当代楚科奇人与海象传统知识研究

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摘 要:本文介绍了 2009 年至 2010 年开展的一项研究的部分 成果。在狩猎季节,一组本地研究人员对白令海峡地区几个村庄的 海象传统生态知识进行了研究。传统的海象捕猎继续为当地社区提 供营养来源和文化食粮,因此,在教育全球化、货币经济和基督教 改变了当地社会文化模式的背景下,传统知识变化甚微。这些传统 知识包括海象的生理特点、行为方式和迁徙路线,所包含的信息详 细实用。当地土著礼仪也能确保狩猎安全有效,保障海象肉的卫生 加工、储存和分配。研究表明,基于传统知识的万物有灵信仰留存 至今,确立了村民与海象之间的相互关系。为此,本文还探讨了一 些现代仪式的含义及其在楚科奇土著族群传统知识中的作用。

关键词: 楚科奇人 海象 传统知识 狩猎 万物有灵信仰

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Contemporary Chukotka Native People and Traditional Knowledge about the Walrus *

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Abstract

The paper presents some of the results of a study conducted in 2009—2010. A team of Native researchers during the field season studied TEK about walruses in several villages of the Bering Strait region. Traditional walrus hunting continues to provide the nutritional and cultural needs of local communities. This is the only explanation of why global education, cash economics, and Christian religions, changing the sociocultural pattern of local communities, only slightly shifted traditional knowledge. This knowledge includes detailed and useful information about the biology, behavior, and migration routes of walruses. The Native protocol also ensures the safety and effectiveness of hunting, the healthy processing and storage of walrus meat, and the distribution of hunting products. The study indicates that animistic beliefs are preserved as the basis of traditional knowledge, and relations between villagers and walruses are built on its core principles. For this reason, the paper also discusses the interpretation of the meanings of some modern rituals and their role in the traditional knowledge of the Chukotka Native peoples.

Keywords: Chukotka Native People; Walrus; traditional knowledge; hunting; animistic beliefs

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^{*} This Project is conducted by Association of Traditional Marine Mammal Hunters of Chukotka (ChAZTO)(Anadyr, Chukotka, Russia)

一、引言

白令海峡地区的文化源远流长,建立在对海象、海豹和鲸鱼等海洋哺乳 动物的直接利用和深度依赖上。扳头鱼叉和蒙皮船是旧白令海文化的伟大发 明,有利于当地社区维持传统生存模式。楚科奇人和西伯利亚尤皮克人综合 利用实践知识,与海象建立了良性互动关系。这些知识包括统御与海象关系 的习俗和仪式,用来保障捕猎海象安全有效,以及海象肉的卫生加工、储存 和分配。海象传统知识通过观察、收集信息、实践和解释等方法形成,因此 具有精确和实用的特点。其独特之处在于,海象知识也是一种人类学研究, 因为楚科奇土著族群信仰万物有灵,他们认为海象和人类没有差别。在 20 世 纪,文化顺应影响了大部分传统知识。然而,很大程度上由于传统生存方式 对楚科奇当地社区依然重要,传统知识得以保留至今。

楚科奇传统海洋哺乳动物猎人协会(The Chukotka Association of Traditional Marine Mammals Hunters: ChAZTO)在"监测楚科奇海象捕猎"这一项目(Kochnev 2010)中对海象传统知识进行了评估。该项目于 2009 年至 2010年间实施,由美国国家公园管理局资助。爱斯基摩人海象委员会(The Eskimo Walrus Commission)是楚科奇传统海洋哺乳动物猎人协会的合作伙伴,一个本土研究小组采访了白令海峡沿岸的八个楚科奇人和西伯利亚尤皮克人社区,这项研究的一个重要目的是描述楚科奇社区与海象之间的互动知识。

研究小组调查主题是海象的生理和行为特征、种群现状、季节性迁徙方 式、象群集中区域、繁殖和觅食活动。村民们分享了现代捕猎海象的方法、 加工、储存和使用猎物的信息。融冰改变了海象的栖息方式,沿岸海象栖息 地变得至关重要,但这也使海象的生存环境更加脆弱。本研究描述了管理海 象群的重要传统方法,包括保护海象栖息地的传统规约。

人类与海象互动的精神层面也是研究重点。本研究表明,博戈拉斯(1907:283)所描述的万物有灵信仰的主要特征,现在作为村民与海象之间 关系的核心知识得以留存。为此,本文还探讨了一些现代仪式的含义及其在 楚科奇土著族群传统知识中的作用。

尽管在收集传统知识方面积累了相当丰富的经验,但本研究是关于海象的首次专题研究。由于时间紧迫,本研究只描述了楚科奇海象传统知识的总

1. Introduction

The Bering Strait Region's culture has a long history and was built on a direct and deep dependence on walruses, seals, and whales. The toggledhead harpoon and skin boat were great inventions of the Old Bering Sea culture (Rousselot et al 1988: 157) and contributed to the sustainable traditional subsistence of the local communities. Chukchi and Siberian Yupiks established interaction with walruses using comprehensive practical knowledge. This knowledge included customs and rituals governing relationships with walruses that contribute to the safe and effective hunting, healthy processing and storage of walrus meat, and the distribution of hunting products. The accuracy and practicality of knowledge were obtained using methods such as observation, information gathering, experiments, and their interpretation. A unique feature of walrus research was that it was also a sort of ethnographic study, because, according to the Chukotkan Natives' animistic beliefs, walruses were the same people. During the 20th century, a significant part of traditional knowledge was affected by acculturation. However, largely due to the fact that traditional subsistence has retained its importance for local communities, traditional knowledge has remained in demand.

The Chukotka Association of Traditional Marine Mammal Hunters (ChAZTO) conducted an assessment of the traditional knowledge of walruses under the project "Walrus Harvest Monitoring in Chukotka" (Kochnev 2010). The project was carried out during 2009—2010 and was funded by the US National Park Service. The Eskimo Walrus Commission was a partner of ChAZTO. A team of Native researchers interviewed eight Chukchi and Siberian Yupik communities along the Bering Strait. An important objective of the study was to describe the knowledge about the interaction between Chukotkan communities and walruses.

The biology and behavior of walruses, the current state of the population, patterns of seasonal migrations, areas of concentration, breeding, and feeding of walruses were the subject of surveys of villagers. The villagers shared information on modern methods of hunting walruses, processing, storage, and use of hunting products. Melting sea ice has changed the habitat of walruses; the importance of coastal walrus rookeries has become critical, but it has also increased the vulnerability of walruses. The study described key traditional approaches to walrus population management, including the traditional rules for the protection of rookeries.

The spiritual aspects of human interaction with walruses were also the focus of research. The study revealed that the main signs of animistic beliefs described by Bogoras (1907, 283) have been preserved today at the core of the relationship between villagers and walruses. For this reason, the article also discusses the interpretation of the meanings of some modern rituals and their role

体状况。显然,需要进行更广泛和深入的研究,应进一步描述现代传统知识 的形成和传承过程,以及文化适应因素如教育、货币经济和宗教的影响。

二、研究材料和研究方法

爱斯基摩人海象委员会邀请楚科奇传统海洋哺乳动物猎人协会对有关 海象的传统知识开展研究。与狩猎社区讨论该项目后,楚科奇传统海洋哺乳 动物猎人协会董事会批准了这一提案。在位于白令海峡沿岸海象迁徙路线上 的 8 个定居点采访了 13 人。新查普利诺(New Chaplino)是西伯利亚的尤 皮克(Yupik)人定居地,而因乔温(Inchoun)、内斯坎(Neshkan)和扬拉 基诺(Yanrakynnot)则是楚科奇村庄。由于西伯利亚尤皮克人在苏联时代 重新定居楚科奇村庄(Krupnik and Chlenov 2013),洛里诺(Lorino)、乌伦 (Uelen)和拉夫伦西亚(Lavrentia)由混合族群构成。拉夫伦西亚和普罗维 登尼亚(Providenia)是以新移民为主的地区中心。受访者多为有经验的猎人 和老人,他们中大多数人都能流利使用本族语。

本研究采用半结构式访谈法,只进行个别访谈,采取研究人员和受访者 之间私人谈话形式。研究者使用问卷中每个主题的预设问题进行对话访谈。 受访者可以选择给出简短答案(比如是、否、我不知道)和详细答案、讲述 生活故事、反思研究主题等作答方式。调查问卷基于楚科奇传统海洋哺乳动 物猎人协会的北极熊委员会研究小组于 1999 年至 2003 年对北极熊传统知识 进行的类似研究编制而成(Kochnev, 2003)。

访谈主要用俄语进行, 土著本族语用来编写术语表、引述仪式的演讲和咒语。两位研究人员的母语为土著本族语,他们要么翻译受访者的访谈内容,要么转写文本本身。艾纳纳(Ainana)还在当地博物馆进行了研究,并在报告中提供了亚历山大·福什坦(Alexander Forshtein)在圣彼得堡俄罗斯科学院人类学和民族志博物馆(the Great Peter Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg)收藏的海象仪式照片(Krupnik and Mikhailova 2008)。访谈记录于 2010 年 4 月前转写,然后编入数据库。数据库的重要主题是海象生理特征、行为特点、迁徙路线和觅食区域,然后是狩猎方法和猎物的加工处理,最后是人类与海象互动的文化方面,数据库还标明了主要狩猎场。

in the traditional knowledge of the Chukotka Native peoples.

Despite the considerable experience in collecting traditional knowledge that had accumulated by this time, this was the first study of a topic devoted to walruses. A tight time frame determined that this study described only the general state of Chukotkan traditional walrus knowledge. It became obvious that an extended and indepth study was needed. This study should describe the modern process of production and transfer of traditional knowledge, as well as the influence of acculturation factors such as education, cash economics, and religion.

2. Materials and Methods

The Eskimo Walrus Commission invited the ChAZTO Walrus Commission to conduct a study of traditional walrus knowledge. The ChAZTO Board approved the proposal after discussion of this project with the hunting communities. Thirteen people were interviewed in eight settlements located along the Bering Strait Region coast on walrus migration routes. New Chaplino is a Siberian Yupik settlement, while Inchoun, Neshkan, and Yanrakynnot are Chukchi villages. Lorino, Uelen, and Lavrentia have a mixed ethnic composition due to the Siberian Yupiks' resettlement in these Chukchi villages in the Soviet era (Krupnik and Chlenov 2013). Lavrentia and Providenia are district centers with a predominance of newcomers. Experienced hunters and elders prevailed among the informants, and most of them spoke their native language fluently.

The study used a semi-structured interview method. Only individual interviews were conducted. The interview took the form of a personal conversation between the researcher and the interviewee. The researcher managed the conversation using recommended questions on each topic of the questionnaire. The informant was given the choice: give short answers, such as yes, no, I don't know, or detailed answers, telling life stories, and reflecting on the topic of the study. The questionnaire was developed on the basis of a similar study of traditional knowledge of the polar bear, conducted by the research group of the ChAZTO Polar Bear Commission in the period 1999—2003 (Kochnev 2003).

