

Subsistence Hunting and Hunting Rituals in Lesnaja Koryak in Kamchatka Peninsula¹⁾

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1. Present situation in Palana and Lesnaja

The information and data used in this section were mainly offered by Juri Ivanovich Ivintoksav, chief of Regional Branch of Ministry of Nationalities.

1) This report is a partial result of our 1994 scientific field research conducted in Lesnaja and Palana in Koryak Autonomous Region (Okrug) in Kamchatka. Our project is financially supported by the Japanese Ministry of Educa-

Palana

Palana is the capital city of Koryak Autonomous Region. People living there are coastal Koryak they call *Nəmelʔamur-u* (pl.) in Koryak.²⁾ At present they are engaged mainly in fishing and reindeer breeding.

There are 9 teams (*brigad*) breeding reindeer. Each team, which consists of 8 workers on the average including two or three woman workers, breeds 1,500 up to 2,000 heads of reindeer. Two of the 9 teams are of *sovkhos* and the other seven are privatized. Privatization in this former communist nation refers to the state that land still belongs to the nation but the reindeer are privately owned by individual citizens. Breeding teams live on tundra, while breed reindeer 15 or 20km away from the city of Palana. When they harvest and butcher reindeer in February, they come back close to the city. At the harvest, they hold a festival, reindeer-sledge races and wrestling bouts naked on the snow-covered ground.

Although Reindeer fur is no longer profitable, reindeer antlers are still profitable and exported to the U.S.A. and other nations. Their

tion, Science and Culture, International Scientific Research Program (Field-Research), Project Number # 0504100 (Chief Researcher Kazuyuki Tanimoto, President of Hokkaido University of Education). The field research was conducted in 1994 by the present author, Minoru Oshima, Nobuhiro Kishigami from Hokkaido University of Education, Hakadate (now at National Museum of Ethnology), Rie Kochi from the Hokkaido Ainu Culture Research Center and Aleksandr N. Badajev from National Pedagogical University of Kamchatka (now at Petropavlovsk High Marine College).

Where this report partially overlaps with the papers previously published by other two members, see Kishigami 1995 concerning religion and society and Kochi 1995 concerning ethnomusicology.

- 2) Local terms are written in International Phonetic Alphabets. Vowels: /i, e, u, o, a, ə/; Consonants: Stops /p, t, k, qʔ/; Affricant /c/, Fricatives /s, j, ɣ, ʕ/; Approximant /l, ʎ, w, j/; Trill /r/; Nasals /m, mʲ, n, nʲ, ŋ/.

prices have plunged in these years to \$30 or 40 from \$500 or \$600.

Since 1991, the privatization of pastures on tundra has been in progress. The Russian government has the exclusive right to give permission and local governments carry it out.

Fishing in *sovkhos* is done by a family unit. Sea fishing requires a license from the central government, while river fishing is licensed by local governments. In Palana, there is a commercial fishing. Annual catch is 200 tons and exported to countries such as Japan, U.S.A., South Korea and Poland. In Lesnaja, they fish only on the subsistence base, but the local commercial fishing company in Palana buys the fish from subsistence fishermen to sell them to Japan and other regions. Fishing is currently one of the most prosperous industries in Palana. Moscow has started to control the quota of fishing. The First Fish Catch ceremony is held in June.

Sea mammal hunting is done by private enterprises. *Njerpa* (ringed seal) and *laxtak* (a kind of seal) are harvested by clubbing on the rookery. The Seal Festival is held in autumn.

Fur game trapping and hunting are no longer popular. Instead, recently sport hunting has been gaining popularity as one of the major industries.

As for education, Koryak language used to be taught at school for five years. They have now a ten-year Koryak language program. The language classes are taught for two or three hours per week. One of the problems is that there are 9 different dialects but the language texts are written only in one main dialect, *Chavchvanskij* among others. Other culture-related art classes are extracurricular-based.

Koryak language is no longer so often spoken at home as used to be. While people in their 40's still are fluent speakers, the number

drastically declines in their 30's. When it comes to those in their 20's, only one out of the ten youths can speak the language. Only people in their 40's or older possess their own songs.

Between 1991 and 1995 are planned to be years of Revival of Native Culture Project, but the budget is cut this year. The local governments of Koryak Autonomous Region suffer a financial deficit for the past five years partly because of the growing number of elderly people. Thus policies related to culture have difficulties today.

