

OBITUARY

**Between the Hinggan Taiga and a
Moscow Public Library**

In Memory of

Anatolij Makarovič Kajgorodov, 1927–1998



THE MANCHU SCHOLAR Anatolij Makarovič Kajgorodov died in his apartment in Moscow on 25 April 1998, a few days before his seventy-first birthday, after having suffered from a heart ailment for many years. He had made a name for himself as a Tungusologist whose work has come to be acclaimed outside of his own country as well as within it.

With the death of Kajgorodov, ethnological research lost both an eminent specialist and an irreplaceable witness for the ethnography and history of the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks. The same can be said about him concerning the history of northern Manchuria and in particular of the Russian period of the so-called Three River Region (Russ., *Trechrec'e*) that received its appropriate name from the three rivers Gan (Chin., *gan*), Derbul (Chin., *Derbur*), and Chaul (Chin., *Hawuer*). He was the last qualified witness for this area and period, to which he dedicated several of his works.

He became acquainted with the small Evenki group of the harsh mountain taiga in the northern Great Hinggan and its hunting culture to a greater degree than any other scholar. His research was done at a time when these Tungusic nomads of the forest still followed a hard but yet almost undisturbed way of life as hunters and reindeer breeders. When he was first doing fieldwork, one could still encounter free Reindeer-Evenks in the forests of the Amur River Bend because the wilderness there was still completely undeveloped and unknown—a white spot on the map. At the same time, the Evenki groups living in the Soviet Union were already exposed to the measures of the totalitarian state machinery, which aimed at leveling out their culture. The policy of the Soviet Union forced the Evenks to live in sedentary collective communities and resulted in the extermination of shamanism and the destruction of the Evenki traditional clan system.

Thanks to his encyclopedic memory, Anatolij Kajgorodov's contributions were decisive in throwing light on the hitherto almost unknown but eventful lives of the Evenki reindeer riders living in the pristine wild forests of northeastern China, especially during the regime of the Manchukuo State (1932–1945) and just after World War II until 1949. His demise, therefore, is

a great loss for all those engaged in research about this area.

Anatolij Makarovič Kajgorodov was born on 6 May 1927 to a Russian family of immigrants living in the Chinese territory of Cigan (Chin., *Qiqian*), on the right shore of the river Argun (Chin., *Ergun*), the right tributary river of the Amur. His family belonged to the Cossacks of the Transbaikalian borderlands whose settlements were originally situated on the Argun, the river that constituted the border. After the Russian revolution of 1917, and the civil war that followed it, these Cossacks left their Russian homeland and settled on Chinese territory.

The wide natural spaces of steppes and forests with their wild and romantic rivers on the Chinese side of the region were known to the Cossacks already long before they came to settle there. Here they did not only hunt and fish as they pleased, but also grazed their cattle and cut the grass to make hay. Some families had even built simple outworks, called *zaimki*, or hunting huts on the edge of the unexplored forests. Some of these constructions were erected deep in the forests, sometimes more than a hundred kilometers away from the border, but this was a matter of no concern at the time. The land beyond the border was almost uninhabited, and any trace of a significant border control on the part of the Chinese was nonexistent.

The parents of Anatolij Makarovič originated from the Russian settlement Ust Urov, located directly on the place where the river Urov flows into the Argun. Emigration was not much of a problem for the Cossacks who lived beside the river constituting the border and had taken part in the civil war on the side of the white troops. They simply changed sides on the river and settled anew on the Chinese shore of the river Argun. This is how the parents of Anatolij Makarovič also came to Cigan, the settlement that was founded in 1903 but always continued to be called the Chinese Ust Urov among the Russian population. This Chinese settlement, located directly opposite to the Russian Ust Urov, changed its character rapidly at that time due to the massive influx of numerous Cossack families that reduced the Chinese inhabitants to a minority.

Fearing infringement from the Soviets that now governed Russia and lived in the vicinity of the border, most of the Cossack families soon moved further into the country, in particular into the Three River Region. The first settlements and single farmsteads in this area had already been established around the turn of the twentieth century, but now the area became the stage for a massive settlement of emigrants from Transbaikalia. A number of Russian villages sprung up under traditional and well-tried Cossack self-government.