The interview was mostly conducted in Russian. The native language was used to work on the glossary, and to describe rituals quoting ceremonial and ritual speeches and spells. Both researchers were native speakers. They either translated these parts of the interview with the interviewee, or translated the transcript of the texts themselves. Ainana also conducted research at the local museum and included in her report copies of Alexander Forshtein's photographs of walrus rituals from the collection of the Great Peter Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg (Krupnik and Mikhailova 2008). Interviews were transcribed by April 2010, and then encoded in a database. The main topics of the database were walrus biology, behavior, migration routes and the feeding area, then the hunting method and processing of hunting results, and, finally, the cultural aspects of human-walrus interaction. The main hunting grounds were also indicated here.

三、研究结果

(一)海象

猎人们长期不断地密切观察海象及其栖息地,并在相互交流、密切观察 和共同信仰的基础上,提出他们自己对海象的看法和解释。生存导向知识的 形成和传承通过实践和口头传统进行。捕猎海象为社区提供重要食物,海象 肉比例至少占海洋哺乳动物总收获量的 50%。海象狩猎是一项集体活动,因 而对社区还有另一个重大影响。在此,知识不仅像大多数传统生存方式一样 从父亲或叔父那里传递给儿子或者侄子,而是类似一种男性俱乐部,所有参 与活动的人都能促进知识的形成,他们既是导师,又是学徒,共同拥有知识。 这是合作捕猎海象与独自捕猎海豹或是相对罕见的集体捕鲸的主要区别。传 统海象知识的形成是一个协作过程,使之具有可持续性。寻找海象、狩猎、 屠宰和加工、产品的分配和运输,都伴随着规则和传统,构成了一个复杂而 全面的知识形成过程。

海象是群居动物,这决定了它们的行为特点。危急时刻,它们互相保护, 帮助任何受伤成员,甚至尽量让一只死海象浮在海面上。成年雄海象也能做 一些分散注意力的动作,化解带幼崽的雌海象身边的危险。会有一只海象守 卫栖息地,一旦有危险,就会大声咆哮或推挤身边的海象,以此发出警报。 然而,一些猎人认为海象不使用声音进行交流或者警示危险的到来。年轻海 象甚至在没有直接危险的情况下也能攻击靠近它们的船只。猎人们把攻击归 因于年轻海象像海象幼崽一样,不能辨别危险程度。如果海象接近船只,猎 人通常用船桨或鱼叉击打攻击船只的海象的鼻子来降低它们的攻击性。

海象善于潜水,能长距离游泳,甚至能在海面上睡觉,但它们仍然需要 在有坚硬表面的地方休息。如果没有冰,它们只能被迫上岸。海象在海滩上 行动自如,他们在岩石中也能自由移动,还能攀爬岩石。猎人们观察到,被 困在科卢钦湾(Kolyuchin Bay)冰区的海象被迫沿着苔原移动,打算从楚科 奇海穿越约100公里到达白令海。只是在海象旅程的开端观察到它们在苔原 上爬行,尚无一次记录表明它们能够到达迁徙目的地。然而,被观察到的海 象离海岸相当远。海象可以预测风暴来临,并在恶劣天气到来的前几天到达 背风处。

虎鲸是海象的主要天敌。如果虎鲸出现在附近,海象就会惊慌失措地爬

3. Results

3.1 Walruses

Hunters constantly and scrupulously observe walruses(ryrkat) and their habitat. This knowledge provides their own perspective and interpretation of these animals, built on a combination of interactions, observations, and beliefs. The production, preservation, and transfer of subsistence-oriented knowledge are done through practical actions and oral traditions. Walrus hunting is important for communities in terms of providing food. The proportion of walrus meat is at least 50% of the total harvest of marine mammals. There is another significant impact of walrus hunting on communities, due to the fact that this is a collective activity. This means that here knowledge is transferred not only from father/uncle to son/nephew, as in most types of traditional subsistence, but this is a sort of men's club in which all participants in the activity are producers, custodians, and mentors/recipients of knowledge. This is the main difference between cooperative walrus hunting, on the one hand, and individual seal hunting, or also group, but relatively rare whale hunting, on the other hand. The fact that traditional walrus knowledge is a collaborative process of producing knowledge provides its sustainability. The search for walruses, hunting, butchering and processing walruses, distribution and transportation of hunting products are accompanied by rules and traditions and give rise to a complex and comprehensive process of knowledge production.

Walruses are group animals and this determines their behavior. In the case of danger, they protect each other and help any wounded members of the group, trying to keep even a dead animal on the surface of the sea. Adult males can also do distracting maneuvers to divert danger away from females with cubs. There may be a guard walrus on the rookery, which in the case of danger raises the alarm, growling and pushing the neighbors. However, some hunters believe that walruses do not use sounds to communicate or even warn of danger. Young walruses can attack an approaching boat even in the absence of direct risk. Hunters attribute aggression to the fact that young walruses, like small cubs, do not realize the level of the threat. If walruses approach the boat, hunters usually beat the attacking walrus on the nose with the shaft of an oar or a harpoon, which reduces the aggressiveness of the walrus.

Walruses are good divers, able to swim long distances, and even sleep on the surface of the sea, but they still need to rest on a hard surface. If there is no ice, they are forced to sail ashore. Walruses can move well along the beach. They feel quite confident among the rocks, climbing up the stones. Hunters observed walruses trapped in an ice trap in Kolyuchin Bay, forced to move along the tundra, intending to cross about 100 kilometers from the Chukchi Sea to the Bering Sea. Not a single arrival at the final destination of this migration was documented. All observations of walruses crawling along the tundra were only at the beginning of their journey. Yet, walruses in these encounters were quite far from the coast. Walruses can predict the onset of a storm and go to the lee places a few days before the bad weather arrives. 到岸上或冰上。猎人有时会在海面上击打扁平物或船桨,模仿虎鲸尾巴的击 打声,吓跑海象。被冲上岸的海象通常表现出被虎鲸攻击的痕迹,如肋骨骨 折、内脏破裂和大面积血肿。北极熊通常不会攻击成年海象,因为海象体型 庞大,还会逃到海里,在水中与海象搏斗北极熊不占优势。但是海象对北极 熊很警惕,因为他们对海象幼崽构成真正威胁。北极熊有时故意在海象中制 造恐慌,海象逃入大海,压死幼小和虚弱的海象。海象不甚关注其他海洋哺 乳动物和鸟类,能与之和平共处。人如果不驾驶车辆、使用枪支,海象也不 觉得危险。然而,人类和陆生动物的陌生气味会惊扰海象。

1. 迁徙和栖息地

猎人们声称海冰是海象的重要栖息地,海象总是喜欢和海冰一起移动。 春天,海象在冰中游泳,甚至在大片浮冰上向北漂移;到了秋天,它们要么 和冰一起向南移动,要么随着淤泥的出现向南游。带着幼崽的雌性海象通常 先迁徙,第二批迁徙的是雄海象,有时浮冰上有成千上万只海象。海冰使海 象能在沿海浅水区觅食并休息。猎人们观察到,夏季白令海峡中只剩下一小 群海象,而大多数海象则向北迁徙,他们把这种现象归因于食物缺乏。

近年来,冰情不断变化,猎人几乎看不到多年海冰。海冰在春季融化, 提前一个月向北退去,新的沿岸海冰2~3个月后在秋季结冰。这改变了狩 猎季节和海象的迁徙路线,导致村庄附近迁徙海象数量减少。海象的秋季迁 徙不分年龄和性别,始于九月,结束于海冰的冻结。秋天,海象逗留在沿海 栖息地附近,大群海象不得不集中在具有食物充足和临近沿海两个重点特征 的栖息地。

近年来,在海象每年的迁徙周期中,沿海栖息地的重要性日益凸显。 几十年前,海象大多利用海冰作为栖息地。夏季的白令海峡和阿纳迪尔湾 (Anadyr Gulf)只有为数不多的栖息地。秋季,北极海岸出现的几个沿海栖 息地大约持续使用一个月,直到多年生海冰连接到海岸。本研究表明,这种 模式开始转变。夏季白令海峡沿岸栖息地的海象数量明显减少,而北极沿岸 出现了许多沿海栖息地,海象的栖息地甚至出现在定居点附近。猎人们把这 一现象解释为缺乏海冰导致海象群无法休息。沿海栖息地位置变化影响了当 地社区的生活,白令海峡的村庄被迫改变夏季饮食习惯,改吃鱼和鲸鱼肉。 而在北极海岸,一些村庄获得了巨大的肉类资源,同时也承担着保护海象栖 息地免受人类和野生动物活动影响的重大责任。

位于土著村庄附近的海象传统沿海栖息地受习惯法保护。在某些情况下,

Orcas are the main natural enemy of walruses. If killer whales appear close by, walruses panic and run ashore or on to ice. Hunters sometimes hit the surface of the sea with flat objects or oars, imitating the blows of a killer whale's tail and scaring away walruses. Walruses washed ashore often show signs of killer whale attack, such as rib fractures, internal organ ruptures, and large hematomas. Polar bears usually do not attack adult walruses because of their size, and also because walruses run away to the sea, where they have an advantage in a fight. But walruses are wary of polar bears, as they are a real danger to walrus calves. Polar bears sometimes intentionally create panic among walruses. Walruses escaping into the sea crush to death young walruses and weakened animals. Walruses are indifferent to or tolerant of all other marine mammals and birds. Even people do not seem dangerous to them if they do not use vehicles and firearms. However, the unfamiliar smell of humans and terrestrial animals worries walruses.

Migrations and Rookeries

Hunters claim that sea ice is an important habitat for walruses. They always prefer to move with sea ice. In spring, animals swim with ice, or are even on the ice floes to the north, and in autumn they either move south with ice or swim south as the sludge appears. Female walrus (n'avryrka) with walrus cub (k'esy kaikai) usually migrate first. The second wave of migration is males. Sometimes there are thousands of animals on the ice floes. Sea ice provides walruses with rest near feeding places in coastal shallow waters. Hunters observed that only small groups of walruses now remain in the Bering Strait during the summer, while most animals migrate north. They attribute this phenomenon to a lack of food.

In recent years, ice conditions have continued to change. Hunters almost never observe perennial ice. Sea ice melts in the spring and recedes north earlier by about a month, and new shorefast ice freezes in the fall two to three months later. This shifted the seasons and migration routes, which led to a decrease in the number of migrating walruses near villages. Autumn migration of walruses takes place with no division into age and gender groups. It begins gradually in September and ends with the freezing of sea ice. During autumn, walruses are kept near coastal rookeries. Walruses are forced to concentrate in large herds near places that have two important characteristics: a high concentration of food and a coastal rookery nearby.

The importance of coastal rookeries (agon) in the annual cycle of walrus migration has increased in recent years. A couple of decades ago, walruses mostly used sea ice. Only a few rookeries existed during the summer in the Bering Strait and the Anadyr Gulf, and several coastal rookeries appeared on the Arctic coast for about one month in the fall, until perennial sea ice returned to the coast. This study indicated that this pattern began to shift. The number of walruses on summer coastal rookeries has decreased markedly, while many coastal rookeries have appeared on the Arctic coast. Walrus rookeries appeared even near settlements. The hunters attributed this to the fact that, due to the lack of sea ice, animals have no choice to rest. The shift of the coastal rookeries' locations affected the life of local communities. Villages on the Bering Strait were forced to change their summer diet to fish and whale meat. While on the Arctic coast, some villages have acquired an immense meat resource, along with a huge responsibility to protect walrus rookeries from human and wildlife activity.

