

A R T I C L E S

“Major Pavlutskii”: From History to Folklore

From the Materials collected by the American North-Pacific Expedition

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By the summer of the year 2000 a hundred years had passed since an expedition set out for north-eastern Siberia. Organized by the American Museum of Natural History, and subsidized by the president of the Museum, the banker Morris Jesup, the Jesup North Pacific Expedition took its name from him. Two Russian scholars, V. I. Iokhel'son and V. G. Bogoraz, received invitations to join the expedition. Both were well prepared for such an undertaking by their years in Kolyma, where they had been exiled in the 1890s for participating in the radical political movement, “The People’s Will.” Both had acquired field work experience during the Yakutsk expedition led by Sibiriakov (1895-97), and they were already known to the Western scholarly world as researchers into the life, folklore and languages of the ancient northern tribes. Both were ready to devote themselves completely to the study of these “primitive, half-exterminated, and almost completely unknown” peoples, regarding this activity as one of the “social tasks of the epoch.”[Bogoraz 1934: xiii]

The work of these scholars found fruition in ethnographic, archeological, and zoological collections, hundreds of photographs, anthropological and linguistic studies, recordings of folklore, and general monographs, by Iokhel'son on the Yukaghirs and Koryaks, and by Bogoraz on the Chukchi. For many decades these have been rare and invaluable source material for the study of the peoples of northern Asia.

The phonograph recordings made by Iokhel'son and Bogoraz have been utilized the least. They contain the folklore, including folk music, of both the original inhabitants and the old Russian population of Kolyma and the region of the Anadyr river. It was only recently, after I had acquired copies of recordings of Russian folklore from the Archive

of Traditional Music at Indiana University (Bloomington), that the task of identifying and deciphering these phonograms could begin.

There are a number of difficulties here. With rare exceptions, the sound quality is poor, often the result of damage to the wax cylinders, plus, in most cases, the recordings have not been “passportized,” i.e. attributed, and the materials accompanying the recordings have been dispersed into various archives. Thus the records of the expedition and the correspondence, basically in English but partly in German, are kept in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. The wax cylinders themselves, used for making a phonograph recording, as well as the cardboard carrying cases on which cursory notes were made during recording sessions and apparently while packing the collection for shipment, are located in the Archive of Traditional Music in Bloomington. Finally, some of the field notebooks and diaries of the expedition’s participants are kept in archives in St Petersburg.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of these unique hundred-year-old sound recordings from the outlying regions of Siberia.(1) As often happens, even a seemingly insignificant piece of data collected in the “field” can draw in a chain of other pieces of information, leading then to further research which may result in interesting observations and conclusions.

One such begins with a fragmentary recording of a song containing six lines of melody and verse found among the phonograms (archive number: 432.12 a-s. 58. 4584). The recording was made in Markovo, a Russian village on the Anadyr River, and forms part of Bogoraz’s collection, since it was he who was in charge of the Anadyr section of the expedition. I was able to elucidate the name of the woman singer, even though it is missing in the archival inventory. The song was recorded on the same cylinder as a historical song about the death of Lopukhin, where at the beginning the performer calls herself “Ul’iana, known as Nikit’evna ...” The following inscription written in ink appears on the cardboard case of cylinder no. 58 in the Archive of Traditional Music: “The Peasant’s Son and the Major.” Then the following has been added in pencil: “Lopukhin – Major Pavutskii – Sazychikha – Mitinka Danil’evich.”(2) The nickname

“Sazychikha” is obviously derived from the old Markovo family name “Sozykin” from which it may be inferred that the singer was Ul’iana Nikitichna Sozykina.

I have been aware of the Markovo song about the peasant’s son and the major since the late 1960s through a tape recording made by a native of Markovo, E. V. Gunchenko, who at that time was working in the Scientific Research Institute of the North-Eastern Complex in Magadan. It was recorded in 1965 from Kseniia Andrianovna Sozykina (!), who, according to the collector, was over sixty at the time. This text is also fragmentary and has no plot development, but, according to Gunchenko, is considered by Markovo villagers to be about major Pavlutskii.