Anatolij Makarovič's father, Makar Dmitrievič Kajgorodov, and his father's brothers Georgij and Petr were among the founders of the village

Dubovaja (“oak village”), the uppermost settlement on the river Derbul. It was situated in a beautiful spot on the high banks of the rushing river, six kilometers below the place where the river was joined by its main tributary, the Derbukan, and where the taiga began.

At the end of the twenties of the last century, the small group of Evenks that originated in Yakutia moved with their reindeer into the untouched mountain taiga of mostly larch trees at the great bend of the Amur—the Black Dragon River, as the Chinese call it. As a consequence, contacts for barter were established between these nomads of the forest and the Cossacks from Transbaikalia living in the *stanitsas* (settlement) on the border. Already at that time the Reindeer-Evenks could not live anymore without any trade contacts with the world around them. In barter they traded precious furs and other natural products for things they were in need of, such as guns, gunpowder, lead, flour, salt, cloths, and alcohol.

The Evenki hunters extended their hunting areas in the taiga further south. In around 1860 they arrived in the Cossack *stanitsas* on the left shore of the Argun. Because the territory on the right side of the river that belonged to China was still completely uninhabited at that time, the settlement Ust Urov took up the role of a trading partner for a section of the nomads.

After the end of the civil war in Transbaikalia, the old route to Russia was interrupted for the Tungusic reindeer riders that had remained on Chinese territory. From around 1921, therefore, the inhabitants of Cigan on the Chinese side took over the barter. Once most of the Russian families of emigrants had finally settled in the Three River Region, many Evenks appeared there for the first time in 1928. It was mainly inhabitants of the newly established settlements of Dubovaja and Kljucevaja who now traded with the Tungusic hunters from the forest.

In most cases these business contacts were based on a long tradition of relations between the same Cossack and Evenki families, and were in force since the time when the Reindeer Evenks had first appeared on the shores of the Argun. The trading partners called one another by the Evenki term *andak* (plural, *andaki*) that means “friend” or “trader friend” (business partner). The Kajgorodovs, too, were such an *andaki* family, and Anatolij Makarovič’s grandfather had already traded from Ust Urov with Evenks. The father then continued the tradition into which Anatolij too was born, in the Three River Region. The Russian *andaki* were not professional traders, they were simple farmers. Among the Chinese there were only a few *andaki*.

The godmother of Anatolij Makarovič was nobody less than the famous shamaness (Evenk, *odoyan*) Olga Dmitrievna Kudrina (1890–1944).¹ In the harsh winter of 1927/1928, little Anatolij Makarovič traveled with the rein-

deer caravan (Evenk, *argis*) of the shamaness at the age of only nine months in an Evenki cradle (Evenk, *omkõ*) fastened to the back of a reindeer from Cigan to the Three River Region. The long and adventurous journey in winter through the snow-covered taiga forest took almost a month; but cared for by the shamaness, he arrived safely and in good spirits in the Three River Region, although he was not given a bath even once. The Evenki men who had accompanied the caravan attributed the successful conclusion of the journey to the supernatural powers of the shamaness, but Olga herself was of the opinion that the journey's success was due to the fact that, instead of a pacifier, she had sometimes given the baby a piece of cooked bear meat to suck. Since that time Anatolij Makarovič was like a relative to the shamaness who had not children of her own.

In his childhood and when he went to school he used boots of fur or buckskin (Evenk, *muruwun* and *dyngki*), fur caps, and mitten or gloves of padded buckskin that Olga Dmitrievna had sewn for him. Her husband, Nikolaj Larionovič Buldotin, manufactured playthings from wood or the bark of birch trees for the godchild. Therefore, the close relationships to the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks were given to Anatolij Makarovič into his (Evenki!) cradle in a quite literal sense, and he became to intimately know the sincere and warmhearted forest dwellers from early childhood. Because he was brought up and spent his early childhood and youth in the Three River Region at the foot of the Great Hinggan mountains, he had the unique opportunity to experience the way of life of the group of Tungus reindeer breeders that had remained in China. Here he learned a lot about the customs, the social circumstances, and the history of the taiga nomads. His close relationship with the shamaness Olga Dmitrievna Kudrina further granted him rare insights into the Evenki *Weltanschauung*, into their religious representations and their concept of the soul. He experienced several séances of the shamaness, but to the child he still was, they appeared to be ghastly and frightening. But at the same time he found himself at an important source and the very roots of shamanism. He got to know almost all of the Reindeer-Evenks who came into the Three River Region for barter. He often visited their camps and went hunting with them in the wilderness. Since hunting is a lifelong profession for an Evenk, each Evenki hunter possesses deeply rooted capacities for orienting himself, and he is familiar with the most minute secrets of nature. In this field the Evenki friends of Anatolij Makarovič were the best teachers he could wish for. Young Anatolij Makarovič learned about the taiga and how to endure it. He understood the meaning of its easily changing appearances. Eight days of rain could change it into a hell, but a few weeks of dry weather would make it lovely and homely with an abundance of flowers and the humming of insects in spring, and at still

other times it was a mosquito breeding swamp.