Lesnaja

Lesnaja is located 4km to the north of Palana. The population of Lesnaja, according to the census held on January 1st, 1994, is 504; 452 registered as Koryak, 3 as Itel'men, 1 as Even. (See Appendix 1)

Now they fish in the sea and river and hunt in the sea and in mountains. They also grow several vegetables such as potatoes, green onions, tomatoes, cabbage in their small green houses. Some immigrants to Lesnaja from Kinkil still use their former village as fishing camps.

2. History of Lesnaja

Two city officials, Zoja Konstantinovna and Natalija Jakovlevna, mainly gave us the following history of Lasnaja. (See Appendix 2)

People here call themselves *Nəmel'amur-u* (pl.) (*nymylan* is its Russianized form).

In old days, Lesnaja did not exist. Lesnaja people were migrating between the cape *Tewve* and *Optarogən* to breed reindeer. There was a taxation on reindeer and horses, which led many owners to give up breeding and to sell them to other owners. Fortunately, however, there was no taxation on dogs. Natalija Jakovlevna's father Jakov Mikhaj-

lovich, and her uncles, Illarion Mikhajlovich and Ivdakija Mikhajlovich were the co-owners of reindeer herds. (Natalija Jakovlevna)

The former Lesnaja village had been 5 km upriver from the present village, where people had lived near Lesnaja River just as at the present village. Lesnaja people moved from the old site to the present site as late as 1921 (according to Zakhar Stepanovich). The old village had existed until around 1943 after abandoned.

There used to be a Russian Orthodox church in the former Lesnaja village. The priest, Simeon Cheripanov, whose wife was a Koryak woman, spoke Koryak fluently. He passed away in 1927. (Varvara Kondratijevna)

Before collectivization, there were some coastal Koryak people who owned reindeer herds. A rich man in Lesnaja had had 3,000 heads of domesticized reindeer, while a common man owned 10 to 20 reindeer only. After the Revolution in 1917, rich reindeer owners were stained and regarded as traitors, bearing a heavy tax burden. As a result, many owners gave up reindeer-breeding. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

At the collectivization, only 500 heads of reindeer were left for the collective farm. People, in separate groups, were occasionally engaged in hunting and breeding reindeer. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

In 1937, a collective farm was introduced in Lesnaja. The local residents cultivated potatoes, cabbage, beets, carrots as main crops and sent them to Palana. During the ages of collective farm, they raised cows and pigs to supply themselves with milk and pork. At present, they raise horses and cows. There were not so many village people working for the collective farm (Varvara Kondratijevna).

There were three working teams; the crab fishing team mainly using crab pots, the herring fishing team which consists of some 20 people,

using a net and travelling as far as Anapka and Oljutorskij, and the seal hunting team using a net. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Varvara Kondratijevna, who was born in 1930 in Lesnaja, remembers when she first met a Russian man in Lesnaja. He was a medical doctor named Snavidov J.Wasilijev. Lesnaja people were unable to tell him the names or natures of their physical problems in Russian and pointed the wound and showed the body parts they suffered. (Varvara Kondratijevna)

A school was first founded around 1940. Aleksej Wasilevich Balanikov was their first teacher, who came from Vojampolka. The school years were up to the fourth grade. (Varvara Kondratijevna)

During World War II, the area was ravaged by famine. Only barks of tree, roots of plants, dried salmon roes and fishes were available to survive. (Varvara Kondratijevna)

Around 1957, there used to be 30 house holds. Among them Jaganov, Popov, and Njesterov families were originally from Lesnaja but a Najanov family was from Kinkil located between Lesnaja and Palana. Kinkil was abandoned and led its villagers to live separately, half in Lesnaja and half in Palana. (Nadjezda Jakolevna)

The operation of their collective farm was not successful and it was transformed into a new organization *Gospromhoz* (State Hunting and Fishing Company) in 1967, which still exists today but is at the brink of bankruptcy due to the rising cost of central heating and water supply systems.

Karaga is thought to be a sister village on the east coast since they have much in common in songs and dances, and language. (Irina Nikolajevna) They have relatives in Karaga and Rekiniki. (Natalija Jakovlevna)

According to Varvara Kondratijevna's grandmother, Lesnaja people traded with Americans and Japanese people. Fur was traded with American or Japanese plates. Some Japanese and Americans used to live near Lesnaja.