Traditional coastal rookeries located near Native villages are protected by

当地社区甚至有一个所谓的栖息地主人。猎人们解释说,栖息地主人是那些 早期在这些地方定居的家庭的后代。栖息地主人的地位目前是象征性的,他 们要为栖息地举行一个专门的季节性开放仪式。狩猎社区依据传统知识实际 管理海象栖息地,一些规约的目的是防止接触海象。禁止在海象栖息地用枪 打猎,只能使用长矛,严格管控使用狗队。其他村庄的居民虽没有被正式禁 止捕猎海象,但通常是当地社区的猎手联合组队狩猎。地方当局或非政府环 境组织在土著人占少数的定居点管理海象栖息地。但几十年来,有些土著村 落附近一直没有出现海象栖息地,在这样的情况下,狩猎传统也就随之消失。

2. 觅食、繁殖和死亡率

猎人很熟悉海象的饮食习惯,它们胃里满是美味,猎人屠宰海象时经常 吃掉它们胃里的软体动物,一些海象也以鱼和海豹为食。海象吃饱后会休息 和睡眠几天,他们睡在大片浮冰、海滩或岩石上,甚至睡在水面上。猎人们 看到海象扇动脖子上像衣领一样的咽囊,头贴着水面睡觉。而其他海象则背 部浮在水面上,定期抬头呼吸空气。

尽管猎人们对春天海象交配季节很熟悉,但几乎没有人目睹过繁殖活动。 只有一名受访者看到海象为了一只雌海象打斗,它们用尖牙互相殴打,并大 声吼叫。在春天,猎人们偶尔观察到海象在浮冰上交配,海象幼崽也在春天 出生在浮冰上。幼象出生后由雌海象抚养2~3年。有时猎人会观察到一只 雌海象同时和两个不同年龄的幼象在一起:一只当年生的幼象和一只三岁的 幼象。雌象有强烈的母性本能,保护和抚养幼象。猎人们注意到一些海象家 庭成员表现得像人类一样,例如,海象妈妈们责打淘气的幼崽,同时用爱心 和关怀包容它们。在迁徙途中,雌象还会把幼象背在背上。如果雌象死亡, 幸存的幼象就会变成捕食者。猎人们声称,这种幼象在附近出现时,该区域 海豹数量明显减少。一名受访者说,他观察过一只海象捕食时袭击一名站在 浮冰边缘的男子。猎人们每次都会杀死这样的海象,因为它们构成了威胁。

根据大多数猎人的说法,近几年来,在村庄附近经过并觅食的海象数量 有所下降。这种现象很可能是由于海象群体在本研究中的村庄附近迁徙的频 率和规模所致。同时,据猎人称,海象的实际数量没有明显变化。然而,确 实存在危险,导致海象死亡率的增加。由于缺乏海冰,海象被迫大量集中在 稀有的沿海栖息地上。人类或陆生动物的活动会惊扰海象,这会导致海象惊 慌失措地逃离,奔向大海,一路上压坏幼象或体弱的海象。海冰缺乏也给海 象生存带来了挑战,比如觅食点和休息地之间距离延长,加上频繁的暴风雨, customary law. In some cases, local communities even have a so-called rookery owner. The hunters explained that the owners of the rookeries are the descendants of those families who settled earlier in these places. The position of the rookery owner is currently symbolic, and consists of performing a ritual dedicated to the seasonal opening of the rookery. The actual management of the walrus rookery is by the hunting community in accordance with traditional knowledge. The purpose of these restrictions is to prevent exposure to animals. Hunting with a firearm at the rookery is prohibited. A walrus harvested in the rookery is carried out using only spears. The use of dog teams is strictly regulated and limited. Residents of other villages are not formally prohibited from hunting at the rookery, but are usually joined by hunters of the local community. Local authorities or environmental non-governmental organizations manage walrus rookeries in those settlements in which the Native people are a minority. In some cases, walrus rookeries have not appeared near the Native villages for several decades and, as a result, hunting traditions have been ended.

Feeding, Breeding, and Mortality

Hunters are well acquainted with the diet of walruses. The contents of the walrus stomach are a delicacy and as such, mollusk (immenet) are often eaten by hunters during the butchering of the animal. Some walruses also feed on fish (ynnyt) and seal (memyl). After filling their stomach, walruses rest and sleep for several days. For sleeping, they use ice floes, beaches, rocks, and even sleep on the surface of the water. Hunters have seen a walrus fanning a collar around its neck and sleeping with its head on the surface. Other walruses, in contrast, keep their backs on the surface, periodically raising their heads for air.

Despite the fact that hunters are familiar with the mating season in the spring, barely any have witnessed breeding games. Only one informant said that he saw walruses fighting for a female, beating each other with their fangs and roaring loudly. Hunters occasionally observed the copulating of walruses on ice floes during the spring. Walrus calves are also born in spring on ice floes. They are raised by females for two to three years after birth. Sometimes hunters have observed a female with two cubs of different ages simultaneously; a currentyear and a three-year-old cub. Females have a strong maternal instinct to protect and raise their little ones. Hunters observed examples of families of walruses behaving like people, for example, mothers spanked mischievous cubs and at the same time surrounded them with affection and care. During migrations, the cubs are held on the back of the mother. If the female dies, the surviving cub becomes a predator. Hunters claim that the appearance of such a walrus in the vicinity indicates a significant decrease in the number of seals in the area. One informant said that he had observed an attack by a predatory walrus on a man who was standing on the edge of an ice floe. Hunters kill such walruses at every opportunity, because of the threat they cause.

According to most hunters, the number of walruses passing and feeding near their villages has declined in recent years. This phenomenon is most likely due to the frequency and size of the walrus groups migrating near the villages under study. At the same time, according to the hunters, the actual number of walruses has not changed significantly. Nevertheless, there are real threats to increasing walrus mortality. Because of the lack of sea ice, walruses are forced to concentrate in large numbers on rare coastal rookeries. Human or terrestrial animal activity scares walruses, and this can result in a panicked retreat to the 都能削弱海象的体力,使它们容易感染疾病。猎人屠宰冲到海岸上来的死海 象当做狗粮,他们在海象关节和脊椎上发现了脓液,村民们认为这些海象很 可能死于疾病。

(二) 猎获海象数量及其成因

海象捕猎既困难又危险,捕猎者驾驶小船在海上行驶,而船只受到海浪冲击,海象潜水并尽量避免被鱼叉叉中和枪支击杀。为了防止被杀死的海象沉入海中,猎人们首先用鱼叉叉住海象,然后再开枪射杀。有时子弹击中浮标或浮标和鱼叉之间的绳子,导致受伤的海象逃跑,杀死的海象沉海。在海象栖息地捕猎可以大大减少损失,然而,浮冰中惊慌失措逃跑的海象有时会把被射中的海象挤入海里淹死。即使在沿海海象栖息地用鱼叉捕猎也有损失,海象因恐慌而逃入大海,互相挤压,结果,其中一些海象受伤后淹死。事实证明,猎捕海象的损失难以避免。

费伊等人(1994:370) 声称, 在阿拉斯加, 平均42% 的海象被猎人 的子弹击中后逃离,随后大部分海象因伤致死。根据科奇涅夫(2010:12) 的数据,在观察到的7个楚科奇村庄中,被击中后逃跑海象的平均比例为 8.9%。然而,他认为实际损耗的数量可能更接近费伊等人指出的数值。换句 话说,即使费伊等人的研究的观察者也低估了海象被击中后逃离的损耗数量。 这种低估有几个原因, 斯米尔诺夫等人(2002:31)指出, 低估海象损耗数 量的主要可能的原因是海捕人员"害怕受到官方的影响"。猎人们还解释说, 他们在国营狩猎企业工作,并不总是有机会购买他们自己捕获的海象。因此, 他们不得不猎杀海象供个人食用,并在官方统计数据中隐藏这些海象的数目。 海象的尖牙是海象身上最有价值的部分,猎人们为了获取自己需要的尖牙, 被迫捕猎海象,官方的统计数据也没有考虑到这一点。未进入官方统计数据 的海象的肉和脂肪部分用于个人消费,一部分则交给国营农场仓库。在那里, 实际收获的3只海象在捕猎日志上只记录为1~2只海象,这样做还能借机 符合当局批准的海象平均体重参数。总结猎人们的解释发现,事实上官方海 捕统计数据与实际猎杀海象数量之间的差异是由于前苏联资助传统自然经济 的方式造成的。

受访者提供了海象捕获量的粗略估计,反映了在他们的村庄捕获的海象 数量变化的总趋势,涵盖了大约 30 年的时间(见图 1)。这一时期是楚科奇 社会文化频繁发生重大变化、有时甚至相互冲突的时期。从 1981 年到 1990 sea, along the way crushing calves or weakened walruses. The lack of ice also raises challenges for walruses, such as extending the distances between places for feeding and resting; along with frequent storms this can weaken walruses and they became susceptible to disease. Hunters who butcher walruses washed ashore for dog food often find pus in their joints and spines. Villagers believe that such animals most likely died from diseases.

3.2 Walrus Hunting: Numbers and Interpretations

Walrus hunting is a difficult and dangerous activity. Hunters use small boats that move around the sea; while boats are pumped by waves, walruses dive and try to avoid getting harpooned and shot. To prevent the killed walrus from drowning, hunters first harpoon the animal and then shoot it. Sometimes bullets hit a buoy or rope between a buoy and a harpoon. This causes wounded walruses to escape, and the killed walrus to drown. Hunting walruses on rookeries significantly reduces losses. However, walruses fleeing in panic from the ice floe sometimes push the shot walruses into the sea and they drown. Even spear hunting on the coastal walrus rookery causes losses: panicked walruses escaping into the sea crush each other and, as a result, some of them die from an injury and drown. It turns out that losses in walrus hunting are inevitable.

Fay et al. (1994, 370) claim that in Alaska, an average of 42% of walruses hit by bullets fled from hunters and subsequently most of them died from their wounds. According to Kochnev (2010, 12), in the seven observed Chukotka villages, the average number of struck and lost walruses was 8.9%. However, he suggested that the actual number of losses may well be closer to the value indicated by Fay et al. In other words, even observers of this study underestimated the numbers of struck and lost walruses. There are several reasons for such underestimations. Smirnov et al. (2002, 31) pointed out that the main probable reason for the underestimation of losses is that sea hunters have a "fear of official repercussions." The hunters also explained that they worked in state hunting enterprises and did not always have the opportunity to buy the walruses they killed. Therefore, they were forced to obtain walruses for personal consumption and hide these animals from official statistics. Walrus fangs are the most valuable part of walruses. In order to have fangs for their own needs, hunters were forced to hunt walruses, which were also not taken into account in official statistics. The meat and fat of unaccounted for walruses were partially used for personal consumption, and part was handed over to the state farm warehouse, where one or two walruses were recorded in the logbook from the weight of three actually harvested walruses. It also provided an opportunity to fit into the average weight parameters of walruses, approved by the authorities. Summing up the hunters 'explanations, many facts indicate that the difference between the official harvest statistics and the actual number of walruses killed was due to the Soviet way of financing traditional subsistence.

