

# YASAK (FUR TRIBUTE) IN SIBERIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (1955)

S. V. BAKHRUSHIN

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY RYAN TUCKER JONES

University of Oregon, 363 McKenzie Hall, Eugene, Oregon, USA; rtj@uoregon.edu

ANDRIAN VLAKHOV

European University at St. Petersburg, Yaroslava Gasheka 10/85-478, 192281 Saint Petersburg, Russia; avlakhov@gmail.com

## INTRODUCTION

According to *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (1979), Sergei Vladimirovich Bakhrushin was born in 1882 in Moscow and died in the same city in 1950. Bakhrushin graduated from Moscow University in 1904, then worked at the university in various capacities from 1909, becoming professor in 1927. He also worked in the Institute of History in the USSR's Academy of Sciences. A student of the famous Russian historians V.O. Kliuchevskii and M.K. Liubavskii, Bakhrushin wrote on a wide variety of topics, including premodern Russia and Russian borderlands history.

Bakhrushin's scholarship was particularly important for the development of Siberian history, especially its economic and cross-cultural history. The article translated below demonstrates his strengths. Dealing expertly with old and difficult documents, while describing a vast physical and ethnographic landscape, Bakhrushin is able to expose the ambiguities of the Russian relationship with indigenous Siberians. He is attentive to the stories hidden behind the bureaucratic Russian language of the chancelleries developing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which attempted to hide the true power relations on the ground in Siberia. Well before it became the norm among Soviet or Western historians, Bakhrushin conceived of frontier relations as a series of workable compromises (the kind of "Middle Ground" that American historian Richard White [1991] would later describe) crafted by cultures which barely understood each other. Bakhrushin's work is also invaluable as an anthropological description of

Siberian people, such as the Komi and Vogul, about whom little is otherwise known, especially to non-Russian readers. Although the sources he relies upon are all Russian (since Siberians were mostly nonliterate), a rare picture of early-modern Siberian life can nonetheless be glimpsed, including these peoples' difficult and reluctant transition to subjects of the Muscovite Tsar.

For more recent histories of Siberia see Forsyth 1994; Hartley 2014; Slezkine 1994; and Wood 2011.

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## A NOTE ON TRANSLATION

This paper was first published in 1927 in *Sibirskie ogni* (issue 3, pp. 95–129) and was written in modern Russian; nevertheless, the author refers to various older texts on many occasions. The excerpts from the chronicles, *yasak* books and other historical documents cited by Bakhrushin are translated as if they were in modern Russian. The historic terms (measure units, etc.) used by Bakhrushin are clarified in brackets on their first use and italicized thereafter.

The key terms of the taxation system were translated the way that reflects best their meaning in Russian; their wording may vary slightly, but the translation uses the same terms for the same concepts. For example, царское жалованье (*tsarskoe zhalovan'e*), царская награда (*tsarskaia nagrada*) and царский подарок (*tsarskii podarok*) are all translated “the tsar’s gift” since they all refer to the same concept.

The Russian word *государь* (*gosudar'*), a common term referring to the tsar but mainly used when addressing

him (directly or in writing) or referring to his possessions, was always translated as “tsar”—except in several examples when the tsar was addressed directly, in which case “sire” was used. When the possessive adjective *государев* (*gosudarev*) was used in the direct address, “Your” was used in the English version to reflect the reverence but avoid the tautology. It should also be noted that most letters’ authors addressed the tsar himself, as this was a common figure of speech in formal language even if the actual addressee was different.

If a page break in the Russian text occurred in the middle of a sentence whose grammatical structure could not be preserved during translation, the bracketed page number was inserted in the nearest position possible. Transliterations are done according to the Modified Library of Congress System, with exceptions made for Russian words with accepted nonstandard transliteration such as “boyar” or “yasak.”

\* THE FOLLOWING IS EXCERPTED FROM VOLUME III, PP. 50–85 OF S.V. BAKHRUSHIN’S NAUCHNYE TRUDY (SCIENTIFIC WORKS) PUBLISHED IN 1955 BY IZDATEL'STVO AKADEMII NAUK SSSR, MOSCOW.

## I [ORIGINS OF *YASAK*]

Today, Soviet power has done away with *yasak*, which the Russian tsars had collected for over three centuries from the Siberian people.

In Siberia's history, *yasak* has played a large—one might even say decisive—role. It was the attractive force which drew the imperial state into the Urals and to absorb all the territory to the east up to the Pacific Ocean. In order to collect *yasak*, fortified *zimov'ës* [winter camps] were built on the taiga, which were later transformed into *ostrogs* [forts] and cities. Garrisons were maintained, buttressing and supporting the insanely brave military-commercial undertakings of serving men [men in the service of the Muscovite tsar; also sometimes translated as “servitors”] and *promyshlenniki* [private fur traders]. Even earlier, before government agents and troops appeared beyond the Urals, adventurous Zyryans (Komi) and Vymians (Vym Komi) from Pomorye along with the Stroganovs' “hired Cossacks” from the Upper Kama came to collect *yasak*.

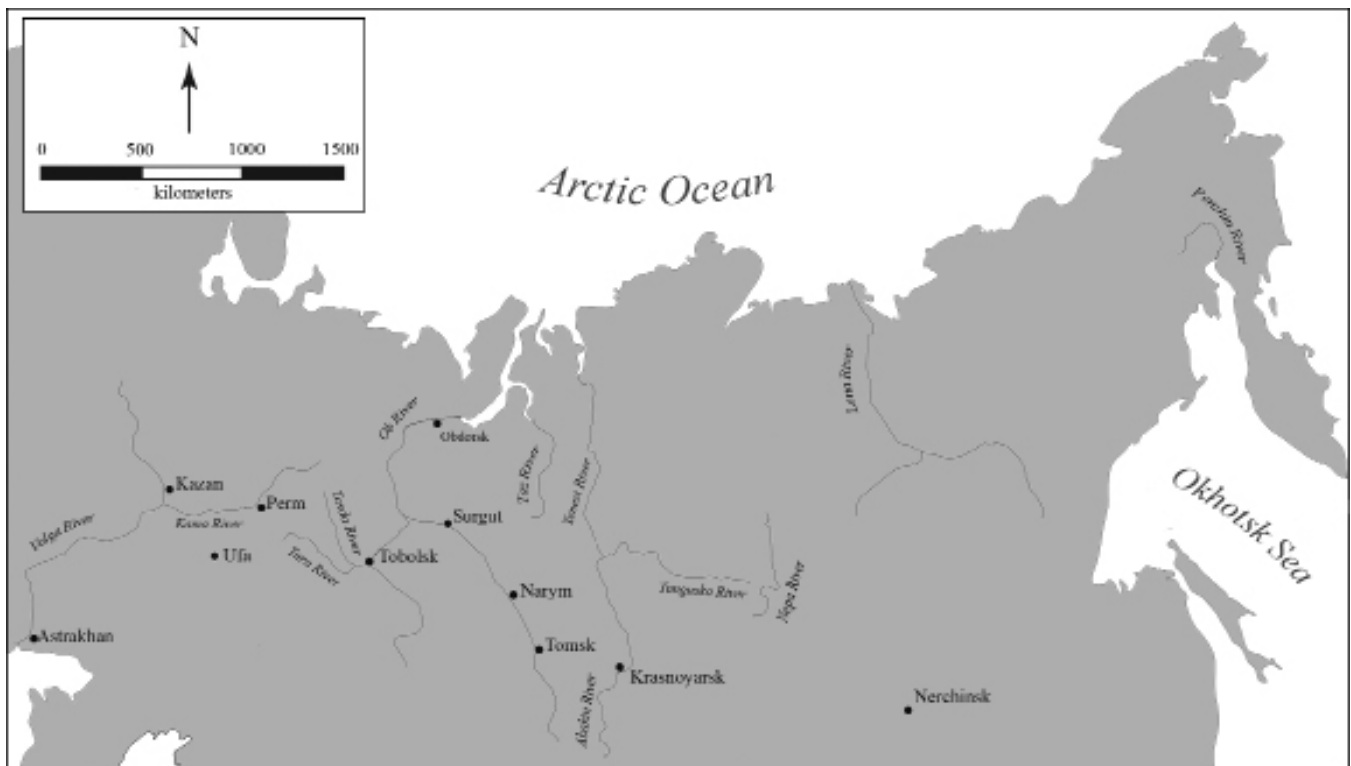
*Yasak*, a word used for the tribute collected from Siberian “foreigners,” is Turkic in origin.

The primary meaning of the word “*yasak*” is, in fact, “a law, regulation, or code.” Genghis Khan termed his law code the “*Yasak*” or “*Yasa*” of Genghis Khan. We have a whole host of meanings derived from the main meaning of the word *yasak*—law, regulation, code. Everything decreed, defined by the law, or “coded” is called *yasak*. For example, *yasak* means the punishment ordained by the law; instead of “to punish,” “to subject to *yasak*” is said. Everything forbidden by law is also *yasak*. Not long ago, Turks in Istanbul used the cry “*yasak*” to stop Christians who were approaching a mosque (that is why *yasak* means “sin” amongst the Persians).<sup>1</sup>

Less intimately tied to the principal meaning of the word, the use of the expression “*yasak*” can signal something being “coded.” This was the meaning familiar to Prince Kurbskii and used by Russians in the seventeenth century. The word “*yasak*” was not only used in conjunction with the *yasak* signal in the seventeenth century, but also in the first years of the eighteenth century, in the sense of a military watchword or military codeword. Stepan Razin's Cossack forces had their own “*yasak*.”<sup>2</sup>

We see what divergences this word *yasak*, which had its original meaning as a Mongol-Turkish adverb, has taken. The origin of the *yasak* term meaning generally “submission” used for example in the Saadet-Girey's *yarlik* [a Mongol patent of office], allows a simple explanation. *Yasak* is a tax established by law, levied and made compulsory, in distinction to voluntary tribute or “offerings.” *Yasak* is mainly a tribute which the conquered pay to the conquerors; it is therefore a sign of allegiance and [p. 50] is associated with something defamatory. The peoples and tribes of Siberia experienced and understood this type of *yasak* very distinctively. Frequently agreeing to pay tribute when couched as an offering, they would refuse to pay this same tribute in the form of *yasak*. In 1645 a representative of the White Kalmyk horde of Bachik came to Kuznetskii ostrog, “and this representative of Bachik said about *yasak* . . . that Bachik and *ulus* [governmental] people do not order taking *yasak*; and when winter comes, Bachik and his *ulus* people offer us (i.e., to the tsar) one fox or marten from each bow (i.e., one piece of fur from each warrior).”<sup>3</sup> This voluntary tribute —“one fox or marten from each bow”—was termed an “offering” in the tsar's charter. An even clearer opposition of *yasak* to offering can be seen in the Koda of the principedom of the Alachev Khanty. Here, the indigenous population, the Koda Khanty servitors, only paid an offering, while *yasak* was levied exclusively on the townships of Emdyr [Emder], Vakh, and Vas-Pukol, which were attached to Koda by the order of the Russian government; the Koda princes viewed these townships as conquered. Offerings paid by Koda “offering” Khanty were strictly defined; they differed little in their essence from *yasak* in form and measure. However, the Khanty themselves made a strict distinction between both forms of payment, and when Dmitry, Koda prince, attempted to levy three rubles from each yurt's income, following the Russian model, they declined on the basis that “they were servitors, and not *yasak* people” and implored the lord “not to make them give *yasak*” to Prince Dmitry.<sup>4</sup>

The Russians first encountered the concept of *yasak* among the “foreigners” of Povolzhye, whom the Tatars had subjected to *yasak* in the thirteenth century. The Ar (Udmurt), Hill, and Meadow “Cheremisa” (Mari),



Map 1: Selected places mentioned in text. Map by Dale Slaughter.