In the inscription on the case of the cylinder mentioned above, the song, along with its formal “written” title “The peasant’s son and the major” which has been added, is marked by a name with obvious local associations but in local variant form: Major Pavlutskii. This indicates its connection with the historical figure of Major Pavlutskii as he has been preserved in the memory of the Markovo villagers. This connection is confirmed by another document which refers to the Jesup expedition. A field notebook with texts supplementary to the phonogram is preserved in St. Petersburg in the Archive of the Academy of Sciences. The notebook is entitled: “Phonograph. Texts of recordings, made Markovo, 1901.”(3) In it the full text of the song is presented with the highlighted title “Major Pavlutskii.”

Major Pavlutskii was the last military conqueror of Siberia. In the 1730s and 1740s he was ordered to effect the final subjugation of all the local tribes to the Russian crown. He commanded the Cossacks in the last Russian-Chukchi battles, in which his allies were the Yukaghirs, Chuvants and Koryaks who had themselves suffered from raids by the Chukchi. Pavlutskii’s battles were fought all over the area from Kolyma to Kamchatka. His fame grew and became fixed in the memory of people from Kolyma to Kamchatka. For some his was the bloody fame of a man “who killed without mercy,” while for others his reputation was that of all-powerful commander, fearless fighter and trusty defender.

The major left behind several toponyms in the Iakutsk-Chukchi “land.” His name became legendary, legends about him circulated and songs were composed. “See how the black bear walks through the pine forest, see how the tree trunks all bend before him and

topple over. The earth shakes, wolves and wolverines fall dead from his breath. Here comes Pavlutskii! Here comes the Russky! ...” So sang an old Yukaghir man in Kolyma. His song was transcribed by Fedor Matiushkin, a participant in F. Vrangeli’s expedition of 1821-24 [Vrangeli’ 1948: 385-86]. According to Matiushkin, the song began with a command to Pavlutskii from the “daughter of the sun,” the empress Elizaveta, to move against the Chukchi. “It continued with his farewell to his wife and children; his journey to Nizhne-Kolymsk; the recruiting of his detachment of troops; and finally, his campaign, battle and death” [Vrangeli’ 1948: 385].

Pavlutskii died in March 1747.(4) The people of Anadyr have also preserved some details about Pavlutskii’s campaigns and his death. What is more, a century and a half later Afanasii Ermilovich D’iachkov, a resident of the village of Markovo, could still speak about events as though he were alive at the time:

Pavlutskii met the Chukchi by a lake which is now called “Maiorskii.” As soon as the battle started, some traitors in the ranks took flight . . . Meantime, the major and a number of loyal Cossacks put up stiff resistance against the countless hordes of Chukchi Even after the traitors had fled, the Chukchi were unable to kill Pavlutskii for a long time because he was wearing armor. They just kept shooting at him with their bows and arrows and stabbing at him with their spears, but they still could not wound him. Finally they surrounded him, like wolves round a deer, got him tangled up in long straps, threw him to the ground, and found a place under his chin where they could stab him. The lake got its name of ‘Maiorskii’ from what happened there [Diachkov 1893: 38-39].

The residents of Markovo also ascribe the origin of several other toponyms to the period of Pavlutskii’s campaigns. Stories about these events can be heard even nowadays.(5)

Bogoraz heard and recorded several “Tales about Iakunin,” as Major Pavlutskii is known in Chukchi folklore).(6) He published some of the tales and legends, which the Chukchi classify as “information about the time of discord,” in his academic writings [Bogoraz 1900: no. 15, 27-129], but also included them in his Chukchi Stories. Some of the details in these legends, as he observed, “also coincide to a degree with Russian-

Yukaghir legends” [Bogoraz 1900: 93]. Bogoraz recorded one such on the Omolon River from an old Russianized man Innokentii Iuglovskii (the surname is virtually illegible). This text I discovered in a notebook kept in the archives of the Academy Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg:

And there was in olden times the Russian *bogatyr*’ Pikhlutskii. He also fought against the Chukchi and he wore armor. He was alone and there were great crowds of Chukchi. Then the Chukchi surrounded him. He’d grab hold of one of them and keep swinging him round in all directions. Well, despite this, they overcame him in the end, but they couldn’t run him through. They crowded round, knocked him down, and all lay on top of him. While he was still alive, they pulled out his eyes, cut his face, and started stabbing at him, but their knives broke. So in the end, because he was in great agony he undid his armor himself and exposed his chest. And when they looked at the armor later, it weighed, oh so many poods.(7)