Meetings to trade or markets for the exchange of goods (Evenk, *bogžor*) between the Evenks and the Russian Cossacks took place several times a year, usually four to five times at agreed localities. Spring, summer, and fall *bogžors* were held in the vicinity of the settlement Dubovaja, the two markets of the winter season were held in the deep taiga on the upper part of the Derbul River, or even further in the wilderness where the Evenks had their hunting grounds. The frozen rivers served in winter as natural routes of transportation for the loaded sledges of the Cossacks. Already as a child, Anatolij Makarovič was allowed to accompany his father on his visits to these meeting places with the reindeer nomads in the wild taiga. On such trips he heard and saw events that were of interest to an ethnographer, and he made friends among young Evenks, among whom was the adopted son of the shamaness.² Between the Evenki and Russian families that were related to one another by trade, a certain exchange of material and spiritual culture also took place. Russian hunters in the Three River Region would, for example, wear mostly Evenki hunting clothing made of shammy-leather.

Because of his trade excursions with the Reindeer-Evenks and his numerous hunting expeditions into remote areas of the taiga, the population in the villages along the Derbul considered Anatolij Makarovič's father to be one of the most experienced pathfinders who knew the few safe paths that led through the great swamps and deep forests to the hunting camps of the forest nomads. Scientific expeditions to this still unexplored and unmapped region, therefore, happily tapped his practical knowledge of the area's geography. He served as a guide for most foreign visiting researchers of the time, including the Swedish-English Ethnographer Ethel J. Lindgren, who visited the Reindeer-Evenks in the years 1929 and between 1931 and 1932. The German geographer Bruno Plaetschke of Königsberg, too, who in 1932 was engaged in topographic explorations of the region on the upper Bystraja (Chin., *Jiliu*), approached Anatolij Makarovič's father for information about that region. During the time of the Manchukuo State (1932–1945) Makar Dmitrievič was also a reliable person for many of the visiting Japanese scientists looking for information about features of the landscape and conditions of the terrain in this still unknown and unexplored region. Only with his help was it at all possible for the explorers to encounter one of the communities (Evenk, *urilen*) of Reindeer-Evenks on its wanderings through the immense and pathless wilderness of the taiga. All these encounters with foreign international explorers in the house of the Kajgorodov family most probably helped intuitively to increase the interest for the mysterious people of the taiga in the mind of the young Anatolij Makarovič.

Anatolij Makarovič first frequented the small village school with four

classes of Dubovaja from 1935 before he went in 1940 to the Middle School in Dragocenka (today the Chinese San'che), the chief place and administrative center of the Three River Region, which at that time was completely under Russian influence. For half a year in the winter of 1944/45 he attended the Russian Gymnasium in Hailar. After the invasion by Soviet troops and the capitulation of the imperial Japanese forces in Manchuria in August 1945, all of northeast China was placed under Soviet-Russian administration. Anatolij Makarovič continued his studies in Dragocenka until he graduated with a certificate in 1947.