The informants provided a rough estimate of the walrus catch, which reflects general trends in the number of animals caught in their villages, covering an approximately 30-year period (Fig. 1). It was a time of significant, frequent, and sometimes conflicting sociocultural changes in Chukotka. There was only

年,联邦财产是经济体制中唯一的财产形式,从1991年到2000年,从国家 财产到私有财产或集体财产过渡,从2001年到2010年,再从私有财产到市 政财产过渡。



图 1 受访者对村庄里捕获海象数量变化趋势的估测

图 1 显示, 20 世纪 90 年代海象捕获量显著下降, 猎人们将这种趋势归因于缺乏燃料和弹药。一些受访者还指出海冰条件不足使得这些年在村庄附近迁徙经过的海洋哺乳动物数量有所减少。

海象捕获量的减少也可能是因为关闭了狐狸养殖场,在苏联时期,狐狸养殖场是海捕猎物的主要消费者。这一假设得到了如下事实的证实:2000年以后,为猎捕海洋哺乳动物恢复了燃料和狩猎设备的供应,但海象捕获量并没有发生重大变化。同时,在保存着养狐场的洛里诺和因乔温,猎获的海象数量远高于其他村庄。总结猎人对海象收获数量的评估,以及所描述的狩猎方法、营养结构和生活方式可见,动荡的社会经济发生变化后,楚科奇地区海象的利用与传统生存方式更加一致。

(三) 捕猎方法

由于白令海和楚科奇海生物资源丰富,楚科奇土著族群已在白令海峡地 区居住了几千年。海象在楚科奇海岸的定期大规模迁徙是当地人口比较稳定 的原因。大多数研究人员都认为,在距今1500年~2200年的旧白令海时期, 海象捕猎对当地定居点非常重要,参见希尔(2011:45)和皮图尔科(1999: federal property in the economy from 1981 to 1990, the transition from state to private or collective property took place from 1991 to 2000, and, finally, from 2001 to 2010 there was a transition from private to municipal property.



Fig. 1. Trends in walrus harvesting in villages based on estimates provided by informants

The diagram illustrates a notable decline in walrus harvesting in the 1990s. Hunters attribute this trend to a lack of fuel and ammunition. Several informants also indicated difficult ice conditions and, accordingly, a reduction in the number of marine mammals migrating near villages in these years.

The reduction in walrus harvesting was also likely due to the closure of fox farms, which in Soviet times were significant consumers of marine hunting products. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that in the 2000s, the supply of fuel and hunting equipment for the harvesting of marine mammals was resumed, but the numbers of the walrus harvest did not change significantly. At the same time, in Lorino and Inchoun, where fox farms are preserved, the number of walruses harvested is much higher than in other villages. Concluding the hunters' assessment of the numbers of the walrus harvest, along with the described hunting methods, nutritional structure, and lifestyle, these signs indicate that after turbulent socioeconomic shifts, the use of walruses in Chukotka has become more consistent with the term traditional subsistence.

3.3 Methods of Hunting

Native peoples of Chukotka have inhabited the Bering Strait region for millennia. This was due to the high biological productivity of the Bering and Chukchi Seas. A regular and massive migration of walruses along the coast of Chukotka led to a steady population of local territories. Most researchers agree that walrus hunting was of great importance for local settlements in the Old Bering Sea Period (2200—1500 BP), see Hill (2011, 45), Pitul'ko (1999, 432). However, there are other opinions. According to Anderson (1984, 86),

432)。不过,也有其他不同观点。根据安德森(1984:86)的看法,在乔里斯(Choris)半岛挖掘出的海象尖牙和鲸骨引发了一个问题,即捕象和捕鲸是否在距今2600年~3200年的乔里斯文化中已相当活跃?而季科夫(1988:85)则声称,在兰格尔岛(Wrangel Island)上挖掘出了经常以捕猎海象、鲸鱼和海豹为生的"早在公元前2000年"的定居点。

海洋哺乳动物的季节性大规模迁徙形成了当地社区独特的生存之道。沿着海洋哺乳动物的迁徙路线,出现了海捕者的定居点。众多稳定的定居点坐落在海岬和海角上,非常接近海象迁徙路线和海象栖息地(Ackerman 1988; Dikov 1988)。传统知识、蒙皮船(Bogoras 1904: 126)和扳头鱼叉(Rosseulot et al 1988: 163)成为当地社区生存成功的基石。

1. 捕猎过程

现代楚科奇猎人继续使用传统捕猎方法,也采用创新技术进行生存所需 的捕猎活动。受访者描述了他们定居点的典型捕猎方法,这些方法跨越时空, 变化不多,参见如100多年前布里斯托尔湾(Fall et al 1991:10)或博戈拉 斯(Bogoras, 1904:122)所描述的狩猎方法。例如,船主就像从前一样决 定什么时候狩猎。如今,国家组织的狩猎社区的首领在大多数村庄扮演着船 主的角色。首领的决定基于对海洋哺乳动物的生理和行为特征、季节、天气 和海冰条件的传统知识,以及来自联邦当局的许可。船长通常也是舵手,决 定捕猎冰上、水上或岸上的某个象群,他还负责配置狩猎团队成员。事实上, 这是一个复杂的过程,在这个过程中,传统、遗传天赋、技能和运气混合在 一起。船员之间并没有严格的专业化分工,有的更擅长用步枪射击,有的投 掷鱼叉又准又远,有的只是水手,为海捕猎人准备船只、划船、屠宰动物和 做其他苦活。每个猎人逐渐尝试团队中的各项工作,随着时间的推移,所有 猎人都会在船上各就各位。狩猎队的主要成员是船长(舵手)和机修师,团 队人员的生命和捕猎的成功取决于船长和机修师的技能。

这种长期磨炼和循序渐进的方法也用来训练海捕猎人。受访人根据他们 的个人经验,认为从童年开始学习很重要。根据他们的讲述,本研究发现以 下年龄段对学习过程至关重要。男孩们从七岁起就开始接触海上猎捕,这时, 他们或多或少能够独立,能安全地在船上观察狩猎,并能以轻松玩耍的方式 做些较轻的辅助工作。大约在10到12岁之间,男孩独立杀死他们人生中的 第一只海豹。青少年渐渐地被吸纳到猎人团队的日常生活中来,获得知识和 技能。资深猎手进行训练的核心策略是"看我做,学我做"。青少年时期结束 excavated walrus fangs and whale bones on the Choris Peninsula raised the question of whether walrus and whale hunting were active in the Choris culture (3200–2600 BP). While Dikov (1988, 85) claimed that settlements based on regular walrus, whale, and seal hunting "as early as the second millennium B.C." were excavated on Wrangel Island.

The seasonal large-scale migration of marine mammals led to the development of a unique survival strategy for local communities. Settlements of sea hunters appeared along the migration routes of marine mammals. The most stable and numerous settlements were located on spits and capes with sea views, located in close proximity to walrus migration ways, as well as near permanent walrus rookeries (Ackerman, 1988; Dikov 1988). Traditional knowledge, a skin boat (Bogoras 1904, 126), and a toggled-head harpoon (Rosseulot et al. 1988, 163) became the cornerstones of the successful survival of local communities.

Going Hunting

Modern Chukotkan hunters continue to use traditional hunting methods, adapting technical innovations to subsistence-oriented activities. Informants described hunting methods typical of their settlements, which are generally the same in spatial and temporal scales. See, for example, the hunting methods used in Bristol Bay (Fall et al. 1991, 10), or those described by Bogoras (1904, 122) more than a hundred years ago. For example, boat owners decide when to hunt, as in the old days. Today, the head of the state-organized hunting community plays the role of boat owner in most villages. His decisions are based on traditional knowledge of the biology and behavior of marine mammals, seasonality, weather and sea ice conditions, as well as permits from federal authorities. The captain of the boat (ytveermacin), usually the helmsman, decides where and for which group of walruses—on ice, on water, or on shore to hunt. He also appoints positions among team members. In fact, it is a complex process in which traditions, heredity, skills, and luck are mixed. There is no strict specialization among crew members; some are better at rifle shooting, some are more accurate and more far-reaching using harpoons, and some of them are just sailors who prepare the boat, row, butcher animals and do other hard things for a sea hunter. Each hunter gradually tries each position in the team and over time, all hunters take their places in the boat. The key members of the team are the captain (helmsman) and the mechanic. The life of the team and the success of the hunt depend on the skills of these two team members.

The same long-term and gradual approach is used in training a sea hunter. The informants, relying on their personal experience, argue that it is important to start learning from childhood. Based on their stories, the study identifies the following ages as critical to the learning process. Boys have been involved in hunting since about seven years of age. At this time, kids are more or less independent in order to safely be in the boat and observe the hunt, and are able to perform light auxiliary work in a playful way. Around the ages of 10 to 12, the boys kill their first seal independently. Gradually, adolescents are drawn into the everyday life of hunters, gaining knowledge and skills. The core strategy of training practiced by senior hunters is "observe and do as I do." At the end of the adolescent period, the young hunter knows how to prepare the boat for the hunting season, make and repair equipment, row, steer the boat,

时,年轻的猎手知道如何为狩猎季准备船只、制作和修理设备、划船、驾船、 投掷鱼叉、射击,以及如何确定天气、海洋、海冰和海洋哺乳动物的位置, 也知道极端情况下的行动方案。然而,现代社会的特点是,以前是驯鹿牧民 或其他村民的成年人有时也能成为猎人。他们经历了成为一名猎人的同样艰 难的过程,同时也明显改变了狩猎社区中的关系。

2. 狩猎类型

海象捕猎是一项危险、复杂、耗时的活动,需要全面的知识、技能和毅力。海象捕猎有几种类型,这取决于季节和海冰状况。在春天和初夏,猎人们捕获跟随浮冰向北迁徙的海象。海象潜水寻找食物,在浮冰上休息,猎人 喜欢在冰上射杀海象。如果海象很少,或者没有浮冰,猎人就别无选择,只能捕猎在海里游的海象。夏天,猎人们在海边的海象栖息地附近的海里追逐 海象。然而,近年来白令海峡沿岸的海象栖息地很少,几乎所有的海象都在 北方很远的地方。秋天,猎人们猎捕在海上迁徙和在沿海栖息地中的海象。 在阿纳迪尔湾 (Anadyr Bay),即使在冬天,猎人也有机会捕猎海象。因为有 塞雷尼基冰间湖 (Sireniki Polynya),冰层中有一片开阔的海面,海象能够有 机会在此过冬。

找到海象的过程艰苦而细致,耐心观察海平面的能力是狩猎成功的先决 条件。猎人们经常从小山、岩石和山丘顶部仔细观察大海。他们还检查海象 一贯的迁徙路线和觅食区。当有大量海冰但没有海象时,猎人有时会在海上 建立一个为期几天的海冰狩猎营地。海冰在洋流和风的影响下不断移动,会 出现水道或者融冰口,不然,去往海岸的通道是封闭的。那些海角定居点的 猎人有很大优势,因为海象要在此休息。

捕猎在海里游的海象比捕猎栖息在冰上和海岸上的海象更为费力。某条 船发现了海象,开始追逐逃跑和潜水的猎物。为了防止被射杀的海象溺水, 猎人必须首先用鱼叉捕杀海象。鱼叉的尖头刺穿了海象坚硬的皮毛并旋转, 防止鱼叉从海象的身体中弹出。扳头鱼叉用绳子系在浮标上,浮标防止海象 快速移动。最重要的是,浮标能标记海象的位置,这样海象即使长时间潜水 也无法藏身。然而,被叉中的海象经常试图用尖牙刺穿浮标。这时,猎人射 杀一只被鱼叉叉中的海象,既可能击中浮标,也可能击中连接浮标和鱼叉的 绳子,海象因此有机会逃逸。有时,想要用鱼叉叉中潜水的海象,首先猎物 必须受伤。受伤的海象通常试图逃跑,但也有海象袭击船只的情况出现。这 种情况在雌象保护幼象时更常见;此时,幼象也特别具有攻击性,其他海象 throw a harpoon, shoot, determine the weather, sea, sea ice, and location of marine mammals, and also know the protocol of actions in extreme situations. Nevertheless, the peculiarity of modern times is that sometimes former adult reindeer herders or other adult villagers can become hunters. They go along the same difficult path of becoming a hunter, while at the same time significantly changing relations within the hunting community.