Pavlutskii’s iron armor, which glistened in the sun and made him invincible, produced an indelible and terrifying impression on the Chukchi. “Dressed in iron, killing without mercy,” or “dressed in armor as white as a gull, with a long spear in his hands” is how Pavlutskii is depicted in legends [Tan 1962: 324-25]. V. V. Antropova, who made a thorough study of the armaments of the peoples of the North East, particularly with reference to folklore sources, noted that in Chukchi folklore warriors, who wore sealskin armor, are always contrasted to the Russians who clothed themselves in iron [Antropova 1957: 220].

The history of Pavlutskii’s legendary chainmail continued to grow after the major’s death. Simultaneously with the dissemination of folk legends the chainmail continued its real existence by being handed down from generation to generation within the Toion clan of the Chukchi, who had defeated the Russian commander. The chainmail was then handed over to the Kolyma police chief, Baron Maidel’ by the last of its inheritors, as described in Maidel’’s Journey through the North-Eastern Part of the Yakutsk District:

I was very touched when I said farewell to the old man Amvraorgin As a parting gift he brought me Pavlutskii’s chainmail which had been in his family, as far as he could remember, since his grandfather’s time. Either he

couldn't tell me anything about Pavlutskii's death, or else, for reasons known to him alone, he didn't want to. However, he did assert that the chainmail belonged to a major. In all probability the information is accurate... I presented it to the Irkutsk museum where it was destroyed in a fire in 1879 [Maidel' 1894: 264].

This incident recounted by Maidel' finds its reflection in one of the legends: "Iakunin fell and immediately gave up the ghost. Two of us came running. Chymkyl took off the white armor and put it on, iron attire as white as a gull" [Bogoraz 1900: no. 15, p. 93]. According to documents dating from the eighteenth century it was known by then that Russian iron armor had become a trophy object for warriors from local ethnic groups [Antropova 1957: 219].

It is hardly surprising that old Amvraorgin did not feel like telling the Russian police chief about the demise of the major. The death of Pavlutskii, which for the Chukchi symbolized the cessation of war with the Russians,(8) came to be viewed in their legends as the culminating point of their history. His death is depicted variously in accounts which compete in the degree of their cruelty. Even the way the Russian commander was "killed without mercy" is described in horrifying detail in the legends:

"They held him by the legs, split him in two with an ax from top to bottom between his legs so that his innards fell out" [Bogoraz 1900: no. 129, 333]. There are more than a few documentary testimonies to the punitive reprisals carried out during the major's campaigns. That is why the Chukchi so "feared him that they could not pronounce his name without a shudder" [Maidel' 1894: 64].

Facts are interwoven with fiction in the memories of local people and have evolved in many different directions. The exclusively oral diffusion of information was a significant factor in their folklorization. Furthermore, many facts fused with motifs traditional in local folk narrative traditions.

Thus, in many of the legends about Pavlutskii the outcome of the battle is decided by single combat between heroes, something characteristic of the folklore of many peoples in the extreme north east of Siberia: "In the morning they went out to fight:

Iakunin, clothed in iron, and Nankachgat, dressed in seal skin” [Bogoraz 1900: no. 127, p. 331].

Names are changed in the legends, with the major losing his real name. For the Chukchi Pavlutskii was not a “name with meaning,” being difficult to pronounce and having no obvious significance.⁽⁹⁾ Those he fought against are given the names of various *bogatyri*, the leaders or *ermehypys*, some of whom were known in much earlier legends about the Chukchi-Koryak wars, such as, for example, *Lawtylywalyn* (Nodding his Head) and others too [Bogoraz 1900: 93, note 2].