In fall of 1939, when Anatolij Makarovič was a pupil in the fourth grade of the school at Dubovaja, another encounter fraught with meaning for him occurred. In that year his father had succeeded in persuading the old Evenki hunter Petr Prokopevič Buldotin, who at that time was very ill and emaciated and suffered from heavy coughing attacks, to spend the winter in the settlement in the house of the Kajgorodov family. Because of a friendship that soon began to develop with the old man (who was considered to be a master hunter by his people and of whom even the Russian *andaki* knew as a wonderful teller of tales), that winter came to be an unforgettable and most interesting time in the life of the young Anatolij Makarovič. The old man of the forest initiated the Russian youth into the secrets of nature and of hunting, and taught him the basics of the art of reading animal tracks. The old Evenk, with his natural pedagogic talent, very soon sparked the youthful enthusiasm of his young friend. He told him the origin myth of the Buldotin clan and a number of märchen of the Reindeer-Evenks. He knew how to electrify his partner with the telling of hunting tales and episodes from his eventful life in the Hinggän taiga. Petr Prokopevič, by the way, has been the only one of his people who succeeded to tame two elks after the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks had lost all their reindeer around the turn of the twentieth century in consequence of a scab epidemic. Using his two tamed elks as pack animals, Petr Prokopevič continued with his family to wander the forests as usual in order to hunt while the other families of Evenki hunters lived for several years close to the Russian villages on the border until they were able, with the help of their trading partners, to acquire fresh reindeer from Siberia. The old Evenki hunter stayed with the Russian family until March 1940 when he returned to the taiga with his relatives who had come to the March *bogžor*. His state of health had somewhat improved by that time. For Anatolij Makarovič this encounter remained one of his key experiences. Later he penned a fine memorial for his old Evenki friend from the taiga with the article "Dersu Uzala iz debrej trehrec'ja" (Dersu Uzala from the Three River Region)(1970c).

Although hunting belonged to the area of male duties according to the

Evenki understanding of division of labor, there were a few passionate women hunters who were not second to the men. The widowed Evenk Akulina Ivanovna Sologon was such a woman who was reputed in the Tungus ethnic group of the Great Hinggan as a master huntress. Her memory continues to be kept alive among the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks to this day, although she died at the beginning of the 1950s. Ethel J. Lindgren, too, mentions this woman in her works. Akulina Ivanovna was also an acquaintance of the Kajgorodov family, and Anatolij Makarovič had much to tell about this unusual Evenki woman.

At the beginning of the 1940s the parents of Anatolij Makarovič adopted the little Evenki girl Katja, the youngest daughter of the widowed Nikolaj Nikolaevič Buldotin, who later died from alcoholic poisoning in a place called Ernisanaja (Chin., *Judenkecun*, now *Mordaga*) on the river Marekta. As a result, Anatolij Makarovič established bonds with the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks as a relative through his little stepsister. Because he attended practically all *bogžors* held in the wilderness, he came to know not only those Reindeer-Evenks who were the direct trading partners of his father but also almost all Evenks of the group from the Three River Region (*Gunacen*) who were engaged in barter with partners from Dubovaja and its neighboring village Kljucevaja. Anatolij Makarovič, together with other *andaki*, spent many nights in the taiga at *bogžor* places where there were campfires under open skies or Evenki tents temporarily erected with poles (*dju*). During this time he had good opportunities to become acquainted with the Evenki mode of life and to observe the customs of the taiga hunters. He often participated in their hunting ventures in the immense forests. One such venture included hunting for elks at the end of May and the beginning of June, during which he lay in wait for the game on the shore of small ponds in the forest as the nights began to become clearer and warmer. In the late spring he also hunted with them for Isjubr deer at a salt-lick. In September Anatolij Makarovič learned much about the hunt with the means of a deer caller (*Rufjagd*), which attracts the animal for the hunters by imitating deer calls. The roaring howls of deer in heat that he heard in the wild country during starry nights that had already become frosty were part of his most cherished experiences. With the *orevun*, a wooden instrument used to imitate the loud and wailing cry of deer in rut (the Russians of the Three River Region named this curved instrument *sosok*), the hunters attracted the rutting deer within the range of their guns. He came to know something about the hunt and cult of the bear, about beliefs the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks had about the brotherhood of bears and humans, and about the immortality of the bear's soul. He observed with how much reverence and awe they treated this powerful animal of the Hinggan taiga, and he heard the pseudonyms they used for it

during the hunt in order to counter its clairvoyant capabilities.