3. Dwellings in Lesnaja

People in Lesnaja used to live in a subterranean house in summer and winter. Subterranean houses in Lesnaja had an entrance to the side wall, while the houses in Penzhinskij area have an entrance on the roof. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

In a traditional subterranean house, fish skin, after its scales were removed, was attached to a window pane to get light from outside just as a modern window. In such a traditional house, there used to live several nuclear families together. Each family has parents and three to five children. The families forming a domestic unit, for example, in Varvara's case, consist of four families; her father's family, his two brothers' families, and his sister's family. (Varvara Kondratijevna)

There used to be five subterranean houses and corresponding five household units. Their family names were Suzdalov, Yaganov, Popov, Nesterov and Belousav. There was a foreman or headman in each house, who was the oldest man. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

After 1945, new log houses were built for villagers and each family began to live in their own house. There were 10 to 15 houses in the village. Then the dwelling style of extended family was abandoned. (Varvara Kondratijevna)

After the introduction of a collective farm in 1937, traditional subterranean houses began to be changed into Russian-style wooden houses, while reindeer breeding groups continue using *julta* (common

word used in Siberia referring to ‘reindeer skin tent dwelling’) called *ravara* in their dialect (Natalija Jakovlevna). The first Russian-style wooden house was a store. (Varvara Kondratijevna). The last traditional subterranean house had been used until 1945.

You can see a number of fish storage caches and conical log structures used for storage along the river. Storage caches have a traditional knotted ladder and a Russian-style ladder leading to the door on the raised platform.

The dried fish, *utevʔal* in Koryak, such as of *wjok* (a sort of smelt) occupied the half of the storage cache we visited. Dried fish is eaten by people but mainly used to feed sledge-dog teams in winter. Under the platform, there are racks in order to keep items such as dog-sledges, a sea-going skin boat frame, a wooden river boat and hunting gears. This storage cache was handed down to Antonina Nikolajevna (Sergej Antonovich’s wife) by her father. The owner has kept it as a memento of her father. (Sergej Antonovich)

4. Subsistence Hunting

Varvara Kondratijevna told us that her father, Kondratij Mikhajlovich (born in Lesnaja and died in 1960) was a fox hunter, as well as a sea mammal hunter and a fisherman.

During the ages of collective farm, the commercial fishing flourished, while their cultivation never came to fruition. This led to the newly organized *Gospromkhoz* (State Hunting and Fishing Company) in 1967.

There are ‘land animals’ (classified as *ʔejnik-u* (pl.) in Koryak, which is contrasted with ‘sea animals’ (classified as *ulʔal-u* (pl.) in Koryak). Land animals actually hunted are 7 species: sable (*kətʔəm*),

fox (*tatol*), ermine (*imcecuq*) hunted for fur; bear (*kejjan*), wolvetine (*qaper*), squirrel (*layolʔan*) and mountain sheep (*kətəppa*). (Zakhar Stepanovich)

4-1. Transportation

There are a score of means of transportation for hunting activities. The river boat called *ʔətvəʔət* is made of poplar. It is 2m 70cm long, 35 ~ 45cm wide, and 40cm deep. Two river boats are tied together on water or one river boat with a log tied to it as an outrigger on water. The two oars (*upineng*), which are 2m long, are used for the river boats. Two oarmen are in a boat. Women folk, when on board, should keep silent. (Sergej Antonovich)

The sea-going skin boat or kayak is called *matəv* in Koryak. The boat is a one-hatched boat covered with a seal skin, a little more than one whole *lakhtak* hide. It is about 2m 80cm long, 95cm wide at the widest. The thwart under the hatch is 70×64cm and 25cm high. The skin covering is sewn by a woman. The frame is made of white birch. Wooden frames are tied together traditionally by stings through the hole at the corners although they are jointed by nails nowadays. Skin covering can last ten years, while frames can last more than 30 years. The one Sergej Antonovich keeps is handed down from his uncle. The deck beams are easy to break so they have to be often changed. (Sergej Antonovich)

The covering is stretched and fixed over the frames after being soaked in the water to get softened. (Sergej Antonovich)

When the kayak man gets into the hatch on the water, he has to tilt the boat and quickly get into the hatch by balancing the boat with a double-bladed paddle (*tevenaj*). The paddle is 3m long, and its shaft is

1.6m long and 4cm in diameter. The paddle head is 70cm long and 10cm wide at the widest. (Sergej Antonovich)

The frames, after the covering is removed from them, are stored on underrackes of the storage cache. Under it, *uyetək* (dog sledges are stored. (Sergej Antonovich)

There used to be five extended family units, which corresponded with the number of traditional subterranean houses. Each extended family unit possessed one sea-going skin boat. (Sergej Antonovich)

The boats were used for hunting seals or traveling north to the bear-hunting grounds. (Sergej Antonovich)