Actions and phenomena are hyperbolized. The major’s armor weighs “oh so many poods” (see above). On encountering his enemies, Iakunin jumps “as high as a larch” [Bogoraz 1900: no. 15, p. 92]. (Leaps are one of the methods of defense from flying arrows, something learned in childhood and regarded as typical of the conduct of local epic heroes [Antropova 1957: 242-44]). The battle of the two continues while the sun circles the heavens, spears are worn down to the handle [Bogoraz 1900: no. 127, p. 331]. Iakunin’s assistant, an adopted child from one of the nomadic peoples, is so strong and agile that he can overtake a wild deer and, after killing it, he then tosses it over his shoulders by its hind legs and carries it home [Bogoraz 1900: no. 127, p. 331]. The *bogatyr*, Iakunin’s opponent, can lie down across a river and stop floating ice, so that nomadic carts can cross over him as if across *terra firma* [Bogoraz 1900: no. 127, p. 331]. Another *bogatyr* in a Yukaghir song (see above), “rips out leafy trees by the roots,” a motif typical of Russian *byliny*, familiar from examples recorded in Indigirka, and also encountered in the folklore of the Koryaks and Itelmens [Smirnov and Shentalinskaia 1991: no. 50-54; Antropova 1957: 240].

Also typical of local traditions is the action of the hero, who, seeing no possibility of further resistance, does not ask for mercy, but instead presses his enemy to kill him, preferring death to capture or further torture. Iakunin’s assistant acts in this way by pronouncing the voluntary death formula: “If I have become booty for you, (kill me)!” [Bogoraz 1900: no. 127, 331]. Pavlutskii too acts in this way: “He undid his armor and exposed his chest” (see above). In her research, Antropova concludes that “the custom of

preferring death to capture is evidently of very ancient provenance” [Antropova 1957: 235].

Leaving some of those present alive to act as witnesses is also typical: “(We took – T. Sh.) two more Russkies alive ... You will be witnesses to what we are about to do, to the fact that the merciless killing of our people has now ceased” [Bogoraz 1900: no. 129, 333]. There follows the description of the Russian “commander’s” long, cruel and painful death with instructions to witnesses of the event: “Now tell your people to stop the merciless killing of our people.” A similar motif may be met in other legends, such as the one about the attack of nomads on coastal peoples, where witnesses are left alive specially to remind their own people about the need to observe specific rules for conducting war, notably by declaring it in advance [Menovshchikov 1950: 21]. Antropova connects this with military tactics dating back to an early period in the development of society when the conduct of war was based on the norms of tribal revenge [Antropova 1957: 233]. Taking this into consideration, we may clearly relate the motifs which legends about Pavlutskii have absorbed to an early stratum of military narratives.

All this demonstrates how major Pavlutski has turned into a “well rounded” character, acquiring a generalized image in narrative folk genres. The songs and legends about him are full of typical folk motifs, which were themselves absorbed from the current of epic consciousness among the original inhabitants of the region. What is more, this process takes place over a relatively short period of time. If one looks at the date of Pavlutskii’s death and the earliest recording (that of the Yukaghir song by Matiushkin), the gap is approximately seventy years, so that it is even possible for the performer’s father to have been alive when the events occurred.

The activities of Major Dmitrii Ivanovich Pavlutskii were of such importance and so highly visible, that his name inevitably receives frequent mention in the various accounts, journeys and descriptions written by geographers, historians, and investigators of north-eastern Siberia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Apart from military matters, he also served as commander of the Anadyr stockade and governor of Iakutsk. His campaign along the shores of the Pacific Ocean demonstrated the possibility of

traveling along a land route from the Shelag Cape to the Chukchi Peninsula. Thanks to Pavlutskii's initiative, the shores and islands in the Bering Strait were explored, thereby laying the foundations for the discovery of America from Siberia [Dikov 1974: 91]. In this context, the omission of the name of Pavlutskii in Russian encyclopedias cannot be regarded as accidental. There is nothing about him in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia or even in the special Siberian Encyclopedia. There is, it is true, an article in Brokgauz and Efron's Encyclopedia [1897, 44: 575]. In it Pavlutskii is given a minimal, discreet mention as major and traveler, after which there follows a list of some of his campaigns. The article concludes with the information: "He died as governor of Iakutsk." What do we have here; a simple mistake or deliberate misinformation? As early as 1869 A. Sgibnev had published his Materials for the History of Kamchatka: The Expedition of Shestakov, in which the author, on the basis of documents extracted from Siberian archives, reports that Pavlutskii "was killed March 21, 1747 not far from the Anadyr stockade." (10) He also highlights the erroneous views of Pavlutskii's death which had variously appeared in print: "They wrongly state that Dmitrii Pavlutskii died while governor of Iakutsk. We have actually had in our hands the correct source of information about Pavlutskii's death. While it is true that in 1759 Pavlutskii was governor of Iakutsk, this was not Dmitrii, but Andrei, a man with the same surname [Sgibnev 1869: 34]. In the index to F. Vrangeli's Journeys . . ." (1948), Pavlutskii is named no less briefly and discreetly as an "explorer of north-east Asia." All of this constitutes "mythmaking," in this instance of an official and ideological nature. Surely a contradictory personage from the period of the Russian colonization of Siberia cannot really cast a shadow on a renowned official who was carrying out national policy, whether in Tsarist or Soviet times.

