long supple collar reaching to the thigh. The materials for the shoes included reindeer leg skins, chamois and woollen cloth. The boots were tied to the legs with strings. The moccasins are embroidered with large white, blue, black, and yellow glass beads. The material is reindeer hide used in winter. The decoration symbolized the local groups. The embroidery with glass beads was common to all of the Evenki region. Length 80cm. *Ett par benkläder, liknande ett par strumpor.* Holmberg catalogue 147; Färling catalogue 366. Castrén Collection VK435:2ab.

Published: Virtual Collection of Masterpieces. <http://masterpieces.asemus.museum/index.nhn>. Read 24 October 2017.



6. Tungus breast piece. The bib is a piece of reindeer skin with a sharp cut. It consists of two parts, the chest and the midriff pieces. Both parts are decorated with a cotton fabric band in white, which is embroidered with glass beads. In the collar and in the middle part there are two chamois strings to tie around the neck and the waist. At the edge there is a piece of chamois with hairs of a black horse. The bib decorated with the long hair of wild sheep used during the spring festival known as *ikenipke*. Length 73cm, width 23cm. *Ett anhängsel*. Holmberg catalogue 147; Färling catalogue 366. Castrén Collection VK435:3.

Published: Virtual Collection of Masterpieces.
<http://masterpieces.asemus.museum/index.nhn>. Read 24 October 2017.



7. Comb made of bone. According to the museum assistant, because of the shape 'the comb resembles a "hair comb" used by European women a few decades ago'. The handle is decorated with incised bullseyes, and pairs of lines of black pigment. Length 15cm, width 5cm. *Tungusisk benkam*. Färling catalogue 367. Castrén Collection VK436.



The Yakuts

8. Spoon of mammoth tusk, modelled after a 16th-century European Renaissance silver spoon brought to Siberia by a Russian merchant. The handle is decorated with carved lines and points. Length 15cm. *Jakuterna. Tre skedar af mammuthben.* Färling catalogue 368–370; Holmberg catalogue 148. Castrén Collection VK437.

9. Spoon of mammoth tusk, modelled after an 18th-century European silver spoon. Length 19.5cm. *Jakuterna. Tre skedar af mammuthben.* Färling catalogue 368–370; Holmberg's catalogue 148. Castrén collection VK438.



10. Spoon of mammoth tusk modelled after an 18th-century European silver spoon. Length 23cm. *Jakuterna. Tre skedar af mammuthben.* Färling catalogue 368–370; Holmberg catalogue 148. Castrén Collection VK439.



The Buryats

11. Buddha statue of bronze. The pose is mostly common, with the legs crossed, the left hand on the lap, and the right hand pointing to the ground with the palm facing inward towards the Buddha. The headgear is a blue hood or a cap with a button on the top. The statue is gilded and the lips are painted red. According to Castrén, 'this work symbolizes the icons of the common god as the following three items listed below. The name is "the statue of Cokjamiini" (Buddha).' Harry Halén points out that it is a Śākyamuni, and in terms of posture it represents the Buddha as Calling the Earth to Witness. Height 10cm, width 6.8cm. *Mongoler. Buddhabild af brons*. Färling catalogue 371. Castrén Collection VK440.

Published: Bell, Marja-Liisa – Halén, Harry, 1980. *Oi munkit, ponniŋtelkaa lakkaamatta!: buddhalaiŋsten kulttiesineiden näyttely / O munkar, ŋträven framåt oupphörligen!: utŋställning av buddhistiska kultföremål / Oh, ye monks, ŋtrive onwards diligently: exhibition of Buddhist ritual objects*: p. 25. Helsingin kaupungin taide-museo; Halén, Harry, 1987. *Mirrors of the void: Buddhist art in the National Museum of Finland: 63 Sino-Mongolian thangkas from the Wutai Shan workshops, a panoramic map of the Wutai Mountains and objects of diverse origin*: p. 94. Museoviraŋsto, Helsinki.





12. Bronze statue of the deity Beg-tse, one of the fierce protective deities known as the *dharmapālas*. The deity stands defiantly, one foot resting on the belly of a horse, the other on a man. He wears armour, his left hand is across his chest and the right hand is holding a sword scabbard (the sword is broken). There is a scorpion on his neck. In the museum's records the bronze statue is described as 'a common, Mongolian Burchan (icon of a god)'. Height 10.5cm. *En vanlig, mongolisk Burchan (helgonbild) af brons*. Färling catalogue 139. Castrén Collection VK441.



