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JOCHELSON AND THE JESUP NORTH PACIFIC EXPEDITION: A NEW APPROACH IN THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE RUSSIAN FAR EAST[1]

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During the period of perestroika, and since then, renewed attention has been paid to earlier Russian-American comparative research on the cultures of the peoples spanning both sides of the Bering Sea region. With the exhibitions *Crossroads of Continents* (Fitzhugh and Crowell, eds., 1988) and *Drawing Shadows to Stones* (Kendall, Mathé and Miller 1997), the significant results of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897–1902) were made known to a broader international public. At the same time, a comprehensive research program called "Jesup 2" explored the legacy of that expedition (Krupnik and Fitzhugh, eds., 2001). Further aspects of this grand venture were discussed at a symposium in Bonn (Germany) more recently in 2011 (Dahlmann, Ordubadi, Winterschladen, eds., 2016). These academic projects aroused great interest, especially in the hitherto far less known northeast Asian part of the expedition, which was directed by Waldemar Jochelson.[2] His work resulted, not least, in the publication of the present two volume edition dealing with the Koryak.

This monograph of Jochelson, together with the works of his colleague Waldemar Bogoras on the Chukchi, marks the beginning of a new era. They were the first thorough and insightful descriptions of that region to focus on anthropological themes. Most notably, they adopted or tested novel methodological approaches to this new and emerging scientific discipline. This contrasts with reports from a number of 18th and 19th century ventures that explored the North Pacific rim. Driven by the mercantile interests of the Russian Empire, they resulted in comprehensive and detailed descriptions of the natural environments and cultures of the region. The researchers who were invited to accompany the expeditions and record their observations mainly had professional backgrounds in the natural sciences. At that time, ethnology or cultural anthropology had not yet been established as a discipline in its own right. Hence, these earlier scientists were inclined to view indigenous peoples and their cultures from a relatively broad perspective (Kasten, ed., 2013). Most of those who visited Kamchatka before Jochelson were of German or German-Baltic origin. While working in the service of Russian authorities, they established transnational research networks that stretched from Western Europe to the Russian Far East. When Jochelson arrived, along with the associated scientists of the Jesup North Pacific Expedi-

1 The authors thank Matthias Winterschladen, Megumi Kurebito, Margarita Zhukova, and Valentina Dedyk for their valuable comments, as well as Tom Koppel for his thoughtful copy-editing of the English text.

2 The name variants Waldemar Jochelson and Waldemar Bogoras are used here, just as in the publications of the Jesup Expedition, rather than their transliterated forms Vladimir (Il'ich) Iokhel'son and Vladimir (Germanovich) Bogoraz.

tion, these transnational networks began to expand or to shift toward North America as well. At that juncture, they were powerfully influenced and stimulated by the work and personal involvement of Franz Boas, who was, just then, laying the foundations of modern cultural anthropology.

Biographical outline

Waldemar Jochelson (Vladimir Il'ich Iokhel'son)[1] was born in 1855 in Vilna into an orthodox Jewish family. He attended a rather liberal rabbinical college, where he came into contact with revolutionary student groups and eventually played an active role in them. When his involvement became known to the Tsarist police, he was forced to escape to Berlin in 1875. Only one year later, however, he returned to Russia and continued his earlier activities. He joined the revolutionary movement "Zemlya i Volya" and later its successor organization "Narodnaya Volya." Following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II, Jochelson again managed to avoid arrest and fled to Switzerland. There he carried on his revolutionary work while studying social sciences and economics at the university of Bern. In 1885, wanting to visit Russia again, he was arrested at the border and put into solitary confinement in the Peter-and-Paul-Fortress in St. Petersburg. In 1887 he was sentenced to 10 years of remote internal exile at Sredne Kolymsk in the northeastern part of the Yakut region.

During the years of exile, he got to know Waldemar Bogoras (1865–1936), who had been sent there for similar political activism. They developed a long-lasting friendship. Both suffered from a lack of intellectual stimulation and the resulting boredom, which may have engendered a mutual interest in ethnography. For both of them, this dovetailed perfectly with the revolutionary calling of *narodichestvo*, "to go among the people." (Winterschladen 2016: 78) And so, with special permission from the authorities, Jochelson and Bogoras welcomed the opportunity to participate in the Sibiryakov Expedition (from 1894 to 1897) and conduct historical-ethnographic research. During that time, Jochelson lived among the Yukagirs. He was clearly excited at studying the dialects of their language as well as their culture. According to Winterschladen (2016: 80), the new intellectual experiences and challenges of these years apparently brought about a turning point in Jochelson's interests. He shifted away from his former revolutionary activities and embraced the prospects of a future academic career. Bogoras, however, portrayed himself after the expedition as a person with a multifaceted personality, moving back and forth between serious science and political journalism. Vakhtin (2004: 36), as well, sees Jochelson (at least after the Jesup expedition a few years later) as a man more in search of "a quiet harbor," where he could concentrate on working up his materials for publication.

Hence, after his return from exile to St. Petersburg in 1898, Jochelson went back

1 This biographical sketch is based mainly on Vakhtin (2001), Brandišauskas (2009), Knüppel (2013), and Winterschladen (2016), where further literature and references can be found.

to Switzerland to finish his studies there. Due to fortunate circumstances, the opportunity arose up for Jochelson to build upon his former studies and follow up his academic ambitions.

Around the same time, in 1897, Franz Boas made a proposal to Morris K. Jesup, the president of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Boas envisaged an ambitious program to examine the mutual cultural influences between northeastern Asia and northwestern America. He supposed that these could be traced by studying the contemporary peoples of the North Pacific rim.