But let us return to the Russian song from Markovo, whose verbal text in its fullest form was written down in a notebook on the same day or days as the sound recording was made:

Maer Pavlutskoi

Zhil khrest'ianushko v sele bogatom,

U nego-to buli tri syna.

Major Pavlutskii

Lived a peasant in a rich village,

He had three sons.

	Tut priezzhal k nemu maer-polkovnichek	Then a major-colonel came to him
5	Ot samogo littsa gosudareva.	From the very person of the sovereign.
	On chitat ukaz neradostnoi, Iz troikh brat'ev prosit vo nekruty.	He read an unpleasant edict, From three brothers he asks for one recruit.
	Sprogovoril khrest'ianushka bogatyi: "Mne bol'shego to syna nel'zia dat, 10 A sredniago mne ne khochetsia, A men'shemu to Gospod' velit."	The rich peasant spoke: "I can't give up my oldest son, And I don't want to give up the middle one, And the Lord forbids giving up the youngest one."
	Tut khrest'ianskii syn zadumalsia	Then the peasant's son fell thoughtful
	I zapechalilsia, i rasplakalsia. "Akh, ty moi batiushka rodimyi, 15 Te-to tebe detushki, vidno, rodimye, A ia-to vidno pasynok."	And he was saddened and he wept. "Oh you, my own father, These obviously are your own children, But I obviously am a stepson."
	Tut khrest'ianushka zapechalilsia I uzhalilsia, i rasplakalsia. "Vse vy moi detushki rodimye 20 I podite v novu kuznicu, A vy skuite vse po nozhechku, Kak po nozhechku, po bulatnenomu I podite v chisto pole, I nakhodite vy rakitovyi kust, 25 I sresh'te vse po prutiku, Vy dospeite vse po zherebu, Vy brosaite vo sine moria.	Then the peasant was saddened And he was sorry and he wept. "All of you, my own children, Go to the new blacksmith shop, And each of you forge a knife, Each a knife, a tempered one, And go to the open field, And you find a willow bush, And all of you cut off a branch each, And all of you get a lot each, You cast it in the blue sea."

	Starshago-to syna poverkh plavat.	The oldest son's lot floats on top.
	Srednego brata pod potret vody,	The middle son's lot is a third under
		water,
30	A men'shego brata zhereb (11) kak kliuch ko dnu.	And the youngest son's lot sinks to the bottom like a rock.
	Tut khrest'ianskii brat rasplaka<lsia>.	Then the peasant brother wept.
	“Akh vy brat'ia vse rodimye,	“Oh you, all my own brothers,
	A vy podte k ottsu, matere	You go to our father and mother
	I k molodym zhenam.	And to your young wives.
35	Ottsu, matere – blagoslovenie,	Give my blessing to my father and
		mother,
	I rodu plemiani – chelobitetsa,	And to our clan and tribe a petition,
	A mne-to uzh kak Bog velit.	As God has ordered me.
	Konets	The end (12)

This song, which is part of the cycle of recruiting songs, is well-known and was at one time widespread. It has been published many times and recorded in various regions of Russia [see the publication list in Gippius and Eval'd 1937: 480-81 (commentary to no. 107); Azbelev and Meshcherskii 1968: 323 (commentary to no. 135)]. Scholars believe that recruiting songs arose in response to the levies made at the beginning of the eighteenth century conscripting peasants into the army for twenty-five years. The song has nothing to do with the fate of Major Pavlutskii.