Bashkirs, and other “black *yasak* people,” being part of the Kazan tsardom, “had paid *yasak*” “to their former tsars.” Similarly, in Astrakhan the “black people” “in the old days” had paid *yasak* “to the former tsars.”

*Yasak* had existed in Siberia long before its conquest by Russia. The Tatars, having penetrated to the shores of the Irtysh and Ob, had, according to Remezov, “levied tribute on many downstream peoples.” There is a description, included in Remezov’s “Siberian History,” of collecting *yasak* on Kuchum’s behalf: “when spring was near, it was time for Kuchum to collect *yasak* from his subjects, sables and foxes and other animals and fish.”<sup>5</sup>

... Kalmyks and Mongols, having conquered the areas bordering the steppe, collected “alban” (*alman*), equivalent to the Tatar *yasak*. The entire seventeenth century and a significant part of the eighteenth century were marked by continuous Russian struggle against Tatars for the right to collect *alman* or *yasak* “from the borderland townships” of Tomsk, Kuznetsk and Krasnoyarsk districts. In some areas the nomads were victorious, in some the Russians were; but the most common scenario was a kind of synoecism with Mongols and Russians sometimes dividing the *yasak* people amicably between themselves, and even more frequently negotiating a rotation of collection. For example, in 1610 the Kyrgyz princes vowed “not to collect

*alman* in their own or Kalmyk *taishas*’ behalf” anymore from the tsar’s *yasak* people “before the tsar takes his *yasak*,” and then “take the bad items given voluntarily by *yasak* people in the usual way after tsar takes his share.”<sup>6</sup> Of all the Mongol tsardoms which the Russians encountered while moving south, the *Golden Tsar* (Altyn-Khan) tsardom located by the Kemchik (Khemchik) river and Ups Lake is specifically worth mentioning as an example of a short-lived but powerful nomad state that reached (with Chinese influence) [p. 51] a very high level of cultural development. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Mat people, Jessars, and Tubins living along Abakan River were paying *yasak* to the Altyn-khan.

... Influenced by Mongol–Turkic conquerors, Siberia’s indigenous people also understood the idea of *yasak*, or *alman*, and extended it over their neighbors. Buriats levied *yasak* on the Jessar people in the first half of the seventeenth century; Kachins and Tungur Evenki (Tungus) also paid them *yasak*. Kyrgyz, Yezer, Altyr and Tubin princes, collecting *yasak* for Kontaisha, for Altyn-khan, also collected it for their own profit. Toian, the Eushtin prince, had been collecting *yasak* for his own profit from 300 of his *yasak* people before 1604. During the period of its independence, the Pelym principedom, heavily influenced by Tatars, also had a category of “*Yasak* people.”<sup>7</sup>

...It is necessary to elaborate a little more on the Khanty tribal princedoms on the Ob and of upper Yenisei Rivers, which maintained their identity up to their annexation by Russia. Their primitive patriarchy aside, these princedoms already featured the rudiments of state forms; in particular, they were familiar with the most primitive forms of taxation. Taxation was voluntary on paper; as it was stated, the princes took offerings, not *yasak*, from the Khanty. This taxation form survived for a very long time in the Koda. Even in the first half of the seventeenth century Khanty paid the prince “honorary” offerings of fur as well as other products—dried fish, nettles (similar to Russian hemp, used for making cloth) and *kylydans* (fishing gear). Though the idea was that this was a free “gift” brought “in honor,” in fact the offerings were mandatory. The offerings existed also in other Khanty princedoms. Unlike other *yasak* townships, under Russian rule, Bardak’s princedom near Surgut, which had enjoyed a certain degree of independence for quite a long period during the seventeenth century, paid offerings, not *yasak*, to the tsar’s treasury (though in fact they differed little from the *yasak*).

...The Khanty themselves, influenced by Tatar practices, took *yasak*, not offerings, from peoples subdued by them, as *yasak* served as a sign of allegiance. For example, “Samoyeds from the upper Pur River, about 300 people,” were under Prince Bardak’s dominion in the late sixteenth century, “and Bardak takes *yasak* from them for his own profit.” Koda princes took *yasak* from the Emdyr, Vakh and Vas-Pukol townships annexed to their princedom.<sup>8</sup>

...Therefore, a significant portion of the indigenous population of the Volga and Kama regions and also western and southwestern Siberia was familiar with the payment of tribute, in the form of either *yasak* or *alman* (similar to *yasak*) or honorary offerings. Annexing the lands that had been subjected to Tatar and Mongol conquerors, the Russian tsars simply transferred *yasaks*, previously paid to their predecessors, to their own profit. In the Kazan tsardom, they were to the local population natural successors and heirs of the Kazan tsars. Already in 1553 they sent throughout the *uluses* “warning patents to the black *yasak* people” [p. 52] “so that they should pay *yasaks* as they did to the previous Kazan tsars”; at the same time the Kazan black people pleaded that the tsar “should take *yasaks* as the previous tsars did”; in 1552, the “Meadow Cheremisa” pleaded that the tsar “should take *yasaks* as the previous tsars did” from them. Thus, having been *yasak* people of Tatar tsars, they now became *yasak* people of the Muscovite tsar. The fundamentals of

the *yasak* collection remained intact. The *yasaks* were collected “straight,” “as it was under Tsar Magmedelim,” “as in old times.”<sup>9</sup>

...We can see the same processes in Siberia where the Russian authorities on various occasions directly replaced their predecessors—Mongol-Turkic conquerors or local princes—in *yasak* collection.

...In November 1608 the Mat people were subdued. They had previously paid tribute to Altyn-khan and had then revolted; they swore allegiance but paid only 60 sables as *yasak*, “and they say, my tsar, they have nothing with which to pay *yasak*... in full; they fought Altyn-tsar, and before that it was him whom they paid *yasak*,” so they promised to come to Tomsk “in the autumn” with *yasak* and pay it in full henceforth. In the same year, the Motor and Tubin people were subdued, the former giving 35 sables of *yasak* and the latter 25, “and they say, my tsar, they cannot give anymore because the... black Kolmaks had taken *yasak* from them before your people came, but that they promise to pay *yasak* to you in full henceforth, my tsar, and they will... come to Tomsk in the summer to plead with you to protect them from black Kolmaks.” At the same time, the Jessar people were subdued, but they did not give *yasak* in full either, because “they did not anticipate your people coming to them, and some *Brat people* (Buriats) took *yasak* from them before your people came”; they promised “to come to Tomsk in the summer with *yasak*.”<sup>10</sup>

...Such an easy transition from one patron to another, without any effort, without breaking routines and relations, reminds us of the times of Prince Oleg, who sent a messenger to the Radimich people asking, “To whom do you pay tribute?” They replied, “To the Khazars.” And Oleg replied, “Do not pay the Khazars, but pay me instead,” and they paid Oleg a *shlyag* (a silver coin) each, like they did to the Khazars.<sup>11</sup>

...The succession of *yasak* in this part of Siberia, conquered by the Mongol-Turks even before Russians came, on the one hand, made Russians dependent on the habits and techniques of taxation that existed there before their coming to the banks of the Ob and Irtysh; on the other hand, it eased their task of *yasak* collection. They found a ready-made organization of collection and taxation techniques worked out over centuries and made use of both.

...For taxation they employed the same administrative units that existed there before annexation. In the *yasak* townships of Tobolsk [p. 53] and the adjacent districts one can easily perceive the “agaryan villages” previously parts

of Kuchum's tsardom, and the nearest agents of *yasak* collection were the princes and the rulers whose fathers and grandfathers had served Kuchum.

...In the former extent of Kuchum's tsardom itself, the administrative divisions that had existed in previous times presumably formed the basis for the *yasak* townships. One can conclude from fragmentary chronicle data that the towns under Kuchum's power were ruled by *mirzas* and captains subject to him, "his appanage princes and boyars."<sup>12</sup>

...These appanages [gifts of land] where the *yasak mirzas* ruled formed some of the townships of the Tobolsk and adjacent districts after their annexation to Russia. The dominion of Babasan-mirza, liege of Kuchum, formed the Babasan township. Apparently, this origin is shared by other townships of Tobolsk district, still ruled by *mirzas* and *bais* in the seventeenth century; for example, Supra township where *mirza* Gultaev Taber is mentioned in 1629, as well as the townships of Oialy, Turash, Terenya, Kirpika, Barabinsk in the Tar district—all of them were parts of the Kuchum tsardom. A tiny tsardom of tsar Sargachik of Ishim was also incorporated into Tar district, and in its place Sargats township, or Sorgach, appeared.

One can see from these examples that the small Tatar townships of the former Siberian tsardom and semi-independent Tatar princedoms were quite naturally incorporated into the new districts as the *yasak* townships.