Types of Hunting

Walrus hunting is a dangerous, complex, and time-consuming activity that requires comprehensive knowledge, skills, and fortitude. There are several types of walrus hunting, which depend on the season and the state of the sea ice. In spring and early summer, hunters harvest walruses migrating north following ice floes. Walruses dive in search of food and rest on ice floes. Hunters prefer to shoot walruses on ice. If there are few walruses or no ice floes on which walruses rest, hunters have no choice but to hunt walruses swimming in the sea. During the summer, hunters pursue walruses in the sea near coastal rookeries. However, there have been few coastal rookeries in the Bering Strait in recent years; almost all walruses are far in the north. In autumn, hunters hunt walruses migrating in the sea and resting on coastal rookeries. In Anadyr Bay, hunters have the opportunity to hunt walruses even in the winter. Thanks to the Sireniki Polynya there is open sea among the ice and walruses have the opportunity to winter.

Finding walruses is a strenuous and thorough process. The ability to patiently look out for the sea horizon is a prerequisite for a successful hunt. Hunters constantly and carefully observe the sea from the hills and rocks, and from the tops of hummocks. They also check typical migration routes and walrus feeding areas. When there is a lot of ice, but no walruses, hunters sometimes set up a sea ice hunting camp for several days. Sea ice is constantly moving under the influence of currents and wind, and when there is lead or open water, or vice versa, the passages to the shore are closed. Hunters of those settlements that are located on capes have a great advantage because walruses use these places for rest.

Hunting walruses swimming in the sea is a more laborious type of harvesting than hunting walruses resting on the ice and shore. The boat, having discovered walruses, begins the pursuit of fleeing and diving animals. To prevent the shot walrus from drowning, hunters must first harpoon the animal. The head of the harpoon, piercing the sturdy hide of the animal, rotates across and prevents the harpoon from popping out of the walrus body. The toggled head harpoon is tied to the buoy with a rope. The buoy prevents the walrus from moving fast and, most importantly, marks the animal so that it cannot hide when diving for a long time. However, the harpooned walrus often tries to pierce the buoy with its fangs. Hunters at this time shoot a harpooned walrus and can hit either the buoy or the rope connecting the buoy and the harpoon. The walrus has the opportunity to escape. Sometimes, to harpoon a diving animal, it must first be wounded. A wounded walrus usually tries to escape, but there are also cases when an animal attacks a boat. This happens more often when a female walrus is protecting her calf; young walruses are also particularly aggressive in such cases. Other walruses often try to help wounded walruses to stay afloat. After the walrus has been killed, it must be towed to the butchering site, and then the walrus carcass must be pulled out manually onto an ice floe or onto the beach. It is very difficult 也经常试图帮助受伤的海象漂浮在水面上不沉水。杀死海象后,必须将其拖 到屠宰场,然后人工将海象尸体拖到浮冰上或海滩上。这非常费力,需要很 长时间。

由于以上这些困难,猎人们更喜欢在岸边或浮冰上捕猎海象。猎人在浮 冰上发现一群海象,船只小心翼翼地接近它们并向其射击,幸存的海象逃到 海里。猎人屠杀海象,把肉块装进船里,送回他们的村庄。

沿海栖息地是很有价值的狩猎场,因为海象经常栖息于此。另一方面, 如果海象被赶出栖息地,它们可能不会在来年秋天回到这里。因此,海象栖 息地既是猎人、也是整个当地社区的关注焦点。当海象去海边栖息地时,猎 人想方设法不惊扰它们,在栖息地附近禁止乘船、射击卡宾枪、燃烧篝火以 及进行任何可能对海象造成噪音和异味的活动。尽量减少栖息地附近的人类 活动,狗总是被拴在一起。这些方法保证海象在许多年内都能重返栖息地。 当栖息地有很多海象时,它们不再害怕,猎人开始用长矛杀死海象。海象不 太害怕人类,只有当猎人靠近时才会离开。通常,猎人屠宰被杀死的海象时 务必赶走其他海象。考虑到这一点,捕猎在海象栖息地的边缘进行。

海象是大型动物,有坚韧的皮肤和巨大的骨骼。猎人要十分了解海象的 解剖结构,还要有完美的协调性和准确性,才能快速杀死海象,避免损失, 他们射击位于海象颅底的颈椎。当使用长矛时,矛尖刺穿位于腹腔的心脏或 筋膜。目前,长矛主要用于栖息地捕猎,尽管有时也用长矛刺杀游动的海象。 受访人证实这种狩猎方法很有效,因为与使用枪支相比,使用长矛时海象并 不怎么惧怕。

冬季捕猎海象是楚科奇半岛东南部定居点的一项独特活动,海象在这里的塞雷尼基冰间湖度过冬天。这类捕猎极其危险,因为冬季风暴总有可能撕 开冰面的边缘,让猎人掉到海里。

受访者声称,与他们在童年和青少年时期看到的情况相比,狩猎方法没 有太大变化。然而,在他们看来,以前猎人的训练更为全面彻底。海捕猎人 可以划很长时间船去接近海象,从20米远的距离投掷鱼叉,而且更快更准 确。技术创新也带来了同样的效果,大大促进了狩猎及其准备工作。动力强 劲的马达、大型铝船、塑料浮标、钢制鱼叉和长矛,以及由耐用的合成材料 制成的绳索,使猎人们很容易找到和捕猎海象。这些创新一方面提高了狩猎 效率,另一方面降低了传统狩猎知识和技能的重要性。由于对现代技术的依 赖,年轻的猎人在海上变得更加脆弱,易受伤害。 and takes a lot of time and effort.

Due to these difficulties, hunters prefer to hunt walruses resting on the shore or on an ice floe. Hunters find a group of walruses on an ice floe, the boats cautiously approach the group of animals, and then hunters shoot at the selected animals. The surviving walruses escape into the sea. Hunters butcher the killed walruses and load the pieces of meat into the boats and deliver it to their villages.

Walrus coastal rookeries are a valuable hunting ground because animals use them regularly. On the other hand, if walruses are driven out of their rookery, they may not return to this place next fall. Therefore, walrus rookeries are a subject of special concern not only for hunters, but also for the entire local community. When walruses go to the coastal rookery, hunters take measures not to frighten the animals. Any activity near the rookery is prohibited: it is forbidden to ride boats, shoot carbines, burn bonfires and do any actions that may create noises and smells that are unusual for walruses. Human activity is minimized in the surrounding localities, and dogs are always tethered. This approach guarantees the return of walruses to the rookery for many years. When the walrus rookery becomes large in number, the animals cease to be shy and hunters begin to kill walruses with spears. Walruses are not very afraid of people and move away only when hunters come too close. Often, hunters are forced to drive away other walruses to butcher the killed walruses. In this regard, hunting occurs on the edge of a walrus rookery.

Walruses are large animals with strong skin and large bones. Hunters need a good knowledge of walrus anatomy, perfect coordination and accuracy in order to kill a marine mammal quickly, to avoid loss. Hunters shoot at the cervical vertebra located at the base of the skull. When a spear is used, the blade pierces the heart or membrane located in the abdominal cavity. At present, spear hunting is mainly used in rookeries, although sometimes this weapon is also used to pierce swimming marine mammals. Informants justify this hunting method since walruses are not as afraid, compared to if they used firearms.

Winter walrus hunting was a unique activity and a feature of the settlements of the southeastern part of the Chukchi Peninsula. Walruses spend the winter here in Sireniki Polynya. This type of hunting is extremely dangerous since there is always a risk that a winter storm will tear off the edge of the ice and take hunters into the sea.

Informants claimed that hunting methods had not changed much, compared with what they saw in childhood and adolescence. However, in their opinion, in former times the training of hunters was more thorough. Hunters could row for a long time to get closer to the walruses, throw a harpoon at a distance of 20 meters, and throw a harpoon faster and more accurately. Innovations also led to this, which greatly facilitated the hunt and preparation for it. Powerful motors, large aluminum boats, plastic buoys, steel harpoons and spears, and ropes made of durable synthetic materials made it easy to find and hunt walruses. Together, these innovations on the one hand increased the efficiency of hunting, and on the other hand, reduced the importance of traditional hunting knowledge and skills. Young hunters have become more vulnerable at sea due to their dependence on modern technology.