While Franz Boas was setting up a research team to study the Asian sector of the region, he faced difficulties with his candidates. The Austrian Erwin Ritter von Zach unexpectedly withdrew his initial commitment. Boas had little trust in the young German Berthold Laufer, who was expected to take part in the Amur expedition. In the end, Boas turned for advice to Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff, the director of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg. Standing in opposition to other trends in Russian ethnography, Radloff was interested in promoting the same kinds of research that Boas favored (Kan 2004: 30). He was immediately able to recommend Jochelson and Bogoras. Already in the autumn of 1898, Boas met Jochelson for the first time in Berlin. In the correspondence that ensued, Boas drafted the research plan and defined the conditions of the resulting contract.[1] Jochelson was appointed to be the leader of the Siberian team. He was slated to work primarily with the Koryak, where he was expected to collect a number of artifacts and a body of anthropometrical data, take photographs and make sound recordings employing the new technology of wax cylinders. A special focus was to be on the study of Koryak languages and mythologies, as well as on the acquisition of ethnographic artifacts for the collection of the American Museum of Natural History.

For Boas it was crucial that, in advance of the project, Jochelson should come to New York and receive clear, detailed instructions in person. The upcoming fieldwork was expected to take about one and a half years. Following the fieldwork, Jochelson was expected to spend a similar length of time in New York to work up the material there. It turned out that, for several reasons, the start of the expedition had to be delayed by an additional year. Jochelson was eager, first, to complete his dissertation in Bern. Moreover, both he and Bogoras were still working on the publication of results from the Sibiryakov Expedition.[2] There were also protracted negotiations with Boas over questions of payment. And both men had suggestions of their own to make about the best routes to take and other details of the expedition. Eventually, Jochelson succeeded in convincing Boas to expand his research to include the Yukagirs. Likewise, Bogoras wanted to include additional research among the coastal Chukchi and the Siberian Yup'ik, where he had not worked before.

1 For further details, see Vakhtin (2001: 8off.).

2 Apart from some articles, both the Yukaghir and Chukchee text collections appeared in Russian (Iokhel'son 1900, Bogoraz 1900).

In March 1900, Jochelson and Bogoras arrived in New York and signed the contract with Jesup. Besides the zoologist Norman G. Buxton and his assistant Aleksandr Akselrod, it was agreed that Jochelson could bring his wife, Dina Jochelson-Brodskaya, along on the expedition. She had studied medicine in Zürich and was now appointed to be in charge of the photography and the collection of anthropometrical data. Bogoras's wife Sofiya was also permitted to join her husband on the expedition.[1] Detailed instructions about particular themes and locations for the research were noted by Boas in a written letter. According to the contract, the overall aim of the expedition was to conduct an "ethnological and biological survey of northwestern Asia."

Buxton's zoological results were later published at the American Museum of Natural History by J. A. Allen (1902, 1905; Allan and Buxton 1903). This was despite the fact that these descriptions do not contain information about traditional uses of key wildlife resources. Most of the conversation that Jochelson had with Buxton about the collected zoological specimens was apparently limited to Jochelson's concurrence that certain mammals also existed in the Kolyma area, where Buxton did not carry out investigations. Among his achievements, Jochelson is credited with having collected some important mammal specimens. In fact, a mouse that he collected was named after him—*Evotomys jochelsoni, sp. nov.* (Kolyma red-backed mouse; Allen and Buxton 1903: 148) The most informative part of the Buxton papers, for our purposes, is his diary. It provides a clearer picture of the course and conditions of their journey, even though the two men traveled apart from each other most of the time (Allen and Buxton 1903: 104–119).

Before Jochelson and Bogoras finally arrived in Vladivostok on May 16, 1900, Boas had asked Radloff to inform the Imperial Academy of Sciences of their plans and to request the assistance and cooperation of the Russian government (Vakhtin 2001: 86). This was granted to Jochelson and Bogoras in a formal letter. Although, as has often been the case in Russia, orders were sent simultaneously to the local authorities calling for surveillance of their work. Jochelson later published an anonymous article in Stuttgart (1903) describing the situation and even quoting from the secret letters. He speculates that the obstructions caused by these secret orders could easily have prevented the success of the expedition, "If the travelers had not known the district well and had not had broad knowledge as well as personal relationships with the native people, the expedition would have remained without results." […] "It must be questioned what these secret orders meant? Did the ministry fear the propagation of separatist ideas among the Chukchi? Where is the logical connection between the 'earlier anti-government activity' of the travelers, for which they had already been punished, and their later involvement in the commissioned scientific work? If it is correct that there was seen to be such a connection, why did the ministry not respond to the applications by the Academy of Science and the Geographical Society by saying that it was not required to assist these travelers with their scientific work?" (Jochelson 1903: 256)

1 For more on the team members, see Winterschladen (2016: 87).

Fig. 1. Waldemar Jochelson, N. G. Buxton, and Waldemar Bogoras in San Francisco before their departure for Siberia, spring 1900.
Image # 338343. American Museum of Natural History Library

On July 24, 1900, Jochelson and his wife Dina Jochelson-Brodskaya left Vladivostok together with Buxton and Akselrod. Heading north, they arrived on August 16 at the village Kushka, near the mouth of the river Gizhiga, only to find the place uninhabited. A measles epidemic had decimated the population the previous winter, and survivors had withdrawn to the interior (Allen 1903: 108). The Jochelsons decided to move on to Koryak settlements located along the Penzhina and Gizhiga bays, where they worked during the following winter. They were joined there in December 1900 by Bogoras, who then traveled until April 1901 among the eastern branch of the Koryak. He also visited the Itelmen to collect texts in both languages as well as some ethnographic objects from the eastern Koryak.

Fig. 2. The Jochelsons travel with Reindeer Koryak, 1901.
Image # 4155. American Museum of Natural History Library

From their base camp, Jochelson and his wife undertook field trips to the interior of the Gizhiga district and to the Reindeer Koryak on the peninsula of Taigonos. It was no doubt a wise decision to concentrate on this area, rather than traveling under uncertain weather conditions to more distant places in northern Kamchatka or along the Pacific coast. This allowed Jochelson to focus on his thorough case study of the local whale festival in the village of Kuel. He was forced to miss similar festivals at the other locations farther to the east. But the lengthy travel time would have precluded this, as they were held almost simultaneously. In summer 1901, the Jochelsons set off for Verkhne Kolymsk to conduct further studies on the Yukagir. They stayed there until the beginning of March 1902, eventually returning to New York in November 1902.