...The Upper Tura district presents another pattern through which the Russian administration used the previous administrative division. Here, the local *sotnyas* and *desiatnias* (hundreds and tens) were used as the basis for township division. The *yasak* book of 1625–26 preserves this hundreds division without any change. The Lyalin Mansi ("Vogulichs"), for example, are divided in two *sotnyas* named after their captains: Pangibal's hundred—Shuvalov's hundred and Merkusha's hundred—Kushkin's hundred; the Sosva Mansi are comprised of Grisha's hundred of Kumychev; the Kosva Mansi are captained by Petrusha Turtaev, etc. In the *yasak* book of 1628–29, the corresponding geographically determined townships already replace the former hundreds, and every township is captained by the "best man" the hundred- or ten-leader, for the most part the same one as in the previous book. The *yasak* book of 1642–43 only mentions hundred-leaders in five townships out of 11. Therefore one can trace how the old hundreds, the division used in the Tura and Chusovaya basin subdued by the Tatars, were transformed into *yasak* townships by the Russian administrators.<sup>13</sup>

...The same division is found in the Kungur district, divided into four quarters captained by hundred-leaders. It was also used by the Vishera Mansi, the Kazan Tatars and the Mordva.<sup>14</sup>

...The title of hundred-leader was hereditary, at least at first. In 1613, a "Vogul hundred-leader" Kumyich Bayterekov is mentioned; in 1626 the Sosva Mansi were captained by Grigory Kumychev. Merkusha Kushkin in Podgorodnaya township and Belgilda Yamashev of Turga Mansi (both mentioned in 1620s) were later replaced by their sons —[p. 54] hundred-leader Merkushev and Sengilda Belgildin. These hundred-leaders were responsible for *yasak* collection; they also advocated for their subjects before the government. They enjoyed great authority in their townships due to their wealth and administrative position; collecting the tsar's *yasak*, they presumably took tribute for their own profit, too, "sharing excess *yasak* among themselves."

...The origin of hundreds and tens is beyond a doubt very ancient. We encounter this division in the Volga region directly dependent on the Tatars, for instance among the Hill and Meadow Mari, who paid tribute to the Kazan tsars. After the founding of a town at the mouth of the Sviaga River, the Mari and Chuvash people start to send "hundred-princes and ten-princes" to plead to the Muscovite Tsar; they are also termed "hundred-cossacks" in the chronicle. It is clear that the Russians were searching for an exact translation of Tatar *yuz-agassy* (*yuz* = "hundred"; *aga* = "prince") and *un-agassy* (*un* = "ten"). After the taking of Kazan, this organizational structure was not abolished. When the "hill people" were subdued by Russia, the tsar presented their princes, *mirzas*, and hundred-people with fur coats "adorned by velvet and gold" and tried to enlist them. During the entire seventeenth century the division into hundreds was kept among the non-Russian population living in the districts formerly comprising the Kazan tsardom.<sup>15</sup>

...The same situation can be seen in Siberia. In the Pelym princedom, which had experienced heavy Tatar influence, the hundred-leaders are mentioned as early as the fifteenth century; and later, under the Russian rule, we encounter hundred-leaders among local nobles. It can be assumed that the division into hundreds existed in Kuchum's tsardom, too: for instance, the Remezov Chronicle mentions a "hundred-leader" in Kolpukhov township.<sup>16</sup>

...It is clear that the division into hundreds in the Upper Tura district was preserved from the time when the

Tatars and Pelym “Vogulichs” had subdued the population of the Tura region and of regions beyond the Urals along the Sylva River.

...A wide range of *yasak* townships was formed in the place of former small tribal Khanty and Mansi principedoms, and these principedoms’ internal organization was preserved intact under Russian rule; they were led by the descendants of formerly independent princes given new responsibilities by the government: they now had to “enforce” their subjects’ trapping of fur-bearing animals, they helped to collect *yasak* in their township, and sometimes brought the *yasak* themselves to the *voevod*’s [military governor] place of residence.

...In Tura district, the township of Iapanchino (or Epanchino, or Iapancha Yurts) was created amidst the debris of the Tatar-Mansi principedom of Iapancha (Epancha), known for its resistance to Yermak. In 1628–29, the township’s “best man” was Agim Iapanchin, son of that same Iapancha.<sup>17</sup>

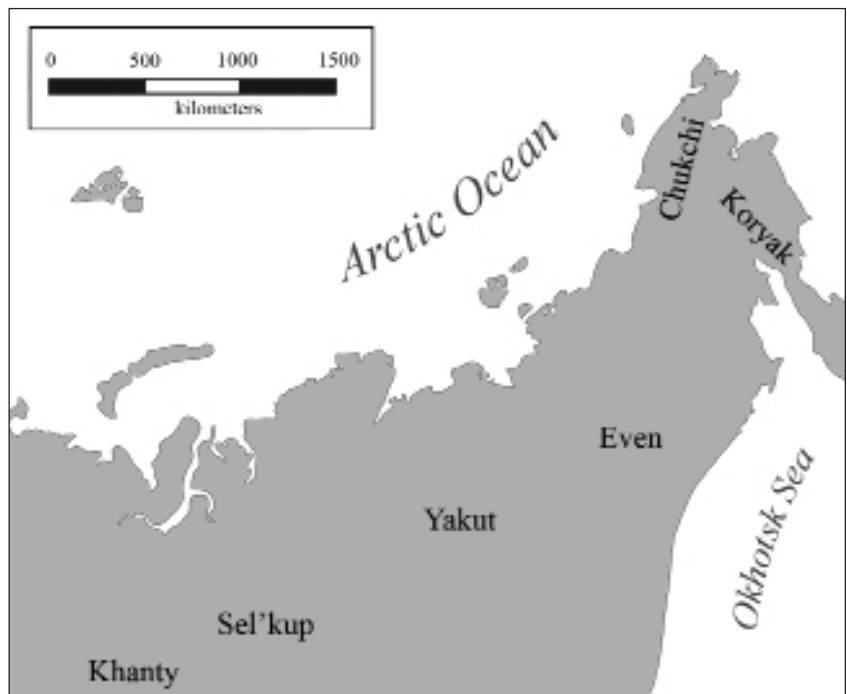
...In Pelym district, the township of Bolshaya Konda kept the traits of the formerly independent appanage, the Pelym principedom, even under Russian rule. In the seventeenth century in Konda’s capital, the town of Kartauzh, there still lived the *mirzas*, descendants of Konda prince Agay, “brothers,” honorary hostages of the Konda princes Vassily and Fedor. As one of the chronicles relates, they knew “our ordinary Vogulich.” The title of *mirza* was hereditary from father to son. These *mirzas* who knew the “Konda Vogulichs” were intermediaries between Russian government [p. 55] and their subjects in the matter of *yasak* collection. They brought *yasak* to Pelym themselves, and the Pelym *voevods* sent them gifts to Konda “in exchange for *yasak* collection.”<sup>18</sup>

...In Tobolsk district we note the Khanty principedoms mentioned in Yermak’s times in some of the northern townships: Nazym town, taken by Yermak, became Nazym township in the seventeenth century; Labuta, town of Prince Labuta on Tavda River, also taken by Yermak and having shocked the Cossacks with its wealth, formed Labutan township; the principedom of “Kashuk, prince of Vorliak,” mentioned during the Yermak’s campaign, formed

a separate township, the town of Kashuki; Demaian’s Towns—in particular a “great and strong” town where the “prince of a large assembly” Demaian, or Nimnyuian, tried to resist the Cossacks with 2,000 Tatars, Khanty and Mansi—formed the two “townships of Verkh-Demianki (Upper Demianki).” Finally, the former principedom of the Demian prince Boyar, one of the first to yield to Yermak, formed the “town of Demian” in 1628–29, and the best man there was Boyar’s son, Karmymak Boyarov.<sup>19</sup>

...In Berezov district the township division was entirely based on small tribal Khanty principedoms.

...The same situation is found in Belogorsk township, the former principedom of Samar who fell before the walls of his own town fighting Yermak’s Cossacks; in the seventeenth century the township was led by his sons, first Tair Samarov, then Baibalak Samarov. The Liapin principedom of Prince Luguy, who paid allegiance to the Russian Tsar in 1595 after his son Shatrov’s execution in 1607, was broken down into three parts forming Liapin, Kunovat, and Podgorod townships; the heads of these townships are mentioned as small princes, the “best men” of Luguy’s lineage. In Kunovat the Luguy line survived at least until the nineteenth century. Kazym township was formed from the former Khanty principedom of Kazym. Obdorsk township was in fact an independent Khanty principedom; it is mentioned alongside Liapin already in the late fifteenth



Map 2: Territories of indigenous Siberian peoples mentioned in text. Map by Dale Slaughter.

century. Under the tsar's rule, from the late sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the status of prince was transmitted from father to son in the same line of Vasily Obdorsky.

...In all these Khanty principedoms turned into *yasak* townships the Russian administration cunningly turned the local princes to its own advantage and used their help while collecting *yasak*. The princes themselves delivered *yasak* from some townships to Berezov; such right was reserved by tsar's patents for Obdorsk princes. The Russian government also obliged Obdorsk and Kazym Khanty to gather the "nomadic Samoyeds" to collect *yasak* from them.

...As with Berezov district, all the townships of the Surgut district were formed from former Khanty principedoms. Of these, the principedom of Bardak (Bardakova Volost) was independent for quite a long time and paid voluntary offerings instead of *yasak*. The same division is found in Narym and Ket districts and in the part of Yenisei district populated by Ostiak-Samoyeds (Selkups). In particular, in two Narym townships we can recognize Piebald Orda of the formerly powerful Prince Vonya who, alongside with exiled [p. 56] Kuchum, was regarded as a threat by Russians and whose aggressive actions spurred the campaign against the Upper Ob and the building of Narym *ostrog*; in 1629 one of those townships was ruled by his son, Tabakhta Vonin, and another by the latter's father-in-law, Vangay Kicheev, whose father Kichey is mentioned as the prince of Narym district as early as 1602. "Best people," princes, "send *yasak* people for animal trapping and to collect *yasak* from them in partnership with *yasak* collectors." Alongside the princes the *esauls* (*yasauls*) are mentioned, having clearly appeared under Tatar influence. Their duty was to help the princes to collect *yasak*, "to send out the *yasak* people and to collect tsar's *yasak* and offerings." As the officers who reported directly to the *voevod*, they often resided in the towns alongside him. For their service, the "best men" and the *esauls* enjoyed the privilege of *yasak*-exemption during the years in office.