(四)屠宰海象

海象的肉和脂肪具有独特的结构。在楚科奇,如果没有任何特殊的包装 和低温条件,其他种类动物的肉都不可能保存这么长时间,且不损害营养、味 道和有益健康的成分。长期以来,以传统方式精准屠宰、加工和保存海象产 品是猎捕海象诸多活动中的一个重要组成部分。遵循本地海象屠宰规约需要 保留一些仪式,本研究发现了一些与屠宰海象有关的传统。一些受访者提到, 海象的头部应该在切割前放置在某个方向,同时受访者还指出有向北、向东、 向海岸放置等几个不同方向。由于海象很重,他们还规定,只有当船员中有 足够的人手来搬动海象时,才能确定海象头部的放置位置。一位受访者指出, 在屠宰开始时,应先把海象头上的眼睛去掉,这样海象的灵魂就看不到屠夫 了。开始切割时,一些猎人会在海象的胸部放上一块磨刀石,屠宰海豹也有 类似的传统。屠宰只能用刀,猎人不应使用斧头或锯子。屠宰海象的技术和 程序在细节上会有所调整,在进行本研究的那些村庄中技术和程序基本相似。 受访者指出,屠宰海象有三种类型,这取决于捕获海象的使用目的。

为了给蒙皮船做外皮,从喉部到尾部鳍状肢将海象解剖,这样能获得一 大块皮子。然后,猎人们切下胸骨,取出内脏,分开前后鳍,切下肩胛骨, 切割所有的骨头,把肉从大骨头上切下来。因为太重,把大骨头扔进海里, 有时把小骨头带走给狗吃。

为了制作放牧驯鹿的套索,猎人们先割下海象的头和鳍状肢,然后把海 象皮象脱长袜一样剥下来,接着切下胸脯,沿着尸体切开,取出内脏,切断 骨头,把骨头扔进海里。从"长袜"海象皮上割下又长又结实的皮绳,楚科 奇土著族群其他传统职业中的皮绳现在已被工厂生产的绳子取代。无论海象 皮用来制作皮船还是皮绳,海象的肉、脂肪和内脏都作为食物食用。

最后一类是屠宰海象只为获取食物,这种屠宰方法的实质是把皮肤、脂肪和肉一起从骨头上切下。海象背部朝下,头被砍掉。从肩到肩在胸骨上做一个横向切口,沿着身体从肩侧约 0.6 米到 1 米处切开,与胸骨一起取出,得到一块长方形海象肉。然后,切开喉咙,取出颈部和肺部。从取出胸部的地方,在腹股沟中间做一个切口,切开腹部,取出内脏。在髋部切开,去除骨头,剔除肩胛骨、肱骨和带肋骨的脊柱,这样得到一块带着前后鳍肢、连皮带脂肪的海象肉。把这块肉分成六到八份,平均每块重达 50 ~ 70 公斤。两个猎人才能把这块海象肉从浮冰上抬到船上,在岸上,如果另外两个猎人

3.4 Butchering of a Walrus

Walrus meat and fat have a unique structure. In Chukotka, perhaps there are no other types of animals whose meat, with no special packaging and low temperature conditions, could be stored for such a long time, without harming the nutritional, taste, and health benefits. Nevertheless, an important part of walrus meat harvesting activities for a long time has been the traditional, proper and accurate butchering, processing, and preservation of walrus hunting products. Using a kind of Native walrus butchering protocol involves preserving some rituals. The study discovered several traditions associated with butchering walruses. Some informants mentioned that the walrus head should be set in a certain direction before cutting. At the same time, informants indicated different directions: to the north, to the east, to the coast. They also stipulated that since the walrus is heavy, its positioning is done only when there are enough people in the crew to turn the animal. One informant indicated that at the beginning of butchering, the eves should be removed from the walrus head so that his spirit would not see the butcher. Some hunters place a whetstone on the chest of a walrus at the beginning of cutting. A similar tradition is used when butchering seals. Butchering should be done only with a knife. Hunters should not use either an ax or a saw. The technique and procedure for butchering walruses are adjusted to fine details and are mostly similar in those villages where the study was conducted. Informants indicated that there are three methods of butchering walruses, depending on the purpose of using the harvested animal.

To make a skin for sheathing a skin boat, the walrus is dissected from the throat to the rear flippers. This makes one large piece of skin. Then, the hunters remove the sternum, take out the giblets, separate the front and back flippers, remove the shoulder blades, dissect all the bones, and cut the meat from the large bones. Large bones are thrown into the sea, because they are too heavy, and smaller bones are sometimes taken away for dog food.

To make a reindeer herding lasso, hunters cut off the head and walrus flippers, then remove the skin as a "stocking." Next, the carcass is cut: the brisket is removed, cut along the body, the insides are taken out, and the bones are dissected. Bones are thrown into the sea. A long and strong rope is cut from the stocking. Leather ropes in other traditional occupations of the Chukotka indigenous peoples are now replaced by factory ropes. In both cases, the meat, fat, and walrus entrails are used as food.

And finally butchering for food purposes only. The essence of this method is to cut off the skin, fat, and meat together, separating them from the bones. The walrus is turned on its back and its head is cut off. A transverse incision is made in the sternum from shoulder to shoulder, cut from about 0.6 m to 1 m across the sides of the shoulders along the body, a piece is obtained that is rectangular in shape and is removed with the sternum. Then, the throat is opened and the neck is taken out along with the lungs. From the place where the chest was taken out, an incision is made in the middle to the groin, the stomach is opened and the insides are taken out. Cuts are made on the hips to remove the bones. In the upper part they also remove the bones: the scapula, humerus, and spine with ribs. This procures one large layer of skin, fat, and meat with front and rear flippers. The layer is cut into six to eight parts. On average, one such piece weighs between 50 and 70 kilograms. Two hunters are able to lift and transfer this piece from the ice 来帮忙,一个猎人就可以把这样一块肉从船上运到储藏处。这并非易事,因 为这块肉要沿着沙滩或砾石海滩或苔原运过来。每一块皮、脂肪和肉都有各 自的名字,这取决于它们从海象身上哪一处割下来。

一小部分海象肉块被存放在像木棚这样的阴凉处,很快就会被煮熟吃掉。 在海岸平均气温0摄氏度到15摄氏度的温度范围内,海象肉结构特点使其短 时间内就会腐烂。当然可以将肉风干,然而,考虑到白令海峡沿岸湿度较高、 温度较低,肉不易风干,而且大部分肉块要准备长期存放。当肉冷却后,猎 人把每一块肉卷成一卷,皮朝外,肉和脂肪朝里。为缝合肉卷,从肉卷边缘 切下皮绳,沿着肉皮边缘打上小孔,然后穿针引线,把肉卷的皮边缝合紧密, 这样肉和脂肪都在紧裹在肉皮里。此法目的是防止空气进入其中,确保肉和 脂肪的长期保存。

之后,将肉卷放在一个冰窖里,冰窖是在冻土中挖出的特殊肉坑,里面 的温度低于0摄氏度且受外部气温的影响。随着时间的推移,肉卷逐渐发酵, 发酵的程度直接取决于温度和放置时间。也就是说,7月放置肉卷的重度发 酵,8月的中等发酵,而9月的轻度发酵,深秋10月至11月放置的肉卷整 个冬天都能保持肉和脂肪的新鲜度。在某些情况下,海象肉卷在屠宰场或远 离村庄的狩猎营地做成,那里没有冰窖。猎人在沙子或砾石上挖一个洞,一 直挖到永冻层。肉卷放在里面,上面铺满沙子。冬天来临时,猎人们乘坐狗 拉雪橇或雪地摩托回到这里,把储藏好的海象肉卷带回家中。

(五)分配和使用

猎获海象的所有权受习惯法和州法律的制约,两个监管机构都避免直接 进行控制。在每次结算中,猎物所有者都会以自己的方式解释猎物的分配方 式。显然,这取决于社区传统知识的传承保存和船主的个人素质。

海象产品的分发由私有船只的船长完成,如果是州属船只,则由狩猎社 区的首领完成。每一个村民都有权到一艘捕猎成功归来的船上分得一份猎物。 船长必须和来到岸边的人们分享一些海象肉、脂肪和内脏。由于数量有限, 心脏、肾脏和肠主要在团队成员之间分配。尖牙是海象身上最珍贵的部分, 属于船主。

送到冰箱、冰窖、棚屋等储藏场所的肉和脂肪就成了主人的个人财产, 主人自行决定出售或交换。海象产品的主要贸易参与者是猎人,他们向村民 出售海象肉,并用海象肉卷与驯鹿牧民交换驯鹿肉。拥有海象尖牙的人把它 floe to the boat. On shore, one hunter is able to carry such a piece from the boat to the storage place, if two other hunters help him to shoulder the piece. This is not an easy task, given that a piece of meat is carried along a sandy or gravel beach or tundra. Each piece of skin, fat, and meat has its own name depending on the place on the walrus from which it was removed.

A small number of pieces are stored in a cool dark place, for example, in wooden sheds, and used for cooking in the near future. The peculiarity of the structure of walrus meat is that at an average air temperature on the coast in the range of 0 to plus 15 degrees Celsius, the meat does not undergo the rotting process for a long time. Some of the meat may be dried. However, this is a difficult process, given the high humidity and low temperatures on the Bering Strait Region coast. Most of the pieces are prepared for long-term storage. When the meat cools down, hunters fold each piece into a roll, with the skin outside, and the meat and fat inside. To stitch the roll, the belt is cut from the edge of the roll, and small holes are cut along the edges of the skin into which the belt is threaded and tightened. As a result, the meat and fat are inside the tightly closed skin. The objective of this method is to limit the access of air to the meat and fat, which ensures their long-term preservation.

After that, the rolls are placed in an ice cell—special meat pits hollowed out in permafrost; the temperature inside the ice chambers is below 0 degrees Celsius and depends on the temperature of the outside air. Rolls gradually ferment over time. The degree of fermentation is directly dependent on the temperature and time of laying. In other words, heavily fermented rolls were laid in July, medium fermented rolls were laid in August, and lightly fermented rolls were laid in an ice cell in September. Rolls laid in late autumn [October-November] keep meat and fat fresh all winter. In some cases, walrus rolls are prepared at the butchering site or hunting camps away from the village where there are no ice cells. Hunters dig a hole in the sand or gravel to the level of the permafrost. Rolls are placed in the hole and covered with sand from above. At the beginning of winter, hunters return to this place on a dog sled or snowmobile and take the prepared rolls home.

3.5 Distribution and Use

The ownership of harvested walruses is governed by customary and state law. Both regulators avoid direct control of this issue. In each settlement, the owners of the products interpret in their own way the distribution of walrus hunting products. Apparently, this depends on the preservation of traditional knowledge in the community and the personal qualities of boat owners.

The distribution of hunting products is done by the captain of a private boat, or the leader of the hunting community if the boat is statewide. Every villager has the right to come to a boat that has returned from a successful hunt in order to get a share of the walrus. The boat captain must share with the people who came ashore some of the meat, fat, and entrails of the walrus harvested. The heart, kidneys, and intestines are mostly distributed among the team members due to their limited amount. The fangs, the most valuable part of the walrus, belong to the boat owner.