As an appointed assistant of the American Museum of Natural History, Jochelson began to work up the collected material. His hope for secure employment did not materialize, however, due to a conflict between Boas and Jesup over the financing of publications resulting from the expedition. In early 1904, therefore, Jochelson decided to return to Europe without having finished his work on the collected materials. Nevertheless, the friendship that Boas had already established with Jochelson (and Bogoras) endured. In the coming years, Boas was able to arrange for their participation at various congresses of Americanists. Jochelson and his wife spent time living in Zürich, London and Berlin. He was offered a position as junior curator at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology in St. Petersburg. He considered it inadequate but ultimately accepted and moved there in 1907.

Fig. 3. Dina Jochelson-Brodskaya in front of a native sod-covered hut, summer 1900.
Image # 337626. American Museum of Natural History Library

Fig. 4. Jochelson and his team rafting down the Korkodon River, fall 1901.
Image # 4194. American Museum of Natural History Library

In the meantime, Jochelson continued to prepare his publication on the Koryak, which eventually appeared in 1908 under the imprint of the American Museum of Natural History. He had assumed that this would enhance his reputation, leading to further scientific work in Russia. This proved to be correct. While planning for another expedition to the North Pacific, he received an offer to participate as the head of the ethnological section in the Kamchatka Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society. This venture, also named for its sponsor, Fedor Ryabushinski, spanned the years from 1908 until 1911. Jochelson was sent to the North Pacific to conduct fieldwork in Kamchatka. He was able to bring the Commander Islands and the people of the Aleutian Islands into the program as well.

Upon his subsequent return to St. Petersburg, Jochelson once again found himself in uncertain circumstances. While struggling to complete his publication on the Yukagir, which he still owed Boas, he was also eager to work on his new materials from the recent Ryabushinski Expedition. His situation became even worse after the October revolution of 1917. Bogoras and Lev Shternberg (1861–1927) obtained professorships in the Faculty of Ethnography at the newly founded Institute of Geography in Petrograd, but Jochelson did not find steady employment there, which could have provided him a comfortable living. In his unsuccessful applications to other similar institutions, he pointed out that his concern was to preserve the languages and the peoples of the Yukagir, Aleut and Itelmen, as these were threatened by assimilation. Alluding to the rhetoric of the Bolsheviks, he added that these peoples had been disadvantaged during tsarists times and needed the support of the new socialist state (Winterschladen 2016: 100). After the Kronstadt uprising of 1921, however, the political climate began again to change, bringing with it further repressions. Meanwhile, like many others, Jochelson faced increasing poverty. He decided to leave Russia again and return to the United States. Together with his wife Dina, he moved to New York in 1922.

Even in the US, however, it was difficult for them to become established as scientists with stable incomes. Mainly through the support of Boas and commissioned work projects that he had arranged for them, they were able to eke out a subsistence living. In spite of the difficulties, Jochelson was able to publish most of the materials that he had collected during his earlier expeditions (Jochelson 1925, 1926, 1933) as well as a monograph written under contract for the American Museum of Natural History titled *Peoples of Asiatic Russia* (1928). However, he never managed to complete the publication of his materials on the language and culture of the Itelmen and on the language of the Aleut, both of which were from the Ryabushinski Expedition.

Jochelson died on November 2, 1937, leaving this work to posterity. The Itelmen (Kamchadal) texts that he had collected were eventually edited by Dean Stoddard Worth (Worth, ed., 1961),[1] and the Aleut texts by Knut Bergsland (Bergsland, ed.,

1 New edition converted into contemporary Itelmen orthography with partial reconstruction of the phonemics: Khaloimova, Dürr and Kasten (eds., 2014).

1990). His manuscript on the ethnography of the Itelmen living on the west coast of Kamchatka will be published for the first time in 2016 in a volume edited by David Koester (Jochelson 2016b).

Motivations

One might wonder: What could have been the motivation for Jochelson and Bogoras to return of their own free will to such faraway and uneasy places, where they had been exiled for many years? They had complained repeatedly about the harsh living conditions while traveling in rough circumstances and while staying in local communities (Jochelson 1899a, vol. 2: 228–229). But over the years, both of them had certainly also experienced the hospitality of the people, which they may well have come to appreciate (Jochelson 1908: 425 [447 in this volume]). Nevertheless, Jochelson's accounts do not indicate that he was eager to establish long-lasting ties to the local peoples with whom he worked. Once he had collected his data, which was clearly meant only for his own scientific purposes, he never intended to visit the particular region again. This is in contrast to present-day anthropology, where fieldworkers often maintain lasting relations with the indigenous community in which they have worked. Well after a project has been finished, they frequently want to return and share the worked-up materials with the community and local individuals.

Jochelson's and Bogoras's motivation was most likely in part morally founded in their aim not to let these peoples "fall into oblivion." (Winterschladen 2016: 89) And yet, their approach of "salvage anthropology" by no means aimed at sustaining the endangered languages and cultures. Thus Michael Krauss is "struck, even shocked, that as revolutionaries, discoverers of cultural relativism, they [Boas, Jochelson, and Bogoras] wrote so little in their JNPE contributions to protest or even express regret about the then very active colonial suppression of the languages and cultures" (2003: 215).

For Bogoras, the humanitarian imperative and concern for native peoples apparently did not yet involve their re-education toward socialist values and ways of thinking. That only appears as part of his missions and commitments in the 1920s and later. It seems that he simply wanted to support their aspirations to a better life, which had been blocked so far by the tsarist regime (Winterschladen 2016: 82). At first, Jochelson obviously shared this attitude. Probably after meeting Boas, however, his priorities shifted. The prospects of a scientific career became increasingly realistic and attractive to him. Through participation in this prestigious expedition, he apparently realized, he would get the opportunity to enhance his reputation and collect abundant data for later publishing projects.