Sledges are called *ujetək*. Large sledges are tracted by dog-teams, while smaller sledges are tracted by people on foot. Frames are made of birch. The boards are made of poplar. The whale bone used to be utilized for sledge runners (*vojtatək*) for spring sledges but now plastic is nailed into the runners. In winter, reindeer skin is attached and urine was splashed over the runner to be frozen. Racing reindeer sledges are shorter and roundish. Cargo reindeer sledges are a little longer than those for racing. Dog sledges are much longer than reindeer sledges. A whip with a forked reindeer antler on the tip is used for driving by poking the sides of tracting reindeers. The thick stick is used as a brake for dog sledges. (Sergej Antonovich)

4-2. Bear hunting and hunting rituals

Bears are the most sacred animals for Koryak. Hunters perform rituals for bears before going to hunt and after the hunt. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Hunters used to practice bear hunting rituals twice a year in autumn (August) and in spring on the mountain of Kamakran (*kamak*

'land spirit') before the hunting season started. Bears are hunted in spring and autumn. Spring bears are better because the fur has longer hair and rich in fat. Bears are worst in July. Their furs and blubber were of poor quality. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Every hunter, except women and children, can participate in the bear rituals. Even younger hunters, though they haven't hunted bears, can participate in the bear rituals. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Each hunter made a piece of small spear (*pojγəpoj*) out of birch. A small spear is 30cm long, which is much shorter than 2m-long real ones. A special sacred grass, a cloth and a necklace were tied onto the spear. Hunters carried their small spears to Kamakran. They stabbed the spears aslant into the wet land behind the peak. The spear's tip should point toward the east which is the sacred direction.³⁾ Hunters say prayers for good fortune for hunting. Hunters left the spears there. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

This kind of miniature spears are used for bears and wolves. Even reindeer breeders possess these miniature spears to hunt wolves to protect their reindeers. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Zakhar Stepanovich himself hunted 70 bears (he was born in 1921). A bear hunter should go hunting alone so as not to show his fears of bears. Bear hunting at a collective farm was done by a group of two. They used a firearm made in U.S.A., Hungary or Japan (*Arisaki*). The important thing is whether a hunter possesses a good firearm or not. When a hunter finds a bear den in spring, he sets fire and sends the smoke into the

3) There is Kamakran in Karaga. People in Karaga think the east is the sacred direction, too. (Zakhar Stepanovich) In our 1993 field research in Karaga, people told us rituals on Kamakran concerning seal hunting.

den and throws in a stick after he urinates over it. He fires when the animal comes out of its house. Bears use one of the same den from generation to generation. When the female bear dies, her cubs take after the den, so when the hunter kills the female bear, he should leave the cubs in the den. When Zakhar Stepanovich was asked to bring a bear cub, he once crawled into the den. It was made of sand, 1m high and 1m 30cm in diameter. There are usually three cubs in a den. There is a special room for the cubs so that the cubs can play and may not disturb their mother during the hibernation. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

In autumn, bears are hunted near the salmon spawning places of the river. A hunter traces the bear's footprints without making any noise. As far as 50m distant from the bear, a hunter can recognize the bear. If there are three hunters in a group, who are usually brothers or cousins, the three fire at the same moment. At a short distance like 50cm or 1m, a hunter fires aiming at the bear's head. At a long distance like 100m away, he aims at the heart. He has no experience of using a spear long after they gave up using spears for bear hunting. When the hunter successfully kills a bear, he makes groans towards the bear. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Whether hunters are hunting alone or in a group, they take two dogs along for hunting. Dogs chase out bears close to the hunters. Dogs bite the legs of a bear to try to sit him. When a hunter has mishot a bear, the bear should be eventually killed, otherwise the wounded bear might attack people. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Aleksej Wasilevich has hunted 50 bears. He hunts bears in the den in April and wondering bears between May and October. It is possible to hunt bears even after *ʔololo* festival (See Section 5). He hunted bears at *Jovawajam*, 15km far from Lesnaja, at upriver of *Rorokwajam* 40km from

Lesnaja, *Parvoruwajam* 60 km far from Lesnaja. He travels from Lesnaja on horseback or dog sledge. (Aleksej Wasilevich)

Bears are also hunted by a bear trap which is set between two standing trees. The spring is made of whale mustles. The tip of the spring holds a knife and set twisted so that rewinding power of the trigger can spring the knife into the left side just behind the foreleg. The trigger on the spring is connected to the lines as high as the bear walked into them. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

The bear meat is distributed to the hunter's relatives and other non-relatives if they visit the hunter. The amount of meat to be distributed depends on the hunter's will. Every part of the bear is eaten except intestines. Pancrea (*lilil*) is melted (*kejj amətqan*) good for medicine for stomach ache. Most of the bear meat are dried for provision in winter. Bear's fur is not brought to Kamakran because the fur should be sent to the government. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

After a successful hunt, a hunter expresses his gratitude to the fire, burning the sacred grass and cloth. This gratitude is towards the god (*ej ej*).