Published: Bell, Marja-Liisa -Halén, Harry, 1980. *Oi munkit, ponniſtelkaa lakkaamatta!: buddhalaiſten kulttiesineiden näyttely / O munkar, ſträven framåt oupphörligen!: utſtällning av buddhiſtiska kultföremål / Oh, ye monks, ſtrive onwards diligently: exhibition of Buddhiſt ritual objects*: p. 201. Helsingin kaupungin taidemuseo.; Halén, Harry, 1987. *Mirrors of the void: Buddhiſt art in the National Museum of Finland: 63 Sino-Mongolian thangkas from the Wutai Shan workshops, a panoramic map of the Wutai Mountains and objects of diverse origin*: p. 87. Museoviraſto, Helsinki.



13. Bronze bell, *ghantā*, *dril-bu*. The handle is topped with a closed *vajra* thunderbolt sceptre with four prongs. In the handle there is a depiction of two faces, probably symbolizing Prajnaparamita (perfect wisdom). The clapper is missing. Height 10cm. *Buddhistisk prästklocka af brons*. Färling catalogue 373. Castrén collection VK442.



14. Ritual thunderbolt sceptre, *vajra*, *do-rj*, made of bronze. There is a knob in the middle and four (five?) prongs at each end. Length 7.5cm. *Ett vid buddhaiska gudstjänsten brukligt instrument*. Färling catalogue 374. Castrén Collection VK443.

China

15. Snuff bottle, made from the peel of a fruit, probably calabash, decorated with silver inlay, and green, red, and blue precious stones. Height 8.5cm, width 6cm. *Snusflaskor. Dessa pjeser synas vara temligen gamla och äro af intresse genom sin ornering.* Färling catalogue 44–45. Castrén Collection VK445.



16. Snuff bottle, made of bone and decorated with silver inlay. Around the flask there is a plaited band, decorated with precious stones and email cloisonné. Height 6cm, width 4cm. *Snusflaskor. Dessa pjeser synas vara temligen gamla och äro af intresse genom sin ornering.* Färling catalogue 44–45. Castrén collection VK446.





17. Tobacco pipe carved of bone, mouthpiece reinforced with white metal, decorated with checkerboards motifs. Height 24.5cm, diameter of bowl 1.1cm. *Pipa för opiumrökning (?)*. Fär-
ling catalogue 474. Castrén Collection VK447.



18. Chinese calligraphy brush with case. Length 18 cm. *Två (?) st. tuschpenslar*. Holmberg catalogue 157. Castrén Collection VK448.

Index

Alekseenko, Evgenija Alekseevna (1930), Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of Russian Academy of Sciences, Senior Researcher, material culture of the Kets and Central Siberian indigenous peoples

Etholén, Arvid Adolf = Etolin Adolf Karlovič (1799–1876), naval officer, explorer and administrator of the Russian-American Company, 1840–1845 Chief Manager of the Russian-American Company

Ivanov, Sergej Vasil'evič (1895–1986), Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Senior Researcher, Assistant Professor, material culture, especially art and patterns of Siberian indigenous peoples

Iochelson, Waldemar Ilyich (1855–1937), Russian ethnologist, Assistant Professor, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), until 1922 American Museum of Natural History and Carnegie Institution, culture of North-eastern Siberia, participated in the Jesup Expedition to Chukotka and Kamchatka

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Petri, Evgenija Lvovna (1858–1923), Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), volunteer 1896–1902, Curator 1914, Head of departments

Porthan, Henrik Gabriel (1739–1804), Librarian of the University of Turku, professor of the Chair of Rhetoric and Verse (Roman Verse), co-founder of Finland’s first literary society *Aurora*, long-standing editor of Finland’s first newspaper *Åbo Tidningar*

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Radlov, Vasilij Vasil'evič = Radloff, Friedrich Wilhelm (1837–1918), Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Director of the Museum, culture of the Turkic peoples of Siberia

Reguly, Antal (1819–1858), Hungarian linguist and explorer of Siberia

Rein, Gabriel (1800–1867), Professor of History of the Helsinki University, secretary of the Finnish Literature Society

Reinholm, Henrik August (1819–1883), collector of Finnish folklore material, 1850–1856 amanuensis of the Ethnographic museum of the University of Helsinki, chaplain of the Lutheran congregation of the Viapori fortress

Sjögren, Antti Juhana = Šegren, Andrej Mihajlovič (1794–1855), Director of the Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences

Spevakovskij, Aleksandr Borisovič (1947), Saint Petersburg University 1969–1974, Russian Academy of Sciences, N.N. Miklouho-Maklay Institut of Ethnology and Anthropology, Leningrad, Russian ethnologist, culture of Eastern Siberia and Far East, the Evens and the Ainu

Šreder, Egor Ivanovič (?), First curator (1836) of the Ethnographic Museum of the Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences

Šternberg, Lev Jakovlevič (1861–1927), Senior Researcher, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), material and oral culture of the Amur and Sakhalin region

Vasil'evič, Glafira Makar'evna (1895–1971), Ethnographer and linguist, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Institute of Ethnography, languages and culture of the Tungusic peoples