As soon as the first snow began to fall, Anatolij Makarovič also often undertook, together with his Evenk friends, the winter hunt of fur animals, especially that of squirrels, as it was practiced by the Evenks and some Russian hunters of the Three River Region. During these hunts he was always impressed by how swiftly the Evenks, who are probably the most genuine forest dwellers, moved in the pathless terrain. He was often in pain to keep up with them. The Reindeer-Evenks are extremely fast walkers. Their light clothing allows maximum nimbleness, and they know how to cleverly economize their body temperature. Since ancient times the Evenks have held fire in awe, as Anatolij Makarovič could notice when, in the fall of 1947, he was on the way to the taiga together with the young Evenk Ivan Stepanovič Kaltakun. While the Evenki hunter was out stalking deer, Anatolij Makarovič prepared the night's resting place at the campsite. He went to fetch firewood and then kindled the campfire to make tea. When the Evenk finally returned and approached the fire, he turned pale and began to throw the burning pieces of wood in all directions. He even poured the tea onto the ground. After he had calmed down a bit, he explained the reason for his action to Anatolij Makarovič, saying that he did not use the correct kind of wood for the fire, and that the crackling and bursting sound of the fire was a sign of the wrath of the fire spirit, who in this case would have prevented the hunt from being successful. In the mind of the Reindeer-Evenks, the fire is endowed with a soul just like any other object or any natural phenomenon is.

In the evening after a successful hunt of large game, people danced the Evenki round-dance (*choro*) for which men and women took one another by their hands and moved around the campfire lit under the open sky. They sang songs in the Evenki language that is rich in vowels, but they also sang Russian folk tunes. This moving around the sparkling fire on such evenings strengthened the experience of community that they had during the hunt, and a sense of belonging together with those who took part as members of two different ethnic groups. A more free and unrestrained life than that of the Reindeer-Evenks and the Russian emigrants of the time in this borderland, where Russia's world ended and that of China began, is difficult to imagine today. The nights at the campfire with the round dances of women and men were part of Anatolij Makarovič's most pleasant memories.

The Japanese invaded northeast China in 1932 and founded the puppet state Manchukuo under Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Manchu dynasty. In the beginning they paid hardly any attention to Evenk-Russian relations. It was only in 1942 that the Japanese established a state monopoly for trade in the area.

The invasion of Soviet-Russian troops in August 1945 and the capitulation of the Japanese forces in Manchuria put an end to this freedom. Yet, old and tried *andaki* trade experienced a revival and functioned again until the end of 1949, when it was administratively ended by the authorities of the newly established People's Republic of China, but during these years things were not what they had been before. A dark cloud of government regimentation and sedentarization policies by the new China floated over the people of the taiga.

In March 1948 Anatolij Makarovič attended a *bogžor* for the last time. At this occasion he learned from his Evenk friend, the adopted son of the shamaness Olga, details about the devastating blood feuds that had erupted among the Evenki clans after the death of the shamaness. The shamaness had died in 1944, but already in 1945, still under Japanese occupation, the ritual killings—a consequence of the lack of a shaman as a security valve for the ethnic group—had begun. Anatolij Makarovič met with his godmother and aunt for the last time shortly before her death in 1944. In 1947 he visited her grave on the upper Derbul some distance from the *bogžor* place at the Cortova Jama (the “Devil's Hole”).

A further tragedy in relation with the ritual blood feuds among the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks began to take shape when the *bogžor* of March 1948 came to an end, and the Evenks began to wander back to their hunting grounds with their reindeer. On the return trip to the taiga, a young Evenki mother, whose husband had become the victim of a blood feud the preceding year, shot and killed her son of barely one year out of despair and then killed herself with the gun. This tragic event shocked Anatolij Makarovič, particularly because the small boy had been his Evenki godchild.

In 1948 Anatolij Makarovič moved to Harbin to take up his studies at the Faculty of Economics of the East in the Polytechnic Institute of Heilongjiang Province. From 1950 to 1952 he was enrolled as a Sinology major with an emphasis on Chinese language. Among his teachers at the Harbin institution were the ethnologist Ippolit Gavrilovič Baranov and the well-known Manchuria scholar Vladimir Nikolaevič Zernakov, who at the same time was the director of the Museum of Natural History of Heilongjiang Province. The latter entrusted the student from the distant Three River Region with the mission of collecting samples of the material culture of the Reindeer-Evenks for the ethnographic section of the museum. As a result of this, Anatolij's friendly relations with the Reindeer-Evenks of the Great Hinggan were kept alive also during the years of his studies in Harbin. Among the items that Anatolij Makarovič could provide for the museum in Harbin were the following: a model of a boat made of birch bark reduced to scale (Evenk, *dzaw*) and made by the Evenk Fedor Stepanovič Kaltakun;

two wooden deer callers to attract deer (Evenk, *orevun*); a small fur carpet (Evenk, *kalaman*); saddle bags for reindeer (Evenk, *inmek*); and a reindeer bridle.