Fieldwork and research methods

To what extent are Jochelson's motivation and primary research aim reflected in his fieldwork methods, and in the way he met and interacted with local people? Unfortunately, his publication on the Koryak tells us very little about these questions. In accordance with Boas's instructions, this monograph was written in an academic descriptive style. As a result, the text is almost devoid of personal or emotional comments about his relations with local collaborators or informants. At several points, Jochelson briefly mentions "his" Cossack, a man who seems to have assisted him and his wife mainly with sledge transportation. He occasionally also refers to their interpreter, Nicholas Vilkhin, a "Russianized Koryak" from the settlement of Gizhiginsk. Jochelson characterizes him as being "in equal command of the local Russian dialect and the Koryak language, […] although I had to labor hard before I had him trained for the work." (Jochelson I: 15 [56]) Only in one instance does Jochelson describe in somewhat greater detail the way in which they worked together: "Very few of the women were able to dictate to me two tales in succession. Usually, after having told one tale, they would ask to be relieved, for they were tired. In taking my notes, I was obliged to stop frequently, for I could see that my interpreter was tired, and unable to follow my questions with proper attention." (Jochelson 1908: 426 [448]) This quote is also revealing in other ways. It provides a rare case of deeper insight into Jochelson's fieldwork and recording techniques, which may be considered questionable according to our present standards (Kasten 2016b).

Another critical aspect is that the texts most likely were not dictated in the Koryak language. Jochelson does not explain whether the various tales and explanations were told to him and Vilkhin in Koryak or in Russian. This issue cannot be resolved, because the texts are only known through their published English translations (Jochelson 1908: 125–340 [167–357]) and no original fieldnotes seem to exist.[1] Moreover, Jochelson relied entirely on the linguistic expertise of Bogoras,[2] as "he has revised and corrected the transcriptions of all Koryak names, words, incantations, and other Koryak phrases, contained in this book." (Jochelson 1908: 15 [56]) Bogoras explains this division of labor in his edition of *Koryak Texts*: "I undertook the study of their language, because my practical knowledge and previous studies of the Chukchee language put me in a position to acquire with ease a knowledge of the Koryak, which is closely related to the Chukchee." (Bogoras 1917: 1) Bogoras also mentions the role of Vilkhin in the process of data collection (Bogoras 1917: 4). Although this division of labor permitted the collection of quite reliable linguistic data from the Koryak, despite their single brief field trip, one may wonder whether Bogoras's understanding of Koryak was to a certain degree Chukchi-biased: "The

1 cf. the lists of the unpublished materials in Jakobson et al. (1957) and Knüppel (2013).

2 Nevertheless, Jochelson was a linguist in his own right, as his work on the Yukagir language (Jochelson 1905, 1926) as well as on Aleut and on Itelmen, demonstrates.

rules of pronunciation, which are strict and consistent in the Chukchee language, are quite lax in all the Koryak dialects." (Bogoras 1917: 4) The English translations of the Koryak texts, later edited in Bogoras (1917), and of the hitherto unpublished Itelmen (Kamchadal) texts, recorded by Bogoras, were published first in Jochelson (1908) and amount to more than 25 % of the text's entire corpus (1908: 284–297, 309–340 [309–321, 331–357]).

Beyond this method of acquiring dictated texts, Jochelson employed for the first time in that region the revolutionary new technique of phonograph or wax cylinder recordings.[1] With some amusement, he describes the reaction of the speakers or singers toward this unknown device, which was mostly used for recording shaman's incantations or healing songs: "Our phonograph made the most striking impression wherever we went. Often a hundred persons would crowd into the house where we put up our phonograph, and gather around it in a ring." (Jochelson 1908: 426f. [448]) and "after eating two fungi, he [a Reindeer Koryak] began to sing in a loud voice, gesticulating with his hands. I had to support him, lest he fall on the machine; and when the cylinder came to an end, I had to tear him away from the horn, where he remained bending over it for a long time, keeping up his songs." (Jochelson 1908: 583 [609])

The expedition's visual ethnographic documentation was also altered and enhanced by the newly introduced technology of photography. For earlier accounts, and well into the 19th century, we still have to rely on hand-sketched or painted illustrations. Some of these images were created by artists who never actually saw the particular scenery or subject in person, which inevitably led to distortions (Jochelson 1908: 13ff. [54f.]). Others, however, such as the watercolors of Friedrich Heinrich von Kittlitz (2011) from his journey through Kamchatka in 1828, looked almost as natural and precise as later photographs. During the expedition, Dina Jochelson-Brodskaya was responsible for the photographs, which were primarily taken for the purpose of documenting "physical types" (Miller and Mathé 1997: 19). As a result, many of the pictures are portraits of individuals. There are also, however, many scenes of daily and ceremonial life as well as views of the landscape. The documentary accuracy or precision of the plates and figures in the edited volume should not be overrated, though. Some of the original photographs were modified prior to publication with the aim of enhancing their value as interpretative reconstructions: "Plate XXIX, Fig. 1, represents two Koryak in armor, with bent bows. The plate is the reproduction of a photograph taken by me, except that the artist, Mr. Rudolf Cronau, sketched in under my direction the missing wing of the armor." (Jochelson 1908: 563 [588])

1 Bogoras notes that two of the songs he published in his *Koryak Texts* were transcribed from the phonographic recordings of Jochelson (Bogoras 1917: 103). Most of Jochelson's wax cylinders are now in the holdings of the Archive of Traditional Music in Bloomington, and a few are in the Phonogram Archive of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin (Knüppel 2013: 44–48).