...According to the case of Surgut *voevod*, Andrey Izmailov, not only *esauls* but even princes were appointed and deposed by *voevods* in later periods. For example, prince Urnuk Pynzhin in the Lum-Pukol township of Surgut district, who had replaced his father, prince Pynzha Laikanov, was himself the "best man" only from 1639 to 1646, paying *yasak* afterwards like his subjects did. Andrey Izmaylov was accused of ordering the *esaul* Chinerk "to be a prince of Tym township and remove the old prince Tyrla Marov (whose father Mar was a prince before him) from princely power."<sup>20</sup>

...In the districts bordering Mongolia the nomads' *uluses* were used in creating correspondent townships. Such a division is found in Kuznetsk and Krasnoyarsk districts and among the "Brat people" from the Transbaikalian *ostrogs*. Tomsk district townships were also clearly derived from *uluses*; for example, Kiia township from the *yasak* book of 1628–29 corresponds to Kurcheikov *ulus*.<sup>21</sup> Every *ulus* was presumably an enlarged family; its head was the family patriarch whose name was usually used for naming the *ulus* itself. These *ulus* patriarchs were usually called princes; in the eighteenth century in Kuznetsk district they were known as "bashlyks." Brat people had *shulengas* as the heads of *uluses* (families). The *esauls* are mentioned alongside princes in Tomsk district. Both Russian *yasak* collectors and *alman* collectors coming to the borderland districts to collect *alman* for Mongol *taishas* as well as for *kutukhta* used these princes' services.

...We can see how cleverly the Russian administration used the divisions created by the local population, turning princes and hundred-men into subservient *yasak*-collecting officers.

...*Yasak* collection was made much easier by the fact that in many cases there existed local tallies of *yasak* people even before Russian arrival. The Siberian tsar Ediger communicated to Tsar Ivan the exact number of his own subjects from whom he expected to pay tribute. Clearly, Russian authorities also borrowed *yasak*-collecting techniques from the previous Mongol-Turkic states' practices; in particular, the habit of taking *yasak* "for *amanats*" [hostages] was no doubt local in origin.<sup>22</sup>

[p. 57]... In Turkic states, not everyone had to pay *yasak*. The *tarkhans* (serving nobles) were exempt from its payment; the rank of *tarkhan* could be granted or inherited. Several Asian peoples, for example the Yenisei Kyrgyz, exempted from taxes every person of the conquering nation, and only the conquered peoples, *kishtyms* or slaves, paid the *alman*. The Russian government had to take this into consideration while collecting *yasak*. A special category of *mirzas* and other serving Tatars was distinguished from the citizens of the former Kuchum tsardom; they served the tsar in Tobolsk and Tomsk districts but did not pay *yasak*. In the same way the Russian government usually at first exempted the princes of small local principedoms and their families from *yasak*; those who had been baptized were added to the list of serving men. However, it was unprofitable for the treasury; such exemptions, sometimes inevitable due to long-term custom, were made reluctantly and the number of tax-exempt people systematically decreased.



Finally, Russian dependence on local habits influenced the object of the taxation itself.

Russian princes desired only furs and strove to make this the only form of *yasak*, but this was not always possible.

As we see in Chinese sources, in Kuznetsk district from ancient times, Mongol conquerors collected tribute in iron; the Russian government had to content itself—not only in the seventeenth but also in the eighteenth century—with the fact that some taxpayers gave iron boilers and trivets instead of sables; in vain they demanded that the *voevods* “from this time onwards stop collecting iron as *yasak* instead of sables.”<sup>23</sup>

At the beginning of *yasak* collection it had to be taken into account that the Mongol pastoral tribes and Evenki herdsmen were accustomed to paying tribute in cattle and horses. There were some complaints coming from Nerchinsk district that the Namyasin Evenki “should pay sables as *yasak* according to the tribute books,” but they “give bad horses and small cattle instead.” In the years 190, 191, 192 (1681–1684) a total of 113 horses and 57 cattle were collected as *yasak* in Nerchinsk district.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, textiles, clothing, and weapons were collected as *yasak*; it is possible to draw an analogy with the Mongol conquerors’ practices. The Soiets, Tuva and Urian people, having just come from “the Mungals to the Tunkin *ostrog*” in 1687, and the representatives of the Dolongut clan at first paid with pieces of *kitaychishka* [Chinese fabric] as *yasak*; the Iankut (Ianchkut) clan gave a simple helmet, corrosive sublimate [mercury chloride], manacles, and two old *tiliags*. These same natives paid *yasak* in lumps of silver. This last type of tribute came in use under the influence of Chinese practices.<sup>25</sup>

## II [RUSSIAN ATTEMPTS TO STANDARDIZE *YASAK* AND ITS COLLECTION]

We can see that Russian *yasak* grew organically from the *yasaks* and *almans* that Russians discovered in the Siberian localities; only gradually were the different types of local taxation unified by the Russian government and converted into a well-known common form. This process of establishing a unified form of *yasak* was very slow and was never completed due to the great variety of local circumstances. Thus, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries *yasak* types and its method of collection were by no means identical and uniform in every district and township where they existed. As a matter of fact, many different kinds of taxation received the name; *yasak* that was flowing from

the Kazan district in the seventeenth century had nothing in common with the *yasak* that had been collected from the nomads in the Lower Ob, Lower Yenisei, or along the Tunguska rivers and the tributaries of the Lena.

The government distinguished two types of *yasak* in its official language—fixed and non-fixed. In the case of fixed *yasak*, the size of tribute paid by every person was determined in advance. Originally, the amount depended on the number of animal skins a payer was obliged to contribute to the State treasury. For instance, during Tsar Vassily’s reign the *yasak* of Pelym Mansi was set at seven sables per person; in the early seventeenth century the *yasak* for Podgorod and Kunovat Khanty of Berezov district was set at five sables per person, etc. Occasionally a distinction was made between the rates for a married man and a single one. According to a letter dated 1601, in the Upper Tura district a married man had to pay ten sables while a single man had to pay only five, and this distinction was maintained in some townships in later times. As an exception and special privilege, some Khanty princes obtained the right to pay the fixed rate for their whole township. For instance, in 1586 Luguay, prince of Lyapin, was given a patent obliging him to deliver tribute of fourteen *soroks* (bundles containing 40 sables each) to Vym every two years.<sup>26</sup>

*Yasak* levied in furs could only be very approximate; first, the value of different specimens’ furs varied very much and two sable furs could be very different (an “*odinet*” sable fur could cost ten or even fifteen rubles while an ordinary fur could cost only several *altyns*). Second, as sable numbers were decreasing due to hunting, *yasak* also had to be taken in other furs not equivalent to sable.<sup>27</sup> Thus, gradually fixed *yasak* became even more precisely fixed and its size was determined as a monetary equivalent; this meant that every *yasak* payer had to contribute assorted furs “against” (equal to) a certain amount in rubles. In 1628–29 in Nazym, Obdorsk and Kunovat townships of Berezov district the fixed *yasak* was “at the Siberian price—two rubles and eight *altyns* per person,” in Sosva township—one ruble, seventeen *altyns* and two *dengas* etc., in eleven townships of Surgut district—two rubles and several kopeks and in another three townships—three rubles and several kopeks; in Tyumen district fixed *yasak* varied from two rubles to four rubles and ten *altyns*. As an exception, in the town of Kinyr and in Bachkur township a married man had to contribute assorted furs to the value of three rubles and ten *altyns* while bachelors only were required to submit half this

value (“*vpolu*”). In Upper Tura district the transition to monetary *yasak* took place in the 1630s and caused heated protests from *yasak* payers.<sup>28</sup>

[p. 59] . . . In several townships the primary “per capita” taxation in a short time became a conventional way of defining the gross taxation of the whole township; inside the township, this taxation was individualized according to every taxpayer’s ability to pay. For example, according to Tsar Vassily’s patent, the *yasak* people of Pelym district were paying collectively at the rate of seven sables a person, “and inside that amount they are ordered to decide the duty distribution on their own according to household size, income and profession.” The Pelym Mansi “have negotiated their taxation—how much different people should pay: best men, *mirzas* and hundred-men pay seven sables each, the middle men pay six or five sables each, the others pay four, or three, or two, or one sable each.”<sup>29</sup> In the same way, the Berezov *yasak* book of 1628–29 says, “the *yasak* people of Berezov district in each township pay the tsar’s *yasak* per capita, from each person separately, two or three of four sables (or assorted furs) each, and the price is paid . . . differently depending on the person, not following what is written for each township in these books, that is why it was impossible . . . to take the tsar’s *yasak* in money from some people in certain townships” and that in every township the *yasak* people “have taken upon themselves this tsar’s *yasak* taxation in money, according to everyone’s profession and income.” Later, in some townships the actual *yasak* distribution among taxpayers was taken into account in the taxation books, and the *yasak* people were divided into many categories according to the price each person had to pay; this was based on “name tables” made by the *yasak* people themselves. The concept of distributing the duty according to “income and profession” was in some measure also extended to the collection of *yasak* from the non-Russian population of Siberia. Such was the evolution of fixed *yasak*.

Non-fixed *yasak* in its full sense was random; its influx could not be predicted, even approximately; in such cases, the collectors took “everything that was brought.” This was, for example, the case of *yasak* collection during the entire seventeenth century from the Kazym and Obdorsk Samoyeds in Berezov district and from the Yura Samoyeds in Mangazeia district. The Berezov book of 1628–29 says, “Kazym and Obdorsk Samoyeds do not pay the tsar’s *yasak* in a fixed way; one takes from them whatever they bring and in whichever assorted furs it comes . . . and the

Samoyeds come irregularly in different years.” In the same way the Evenki did not pay fixed *yasak* immediately after their subjection. During 1628–29, the Yenisei district was divided into fixed townships (populated by Ostiaks)<sup>30</sup> paying fixed and known tribute, and non-fixed ones populated by Tungus (Evenki).