How then may we explain how the major, who is mentioned only at the beginning of the recruiting song, came to be linked in the minds of the Markovo villagers with Pavlutskii? According to Baron Maidel', a positive opinion of Pavlutskii had long existed among the residents of Anadyr [Maidel' 1894: 248]. Russianized Chuvans and Yukaghirs form the basis of the Markovo population. They are descendants of those tribute-paying peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth became allies of the Cossacks against the non-tribute paying Chukchi. In one of the Chukchi legends an assistant of Iakunin (Pavlutskii) is called “his adopted son from the Chuvan

people” [Bogoraz 1900: no. 15, 92]. As we know, the Yukaghirs and Chuvans “furnished the main contingent of assistants to the Cossacks” [Maidel’ 1894: 62].

The memories of the people of Markovo about Pavlutskii seem to have revived by an act of commemoration: the raising in 1900 of a cross at the place he was assumed to have died, Major’s hill, which rises above the lake of the same name.⁽¹³⁾ A medallion with the following inscription was attached to the cross: “In 1747, on this spot, while carrying out our sovereign’s commands, Major Pavlutskii fell in honorable battle; together with him, members of his military detachment and their loyal allies, the Chuvans, also laid down their lives, dying the glorious death of the brave. Let us pray to the Lord for the Orthodox fighters and all who were killed in battle for their faith and fatherland! July 20, 1900.”⁽¹⁴⁾

It must have been the magical connotations of the military rank of “major” which evoked concrete associations among the Markovo people, together with old folks’ stories and, perhaps, the memory of Pavlutskii’s levies for his militia among the local inhabitants that firmly connected the major in the recruiting song with the real Major Pavlutskii.

It is interesting that, although the two Markovo melodies, which were recorded at an interval of sixty five years, differ noticeably one from the other, at the same time they share a series of features which bear certain similarities with variants of this song from the banks of the rivers Pinega, Mezen’, and Pechora in north European Russia [Abramskii 1959: no. 50; Gippius and Eval’d 1937: no. 107, 107a; Kolpakova 1963: no. 2, 196; Kolpakova 1967: no. 52-53]. Given the different rhythmical interpretation of the tonic nine-syllable verse, the common picture of intonational-modal development cannot be doubted: notably, the correlation of the basic tones, sometimes the almost literal coincidence of the same steps with the verse accents, and the coincidence of whole melodic turns (short melodic phrases).

The greatest similarity appears in one of the Mezen’ [Kolpakova 1967: no. 53] and one of the Lower Pechora variants [Kolpakova 1963: no. 196]. Along with a notable closeness in the intonation (despite a different final basic tone in the Lower Pechora melody), the same one-line structure of the melody emerges. However, the composition of the songs from the Mezen’ and Lower Pechora is distinguished by the

presence of the chain-like *zapev*, a melodic phrase which segments and repeats the last half-line. Such a song stanza of one and a half lines in one of the Markovo variants (recorded in 1965) is transformed into an analogous stanza where the “third” half-line does not fulfill a *zapev* function, but a cadential one. It is noteworthy that the Mezen’ singers often omit the *zachin* in performance (as pointed out in the commentary); as a result, there appears a purely one-line musical form analogous to the Markovo variant of a hundred years ago. It is possible that the one-line form was an original feature of the song. Such patterns have been recorded in the north Russian region of Pomor’e, where the song existed as a recruit lament [Kolpakova 1971: no. 17; Kondrat’eva 1966: no. 82].

The compositional and rhythmical difference of the Markovo melodies together with their specific intonational relationship can be explained either by the existence here of two versions of the song: an epic version (the early twentieth-century recording) and a lyro-epic version (the 1965 recording), or by the fact that this song was not generally widely known in Anadyr and had been changed, subjected to an individual performer’s artistic preferences. The 1965 recording offers a clear demonstration of a solo-improvisatory manner of singing, evident in the rhythmic and metrical instability of the melody and verse structure.

The verbal text of the Markovo songs is also close to the recordings from the Archangel region of northern Russia that have already been mentioned.