People prepare a special food (*tektek*) for good fortune for their next hunting. They cook a bear's head with jaw bones. After they eat the dish, they stuff the skull with sacred grass (*la?utej*) and bring it to Kamakran and leave it attached to the tree with a piece of sacred grass on the east side of the mountain. (Sergej Antonovich) If a hunter is afraid of bears, he has to eat eyes and uvulars ('small tongues' in Koryak) raw. (Sergej Antonovich)

There are word taboos related to bear hunting. For example, 'to eat' when eating bear meat is substituted by 'to look for lice'. (Sergej Antonovich)

4-3. Rituals to the animals other than bears

Rituals for hunting other animals are performed only in the house, unlike the bear rituals practiced on Kamakran. A hunter offers seal blubber and meat, tobacco, tea and sugar to the fire praying for good luck for hunting. Fire knows everything so that the hunter feeds fire first.

Before going to hunt, a hunter tells fortunes playing with three dice made of birch. One die has a cross on it. Another die has a curve representing routes on it, and the other die has nothing marked. A hunter puts three dice in a hat and picks out one die three times, every time he puts back the die he has picked in a hat.

- 1) Three crosses tells a successful hunt.
- 2) Three curves or three no-marks tells that the hunter should stay at home.
- 3) A cross first and a curve second tells a successful hunt.
- 4) A cross first and a no-mark tells a bad road.
- 5) A cross first, a curve second and no-mark third tells a little hope.
- 6) A curve first, a cross second and no-mark third tells a little hope.
- 7) A no-mark first, a no-mark second and a crass third tells that a hunter should stay at home.

A hunter can tell fortunes as to which direction for him to go for hunting. After saying which direction a hunter wants to go, when he picks out at least one 'curve' out of three draws, it tells the direction he chooses means a successful hunt. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

When there is a full moon on a hunting trip, a hunter prays for good weather. Just before starting for hunting, he feeds fire. When he speaks to the fire and the fire flame goes up, which means the fire speaks back to him so that his hunt will be successful. (Sergej Antonovich)

4-4. Trapping

Sables, foxes, ermines and, sometimes wolverines are trapped during the period between October and March. In old days, wooden traps (called *lyəp*) were used and nowadays steel traps are used. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

In old days, a group of three men went trapping together. No woman was included in the group. One of the three worked gathering firewood and cooking in a hunting cabin. (Zakahr Stepanovich)

There are lot of trapping grounds such as *Tewve* (*Teve* in Russian), a river on the coast 60km to the north of Lesnaja, where pink salmon are abundant at the 3 or 4km upriver in autumn, near Kinkil, and *wajamlen wajam* near Lesnaja.

After the year's first snowfall, people went trapping on the dog sledge with a team of eight dogs and a horse. Dogs are fed with dried smelt (*uyok*) and seal blubber. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Traps for sables are set on their trails. Trappers move around on skis (1.5m long and 20cm wide, with a seal skin attached on the runner) about 15 km to look for footprints of sables. First, traps without baits are set for sables to get accustomed to seeing the traps. After a while, traps with baits are set 30cm high above the ground so as not to trap mice. Baits are wild hare meat. A hare is divided into three portions with each portion used for one trap. A bait is dragged on the ground to leave the smell and blood before placed in a trap. If the bait was put directly on the snow, it would get frozen during night, so they put it on a branch of pine tree. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Traditionally 15 wooden traps were used. Within one day, they move around 50 or 60 km of a trap line and set two traps. It takes about a week to complete setting 15 traps. Two or three days later, they

moved around along the trap line to check the traps. If they are lucky, they can get three or four sables at one round of check. They got 40 to 50 sables in a single trip. They spent about 45 days in one trip, but it depended on the amount of dog's food they were able to carry. In a case of food shortage, one of them goes back home to get more food supply. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