Still, there were some transitional stages between fixed (paid “with price”) and non-fixed *yasak* that continued to exist. During the entire seventeenth century some townships paid “fixed” *yasak* but “without price,” i.e., in the old way—in furs, not in its monetary equivalent. In the fixed-taxation townships of Yenisei district in 1628–29, the *yasak* people paid eleven sables each, in Tomsk district, ten sables each. This form of collection was also considered “fixed.” In many cases, though, this fixed taxation in the amount of furs was only formal, only recording the payments of individual *yasak* payers or even remaining mere ink on paper, having no real meaning. For example, though in Mangazeia they distinguished *yasak* paid according to name lists from that paid individually by Yura Samoyeds in non-fixed assorted furs, the taxation itself was completely imprecise, which caused the *voevods* to write that [p. 60] in Mangazeia district *yasak* is collected “in a non-fixed way and without any price” at all. Therefore, there were many districts and townships where it is very hard to determine if we are dealing with real, “solid” (as it was then called) fixed taxation or with quite irregular income only formally fitted into fixed taxation.<sup>31</sup>

Alongside *yasak*—mandatory, obligatory tribute—Russian authorities also received quasi-voluntary “offerings,” corresponding to the Old Russian “donation,” from the indigenous Siberian population. The grounds for taking these offerings varied greatly. In Mangazeia district we can see offering in its pure form of gift, with an implied “return gift” to be received and priced correspondently. Here, year after year, some of the Samoyed princes paid one “offering” sable (or beaver); in exchange, they got four *puds* (a weight measure equal to 16.38 kg) of flour from the tsar. In Berezov district, the difference between offering and *yasak* was that the former was paid “in a non-fixed way,” and “what is brought by every township as an offering is what is taken from them to the tsar’s treasury”; thus, the phantom of voluntary gift was preserved. In most districts there was a well-known “offering” taxation scheme calculated for the townships as a whole, not individually. For example, in the town of Yaskolby in Tobolsk district *yasak* was collected equal to 140 rubles, thirteen *altyns* and

two *dengas* (two rubles and 20 *altyns* per person) and also sixteen rubles and 26 *altyns* of offerings etc.; in Kuznetsk district, the entire Tuguenkov *ulus* had to pay five sables as an offering, etc. Finally, there were *uluses* where the offerings were fixed and paid per capita, therefore in no respect different from *yasak*; such was the Narym district where they were paid “equal to one ruble per person.”<sup>32</sup>

...

It is evident that this gift, at first voluntary and honorary, paid beyond *yasak*, was gradually turned into an additional mandatory tax by the government. In this union of *yasak* and offering one can perceive the combination of two taxation forms: the ancient form, the voluntary gift, existed as a relic alongside the obligatory tribute, *yasak*.

Besides the tsar’s offerings, there also existed those for *voevods*. Their origin can be easily traced. In the Mongol-Turkic states, alongside *yasak* or *alman* collected for the state’s profit, there were taxes (widely used and legal) that accrued to the collectors’ profit. In 1555, Ediger, the Siberian tsar, pledged to pay tribute from his “black people” to Ivan the Terrible and, beyond that, to pay a “road fee,” i.e., “for the tsar’s officer’s road expenses, . . . one Siberian squirrel from each person.”

From eighteenth-century data we know that while collecting *alman* for the Kalmyk *khuntaiji* the collectors took “some assorted furs” for themselves.<sup>33</sup>

Very quickly and with great enthusiasm, the Russian *voevods* adopted this practice, common in the Siberian tsardom, and began to take more or less voluntary offerings from the non-Russian population for their own profit, making small gifts in return. Very quickly though, the government laid hold of the *voevods*’ offerings. Already in Tsar Boris’s letter to Surgut (dated August 30th, 1601) one can see a direct order to the *voevods* not to “collect offerings for their own profit, and if someone brings you offerings beyond *yasak*, you should take them and put them into Our treasury.” Simultaneously, the order to the Tobolsk *voevods* Saburov [p.61] and Tretiakov contained the following words: “and if some *yasak* Tatars start to come bringing tribute, or submitting pleas, or on other official business, and bring offerings in sables, beavers, foxes or fur coats, then you should take these offerings and offer these Tatars food and drink; and the offerings should be put into the tsar’s treasury, and records should be kept concerning who brought what; and you should not take these assorted furs for your profit

but instead add them to *yasak* and keep a separate record with names.” In 1607, Tsar Vassily Shuisky wrote to Perm on the same subject, mentioning “offering sables” of the Vishera Mansi. Forwarding the *voevods*’ offerings to Moscow was only gradually becoming common. *Voevods*’ offerings were not sent from Mangazeia until 1628, during of Timofey Bobarykin’s time in office.<sup>34</sup>

Still, even after “*voevods*’ offerings” had turned into an additional levy quite similar to the “tsar’s offerings” and started being included in *yasak* lists as a special item, taxation for the *voevod*’s profit did not cease but was carried out privately beyond the formal *voevod*’s offerings. For example, in 1647 Ledereyko, a Samoyed prince, pled against the Mangazeia *voevod*, Pyotr Ukhtomsky on behalf of his entire tribe referring to various extortions—notably the *voevod*’s “taking of fine sables, four sables from each person, and every year four fine beavers from all the Samoyeds plus a sable and a beaver for each of his children.” In 1661, the Mangazeia *podiachy* [governmental clerk] Vikul Panov presented to Tobolsk a report on sables delivered by the Evenki *amanats* beyond *yasak* from all their relatives, which had not been communicated to the tsar’s treasury: every *amanat* allegedly provided eleven sables a year, apparently nine *soroks* and 25 sables from a total of 35 *amanats*. Even though all those figures were greatly exaggerated, it is still certain that the *voevods* pressed the *yasak* payers for offerings with kindness, gifts, and sometimes intimidation, while the *yasak* payers generally regarded these fees as a matter of course, voicing their discontent only when *voevods*’ wants exceeded all reason.<sup>35</sup>

Apart from the informal fees for the *voevods*’ profit, throughout the seventeenth century there were similar fees accruing to the profit of lesser serving men who collected *yasak* locally in townships and winter abodes. In 1685, Andrey Balakirev, a Mangazeia Cossack, remarked upon those fees: “perhaps some natives give something to these serving men in their winter abodes, as much as one can afford, in sables and other sorts of fur, as an honorarium and for equal exchange; but when visiting the *yasak* payers’ winter abodes serving men should not take any honoraria from indigenous people or just take offerings without giving anything in exchange, and these regulations are mandatory.” “And the sables, beavers, foxes and wolverines are only called honorific if given by natives to *yasak* collectors as honoraria, not if delivered to the tsar as *yasak* and offering.”<sup>36</sup>

### III [DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VARIOUS PARTS OF SIBERIA]

The variety of local sorts of *yasak*, along with its fixed or non-fixed patterns, depended on the diversity of practical and cultural conditions in which the Russians had to operate. The vast spaces of Siberia were not uniform by nature, and the life of Muslim and Buddhist states differed significantly from the nomadic life of Samoyed and Evenki tribes in the tundra and taiga. [p. 62]

... Therefore, each of the Siberian districts is characterized by its own peculiarities and stands out from the rest.

In the places where the new Russian districts were built on the ruins of Tatar princedoms and tsardoms, where some sort of communal relations had therefore been in place, it was relatively easy to take advantage of the pre-existing organization in order to introduce fixed *yasak* and collect it systematically.

The districts located in those parts of Siberia that Mongol-Turkic conquerors had not entered prior to the Russians represented a completely different case; and so did the practice of collecting *yasak* from nomadic tribes at a lower stage of socio-economic development located on the northern tundra and forests on the banks of the Yenisei and Lena. All of them could describe themselves the way the indigenous men of the Kuril Islands described themselves in 1711 to Russian serving men: “living here, we are not used to paying *yasak*, and no one ever collected *yasak* from us before.”<sup>37</sup>

Collecting *yasak* from these tribes was associated with serious difficulties and even danger. As stated in the Mangezeia tax statement of 1632–33 concerning the indigenous population, *yasak* collectors “do not follow them around the woods to collect *yasak* since they cannot be found, and move from place to place, from river to river, and do not dare to wander too far from their winter abodes, since they are afraid of the indigenous inhabitants.” In 1655, the serving men of Mangazeia reported pleading: “few people are sent to Your [the tsar’s] service, they go in groups of three or two, and the natives pay *yasak* without fear to the serving men.” *Voevod* Ignatij Korsakov confirmed that the natives pay *yasak* “without fear, and the serving men accept whatever they bring, but the serving men do not dare speak harshly to the natives about Your *yasak*.” A 1629 Yenisei

*voevod* described the state of affairs even more vividly: “The Tungus people are not fully obedient under Your hand yet, and the *yasak* they bring is scarce and in the form of presents rather than taxes, and some bring nothing at all, but the serving men do not dare to force them to do otherwise, since when they do, the Tungus people beat them up.” In 1681, a Nerchin *voevod*, F. Voikov, thus described the difficulties of collecting *yasak* from Namasin Evenki: “according to the *yasak* tax books we must collect *yasak* in sables, three sables per person; but the Namyasin Tungus people live freely and without fear, they disobey Your order and forget their allegiance, and they pay *yasak* the way they wish, and even that not from every person of the relatives inscribed in the *yasak* books.” In 1703, the *prikazchik* [lesser administrative clerk] Petr Chirikov reported that the Koryaks “pay little *yasak* leaving no *amanats*, and do so the way they themselves prefer; and these Koryaks roam around, live freely and beat up the Russian people.”<sup>38</sup>

These nomads, who were here today but there tomorrow, were not that easy to find. It is quite common to read that the *yasak* people could not be found in the same feeding place the following year: “we are nomads, not settlers, we go and live wherever we want” is what they said about themselves. They returned to pay *yasak* irregularly and whenever they wished, as the Berezov *yasak* book says about the Kazym and Obdorsk Samoyeds. “And it is impossible to find them, the Berezov people, in the



This nineteenth-century watercolor by an unknown artist shows Cossacks from the Yenisei River collecting *yasak* in the form of animal pelts, presumably from indigenous Siberians (perhaps Sel’kups).

tundra. They are nomads, they live very far from Berezov district, deep in the tundra and on the sea shores,” wrote Alexei Meshkov, the Berezov *voevod*, in 1634. Sometimes no *yasak* came from the *zimov'e* at all because the nomads abandoned it totally and roamed elsewhere [p. 63] and there were none to pay *yasak* at all (Ust-Nep *zimov'e* in Mangazeia district, 1650–51). The mobility of these nomadic peoples can be clearly seen in the *yasak* books. According to the Mangazeia *yasak* book of 1680–81, only 33 Samoyeds out of 79 came to Upper Taz *zimov'e*; only 44 Ostiaks out of 87 to Inbatsk one; only 20 Evenki out of 119 to Turyzh *zimov'e*; and none out of 73 to the Ilimpey *zimov'e*. Everything depended on chance, it seems. In 1755 it was written that, “It has happened several times before that the Lamuts have gotten offended because of just one harsh word and left for remote places.”<sup>39</sup>

... In such a situation it is impossible to discuss any records of *yasak* payers, even approximate ones. *Yasak* collectors were not even able to record the *yasak* people present. Often two or three men brought *yasak* from all their kindred and “cannot tell whose *yasak* it is exactly... and having paid the tsar’s *yasak* they leave the *zimov'e* in haste, afraid of being possibly taken hostage as *amanats*. According to the Mangazeia *yasak* book of 1628–29, at the junction of the Lower Tunguska and Nepa rivers Dolgusha, a Shileg Evenki, “brought four *soroks* and 33 sables of *yasak* from his *pupka*, not telling the exact payers’ names and their number”; Ilkivtza, a Shileg, brought “from his kindred” of 54 people twelve *soroks* and fifteen sables, “not telling the payers’ names,” etc.<sup>40</sup>

... Therefore, in Mangazeia district a group of *zimov'es* emerged and existed for a very long time, *zimov'es* “where Tungus people paid the tsar’s *yasak* anonymously and in exchange for *amanats*,” and there were four “anonymous” *zimov'es* among the “named” ones.