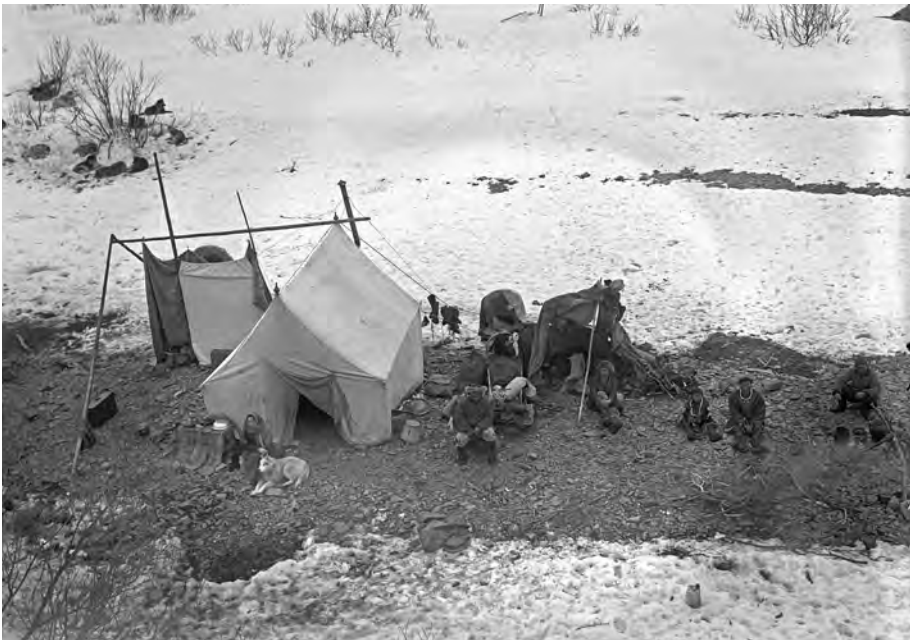

Fig. 5. They often set up two tents in the field. One served as living and writings quarters, the other as portable studio and darkroom.
Image # 4148. American Museum of Natural History Library

When taking the anthropometric measurements, which was mostly done by Dina Jochelson-Brodskaya, the couple encountered difficulties and frequent resistance among those to be investigated in this way. They feared "that they would die if they allowed themselves to be measured." (Jochelson 1908: 49 [86]) With the help of a Koryak elder, Jochelson employed a trick-of-the-trade, much like some that are well-known from Boas's methods on similar occasions (Cole 1985: 107). "He [the elder] assured the Koryak, half in jest and half in earnest, that their heads and bodies were being measured in order to get caps, boots, and coats which the Czar was to send them the next year. However, he himself refused for a long while to allow me to take his measurements." (Jochelson 1908: 409 [426]) Unfortunately, Jochelson did not inquire further as to whether these kinds of body measurements were felt to be an intrusion into a person's privacy. It is possible that the resistance was in response to a recent campaign against foreigners. There may have been fear that such unknown practices would cause an epidemic, as had happened a few years earlier, following the visit of another researcher, N. V. Slunin. In any case, the inhabitants of the Taigonos peninsula subsequently referred to Jochelson as "face-measuring chief." Those of Paren were obviously more impressed by his abilities in recording texts, so they called him "tales chief."

Fig. 6. Drawings by Koryak illustrating mythological themes, 1901.
Image # 1585. American Museum of Natural History Library
(cf. Fig. 1, 28 and 57 in this volume)

There is another aspect of Jochelson's nearly ethnohistorical approach that characterizes the later sections of his work (1908: 761–811 [787–837]), namely the consultation of archival materials from the 18th and early 19th centuries housed in the Government Archives of the Gizhiga district. This was to supplement his information from earlier published sources. Besides contributing to a better understanding of the demographic and economic situation in past times, these materials enabled Jochelson to demonstrate the Russian influence on Koryak pictographic memoranda and commercial notes: "Later on I found in the archives of the natives on the Kolyma River receipts of Russian officials of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The receipts testified as to the payment of tribute in furs by the native chiefs, and the number of fur skins or rubles received as tax was indicated by Russian letters and also by means of the system used by Qačilqut, evidently for the benefit of the illiterate natives." (Jochelson 1908: 727 [754])

Jochelson (and Bogoras) also made use of another pioneering new genre of ethnographic documentary. Obviously following Boas's instructions—and based on his own experiences during his earliest fieldwork on Baffin Island in 1883 (Müller-Wille 2014: 111–117)—Jochelson encouraged native people to make drawings on their own (1908: 723ff. [750off.]), even though he had earlier already collected illustrations from

them (1899c). This corresponds with an overall intention and aim to let them document, without censorship, scenes and perceptions as seen from their own viewpoints (see below). Thus Jochelson points out that "the collections of drawings were made on paper with pencil [...], who drew at my request, and without any instruction or explanation on my part." (1908: 724 [751]) The same method is often employed in contemporary ethnographic research. Sometimes this has the additional purpose of showing and emphasizing community participation in the design of text collections and learning tools (Kasten 1998, 2015a).

Jochelson and Bogoras collected hundreds of traditional tales from the Russian Far East and compared them with those compiled in North America by Boas and others (Jochelson 1904, 1906, 1908, Bogoras 1902, 1910, 1917 and 1928). This was an important objective and accomplishment of the Jesup Expedition and one that closely followed the practices of Boas himself. He had published similar work on the peoples of the Pacific Northwest coast, the goal being to reconstruct migrations and cultural contacts from borrowings and adaptations of mythological elements (Boas 1895: 329–363; Dürr 1992: 392–394). Jochelson summarized the results of this comparative study: "In concluding my review of the Koryak folk-lore, I deem it necessary to state, that I regard the identity of the Koryak folk-lore with that of North America as established." (Jochelson 1908: 362 [380])

Jochelson also referred to texts as a source for reconstructing earlier stages of the cultures under consideration, e.g.: "One tale [...] points to their former possession of subterranean dwellings." (1908: 465 [487]) At another point he speculated about an earlier stage when Koryak used driving-dogs while referring to mythology: "From this myth it may be concluded that the creator of the Koryak world is conceived of as having driving-dogs." (1908: 502, note [526f.]) And in his discussion of reindeer-breeding he stated: "The myths give no tangible data as to the origin of reindeer-breeding." (1908: 474 [499]) This approach is related to Boasian methods. Boas himself, however (Boas 1916, 1935), mainly abstained from speculations about the past. He usually restricted himself to seeking either reflections of, or contradictions to, cultural practices that had been documented elsewhere. It may be worth noting in this context that Jochelson not only assumed that myths can be seen as preserving older cultural practices. He also tended to speculate on earlier cultural stages, based on the assumption that certain artifacts, such as funeral costumes, materialize these older stages: "Women's funeral costumes have no caps—a fact, which shows that in former times the Koryak women did not wear caps." (1908: 597 [624])

Selected themes

Regarding the treatment of specific ethnographic themes, Jochelson's conclusions are usually based on far-reaching and thorough comparative discussions of the existing academic literature at that time. A good example is the origins of reindeer breeding.