After the meat and fat are delivered to storage places such as the refrigerator, ice cellar, and shed, these products become the property of the owner. The owner sells or exchanges these products at his discretion. The main

们卖给骨头雕刻商和经销商,以换取现金,或者把它们换成家居用品、电子 设备和狩猎设备。有海象肉卷的人会留一些给亲朋好友作为礼物,也会留一 些过节食用。

据猎人介绍,收获的海象大多用作食物,只有少数用于制作传统皮革制品。海象所有部分几乎都可以食用,只有胆汁、眼睛、骨头、肌腱、胃和膀胱在屠宰时被扔进海里。也把骨头扔回海里,少量的内脏留在浮冰上或岸边。 其中一名受访者解释说,这是因为鸟类也应该有自己的一份食物。

海象皮用来覆盖皮船和制作套索,为了准备皮船的衬里,将海象皮脱脂 卷起并放置在发酵池中。海象皮经过发酵后,直到出现特定的气味,毛发才 开始与肉皮分离。然后取出皮子,切割分层后分为两部分,这两部分并没有 完全分离,不再加工处理,直接拉到船架上。制作驯鹿放牧套索用的皮绳时, 卷起用"脱长袜"法取下的皮子放入发酵池中。当一种特殊的气味出现时, 毛发开始与肉皮分离后,将其从发酵池中取出,切成一个个连续不断的圆圈。 绳子的宽度是1~3 厘米,这取决于套索的类型。

头骨、骨头、牙齿和尖牙用来制作骨刻纪念品, 驯鹿牧民用海象牙齿制 作马具。有时用海象牙做捕鱼工具, 但从未用做捕野鸭的工具。最近, 传统 的鼓又流行起来, 海象胃有时也用来做鼓。

长期储存海象产品主要有三种方法:冷冻、发酵和干燥,村民们熟练地 利用一切自然条件保存和储备这些食物。近年来,世界美食和技术革新被应 用于促进当地美食的加工、保存和烹饪。然而,大多数受访者声称他们热衷 传统食品。据受访者(Zdor et al. 2010: 26—27)介绍,海象的所有可食用部 分都是通过多种方式制备的,包括煮沸、干燥、冷冻、单独或组合发酵等。 关于传统和现代海象食品的制备方法及过程,另见博戈拉斯(1904: 193)、 布基纳等人(2013)、杜达列夫等人(2019: 8—11)和雅敏-帕斯捷尔纳克 (2014)的文章。

四、讨论:海象与仪式

本研究发现,大多数受访者坚守楚科奇土著民族的传统信仰,据博戈拉斯(1907:283)所论,他们的传统信仰是万物有灵论。因为苏联解体后基督教使楚科奇土著社区的宗教模式进一步复杂化(Oparin 2012:203),可能无论受访者皈依何种信仰,他们都会举行专门与海象形成互动关系的混合各种信

trading participants in walrus products are hunters selling meat to villagers and exchanging walrus rolls with the reindeer meat of reindeer herders. Fang owners sell them to bone carvers and dealers for cash or exchange them for household items, electronic, and hunting equipment. Owners of walrus rolls save some for gifts to relatives and friends, as well as for holidays.

According to hunters, most of the walruses harvested are used for food, and only a small number of walruses are used to make hides for traditional leather goods. Almost all parts of the walrus are edible. Only the bile, eyes, bones are thrown into the sea during cutting. Bones are also returned to the sea, and a small amount of entrails is left on ice floes or on the shore. One of the informants explained this by saying the birds should also have their share.

Walrus skin is used to cover skin boats and make lassos. To prepare the lining of a skin boat, the skin is degreased, rolled up, and placed in a fermentation tank. The skin is fermented until a specific smell appears and the hairline begins to separate from the skin. Then, the skin is removed and layered in thickness into two parts. These parts are not separated from each other but pulled raw onto the boat frame. Manufacturing leather ropes for a reindeer herding lasso, the skin taken by the stocking method is rolled up and put into a fermentation container. After a specific smell appears and the hair begins to separate from the skin, it is removed from the container and cut in a circle continuously. The width of the rope is from 1 to 3 cm, depending on the type of lasso.

The skull, bones, teeth, and fangs can be carved into designs as souvenirs. Reindeer herders use walrus teeth to make harness gear. Walrus teeth are sometimes used to make fishing tackle and are almost never used to make duck fishing tackle anymore. Recently, traditional drums have become popular again, and so the walrus stomach is sometimes also used to make them.

There are three main methods for long-term storage of walrus products: freezing, fermentation, and drying. The villagers skillfully use all the natural opportunities available to them to preserve and prepare these foods. In recent years, world cuisines and technical innovations have been applied to facilitate the processing, preservation, and cooking of local cuisine. However, most informants claim their commitment to traditional food. According to informants (Zdor et al. 2010, 26–27), all edible parts of a walrus are prepared in several ways, including boiling, drying, freezing, and fermenting, both individually and in combination. For traditional and modern methods of preparing traditional walrus food and what processes occur during the preparation of this food, see also Bogoras 1904, 193; Bukina et al. 2013; Dudarev et al. 2019, 8–11; Yamin-Pasternak et al. 2014.

4. Discussion: Walruses and Rituals

The study discovered that most informants adhere to the traditional beliefs of the Chukotka Native peoples, who according to Bogoras (1907, 283) were animistic. Since Christianity complicated the religious pattern of the post-Soviet Chukotka indigenous community (Oparin 2012, 203), it is more likely to indicate that informants performed shifted and mixed rituals devoted to interacting with walruses, regardless of their religious affiliation. A similar phenomenon of combining Christianity and animism exists on the other side of 仰的仪式。基督教与万物有灵论相结合的类似现象存在于白令海峡的另一边, 阿拉斯加土著族群在19世纪和20世纪之交皈依基督教(Burch 1994; Jolles and Oozeva 2011)。然而,即使在今天,根据霍伦(2008:76)的说法,与大 自然和动物的精神和仪式联系依然是现代社区营养来源和身心幸福的条件。

受访者描述的仪式证明了白令海和楚科奇海沿岸狩猎传统的相对同质性。 举行这些仪式的主要动机是因为猎人们断定海上狩猎的成败取决于他们和神 灵(魂灵)之间的相互交流。神灵可以对猎人友好,反之则干扰狩猎,这一 考虑促使猎人们通过举行仪式与神灵建立良好关系。这类仪式表面看起来像 是一个分享仪式,猎人们要么在狩猎前与神灵分享食物和烟草,要么在狩猎 后将收获的海象内脏碎块奉送给大海。仪式不只是简单的分享行为,而是一 个心理救赎的过程,是参与者获得自信和团队精神的一种方式。在交换分享 仪式中,还要与神灵交谈。出海之前,这类仪式让猎人们获得成功和安全捕 猎的信心和勇气。在这样一个为狩猎成功做准备的仪式上,与神灵们的交谈 充满了感激之情,感谢他们与猎人们分享食物,由此猎人们也可以为亲朋好 友提供食物,这些仪式也让猎人感觉责无旁贷,要与邻居们分享猎物。总之, 食物共享圈确立了分享猎物的仪式和传统。

这些季节性和过渡性的社会仪式确立了有助于楚科奇社区成功、安全狩 猎的传统。举行仪式让猎人们确信,如果一切照旧进行,狩猎成功和安全将 得到保证。格尔茨(1973)、马歇尔(2002)和瑟伦森(2007)注意到了举行 仪式能使猎人们缓解焦虑和获得自信的特点。通过举行仪式,猎人们表明他 们属于当地社区的优越群体,获得了捕猎的殊荣。苏联解体后,楚科奇村庄 的猎人通过向他们的定居点提供海象猎物,满足社区基本的蛋白质需求,重 新挣钱养家,成为家庭的经济支柱。对海洋哺乳动物的传统狩猎也为这些社 区提供了具有文化标记性的传统食物、活动、知识和习惯法,保持了土著社 区本色。仪式作为习惯法的一部分,继续支配着土著社区的生活。尽管货币 经济占主导地位,但与社区其他成员分享狩猎产品的传统仍保留其基本特征, 即向邻居馈赠肉类、赠送亲戚狩猎产品、举行家庭假日、与邻村和驯鹿放牧 营地交换礼物等。

仪式标志着个人生活向社区生活过渡。一个年轻人独立杀死他人生中 的第一只海象或海豹时,就举行初次晋升猎人的仪式。该仪式的典型框架 (Zdor et al. 2010: 19)依据家庭或长辈信守传统的程度而有所差异。在狩猎 队中,长者们只是在新猎人的肩膀上象征性地打一拳。而有些家庭举行一个 the Bering Strait (Raymond-Yakoubian 2019). Alaskan Native peoples were Christianized at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (Burch 1994; Jolles and Oozeva 2011). However, even today, according to Holen (2008, 76), spiritual and ritual ties to the earth and animals are a condition of modern community nutrition and well-being.

The rituals described by informants testify to the relative homogeneity of hunting traditions along the shores of the Bering and Chukchi Seas. The main motivation for observing the rituals is their assertion that the success or failure in sea hunting depends on the interaction between hunters and masters (spirits). Spirits can be friendly to the hunter or, conversely, interfere with the hunt. This motivates hunters to establish relationships with masters by observing rituals. In appearance, the ritual looks like a *sharing ceremony*. Hunters either share food and tobacco with spirits before the hunt, or return pieces of the internal organs of the harvested walrus to the sea after the hunt. The ritual is not a simple act of sharing, but is rather a process of mental attunement, a way for the participants to gain self-confidence and team spirit. The *exchange ceremony* is accompanied by a conversation with the spirits. Before going to sea, the ceremony sets the hunter's mind for a successful and safe hunt. In a ceremony dedicated to a successful hunt, a conversation with the spirits is filled with gratitude that they shared food with the hunters and they are now able to provide relatives with food. These ceremonies make hunters responsible for sharing their prey with their neighbors. On the whole, both the ritual and the tradition of sharing hunting prev were built by the circle of food sharing.

Natural seasonal and transitional social rituals have created traditions that contribute to the successful and secure activities of the Chukotkan hunting community. The performance of the ritual gave the hunters a sense of certainty: if everything is done as before, successful and secure hunting will be ensured. This feature of ritual practice to relieve anxiety and gain confidence was noted by Geertz (1973), Marshall (2002) and Sørensen (2007). By performing rituals, hunters indicate their belonging to a privileged group of the local community. In the post-Soviet era, hunters in the Chukotkan villages regained the status of breadwinner, by providing their settlements with basic protein needs. The traditional hunting of marine mammals has also provided these communities with cultural markers—traditional food, activities, knowledge, and customary laws-to preserve their identity. Ritual relationships, as part of customary law, continued to govern the life of Native communities. Despite the dominant cash economy, the tradition of sharing hunting products with other members of the community has retained its basic features which are donating meat to neighbors, sending hunting products to relatives, holding family holidays, and exchanging gifts with neighboring villages and reindeer herding camps.

Rituals mark transitional states in the life of an individual and a community. The first walrus or seal, independently killed by a young man, is accompanied by a ritual of initiation of hunters (kyntagyrgyn). The ritual has a typical outline (Zdor et al. 2010, 19) and varies depending on the commitment of the family or elders to traditions. In the hunting teams, the elders simply give a symbolic punch on the new hunter's shoulder. The families observe a detailed ritual in which there is a dispute between the old man and the young man over the right to own the killed marine mammals, accompanied by a symbolic fight. The elder has always been the winner and becomes the owner of the animal. Then, the prey is butchered and handed out to neighbors. In some families, the face of the new

程序复杂的仪式,在仪式中,长者和年轻人假装就捕获猎物的归属发生争执, 并伴有象征性打斗。长辈总是获胜,成为猎物的主人。然后,猎物被屠宰并 分发给邻居。在有些家庭中,新晋猎人的脸部涂上他猎获的第一只动物的血。 脸部涂血可能线条很复杂,也可以只在脸上画一个点。通过这样的仪式,这 个年轻人就完成了社区成人礼,成为家庭的经济支柱,开始挣钱养家。

海象捕猎比其他种类的捕猎更具优势,以下几个原因使海象在楚科奇社 区有着特殊地位。一家人就能捕猎海象,一条船上有两个人就足够用,能为 一个家庭甚至他们的狗队提供一年的食物。几个船队的共同努力就能为一个 村庄提供了过冬的最低肉类供应。灰鲸和海豹都是肉和脂肪的辅助来源,只 提供村民眼下所需。此外,捕鲸比捕猎海象需要更多的船只、猎人和狩猎设 备。海象需要在海冰或沿海栖息地逗留休息,这为捕猎提供了便利条件。这 些先决条件决定了海象对楚科奇沿海社区生活的重要性。