The number of steel traps (*kapkan* in Russian) permitted to set used to at most 15, which has now increased to as many as 100. They eat meat of sables and squirrels, but not that of ermines and wolverines. Furs of sable are the most expensive to sell and those of silver foxes, of wolverines, of ermines and of squirrels follow it. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Hare is hunted by snares between October and March. Partridges are used as a bait. Guitar string is good to make snares. (Aleksiej Wasilevich)

Sergej Antonovich is a hunter of mountain sheep and also a trapper of sables and foxes. He hunted two or three mountain sheep and once hunted 26 sables in a year, the record in that year. The antlers of a mountain sheep make a curl once a year. Antlers of the mountain sheep more than 10 years old are good to sell. Those of twelve-year-old sheeps are best to sell. (Sergej Antonovich)

After successful trapping of sables and other fur animals, a hunter puts the pelt into the belt, goes round the fire, takes out the pelt to cut and offer the lower lip of the sable to the fire. Besides, he feeds the fire with sugar and bread.

4-5. Sea mammal hunting

Sea mammals are generally called *unʔal-u* (pl.) contrasted with 'land animals' (*ʔejnik-u* (pl.)) in Koryak. *meməl* 'a kind of seal', *kəlilʔən*

'a ringed seal', *ririye* 'beluga whale', *witwit* 'Akiba seal' are hunted in Lesnaja. It is said that there are no 'fur seal' and 'walrus' around Lesnaja (Zakhar Stepanovich)

Before the hunting season starts, dogs are sacrificed and thrown into the river to avoid the accidents while hunting in the sea. Dogs to be chosen are good sledge dogs. (Sergej Antonovich)

Women in Lesnaja possess wooden figurines of river or sea gods. They are about 10cm high. The oldest woman in an extended family has succeeded in these figurines from generation to generation. Before hunting women speak to and feed the figurines with water and dried food, praying for good fortune to hunters. (Sergej Antonovich)

meməl is richest in fat in August and is hunted in a umiak-type ope-deck skin boat (*ʔətvəʔət*). When hunting, hunters use a long single-bladed paddle. (Zakhar Stepanovich) *keilʔən* is richest in fat in August, but hunted in a bay all year round. Even in winter the seals come close to the shore on floating ice. Hunters shoot the seals from the boat with a rifle. In old days, harpoons were used to hunt the sea animals. Beluga whales are hunted from the boat with a rifle in May when they come chasing herrings. (Aleksej Wasilevich)

Seal hides, after each hunt, are brought to the east side of Kama-kran, the sacred mountain. (Zakhar Stepanovich)

5. ʔololo festival

The most important festival for hunters is called *ʔololo* festival, where people celebrate for fortunes of hunting land and sea mammals.⁴⁾

4) The characteristics of (ololo festival cause a problem. Some people say *ʔololo* is a festival for seals, some people said it is a festival for sea mammals,

The festival was celebrated during the period from the end of October through the beginning of November. This festival was considered to be the most important one for the village people since they celebrate the good catch of hunting games. The hunters who hunted bears or seals that year are supposed to sponsor the festival. (Varvara Kondratijevna)

Any hunter who is successful in even one game should hold the festival in order to send the animal souls back into the wildness. Each hunter invites guests to his home. The festival continues until all hunters finish giving their feasts to the guests. The order of the sponsors to give a feast is not fixed but based on the rule that any hunter who has finished preparation first for the festival is entitled to start the ceremony. Usually the rich people finish their preparation earlier than others so they can start the feast first. (Anna Stepanovna)

On the first day, prior to the festival, they hold a dog sledge race. At 7:00 p.m. the guests get together at a hunter's home to eat festival dishes. A special festival beverage called *cerema* in Koryak for intoxication is served. The drink is prepared by mixing cooked berry juice and fly agaric called *mukhomor* in Russian and *wapaq* in Koryak. (Anna Stepanovna)

One of the *Pololo* dishes is the mixture (*tigitil*) of a grass called *nunnun* and salmon roe. After its hard outer skin is removed, *nunnun* is boiled, smashed and mixed together with salmon roe. (Ekatelina Grigorijevna)

At 9:00 p.m., while several people are beating drums and singing a song, a fortune tree is brought in. Then people in the hunter's house

others said it is a festival for the harvest of mammals from land and sea.

begin to sing. When the tree is erected near the fireplace or stove, hunters begin tying tiny wooden figurines onto a branch as the symbol of hunted sea mammals, and straws of grass as the symbol of land mammals. (Anna Stepanovna)