Through correspondence from Harbin with his parents in Dubovaja, Anatolij Makarovič still followed the activities of the small Tungusic group of forest hunters in the Great Hinggan.

The last *bogžor* between Reindeer-Evenks and Cossacks from the Three River Region took place in 1949. At this meeting, Anatolij's younger brother Vasilij Makarovič provided the family's Evenki *andaki* one more time with all they needed. After that, these traditional Russian-Evenki relationships were abruptly ended by the barely sensible administrative measures taken by the authorities in charge of the newly created People's Republic of China. The Russian settlers in the Three River Region were forbidden to go into the taiga, and the Evenks had access only to one state shop established in Cigan where they could obtain modern manufactured goods, in particular gun ammunition, flour, salt, and tea. The changes within the small group of Evenks that initially occurred as a result of the new state could even be called progressive, but the situation soon deteriorated when the cadre in charge began to participate in a kind of sedentarization craze to forcefully settle the nomads in the vicinity of Cigan and to restrict their hunting grounds to the area of the lower Bystraja.

The area the Chinese theoreticians made available to the Evenks and their reindeer was much too small and provided too few lichen for the reindeer, a situation that led to the deaths of many reindeer. In 1953 an epidemic of typhoid fever also erupted that killed many people living in the taiga. Among the dead were the last *andak* of the Kajgorodov family, Fedor Stepanovič Kaltakun, his son Makar, the huntress Akulina Ivanovna Sologon and her daughter, as well as Goko, the adopted son of the shamaness Olga Dmitrievna Kudrina and friend of Anatolij Makarovič.

The Chinese policy for the Evenks in the 1950s also resulted in the interruption of Anatolij Makarovič's contacts with the Evenks that were mediated by his relatives. For the Russians in the Three River Region any contact with their former trading partners from the taiga was prohibited.

After he had successfully finished his studies in Harbin, Anatolij Makarovič accepted in 1952 his first job, as a translator, in the Heavy Industry of the northeast. First he worked in Shenyang (formerly Mukden) and later, after his promotion, he worked in Beijing.

In the summer of 1954, Anatolij Makarovič moved, as did many other Russians, from China to the Soviet Union. First he arrived at the Kemerovskij Oblast, but later he lived in Moscow. On 12 February 1955 he began his work as a librarian in the public library for foreign language literature in

Moscow. In Moscow he took courses in Mongolian, Vietnamese, and Indonesian, and became the chief bibliographer for Asian and African literature. He occupied this position until his retirement in 1988. During the years of his activity at the library he did not restrict himself to bibliographic studies, but authored several works about recent Mongolian history, and wrote on Mongolian writers. Together with two Mongolian scholars, he contributed significantly to the production of an anthology of writers from the People's Republic of Mongolia that was published in 1982 under the title *Pisateli Mongol'skoj narodnoj Respubliki 1921–1981* (The writers of the People's Republic of Mongolia, 1921–1981). In connection with his Mongolian studies he had the chance to visit his Mongolian colleagues on four trips to Mongolia. He went there in 1968, 1977, 1978, and 1980. In 1966 Anatolij Makarovič married his colleague of that time, Raisa Lavrent'evna.

When Anatolij Makarovič wrote on the Reindeer-Evenk, he lived in his thoughts once again with his Evenki friends of the forests, when they still were free from administrative discrimination and regimentation. In his memory he sat once more at crackling campfires, listened to the sound of the reindeer's hoof-beat, the laughter, and the melancholic songs of the nomads of the forest. Again he heard the rustling of the endless larch forests of the Great Hinggan swaying in the wind; once more he saw in his mind the bear cubs playing in summer among the flowers on the taiga meadows, and he experienced anew the icy winter nights filled with the howling of wolves and the softly falling snow in calm weather. He thought about the energetic readiness among the Reindeer-Evenks to help one another, about their natural noble-mindedness, their wisdom and worldview, and about his Evenki godmother, the shamaness Olga Dmitrievna. In 1968 appeared his article "Evenki v trechrec'e" (The Evenks of the Three River Region) in Moscow in the journal *Sovjetskaja etnografija*, followed in 1970 by "Svad'ba v taige" (Wedding in the taiga) and "Dersu Uzala iz debrej trechrec'ja" (Dersu Uzala of the Three River Region).