... The number of “anonymous people” gradually decreased but never ceased to exist.

... The Yuraks (Nenets), who began to pay *yasak* in the 1630s, were not able to be recorded during the course of the entire seventeenth century, and they still were unlisted when the eighteenth century arrived. In other districts the situation was quite similar. In Berezov district, “The Obdors and Kazym Samoyeds” were not put into records though they had been by then been paying *yasak* for a long time. In Kuznetsk district, the borderland Teles townships were still paying free *yasak* (four *soroks* and 26 sables a year) in the eighteenth century, “though their numbers and their names are unknown.”<sup>41</sup>

... It was impossible to conduct a compulsory census—“to coerce names from them”—if the *yasak* people were nomads: “the *yasak* collectors did not dare to coerce names from the *yasak* people though the tsar’s orders said otherwise; this was done in order not to make them fierce and to keep them attached to the sovereign.”<sup>42</sup>

... When these name books were finally completed and the taxpayers’ names written down, the resulting documents still were not very trustworthy. Due to constant migration and constant attempts to evade *yasak* payment, the books based on the *yasak* people’s oral evidence only complicated matters. Even at the first glance the *yasak* books of Mangazeia reveal several cases where the same Samoyed relative was written down in two different winter abodes, and a Samoyed who had paid *yasak* in Ledenkin Shar had debts in the Khantaysk winter abode *yasak* books.

[p. 64] The same difficulties arose if an attempt was made to identify certain taxpayers’ names. In 1634, Mangazeia *yasak* collectors complained that “in other *zimov'es* names are written in books, and in these books a lot of taxpayers change names while making the payments.” In 1636, they speak about “Pyasina Samoyeds:” “But few people paid the tsar’s *yasak* using their old names; and it is not known for certain if they were the old *yasak* people paying under new names, or the same people under their old names, or completely new people; and the *yasak* collectors, Ivan Sorokin and his comrades, have said that Pyasina Samoyeds change their names during *yasak* payments annually.” In total, 65 people were not located at the Piasina winter abode “and for those who had paid, it is impossible to understand if the payment was made, because the *yasak* collectors are unable to identify their faces; moreover, every year new collectors are sent to replace the previous ones, and if someone missing appears the next year, he would take a new name for himself.”<sup>43</sup>

At the mouth of the Titeya River, the Mangazeia *yasak* collectors had to redo all the books anew in the 1630s to put them in order, “and those books are filled with new names... while some contained the old ones... because in the older books the names do not match; so in the year 143 (1634–35) only a few Tungus people paid the tsar’s *yasak* using their old names from the former books, while the most of them used their new names, and these name changes create confusion in the *yasak* books and reduce the tsar’s *yasak* income.”<sup>44</sup>

Checking the name books compiled (with much difficulty) from the *yasak* people’s reports, finding out the

number of people dropped from taxation, the *yasak* collectors required the *yasak* people to give evidence “under badges,” i.e., signed with symbolic marks—similar to signatures and in some cases being copies of the tattoos on their forearms. But this could be difficult as well: owing to superstitious fear, the *yasak* people refused to put down their signature, saying that “they cannot draw the badges if they do not know for sure about those [people who were not found], and that never before were such badges taken down from them [*yasak* people].” For their part, the *yasak* collectors did not dare take down these badges by force. Thus, the name books lost all reliability.<sup>45</sup>

Having no “credible *yasak* people’s name lists” and being unable to keep accurate records of the *yasak* population, the collectors found it impossible to set any fixed taxation value for them. Therefore, the *yasak* collectors had to collect *yasak* from “non-fixed townships” “without the sable numbers”; *yasak* collectors “take as much as they can and bring just that.” As the *yasak* book of 1636–37 says, “the *yasak* people in Mangazeia district do not pay fixed *yasak* of a definite price, because they are nomads and constantly migrating, moving from place to place and from river to river... and the *yasak* collectors will take only as many sables as they bring to any *zimov’e* in exchange for *amanats*.” And the *yasak* people, as it was related almost literally in a 1703 book, “[bring] the tsar’s *yasak* to Mangazeia and Mangazeia district without a price: everything that is brought is accepted because they are natives.” The payment size was also random. As the *yasak* book of 1633–34 says, “the actual payment does not agree with what is written [p. 65] because the *yasak* people’s payments are uneven: the same person who paid a sable or two can bring more or less the following year.” The entire accounting of *yasak* collection could not overcome the peculiarities of “free” “nomadic” people. As the book of 1632–33 says, “the *yasak* collectors said they collect the tsar’s *yasak* while residing in their *zimov’es*. They take what the natives bring and after that record the name of the taxpayer and the year in the books; in which *zimov’es* the *yasak* was paid for the *amanats*, or who, when and under which name it was brought is not related... It is impossible to set fixed taxation or levy *yasak* for additional assorted furs for recent years and the current year of 141, because the *yasak* people are nomadic and not sedentary, and the names in the books change every year. The payments are irregular—this year more, that year less; and they tell the *yasak* collectors that the *yasak* amount rate

will rise if more fur is collected or more people come...” The *voevods* asked for clarification on “how to calculate the tax rate and the additions from this time onwards according to the tsar’s orders.”<sup>46</sup>

The same phenomena occurred in the “non-fixed” townships of Berezov, Yenisei and Tomsk and other districts. In these areas, as in Mangazeia, it was difficult not only to collect *yasak* from taxpayers according to the rate established in advance, but was difficult even to find them “far away” in the tundra, by the sea, in the forests or in the valleys of the Altai Mountains.

One of the methods for making the non-Russian part of the population pay *yasak* was *shert*, i.e., the loyalty oath. The Russians termed every non-Christian oath “*shert*.” Muslims “pledged their *shert* on the Qur’an” Mongols, “according to their barbaric faith,” according to the Lamait ritual. The Kunkachai did it “praising him, they lifted their god in the air together with the Kutokhta choir,” like the “golden prince.” It was very difficult to put the *shert* into words when dealing with the northern nomads who held different religious concepts. Superstitious rituals, expressing naïve allegories, were widespread among them. Judging by the description of Novitskiy, repeated almost word-by-word by Pallas, the Khanty pledged their oath before a bearskin adorned with axes, knives and other “intimidating weapons”; during the oath the knife was taken from the bearskin and the oath-giver was served a piece of bread on its edge. Meanwhile, the interpreter spoke the oath: “May I be torn in pieces by the bear, may I choke on this bread, may this axe cut off my head, may this knife kill me.”<sup>47</sup> The Yakuts’ oath was preserved in a document in the archives of the Siberian *Prikaz* [ministry]: “these princes pledge the *shert* on their own according to their faith—they cut a dog in two with a *palma*,<sup>48</sup> afterwards stand between the dog parts and utter the oath to the interpreter: if he does not serve the tsar and pay *yasak*, he will be cut in two like this dog... But this *shert* doesn’t exist anymore.”<sup>49</sup> The Yenisei Kyrgyz used the same *shert* form: “[he] cut a dog in two and walked between the pieces, [p. 66] while the others, like the Khanty, ate bread from the knife-edge uttering the oath.” Another time they “drank gold pledging an oath according to their faith.”<sup>50</sup>

The Russians were keenly interested in finding out precisely what the “direct *shert*” was that could be used to administer oaths to indigenous people so that it would be deemed valid. A case that occurred in Yakutsk in 1642 is curious in that respect.

Serving man Panteley Mokroshubov claimed in the gathering hall that “he, Panteleiko, heard from a serving man Osip Semyonov who said (having heard from the Yakuts) that the *shert* they brought to pledge was not direct, whereas their direct *shert* was soaking sable paws in milk or *kumis* and sucking it out, scraping a silver disk over the milk and drinking it—that’s their direct *shert*.” Being called in for questioning, Osip Semyonov testified: “I did not state that that *shert* is indirect, but I have heard from the young Borogon Yakut Onyukey that their *shert* consists of soaking sables with their eyes in milk or *kumis* and sucking sables’ paws and eyes, scraping silver off into the milk and drinking it, and swearing on a bear’s head.” Onyukey was found and “told not to hold it back but to say it straight.” The Yakut responded: “our direct *shert* is the same as the Yakuts’ pledge nowadays, swearing on the sun, chewing sables up in birch, gnawing iron and biting birches; and earlier, before the Russian people, I saw how Batu and Onokok, Yakuts of Borogon township, gave their *shert*—they chewed sables up in birch also, bit birches, swore on the sun, scraped silver, drank it with *kumis*, but I did not see any bear’s heads; if there happened to be a bear’s head, they would scrape the bones and drink it with milk—but I do not see any *shert* like that nowadays, they do not pledge that *shert*, do not scrape and drink any silver or bear’s head bones. We all drink from silverware these days,” he added proudly.<sup>51</sup>

All those naïve rites remind us vividly not only of pagan Rus, when they would pledge an oath by laying their weapons, shields and gold in front of idols and pronouncing the ritual phrase: “may we be golden like gold and may we be cut unto death by our own weapons,” but also of the Christian Godwin of Wessex who choked on a piece of bread while vowing his innocence. Those universal allegorical formulae provided the oaths little or no sanctity and inviolability.