A close textual variant of the same song has also been recorded in Indigirka [Azbelev and Meshcherskii 1968: no. 135, 253]. The shared origin of the Anadyr and Indigir songs from a source, most likely, in the eastern part of the Russian North, is absolutely clear. There is no known connection between the Indigir song and Pavlutskii, although in Indigirka they undoubtedly knew about him. On the shore of the river of that name there once stood a road marker, a cross called “Maiorskii.” Vrangel’ stated that this cross was “raised by Pavlutskii before his campaign in the Chukchi land and his death” [Vrangel’ 1948: 376]. Instead of the word “major,” which disappears from the Indigir variant, and turns out not to be obligatory, we here have: “A young colonel came . . .” Thus the linking of the songs with the real Pavlutskii occurred in Anadyr because it was here that the most significant events of the major’s military biography were played out.

Thus a clear picture of how the image of a real historical character is transformed in folklore emerges; on the one hand, we have the mythologization of a historical hero in the folklore of the original inhabitants of Siberia; on the other, in the Russian song from Markovo we see the linking of the name of a historical personage to a character from folklore.

NOTES

- 1 In the first instance, I chose to prepare rare folk material (epics and historical songs) for publication [Shentalinskaia 1999; 200_].
- 2 Dashes are used here to indicate separate inscriptions randomly scattered over the cardboard surface of the case.
The sound recording of the *bylina* “Mitinka (Mishenka – T. Sh.) Danilevich” has been noticeably distorted by mechanical damage and is virtually impossible to decipher.
- 3 V. G. Bogoraz. Fond 250, op. 1, ed. khr. 118a.
- 4 In the “Dispatch” to the Empress Elizaveta Petrovna and the “Report” to the Irkutsk provincial office written by witnesses to Pavlutskii’s death the date is given as March 14, 1747 [Al’kor and Drezen 1945: 169, 173]. However, in some writing on the subject other dates are also given [for example: Dioneo 1895: 236; Iokhel’son 1997: 216].
- 5 I made recordings of these in the city of Anadyr in May, 2000.
- 6 Bogoraz suggested that, in accordance with the tradition of Russians in Kolyma and Anadyr, Pavlutskii had his own special popular name, and that his additional name could have been “Iakunia” [Bogoraz 1934:172]. It is also possible, however, that “Iakunin” came from the Russian mishearing of a Chukchi word of the noun-participle type, formed from the adjective *iaaken* meaning “originating from afar” [Bogoraz 1937]. It cannot be pure coincidence that Dioneo (I. V. Shklovskii) cites a remarkably similar transcription of a Chukchi expression, whose meaning may also have direct links with the Russian major: *iaukunia kaul’*, that is, people from afar, as they christened us (the newly arrived Russians [T. Sh.]” [Dioneo 1895:66].
- 7 Source: V. I. Iokhel’son. Fond 23, op. 1, ed. khr. 10(3), l. 212 ob. The notebook undoubtedly belonged to V. G. Bogoraz, since it is about his participation in Sibiriakov’s expedition, something confirmed by the handwriting, contents of the recordings and date. See also the discovery by L. N. Skrybykina [1889].
A pood is an old Russian measure of weight equalling approximately 36 lb.

- 8 The failure of Pavlutskii's campaigns to turn the Chukchi into Russian citizens, and his defeat and death in his final battle convinced the Tsarist government to change its tactics and to start seeking a peaceful relationship with the Chukchi based on trade [Dikov 1989:83-87].
- 9 See note 7
- 10 See note 5
- 11 Fragments in < > indicate authorial reconstruction of the text which has here not been fully written out in contrast to round brackets, used when the text that has been deciphered and restored.
- 12 The notebook concerned is in the archives of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, 2. 11-11 ob. The orthography of the original has been preserved and apparently reflects local pronunciation. Punctuation has been added where necessary.
- 13 With regard to the date as well as the place of Pavlutskii's death different publications give different versions. Nevertheless, according to historical documents compiled by participants in the event, the battle which was fatal for Pavlutskii took place on a mountain "at the mouth of the Orlov River near the Anadyr stockade" [Al'kor and Drezen 1945: 169, 171-72].
- 14 The inscription has been deciphered from a photograph taken in 1975 and presented to the author by Viktor Nikolaevich Peryshkin, then a student at the school in Markovo.

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