(Jochelson 1908: 469–501 [493–526]) He strives to combine these results with his own observations and assessments. In making recommendations on possible developments for a more sustainable Koryak economy, Jochelson diverges noticeably from Boas's defined project aims and adopts applied approaches that were characteristic of mid-19th century German-Baltic ethnographic research in Kamchatka.[1] Thus he questions "if it would become possible for the latter [the Russians] to raise the civilization of the natives?" (1908: 805 [831]) Toward this end, Jochelson believes in the success of practical school education that pays particular attention to enhancing the efficiency of traditional branches of the native economy, so "that their further development could be left in their own hands." (1908: 806 [832]) Here Jochelson is a forerunner of later developments in native self-government that have been realized at least in some parts of North America. His concern is underscored by his harsh critique of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, which "maintains its remote northeastern colonies solely for the glory of possessing a territory," (1908: 804 [830]) or for "a petty national pride, but […] paid for by the government through a costly administration of unprofitable colonies." (1908: 802 [828]) At the same time, Jochelson gives a blunt account of the brutal excesses in the way this policy was put into practice. Today, this is celebrated by state authorities in Kamchatka as the annexation (*prisoedinenie*) of these far eastern provinces to Russia.

On the other hand, Jochelson obviously endorsed the testimony of an elder herdsman who believed in "the source of power in the Russian government, and not in the customs of his people." (1908: 769 [794]) When discussing potential prospects for further economic development, he concludes that the "primitive state of the material life of the Koryak, left almost intact by outside influence, determines the primitive state of their mental culture." (1908: 405 [423]) This view differs clearly from what we have learned, for example, from the much earlier Georg Wilhelm Steller. A reason for this might be that Jochelson already looked at native cultures more from the perspective of current anthropological science. Steller, in contrast, gained his thorough insights and deep respect for traditional environmental knowledge through his role as a thoughtful participant observer. It was an approach that he employed to a considerable extent already in the mid-18th century (Kasten 2013: 249–251). Unlike Steller, Jochelson seems to have been less interested in documenting actual work processes regarding traditional resource use or when constructing tools. From the perspective of the collector of ethnographic specimens—which was one of his main assignments—he viewed and described items primarily according to their material makeup and practical functions. Because he tended to disregard more comprehensive ideas and motivations that underlie such work processes, Jochelson often failed to conceive the important emotional and social meanings that these activities entail (Kasten 2016b). Such a more encompassing viewpoint also receives short shrift whenever Jochelson is describing and analyzing objects of native art. In contrast, greater atten-

1 See in particular the research program of Kegel (2011) and Ditmar (2011).

tion is paid by present-day anthropologists to informative comments by the artists themselves, and to their contemplations while they are working on their artifacts (Kasten 2005b; 2012).

For Jochelson, the reason the Koryak make (mostly carved) objects of art lies in the "inter-action of two psychological factors,—the religious and the æsthetic." (1908: 668 [698]) He correctly states that it is not easy to ascertain whether an artifact was made solely from a simple desire to imitate nature, or with the additional intention of ceremonial use. With regard to the arrangement of designs in ornaments that were used in sewing and applied to clothing, Jochelson identifies principles of symmetry (1908: 689, 714–723 [718, 741–750], see also Kasten 2014: 102–105). He discerns and investigates various possible origins for geometrical ornaments and those, such as floral motifs, that depict naturalistic images (1908: 684–688 [714–717], see also Kasten 2014: 105–108). Where the meaning of ornaments is concerned, however, Jochelson expressed frustration at the answers that he usually got from the seamstresses. This is similar to the responses that modern researchers have received more than 100 years later (Kasten 2014: 108f.). "As a general rule," he concludes, "the ornament had no special significance. Even the information as to zigzags [that represent mountains] I obtained only after insistent questioning, which may have stimulated the answer." (Jochelson 1908: 685 [715], see also Kasten 2014: 109) In most cases, the ornamental designs were borrowed from other peoples just "because of their beauty," (Kasten 2016a: 6) but without their meaning, since they had connections to foreign cultural or family traditions. The meaning of such a design is, however, often still preserved among Even families. It may be handed down to the next generation together with the story that accompanies it and that expresses the identity of a particular family (Kasten 2016a: 7).

Understandably, Jochelson paid scant attention to such performing arts as dance and music. He apparently felt obliged to focus on those arts that expressed themselves in material artifacts for his museum collection. Thus he devotes only a short paragraph to dances (Jochelson 1908: 782 [809]) that imitate the movements and sounds of animals, although this represents an extremely rich and informative tradition, especially among coastal Koryaks.[1] It is the same with regard to family songs. Even today, these remain an equally important genre for the Koryaks, among others, and are used to display individual, family, or local identities (especially during festivals), or simply to be enjoyed spontaneously on everyday occasions (Kasten 2004: 16–20). Where songs are concerned, Jochelson concentrates in his recordings and descriptions mainly on incantations used in connection with shamanic healing practices (see below).