Hunters sing their own songs.⁵⁾ The hunter who hunted a bear sings and dances wearing a bear hide over his body. All the participants, sitting around the singers, shout *pololo* during the songs. Hunters' wives or widows, in case their husbands were killed while hunting, sing their own songs in a slow tempo. These songs represent the singer's griefs and are followed by merry songs. People keep singing merry songs in turn all through the night until next morning. (Anna Stepanovna)

On the second day, at 7:00 a.m., men start for the wood carrying a plate full of grass straws gathered from the fortune tree. In the woods, the men, throwing away grass straws back to the wilderness, pray for their next fortunate hunt, saying "Go back to the wilderness, and come back next year." (Anna Stepanovna)

While men are out on tundra, women collect wooden figurines from the fortune tree and put them into fire. The sponsor-hunter's wife takes out the pieces of burning charcoal of figurines and brings them to the four corners of the room to fill the place with smoke. After the feast, a fortune tree is carried into another hunter's house. (Anna Stepanovna)

Each sponsor family follows the same process. The festival some-

5) In Koryak society, each adult possesses their own song they have usually made by themselves and songs of their relatives and ancestors. The possession of songs takes a very important role all in his/her life. See Kazuyuki Tanimoto 1995 concerning the significance and social roles of songs in Koryak culture.

times, if there are many successful hunters included, lasts until the end of October. (Anna Stepanovna)

When all the hunters finished their feasts, the biggest and last feast practiced by the whole village people starts at the Culture House. This time the fortune tree, which is alder, some 2m tall, is taller than the one used in each hunter's feast. The festival proceeds like the one practiced in each house except that at the last stage. There is a competition of huge twisted strap propeller called *telitel*. Everyone, including children, ties a straw onto the strap for their own luck. In this game, teams of four or five contestants compete in revolving twisted strap propeller making the sound of snowstorm the hunters encountered on their hunting trips until the strap is broken apart. (Anna Stepanovna)

6. Songs and hunting

Koryak people possess their own songs that are deeply related to subsistence hunting activities.

Anna Kononova's song represents that when going hunting wolves, hunters make a circle around a pack of wolves to scare the wolves and shoot one of them. Beating the frame wood of a drum is intended to scare wolves. One of the Anna's brothers was killed by a bear because he failed to make a noise in the woods. (Anna Kononovna)

Anna Kononovna's bird hunting song is accompanied by women's dances to attract birds and then the dancing is replaced by hunters.

The same song is sang at *Pololo* festival.

Hick hack, come close to hunters

Come jumping from a rock to a rock

Hap ho ira, we've got one

Ee hay aka, the rests are free and fly out

Akanu, many thanks to birds
Many gratitudes to all animals
(Anna Kononovna)

Sergej Antonovich remembers well when he made his own song. He made his song at the age of 30, staying in a hunting cabin trapping sables near the river of *goltwejem*. He stayed there during Christmas and New Year holidays. Celebrating Holly Christmas, he fed the fire and went out and he found a full moon in the sky so he brought out a drum and started singing a song. From the next day on, he began to trap a lot of sables. He thought someone gave him his song and he prayed to the god. It was neither the god nor their ancestors who actually gave him his own song, but the nature itself, he thought. His song originally includes no words but he sometimes uses words in his song. He makes his songs in faster rhythm when his hunt is successful and at *ʔololo* festival. Melody is always the same but his song changes due to his feelings and moods. When he appeals to the animals, his song goes slow. When he presents his hope and joy, his song goes fast. Before hunting starts, the song has strong beats on the drum expressing joy, while slow melody indicating sorrow.

Every hunter possesses his own 'hunter's song.' If a hunter has no such song, he has to borrow it from his ancestors' songs. If he has no ancestors, he has to borrow it from other tribes, arranging it to be his own song. (Sergej Antonovich)

Nadjezda Jakovlevna's father's song means that he was working on reindeer, singing rather loudly to the reindeer to allure it to come close to him.

Uladimir Inokentivich's grandmother's song reminds him of the scene where his grandfather was going off for hunting, while his grand-

mother was singing for his safe trip and good fortune. (Uladimir Inokentivich)

There is another category of songs related to subsistence hunting activities, which is imitation of an animal's sound. Most of the songs are performed by using the pharynx commonly called throat singing.

There are sound imitations of bears, seals, mountain sheep and ermines mostly performed by hunters themselves or the hunters' family members. There are no imitations of dogs or fish. (Ekatelina Grigorievna)

At *Pololo* festival, apical trills represent the sounds made by seals under the ice. (Nadjezda Jakovlevna)

When a child has killed a mouse on tundra, he has to sing and dance imitating the sound and movements of the mouse to be a successful hunter in the future.