本研究还考察了一些节日和仪式,这些节日和仪式虽然和海象没有明确 关联,但实际上与之有间接联系。在经历了漫长的极地冬季之后,社区食物 储备变得非常稀少。而在春天,首次捕杀海象是一件大事。猎人们把船推下 水,举行仪式。第一次猎获海象是一个重大的节日和感恩场合。收获的海象 肉全村人共享,在某些情况下,猎象船的船长举行跑步、跳跃和摔跤比赛, 主要奖品是收获的海象尖牙。秋季捕猎海象为一个村庄提供了度过漫长冬季 的肉类和脂肪,沿海栖息地是此时捕猎海象的最佳位置。秋季在沿海栖息地 开始捕猎海象前,海象栖息地"主人"为海象群的主人举行一个仪式。

仪式具有可持续性,因为它们是强化传统知识和风俗习惯的重要基础, 这个系统共同调节海象捕猎的物质、认知和精神层面,并最终确保沿海社区 的可持续生存发展。然而,随着时间的推移,当地社区长期的文化适应正在 逐渐改变海捕者的仪式形式。仪式之所以简化,是因为仪式的许多特点没有 传给当代的长者。仪式的存续受到禁令影响,因为几十年来,仪式要么没有 举行,要么没有公开举行。上一节就生动描述了新晋猎人的简化仪式的例子。

仪式不仅被简化,而且被遗忘。受访者提到了定居点附近的圣地,其特征用海象头骨围成一个圆圈。据他们说,参观这些地方视为禁忌,但他们不知道禁忌的原因。受访者解释说,他们之所以不知道原因,是由于他们的父母要么秘密举行仪式,要么因为当局压制传统信仰而根本不举行仪式。

仪式之所以发生变化,不仅是因为禁令,还有其他原因。技术革新提高 了海象捕猎的效率,减少了群落对自然环境的依赖,如恶劣的天气条件、海 hunter is painted with the blood of the first animal he gets. The face painting can be a complex system of lines or just a point anywhere on the face. The young man acquires the status of an adult member of the community and the breadwinner of the family.

Walrus hunting has an advantage over other types of harvest and a special status in Chukotkan communities for several reasons. One family is able to hunt. Two people in a boat are enough to harvest walruses and provide a year's worth of food for a family and even their dog teams. The combined efforts of several boat teams provide the village with a minimum supply of meat for the winter. Gray whale and seal are both auxiliary sources of meat and fat. They only provide the current needs of the villagers. In addition, whaling requires more boats, hunters, and hunting equipment than walrus hunting. Walruses need sea ice or coastal rookeries for rest, which greatly facilitate the search for these animals. These circumstances predetermine the importance of walruses for the life of Chukotkan coastal communities.

The study explored several holidays and rituals that are not explicitly dedicated to walruses, but are actually indirectly related to these animals. After a long polar winter, food stocks in the community become scarce, and in the spring the first walrus hunt is a significant event. Hunters, launching boats into the sea, hold a ceremony. The first walrus collected is a great feast and occasion for the Thanksgiving ritual. The meat of the walrus harvested is shared between the whole village. In some cases, the captain of a walrus hunting boat holds running, jumping, and wrestling competitions. The main prize is the fangs of the harvested walrus. Autumn walrus hunting provides meat and fat to the village for the long winter. A walrus coastal rookery is the most productive place for walrus hunting at this time. Before the beginning of the autumn season of walruses on coastal rookeries, the "owner" of the rookery performs a ritual dedicated to the owner of the herd of walruses.

Rituals are sustainable because they are a vital foundation that strengthens traditional knowledge and customs. Together this system regulates the material, cognitive, and spiritual aspects of walrus hunting, and ultimately ensures the sustainable survival of the coastal community. However, the long-term acculturation of local communities is gradually changing the ritual practice of sea hunters over time. Ceremonies were simplified because many features of ritual practices were not passed on to current generations of elders. The survival of rituals has been impacted by their prohibition, as rituals were either not performed or were not held publicly for decades. An example of the simplification of rituals is vividly described in a comparison of the rites of initiation of hunters described earlier.

Rituals are not only simplified, but also forgotten. The informants mentioned sacred places near settlements, the characteristic feature of which are walrus skulls folded in a circle. According to them, a visit to these places is taboo, but the reasons for the ban were unknown to them. The informants explained their limited awareness by the fact that their parents either performed the rituals secretly or did not perform them at all because of the authorities' persecution of traditional beliefs.

Rituals also changed, not only because of prohibitions, but also under other influences. Technical innovations have increased the efficiency of walrus hunting and reduced the dependence of communities on natural circumstances, such as bad weather conditions, sea ice states, and short-term migrations of walruses. 冰状态和海象的短期迁徙。猎人能够在短时间内长途跋涉、寻找、捕获海象 并运回村庄。反过来,这也促使猎人的世界观发生了变化。狩猎的便利,安 全的改善,改变了猎人对海洋和海象的态度。这是为什么海象虽然仍是楚科 奇社区捕猎的一种重要海洋哺乳动物,但在楚科奇文化中却没有一个专门关 于海象的节日的一个合理解释。

社区社会组织的变化也反映在海象猎人的仪式实践中。今天,猎人提供 了村民一半的食物,是村里一个小团体。根据官方统计(Lobanov, 2010), 获得国家补贴的 36 个狩猎队和 300 名猎人负责向楚科奇地区的 14 个土著村 庄运送海鲜。即使考虑到也有村民在政府补贴之外打猎,海捕者所占比例也 不超过农村人口的 10%。因此,传统的狩猎仪式仅限于少数参与者。另一个 对传统仪式的负面影响是,村民其他阶层的代表加入了狩猎社区。因此,驯 鹿牧民和以前在市政部门工作的村民也使传统仪式有所改变。

格尔茨(1973:146)指出,信仰体系和一系列仪式的作用在于帮助人们 应对生活中的困难时期。问题是,仪式的这种功能是否不仅适用于少数人的 特定情况,而且也适用于土著族群定居点的社会变革时期。现代楚科奇社区 有自己的关切和感受,但与以前不同。饥饿的威胁在过去是社区关注点,但 现在与今天的农村居民无关。现在当地居民担忧的是按传统方式生活的村民 数量减少、语言环境的改变和本土文化的同化。

本研究短期内在为数不多的村庄进行,几乎所有的受访者都是老年人。因此没有讨论与海象狩猎相关的信仰和仪式的现状,而是描述被调查的知识 持有者群体的具体知识,并对其进行解释,以确定今后研究的努力方向。

五、结 论

传统的生存方式基于社区与野生动物之间合理的和谐互动,确保了北极 楚科奇土著族群的生存。对自然现象和动物行为的仔细观察是传统知识综合 体系的一部分,在这个知识体系中,通过经验、仪式和约束调节与自然界的 互动来坚守传统,为几十代人提供了独特的世界观和文化内涵。然而,在楚 科奇历史上,社会文化的变迁造成了代沟,破坏了知识和传统的传递链,从 而使土著族群独特的文化和身份濒临灭绝。只有苏联重组计划为传统生存方 式留下一席之地,才能在确保土著族群适应现代全球化的同时,消除土著族 群身份严重崩溃的后果。 Hunters are able to travel long distances, to find, harvest, and transport walruses to the village in a short time. In turn, this contributed to a change in the world views of hunters. The facilitation of hunting and security improvements, changed the attitude of hunters to the sea and walruses. This is a reasonable explanation for why walruses, while remaining a key species of marine mammals for community hunting, do not have a holiday dedicated to them in modern Chukotkan culture.

Changes in the social organization of communities are also reflected in the ritual practice of walrus hunters. Today, hunters, providing about half the food of the villagers, are a small group in the village. According to official statistics (Lobanov 2010), 36 hunting teams and 300 hunters deliver seafood to 14 indigenous villages of Chukotka through state subsidies. Even taking into account the fact that there are also villagers who hunt outside government subsidies, the share of sea hunters does not exceed 10 per cent of the rural population. Accordingly, ritual hunting traditions are limited to a small number of participants. An additional negative impact on ritual traditions is due to the fact that representatives of other strata of the villagers joined the hunting communities. Therefore, former reindeer herders and villagers who previously worked in municipal services have contributed to changing rituals.

Geertz (1973, 146) noted that a complex of beliefs and rituals is designed to help people cope with difficult periods in life. The question is whether this function of the ritual is applicable not in a specific situation for a small group of people, but during a period of social changes for indigenous settlements. Modern Chukotkan communities have their own concerns and feelings, but they differ from those that were held before. The main cause of community concern in the past—the threat of hunger—is not relevant for rural residents today. Concerns among the Native population are caused by a decrease in the number of villagers leading a traditional lifestyle, a change in the linguistic environment, and the assimilation of the Native culture.

This study was carried out in a short period of time in a small number of villages and almost all the informants were older people. It follows that, the current state of beliefs and rituals associated with walrus hunting was not discussed here. The task was to describe the specific knowledge of the surveyed group of knowledge holders, and to interpret it in order to identify the gaps necessary for research in future studies.

5. Conclusion

Traditional subsistence ensured the survival of the Chukotka Native peoples in the Arctic because it was based on a rational and harmonious interaction strategy between communities and wildlife. Careful observation of natural phenomena and animal behavior was part of a comprehensive system of traditional knowledge. In this system of knowledge, the regulation of interactions with nature was carried out using experience, rituals, and restrictions. Compliance with traditions also provided a unique worldview and culture for dozens of generations. However, in the history of Chukotka there were sociocultural shifts that made a gap between generations, and violated the chain of transfer of knowledge and traditions, thereby bringing the unique culture and identity of indigenous peoples to the 楚科奇人有关海象的传统知识是保有楚科奇人和西伯利亚尤皮克人身份 的重要组成部分。本研究记录了这样一个事实:今天,老一代的楚科奇海捕 者在与海象的互动关系中遵循了他们祖先的传统,其核心是尊重自然和海洋 哺乳动物。尽管本研究所描述的传统和仪式即使对于受访者本人都有着不同 的解释,但也有一个共同点,那就是合理、有效和安全的捕猎管理。这些规 则以明确的环境原则为基础,并确保传统生存方式的可持续性。对于已经经 历一系列禁令和障碍留存下来的习惯法来说,其保存和继续使用便是其自身 坚不可摧的证据。若想研究老一代人的传统知识是否被年轻一代继承和传承, 需要对中青年猎人展开进一步研究。

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The traditional knowledge of the Chukotkan peoples about walruses is an important component in preserving the identity of the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik. This study documented the fact that today, the older generation of Chukotka sea hunters follows the traditions of their ancestors in their interaction with walruses. At the heart of this relationship is respect for nature and marine mammals. Although the traditions and rituals described in this study have different explanations, even for the informants themselves, they have one thing in common: a rational, effective, and safe harvest management. These rules are based on clear environmental principles and ensure the sustainability of traditional subsistence. For customary laws that have passed through a series of prohibitions and obstacles, their preservation and continued use are due to their strength and solidity. Further research is needed among young and middle-aged hunters to study whether there is a transfer of traditional knowledge from older to younger generations.

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