*Amanat* capture was a more reliable and perhaps even the only way to force people to come to the *yasak zimov’ès*. But such measures also presented great difficulties. *Amanats* had to be captured and that was not always easy.

In 1649, it was decided in Berezov to put an end to the “Karachey Samoyeds” brigandage and capture *amanats* from them; this task was entrusted to Vassily Kokoulin, a Cossack. Posko Khuleev, a Karachey prince, complained: “we, your orphans, came with *yasak* from our lands as usual to meet Your officers, with all our kindred, brothers and nomads, and we did not anticipate any capture. And I,

your orphan, came with *yasak* to Your governmental hall, bringing all my people with me; and there, in the hall, Vassily Kokoulin took a full share of Your *yasak* from us, and then he gave me drink, your orphan, with wine which was Your gift, and having done that he bound me in that hall and took me as an *amanat*.” But when in September 1649 Alexey Likhachev, a son of a Berezov nobleman, was sent to Obdor, he had an order to exchange Posko for [p. 67] his two sons and, beyond that, to take one or two best men from each relative as *amanats* of their own free will, but “if they refuse then take all of them by force. So, while he was at Obdor, he called the Karachey Samoyeds to the town, and the best princes of the Samoyeds did not come with *yasak* to the town, for they were scared, afraid of being taken as *amanats*, and Posko gave his son and his nephew as *amanats*. And after that the Karachey Samoyeds, their princes and best men, did not come to the town and sent the tsar’s *yasak* to Alexey with Posko Khuleev, and with their servitors. And Alexey could not take any Samoyed best men as *amanats*, for they were careful, changing the[ir] places of living and going to the tundra, so he could not take them as *amanats* by cunning or any other means.”

In 1652, Posko Khuleev again got captured as an *amanat*, and some of the “best” princes of the Karachey land with him as well. After a while *amanats* “cut under the prison, dug under it and ran away to their yurts.” They were chased, and Posko got caught again, while his friends escaped. Posko complained: “Tsar, we are Your orphans, we are wild and nomadic people, we cannot live at one place, we are scared to stay in prisons behind the guards, ours are nomadic yurts where we live while migrating.”<sup>52</sup>

*Amanats* were held by being chained in prisons; they were also carried to the *zimov’ès* in chains, so that they could not escape. Doing whatever it took to get free, hostages often managed to gnaw through their fetters and run away to the forest or tundra.

The case of Ezhevul’s (one of the Shiliag Evenki) escape perhaps best depicts the situation with *amanats* in the distant *zimov’ès* of Mangazeia district.<sup>53</sup>

Strife took place between *yasak* collectors who were sent to the Lower Tunguska. One of them, Savva Semenov, an archer, quarreled with his comrade Yakov Zubov, and upon return wrote a report to him with the following content:

“Last year, the year 137 (1628–29), we were sent from the town of Taz upstream of Lower Tunguska,

to Shiliag land, to collect *yasak*—Yanko Zubov, a Cossack from Berezov, Ivan Podshivalo and me, Savka Semyonov. As we left Turukhansk *zimov'e*, we boarded trappers' *kayuks* (skiffs): Yakov Zubov with Luka Vitoshniy; and with Luka in the same squad there was Semeka Durnoi, in another *kayuk*. Yakov loaded Ezhevil the *amanat* on his skiff, and Ivan Podshivalo was in a *kayuk* with Dementiy Korablev. And I was with Rodion Dedov, while two *amanats*, Chaka and Uvaltsa, were on Fyodor Valuy's *kayuk*. And as we were upstream of the big rapids, Ivan Podshivalo came to Yakov Zubov and told him that he was going to take Ezhevil the *amanat* to his *kayuk* to be with his guard, because they do not know where the *amanat* is. And Yakov Zubov rejected this proposal: 'I will not give you Ezhevil the *amanat*, for where I will stay his family will also come, so that I will be able to collect *yasak* from them.' And then Ezhevil's guard lost the key [for his chains]. Ivan Podshivalo started asking the guard (*amanat* guards were civilian people paid from public funds): 'Tell me: was it Ezhevil who stole your key? I will hang you on the tree if you do not tell me the truth.' And Yakov told him: 'What business do you have with the guard? He lost the key while towing, I saw him [p. 68] myself coming to the riverside for towing, bringing the key with him.' So Ivan Podshivalo said: 'Yakov, you did not give me the *amanat*, so you will lose him.' So Ivan Podshivalo went away. As we arrived at the night camp, I went to Yakov and started telling him: 'Yakov, let us break the lock so that Ezhevil the *amanat* does not escape.' And Yakov told me: 'Put a ruble behind the lock and try breaking it, for that lock is not mine.' And I told him: 'If the lock is not yours, I will lock the *amanat* with the tsar's chains, and you break the lock.' And Yakov Zubov told me: 'Did the devil make you our captain?' And I repeated his words to the trappers. And after that on St. Ilya's Day, sailing on the Tamura River, Fedor Valuy's *kayuk* sunk, and Ivan Podshivalo took Chaka and Uvaltsa, the *amanats*, on his *kayuk* and went forward. And after that Luka Vitoshnoi and Semyon Durnoi remained in the *zimov'e*. Yakov Zubov got on Fedor Valuy's boat and put the *amanat* Ezhevil on Fedor Urzhumets's boat. As we were near the Valovy Mountains, Fedor Urzhumets ran aground and started calling us: 'Yakov, take the *amanat* Ezhevil with you, for I have run aground'; and so we did. And Yakov told: 'I will put the *amanat* on Ivan Muksun's boat,' just like I told him, and so he did. And as we were a bit below the Ostrovskiy *zimov'e*, in the night of the Dormition of the Mother of God, we moored for

the night, and Ivan Muksun was a bit farther from the caravan; and that night Ezhevil the *amanat* escaped. In the morning the guard yelled: "Ezhevil the *amanat* has escaped." So we ran to take a look at the place where Ezhevil the *amanat* lay, and there were chains lying loose and the lock opened, not broken. And with us came the *tselovalnik* [tax officer] Pervoi Slasnogubov, interpreter Isak Kozmin, and trappers Fedor Valuy and Ivan Permiak. And we began looking for that *amanat* in the forest and on the riverside, but we could not find any trace of him. And as we came to Putilov *zimov'e*, we examined the tracks on the riverside, and I started encouraging Yakov to give chase; Yakov did not join me but Isak Kozmin the interpreter did who then fell sick, so I followed that *amanat* on my own, days and nights, and I arrived at Lazarev *zimov'e*, and I found there Dementiy Korablev and Ivan Podshivalo with the *amanats* Chaka and Uvaltsa, and I ordered these *amanats* chained firmly. And I waited for Yakov Zubov for six days in that *zimov'e*, and Yakov Zubov came with six *kayuks* in his caravan. We put Chaka and Uvaltsa the *amanats* on Ivan Muksun's boat with two guards. As we were at the mouth of the Titeia River, we found Samson Novatsky [sent from Tobolsk] with military people, and at that time Kozma Pozdysh, a Cossack from Berezov, came from Onton [Dobrynsky, the one whom Novatsky sent to the Nepa River mouth] with charters, and we started asking him if in the Shiliag lands they know that we lost Ezhevil? And Kozma said: 'No, they do not, Oska the interpreter has been off to the tundra with the serving people for five days, and he called for Ezhevil's father and brothers as surety to his *zimov'e*.'

Then Yakov Zubov and Savva Semyonov separated; Yakov went upstream the Tunguska and Savva remained at the *zimov'e* on the mouth of the Endoma. After a while "Martyn Vasilyev, a Cossack from Berezov, went with his companions to Onton Dobrynsky, and I started pleading with them: 'Show your mercy, help us catch any member of the Ezhevil family as *amanat*. And Martyn said: 'We are glad to help Yakov, we all serve one tsar, none of us is sinless.' And after that Maksim Suka, a Cossack from Berezov, came from Onton Dobrynsky to Samson Novatskiy and spent a night at my *zimov'e*. And I started asking him: [p. 69] 'Have you seen Yakov, what is he doing?' And Maksim told me: '...I saw Yakov recently in Makarshino *zimov'e*, he is coming with Yezhevil, they will be here very soon.'" And on the Meat Fast week [Lent], on Thursday, Yakov arrived at the *zimov'e* with Isaac the interpreter and



Ivan Muksun. And I asked Yakov: 'where have you been, Yakov, it has been a long time, did you see Yezhevil?' Yakov told me: 'I took Yezhevil's brother as *amanat*, but then Andrey Dobrynsky and his companions took him away from me. They collected *yasak* from the Shilyag people, and now Yezhevil is marching here with all his people, asking for *odekuy* [glass beads] and tin, the tsar's reward granted to him in the town of Taz that he had left in the *kayuk* here. I stayed at their place overnight, but he wanted to visit our *zimov'e*.' On the Holy Week, on Friday morning, Yakov said: 'Today Yezhevil will come.' I responded: 'If he comes to our *zimov'e*, I will chain him with the tsar's chains.' Yakov sent Ivan Muksun up the Tunguska River, for that was whence we awaited the Tungus. Yakov Zubov departed, taking the *tselovalnik* with him and saying: 'I'm going to the *zimov'e* of Nikita Korshunov to borrow flour in exchange for *amanat*.' After Yakov's visit the Tungus from Yezhevil's family came on Saturday asking for the tin and *odekuy* that were left by Yezhevil. I said: 'I don't know you, send Yezhevil himself and we will give everything back.' And they responded: 'Yezhevil cannot come, he is gone.' And I asked: 'have you seen Ivan Muksun?' They told me: 'Yes we have seen him, he stayed at Yezhevil's *chum* overnight...'"