Verbov, Grigorij Davidovič (1909–1942), Ethnographer and linguist, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Institute of Ethnography, language and culture of the Forest Nenets

Warelius, Antero (1821–1904), Vicar of Loimaa

Appendix: A List of Museum Items Prepared by M.A. Castrén During the Expedition

Ildikó Lehtinen

Abbreviations: MAE = Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg; VK = Museum of Cultures / National Museum of Finland, Helsinki

Package list from 11 June 1840
(*June–December 1846. Reseberättelsen och bref åren 1845–1849. Nordiska Resor III, 1855, 257*)

Box 18.		
18/1	Tungus bow	MAE 27-12
18/2	Two arrows, one made of bone, one made of metal, common among the Yenisei Ostyaks, Ostyaks, Samoyeds and Tungus	?

Box 19.		
19/1	Tungus winter fur coat from Sym River	?
19/2	Yakut summer coat from the Turuxansk district, used also by the Turuxansk Tungus,	MAE 27-28
19/3	Tungus breast-piece (нагрудник)	MAE 27-20 or MAE 27-19
19/4	Tungus mittens	MAE 27-13/1,2; MAE 27-14/1,2; MAE 27-15/1,2
19/5	Tungus pipe	MAE 27-5abcd

19/6	Comb, common for the Ostyaks and Tungus	VK 436
19/7	Piece of bone, hunter's wrist bracer, for the wrist and base of the thumb absorbed the shock of the bow string, common among the Ostyaks, Samoyeds and Tungus	MAE 27-4
19/8	Samoyed snow goggles	MAE 27-2
19/9	Violin (musical instrument), used by the Baičensk Samoyeds (Selkups) and Karasinsk Samoyeds (Forest Enets)	MAE 27-38ab ?
19/10	Ostyak shaman headgear from the region of Imbatsk (Yenisei Ostyak – Ket), the bird on the top of the piece symbolizes the Arctic loon (<i>Gavia arctica</i>) which is holy to the Ostyaks	MAE 27-25
19/11	Two Ostyak baskets from the Yenisei region (Yenisei Ostyak / Ket)	MAE 27-40ab; ?

Package list dated 12 January 1841
(Återresa från Tolstoj-Nos till Jenisejsk.
Reseberättelsen och bref åren 1845–49.
Nordiska Resor I–II, 1855, 276–277.)

Box 1.		
1/ 1	Two Samoyed idols (Sam. <i>Hähä</i> or <i>Hähe</i>), made with Taz Yurak method, in other regions the heads of these spirits are more conical.	MAE 27-33; MAE 27-34
1/2	Violin of the Turuxansk Ostyak Samoyeds (Selkups), an analogous instrument sent in the previous summer to the Academy	MAE 27-39ab
1/3	Samoyed pipe of mammoth ivory	MAE 27-6 or VK 432

1/4	Two net needles, made by Samoyeds and particularly by Yakuts	MAE 27-8
1/5	Samoyed reindeer strap, a saddle belt of reindeer skin	?
1/6	Samoyed strap, plait of reindeer foot sinew	MAE 638-6
1/7	Samoyed quiver, common to all nomadic peoples	MAE 638-2
1/8	Woman's dress, used in the eastern part of Yenisei among the Western Samoyeds. Yurak woman's clothing is completely the same. N.B.: This dress includes boots which are the same for both men and women. There are also trousers of chamois which are worn with other pieces of clothing, made the same way, but with the fur facing outwards.	MAE 27-18; MAE 27-16; MAE 27-21; MAE 27-27/1,2
1/9	Yakut cap worn under the <i>kalpak</i> headgear to protect the chin. In the Yakut language it is known as <i>sengjaka</i> and in Russian as набородник ('respirator mask')	?
1/10	Two Yakut spoons of mammoth ivory	VK 437, 438, 439

Box 2.		
2/1	Two Yakut <i>kalpak</i> caps which were also used by the Dolgans.	?
2/2	Yakut and Dolgan coat (<i>son</i>) and an overcoat (<i>ogdoko</i>). N.B.: Yakuts and Dolgans wear on the breast a bib like the Tungus, which was sent to the collection of the Academy. The Yakut trousers and boots are common among the Samoyeds.	?

Box 3.	
3/1	Eastern Samoyed dress, a hood with a horn-shaped part in the forehead
3/2	A similar dress which is worn in official situations and particularly together with the West Samoyed or Yurak fur coat. The difference between the fur coats of the Eastern and Western Samoyeds is insignificant.

?

VK 434

Box 4.	
4/1	A Yurak costume consisting of a <i>sauk</i> under fur coat
4/2	Two <i>malitsas</i> which are worn near the body
4/3	Belt and knife with sheath
4/4	Boots.
4/5	Trousers of chamois.

?

?

MAE 638-5a

?

?