Jochelson described such shamanic performances in great detail, although he

1 Archive Koryak Language and Culture, KLC5-02-06, http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/mat_331_E.html; Archive Koryak Language and Culture, KLC5-02-12, http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/mat_332_E.html

expressed clear disappointment at what he was shown by the only two "professional" shamans whom he met. He suspected, in fact, that a bit of fakery was involved. In one case, he had to settle on an appropriate remuneration in advance of the séance. On another occasion, the shaman left before daybreak, without waiting to meet with Jochelson (as agreed) to help him transcribe the text of the incantations (1908: 50 [87]). A possible reason why Jochelson was unable to obtain a deeper insight into shamanic practices may lie in the inappropriate way that he presented his request. On one occasion, he asked the shaman "to show [him] proof of his shamanistic art." (1908: 49 [84])

Jochelson was particularly interested in incantations, which are an important part of shamanic healing practices. This secret knowledge is handed down through generations within the family and was difficult to record, as Jochelson admitted, because it is considered a sin "to sell an incantation to a foreigner." (1908: 60 [98]) When discussing traditional healing practices with Koryaks today,[1] these formulas are shared with the researcher more freely and spontaneously. They are no longer used in the same sacred way as before and are now regarded more as a recollection of the cultural past.

Jochelson describes in great detail reconciliation festivals that he observed during his prolonged stay in the coastal Koryak village of Kuel. Involving sacrifices, these aimed at influencing the course of events. He documented a whale festival there that was most likely also conducted in similar ways (and based on the same rationale) in other coastal villages of the Koryak on the northern west coast of Kamchatka. This was probably the case as well among the Alutors on the Pacific coast, a people he was unable to visit due to time constraints (see above). As for the festivals of the reindeer herding Koryaks, Jochelson admits that he had to rely on information provided by others. It is surprising, however, that he did not witness and document certain of their most important rituals, which are performed in connection with the birth of reindeer fawns in late spring, since he actually stayed at a reindeer camp at that time (see photo on p. 510). Under Chukchi influence, this festival was held already then, among other Koryak groups, using its Chukchi name, *Kilvei*. So Jochelson was told. But the reindeer herder groups from Taigonos insisted that neither their genuine Koryak rituals nor those borrowed from the Chukchi have ever been conducted among them at this important moment in the herd's natural cycle.

The festivals of the coastal and reindeer herding Koryaks (*Ololo, Kilvei*) are still held today. Even now, they maintain many of their original meanings, which ensure communication with nature. In addition, they are able to incorporate or emphasize new elements, such as those celebrating local or ethnic identities (Kasten 2005c; 2015b; Plattet 2005).

Further places in the account indicate that Jochelson sometimes relied on what he was told, rather than what he personally observed while participating in the activities

1 Chechulina, Lidiia 2015. Archive Erich Kasten, AEK15-01-02_5.

involved. Regarding the Koryak kayak (*māto* or *matev*), Jochelson notes: "Sitting in the manhole, the hunter can stretch his feet under the deck of the Kayak." (1908: 540 [566]) Although Jochelson describes the construction of this particular kind of boat in great detail, he obviously has never seen one put into practical use. The extremely low design of the frame does not allow one to sit within the *matev*, only to kneel in it. This was apparent from observations in Lesnaya, where the last skin boat of this type was still in use in 2003 (Kasten and Dürr 2005).

As mentioned above, Jochelson was highly critical of Russian colonial policy. However, it is remarkable how rarely he made mention of excessive conduct by Russians in dealing with native people, whereas this was a big issue in the reports of scientists during the proceeding centuries. It its unlikely that relations between Russians and the native peoples were very different from what we know from other parts of Kamchatka. Probably Jochelson's view was biased, since he still trusted in the Russian empire's potential positive influence on the Koryak: "If the country cannot be populated by the Russians, the question arises whether under any conditions it would become possible for the latter to raise the civilization of the natives?" (Jochelson 1908: 805 [831]) Granted that, on a later occasion, during the XXIII International Congress of Americanists in 1928, he underscored the continuity of repression toward native peoples in that area. This had lasted, he asserted, from the first conquest by Russia right up to and including Soviet times. It manifested itself, among other ways, in the Itelmen uprising of the 1730s. However, Jochelson obviously used this argument in opposition to Bogoras's praise of Soviet policy towards native peoples, which was expressed at the same congress.[1]

Likewise, Jochelson did not find evidence in Koryak communities of inherent social inequality or indicators of a class-based society. Yet only three decades later, these alleged features provided the Stalinist justification for the stigmatization of rich reindeer herders as *kulaks*, and their subsequent expropriation and/or elimination. In contrast, Jochelson draws a very clear and detailed picture of entrenched, balanced and shifting property relations among reindeer herding Koryak (1908: 747, 765f. [773f., 790f.]). For maritime Koryak, he even claims to perceive "remnants of communal ideas." (1908: 746 [772]) This is despite the fact that (as shown in tales recorded subsequently in that region) it is clear that when arranging marriages, strategies aimed at establishing dynasties among rich reindeer herders may well have played a role.[2] When exploring the Koryak "idea[s] of ethnic unity" (Jochelson 1908: 762 [788]), Jochelson was obviously aware of various layers of identity. These, he saw, were expressed by different guardians and charms that "belong each to a family, an individual, and in some cases a whole village." (Jochelson 1908: 33 [71]) In current

1 cf. Winterschladen, personal communication 24.11.2015. It should be noted that the respective papers were published in the proceedings of the congress side by side (Bogoras and Leonov 1930: 445–450, Jochelson 1930: 451–454).

2 Rul'tyneut, Ekaterina 2014. Archive Erich Kasten, AEK-14-22-01.

discussion, flexible situational strategies in social discourse are often seen as based on such "multiple identities." (Kasten 2005a: 247)

Conclusions

To do justice to Jochelson's long-lasting contribution to Siberian anthropology, one should bear in mind Franz Boas's thoughts and specific aims, which underlie the initial conception of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Only then can we assess the extent to which Jochelson followed these guidelines. We might ask how well he eventually accomplished this mission. And where was he able to introduce novel research approaches of his own? Some may have been based on his earlier fieldwork experiences during the Sibiryakov Expedition, or were due to the unusually varied background of his early life.