In relation with my own research about the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks, I discovered these works for the first time in 1983 and soon began a correspondence with their author. First I wrote to the library office of Anatolij Makarovič and later to his private address in Moscow. Obligingly he answered my numerous questions concerning the ethnography and history of the small Tungus ethnic group in the mountain forests of the Great Hinggan, and concerning their former relationships with the Russian emigrants in the Three River Region. This was the start of a lively and productive scholarly correspondence. Anatolij Makarovič proved to be a first-rank informant and witness of the time due to his competence and excellent memory. Over a fifteen-year period our mutual correspondence reached more than 1200 pages.

As he repeatedly confessed in his letters, to write about questions concerning the cultural history of the Reindeer-Evenks and the history of this remote region in China's northeast gave him much pleasure and raised pleasant memories about the former unrestrained life in unison with the harsh nature of the Great Hinggan.

With advancing age his wish to visit once more the places of his childhood and youth grew, and in 1985 he endeavored to obtain the necessary visa. However, because of bureaucratic red tape in the former Soviet Union, and because of the lack of financial means, the plan could not be realized. Therefore, only in his thoughts while he kept typing his articles and stories in his flat in Moscow could he return to his homeland at the edge of the taiga and to his Evenki friends in the forests of northern Manchuria.

After retirement Anatolij Makarovič intensified his study of the history of the Russian period in the Three River Region, of the time of the Russian civil war in Transbaikalia, and of the neighboring regions of Mongolia and Manchuria.

In 1995 Anatolij Makarovič accepted my invitation to be my guest at Schloss Holte for seven weeks. In numerous conversations that I recorded on tape about specialized topics, we took up together questions concerning the ethnography and cultural history of the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks. Anatolij Makarovič spoke about the life in the Russian villages during the changing of the seasons and about hunting and bartering with the nomads from the forests of the Great Hinggan. I also told him about my excursion to the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks in the fall of 1993, at which time I met with the old Evenki hunter Aleksej Kudrin—a man who had once been a trading partner of his father. It was also possible to arrange a meeting in Germany with Dr. Ingo Nentwig. In Hamburg we attended together the opening of an exhibit of photographs by Dr. Paula Jääsalmi-Krüger of the Xanti and Mansi of western Siberia. We also made plans to wander together once more into the forests of the northern Far East, to the border, in order to visit the old places where the Russian and Evenki *andakji* once had met. Unfortunately, the bad state of Anatolij Makarovic's health did not allow us to realize our plans.

Whoever once had the chance, as I did, to encounter this friendly and competent expert, to sit before him and listen to his well-informed and enthusiastically pronounced reports, will never forget Anatolij Makarovič Kajgorodov.

When I invited Anatolij Makarovič again to come to Schloss Holte in the fall of 1998 he was unable to accept. Following his last wish, the family of the scholar put all the material of his archive in my care, together with a number of unfinished manuscripts.

The studies of Anatolij Makarovič Kajgorodov about northern Manchuria and its people are worth special attention because they are exclusively based on his personal observations and memories, and because the Reindeer-Evenks and their ancient, highly-specialized culture of reindeer breeding and hunting in close relationship with nature in the Great Amur Bend are facing extinction. In 1949 the small group still consisted of six clans; today, however, there are only four of them left and thus they can no longer follow their rules of exogamy. For such reasons it is very important to me to publish all the material of my friend as soon as possible, beginning with his complete bibliography.

Anatolij Makarovič Kajgorodov commanded a wide range of knowledge and an unbelievable memory. With his death we have lost an important informant and one of the last eye witnesses of the Chinese Reindeer-Evenks before the establishment of the People's Republic. Friends and colleagues will always keep him in kind remembrance.

NOTES

1. The Chinese Reindeer-Evenks had nominally already become members of the Russian Orthodox Church before they arrived at the Great Amur Bend and seemingly followed Christian customs. In reality, however, they have always been pure shamanists and to this day adhere to an animistic worldview.

It was the custom among the Evenki and Russian *andaki* families that were related by barter to mutually become godparents for the children of the partner family.

2. The Russian *andaki* called him Victor (i.e., they knew him under this name) but his Evenki name was Goko. In this context it is worthy mentioning that the Evenki or Evenkianized names of their *andaki* were hardly known to the Russian trade partners. This might have a connection with former Evenki taboo regulations.

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