When a baby killed a fly, his grandmother danced imitating a fly, hoping that he would be a good hunter. A mosquito is not a baby's trophy but a fly is. (Ekatelina Grigorievna)

7. Conclusion

To sum up, I would like to point out several findings from the descriptions of hunting and hunting rituals above.

The *nymylen* such as people in Lesnaja have been called coastal Koryak contrasted with Reindeer Koryak. Although their subsistence mainly depend upon fishing and hunting, there are some reindeer breeding people included in the coastal traditions. The binary division into Coastal Koryak and Reindeer Koryak does not mean any unilateral specialization of the subsistence system.

In Lesnaja, for instance, compared with Palana, hunting in the sea

and on the land, besides fishing in the river and in the sea, still plays an important role both as their subsistence and transmission of traditional cultures. I have tried to record the traditional life in their own words, to the full extent, in an attempt to find many aspects of their traditional cosmology and religious ideas interwoven into actual hunting activities described here.

Before and after hunting, hunters practice hunting rituals on the community level. During hunting, they practice rituals on individual level to make sure the successful hunts. Family members and the members of traditional family members support the hunters praying for good hunting.

Finally, at the most important hunting festival called *ʔololo*, all community members celebrate for successful hunters and good fortune in the future. All aspects of hunting society, economical, social, religious, and aspect of arts are reflected in this festival.

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Appendix 1: List of Language and Culture Consultants

Viktoria Sergijevna Popova (23 years old, Sergej Antonovich Popov's daughter)

Irina Nikolajevna Nestjerova (35years old, Vikoria's mother's sisiter)

Zoya Konstantinovna Yaganova (Even, Natalija's sister-in-law)

Natalija Jakovlevna Najanova (maiden name is Jaganova, Nadjazda's sister)

Vitalik Mikhaylovich Panakring (33 years old)

Varvara Kondratijevna Pjorusova (born in 1930)

Anna Stepanovna Jaganova (born in 1930, Zakhar's sister)

Nadjezda Jakovlevna Jaganova (47 years old)

Eljena Nikolajevna Suzdova (born in 1915)

Eljena Mikhajlovna Nestjerova

Ekatelina Grigorijevna Jaganova

Anna Makalovna Jaganava

Natalija Aleksejvna Jaganova

Nadjezda Mikhajlovna Paspijelova

Zakhar Stepanovich Jaganov

Sergej Antonovich Popov (53 years old)

Antonina Nikolajevna Popov (42 years old, Sergej's wife)

Aleksej Wasilevich Jaganov (born in 1917, Zakhar's cousin)

Appendix 2

Census of Koryak Autonomous Region on January 1st., 1994

	Total Siberian Natives	Ratio of Natives
Tigilskij Region	11,971	4,138 34.6%

Palana City	4,110	1,252	30.5%
Lesnaya	502	435	86.7%
Vojampolka	355	278	78.3%
Ust-Khajpuzovo	2,162	152	7.0%
Khajpuzovo	405	277	68.4%
Kovran	506	412	81.4%
Sedanka	843	747	88.6%
Tigil	3,088	585	18.9%
Karaginskij Region	8,524	1,700	19.9%
Ossora City	3,954	346	8.8%
Ilpyr City	993	126	12.7%
Ivanshka	1,577	168	10.7%
Karaga	740	394	53.2%
Kostroma	280	13	4.6%
Tymlat	980	653	66.6%
Oljutorskij Region	11,300	3,023	26.8%
Korf City	2,503	31	1.2%
Pakhachi City	1,914	5	0.3%
Tilichiki	2,496	378	15.1%
Khailino	996	756	75.9%
Vyvjenka	1,170	515	44.0%
Ust-Vyvjenka	120	—	—
Achaivajam	783	578	73.8%
Srjednije Pakhach	736	572	77.7%
Apuka	654	187	28.6%
Mjedvjezhka	48	1	2.1%

Pendhinskij Region	4,780	2,202	46.1%
Kamenskoje	1,068	82	7.7%
Manily	1,636	806	49.3%
Talovka	557	331	59.4%
Slautnoje	670	362	54.0%
Ajanka	584	387	66.3%
Oklan	147	129	87.8%
Parjen	118	105	89.0%
Petvopechensk	—	—	—
Total of Regions	36,575	11,063	30.2%
Urban Areas	13,474	1,760	13.1%
Rural Areas	23,101	9,303	40.3%

※ Given by Juri Ivanovich Ivintoksav, chief of Regional Branch of Ministry of Nationalities