When comparing Jochelson's early German ethnographic publications to his later English ones, some obvious changes in orientation can be recognized. From Switzerland, Jochelson submitted a series of articles for a regular column, titled "In Polargegenden," that appeared in the popular German magazine *Mutter Erde* (Jochelson 1899a). This recalls how Boas himself had to write commissioned articles for the *Berliner Tageblatt* to finance the voyage leading to his first field research on Baffin Island (Kasten 1992: 11). With only slight changes, Jochelson used the text of some of the *Mutter Erde* articles for two speeches at the assembly of the Geographical Society of Bern on December 6, 1898, and June 22, 1899; both were later published in the Society's annual report (Jochelson 1899b, c). They all read well as a travel stories and contain the kind of personal and emotional information that readers were obviously expecting at that time.

He includes, for example, extensive accounts and descriptions of the harsh living conditions of the extreme north. He also presents in great detail, however, a remarkably informative picture of the flexibly shifting inter-ethnic relations that prevailed in the region. For the annual report version, he added an ethnographic map and a new chapter on the Yukagir language, whereas the more personal narratives and some of the photographs of local people from *Mutter Erde* have been omitted. Only in the additional chapter Jochelson (1899c) already adheres to the scientific style of his later works. This trend continued and was reinforced in his subsequent publications, as Jochelson fell under the influence of Franz Boas's thoughts.

Boas's ideas clearly affected Jochelson's thinking and approach, especially once they entered into close correspondence in 1898 while drafting the program for the Jesup project. According to Boas, "the peculiar interest that attaches to this region is founded on the fact that here the Old World and the New come into close contact. The geographical conditions favor migration along the coastline, and exchange of culture. Have such migrations, has such exchange of culture, taken place?" (Boas 1900: 4) Boas did not believe it was *only* the exchange or the borrowing of cultural ele-

ments that induced cultural change. At the same time he was aware that "the acquisition [of a large part of every tribe's culture] only becomes a genuine part of the culture if it fuses with the native perceptions into a comprehensive whole […] the foreign element in a culture becomes native by being permeated by the spirit or style of the native culture." (Boas 2001: 19)

It is clear that Jochelson's monograph on the Koryak came into being, and was in the end largely shaped, both under Boas's personal guidance and through the strong impact of a new discipline, the cultural anthropology. Through Jochelson and Bogoras, the latter exerted a profound influence on Soviet historical ethnography. Nevertheless, it appears that the Russian members of the expedition—together with Lev Shternberg, the third formative authority of the Russian "etnotroika" at that time—were still under the strong influence of Morgan's evolutionism. This classified cultures according to their degree of complexity rather than areal similarity (Zgusta 2015: 20), which also became part of their legacy to Soviet ethnography.

In spite of the great value of the rich ethnographic data it produced, the Jesup project did not achieve its goal of illuminating historical connections (Zgusta 2015: 359). The generalizations that derived from the project eventually had to be qualified in light of a more likely two-directional flow between Northeast Asia and North America, the so-called "circum-Pacific cultural drift" (de Laguna 1947). Together with the anthropometric data, the comparative analysis of myths were considered crucial in establishing possible historical connections and the dissemination of cultural traits. The results revealed the interconnection of the peoples on both sides of the North Pacific rim, but they were not conclusive as to the kind and direction of migration. Quite recently, this type of argumentation, based on physical anthropological data but also on myths, has enjoyed renewed scholarly interest within a framework of statistical computer models that allow mass comparisons (d'Huy 2013, 2015). At least in the case of mitochondrial and/or chromosomal DNA, the new approach helps to cast new light on prehistoric migration, such as, for example, the settlement of the Americas (Reich et al. 2013, Koppel 2003).

In the wake of Jochelson's work, and other publications related to the Jesup project, one main question remains open: Are the obvious cultural similarities along the North Pacific rim due to historical factors related to migrations? Or do they also—and to what extent—result from adaptations to similar natural environments? As to the latter possibility, it seems that Georg Wilhelm Steller (2013: 225) was already quite aware of it. For one thing, he was obviously impressed by the ingenuity of native people. In his deep respect and great admiration for their unique traditional knowledge—in some instances he considered it to be on an equal level with that of contemporary western civilization—he anticipated, 150 years earlier, much of what was to become the foundations of Franz Boas's cultural relativism. In contrast to Steller and other scientists who had traveled through Kamchatka in the 19th century, and also to Jochelson's own earlier reports on the Sibiryakov Expedition, the new

academic approach adapted by the Jesup project clearly led to a narrowing of prevailing scientific concepts. Some earlier approaches were considerably broader and, once again, receive greater attention today. Unlike Jochelson's descriptions in the present volume, *The Koryak*, they often even embraced and closely observed such things as the work processes used in constructing ethnographic items. The same was true for the concrete activities of traditional resource management, such as hunting, fishing and gathering. Nowadays, these are also investigated and interpreted within their more encompassing and important social dimension, as, for example, in expressing sentiments and cultural identities.

As with many other outcomes of the Jesup project, a particular value of Jochelson's monograph on the Koryak lies, however, in the weight that it gives to studying a people's own interpretation of their traditions. For Boas, it "seemed supremely important to document the anthropological material through uncensored accounts of natives in their own words and in their own language, to preserve the original meaning." (Boas 2001: 19) This led to the large amount and enormous wealth of texts that Franz Boas and his collaborators collected on the North Pacific rim. Together with additional texts that have been recorded since then on similar topics in the region, those from the North Asian side provide a truly rich database for current and future analysis of important cultural dynamics within and among the peoples of the Russian Far East. Certainly, Jochelson's data on the Yukagir, and their analysis, can be considered especially complete and accurate. In particular, his multiple visits to that region obviously produced favorable results. By comparison, given the relatively short period of time spent there, it is amazing what he and his wife were able to achieve during their work with the Koryak. Last but not least, we can value the unexpected way in which Jochelson's *The Koryak* provides inspiration to present-day Koryak artists, who derive conceptual ideas for their work from the illustrations of objects in this volume (Kasten 2005b: 85).

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