Indeed, Yezhevil did not come to the *zimov'e* and his entire people revolted, and "Yezhevil could not be taken as *amanat* as his relatives are so numerous." Afterwards the enemies of Yakov Zubov hatched quite an ingenious plan on behalf of Yezhevil: "Gesheul Sobolev, the tsar's *yasak* person, a Shiliag Tungus, has claims against Yakov Zubov. Last year, the year 137 (1629), he went along the Lower Tunguska River to the *yasak zimov'es* at the mouth of the Nepa River. He spent much time on the road because of private affairs. And I pleaded with him to fulfill his duty and leave faster because the *zimov'e* is far away. He answered in Russian that there are many holidays; and he did not fulfill his duty of collecting the tsar's *yasak* well. I got afraid of God and tsar, so I stole the key for my chains from the guard and kept it for seven days... and ran away while on the road. And Yakov... pleased me. We became friends and visited many *zimov'es* together; my kindred traded with him. And I am one family with my people and they, and I, are orphans. Yakov came to every *chum* several times; but he did not collect anything from me and did not mention *yasak* at all. So from this time onwards, tsar, please do not send such people."<sup>54</sup>

Yakov Zubov explained the meaning of *amanat* very well with these words: "his family will come to the place where I keep him, then I will make them pay *yasak*." The *amanat* was not a hostage guaranteeing *yasak* payment by indigenous peoples but rather a way to attract them to the *yasak zimov'es*. An *amanat* is a captive bird with clipped wings that sits in a trap and ensnares the free birds. Just as free birds fly to the captive one sitting at the feedbox full of grain, so were indigenous people attracted to their kinsman, both anxious to see him and seduced by the "tsar's reward" (*odekuy* [glass beads] and tin) granted to him in the town. The success [p. 70] of tax collection depended wholly on the *amanat*'s appeal and on his bonds with his people. The Mangazeia *yasak* book of the year 142 says: "If the *amanat* is a good person, all his kindred will pay *yasak* and even help collecting it from the others. But if the *amanat* is a bad person, not even his entire people will pay for him."<sup>55</sup>

An *amanat*'s escape or death had a negative effect on the collected tax size. On the contrary, the capture of a couple of additional *amanats* resulted in a payment rise.

But an *amanat* himself did not guarantee the sure delivery of *yasak* payments; he did not even guarantee the peacefulness of the *yasak* payers. This was quite natural as small local groups lacked cohesion. For example, the Koryaks who lived along the Penzhina River "did not pay *yasak*, and if their fathers, brothers and children were captured as *amanats*, their families gave up on them and did not pay any *yasak* in exchange for them."<sup>56</sup> In 1679, the serving men of Krasnoyarsk punished the Tubin *amanats* cruelly, saying: "The Tubin *amanats* stay in Krasnoyarsk inside the *amanat* houses while the Tubins themselves make war and ravage the city."<sup>57</sup> A Karachey Samoyed *amanat*, captured with great difficulty, did not guarantee the payment of *yasak* by his kinsmen at all. Posk Khuleyev wrote in his plea: "And nowadays, Tsar, after they captured me, an orphan, as an *amanat*, all these nomadic Samoyed people who were present in Karachey dispersed... and do not dare come to Obdor township with Your *yasak*." This was confirmed by Molik Mamrukov, a Khanty prince from Obdor who had power over the tundra tribes: "When the best of the Samoyed people were captured in Obdor as *amanats*, the Samoyeds from Karachey heard about it and ceased coming to Obdor and paying *yasak* to the tsar there. And other Samoyeds are hiding in the safe places and around the tundra." The Obdor Khanty and even the serving men from Berezov pleaded: "The Samoyed should

not be captured as *amanats* in Berezov anymore in order not to ruin their relationship with the Ostiaks and other Ostiak lands and not to scare them away from the town of Berezov.”<sup>58</sup>

So it was virtually impossible to procure correct *yasak* payments using only pressure and “cruelty,” even if *amanats* were present. “A gentle and friendly” approach, encouraging voluntary submission, was necessary to make the indigenous peoples “obey the tsar and pay *yasak*.”

The Cossacks from the Yermak expedition outfitted by the Stroganovs had to consider the necessity of gentle actions. Yermak set free the princes who brought *yasak*, making sure they were “fairly rewarded,” writes Remezov. For example, he “took *yasak* from Suklem and Ishberdey, rewarded them and let them go home.” This “kindness” explains the fact that the Cossacks collected *yasak* not only “by force,” but also “without force” and that in many cases the locals “paid *yasak* and tribute with courtesy.”<sup>59</sup>

The government had to consider this necessity in the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries. The Mangazeia *yasak* book of 1703 says: “The indigenous people pay the tsar’s *yasak* without a fixed price; everything brought is accepted. This is due to the tsar’s decree and the instructions of the Siberian *Prikaz*: they order us [p. 71] to collect assorted furs from the *yasak* payers with great concern and kindness and rule them without cruelty in order not to offend them. The *yasak* payers are nomadic, they live in forests, migrating from place to place and from river to river, and they have no townships or villages, neither do they build houses.”<sup>60</sup>

#### IV [THE “TSAR’S REWARD”]

The gifts (the “tsar’s reward”) given to *yasak* payers in exchange for the taxes were a method to attract the indigenous Siberian population to *yasak* payments “with kindness.” “The tsar’s reward” was not only granted to *amanats* who had conscientiously called upon their kinsmen to serve the tsar, but also directly to individual taxpayers for the *yasak* payment itself. The goods gifted were the ones most in demand by the non-Russian population. In Mangazeia, Yenisei and Yakut districts, this included first of all different types of glass beads, in particular the larger *odekuy* (crystal stones of different size and color: blue, azure, red, black, green, pale blue and white), [as well as] *korolki*, metallic beads; in the eighteenth century, “baraban” tin in the form of dishes and plates and bars; green and red copper as cauldrons and bowls; iron

in bars and as ironware—axes, knives, iron knives, less frequently saws and needles; finally, luxury goods—copper rings and combs. Armor was given as a gift in Yakutsk district, but only when dismantled: “only one or two pieces of armor for each person.” The demands of the inhabitants of Nerchinsk district were even greater because of trade relations with China; among the gifts were “Anbur” [meaning unclear] and *sheptun* fabrics, flints, horse bits, etc. Moreover, in the Nerchinsk accounting books tobacco is mentioned as one of the methods to reward *yasak* payers; in the eighteenth century Chinese tobacco was sent to Kamchatka, too. Among other presents, dyed fabric (*krashenina*) is mentioned at Anadyr *ostrog* in the eighteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

The gifts had to be particularly generous during the initial period after taking another tribe “under the tsar’s hand.” No less than 100,000 pieces of *odekuy* of various colors, ten *puds* of green and red copper in the form of cauldrons and bowls, ten *puds* of tin in the form of dishes and plates and ten bolts of fabric of various colors were sent “for the native people’s expenses” with P. Golovin’s expedition to “Great Lena River.”<sup>62</sup> After the initial period, each year a specified gift amount was sent from the tsar’s gift treasury to the *yasak zimov’es*. In the 1650s, they sent “the tsar’s gift of 56 axes and 86 iron knives” from Mangazeia “to the Mangasei district to be distributed among the *yasak* payers”; “and now, having added the Anabar services, 80 axes and 126 knives should be sent.” All of this was purchased for a “high price”—“an axe cost a *poltina* [0.5 rubles] and 20 *altyns* while iron knives and knives cost 5 *altyns* each.” We can follow the track of these shipments distributed by the *zimov’es* year by year using the Mangazeia accounting books. For example, in 1651 the following tsar’s reward was sent from Mangazeia: 40 iron knives, 24 axes and one *pud* and 20 pounds of tin to Piasida; 25 axes and 25 iron knives to Kheta; seven axes and 15 iron knives to the Khantay *zimov’e*; four *puds* and 27 *grivnas* [a measure equal to 409.5 grams] of tin to six *zimov’es* on the Lower Tunguska River; two *puds* and 34 *grivnas* of tin to three winter camps at the Podkamennaia Tunguska River [p. 72] and to the Zakamennoye *zimov’e* on the Yenisei River; in total, nine *puds* and 21 *grivnas* of tin, 56 axes and 80 knife stubs.<sup>63</sup>

Similar shipments were sent from other towns.

According to the Nerchinsk accounting books of 1684–85, 44 *arshins* [a linear measure equal to 71.12 cm] of red *letchina* [a type of fabric] were purchased “to reward the native *yasak* payers”; on several occasions Anbur fab-

rics were also purchased; moreover, 60 flints, 60 axes, 183 knives and 33 pounds of tobacco were purchased.<sup>64</sup>

The tsar's reward included flour along with other goods. For example, in 1669 and in the following years, 69 *puds* and 25 *grivnas* of rye flour and 3 *puds* and 19 *grivnas* of tin were sent from Mangazeia to the *yasak* payers' *zimov'es* "as a reward." Furthermore, Russian authorities in Mangazeia presented flour to the Samoyed princes as a reward for sable and beaver fur offerings, usually 4 *puds* to each prince but sometimes a full *mekh*,<sup>65</sup> which equaled more than 5 *puds*. Finally, Samoyed princes were rewarded with bread "for good *yasak*"; for example, in the same year of 1669 prince Ika from Yura and his children got two *puds* of rye flour "for good *yasak*" as a tsar's reward. The same gifts of flour in exchange for *yasak* and offerings existed in all the districts; in Pelym district even in the eighteenth century *yasak* payment was rewarded "with bread from the treasury."<sup>66</sup>

*Yasak* payers were rewarded not only with goods and bread, but they were also fed. Krizhanich writes in his "History of Siberia" (written in Latin) that the serving men sent to collect the taxes "present the village elders (*decanis vera villarum*) with grain to eat," and that they consider this food as "fit for a sybarite."<sup>67</sup>

Supplies "for feeding" were definitely sent to *yasak* payers in "distant districts" and *zimov'es*. During Samson Navatsky's military expedition to the Lower Tunguska region, one of his companions, Anton Dobrynsky, and his troop of serving men "found a track; following it they reached the Giriant Tungus under the leadership of Yezhevul of the Maugir people, with their entire family and 20 close relatives; and Oska, the interpreter, persuaded these Tungus and appealed with them to serve the tsar; the serving men brought them to the *zimov'e*, and the Tungus lived there, at the mouth of the Nepa River, for two weeks and four days with the serving men, and the serving men Anton Dobrynsky and his companions fed them..." Having come, Yakov Zubov, *yasak* collector from Mangazeia, "called upon these Tungus (fed and domesticated by Anton Dobrynsky and his companions) to come to his camp, and Yakov Zubov lured one of these Tungus named Emkin, Yezhevul's brother, to his camp and captured him. Then the Tungus unanimously filed a plea to the tsar and told the serving men: "You have come this year not to collect *yasak* but to capture us, our women and children; and you have called upon us [p. 73] and fed us in the name of the tsar, but now Yakov Zubov has lured and captured our brother Emkin."

Every year food was sent to these *zimov'es* where everyone including the long-reconciled Siberian peoples paid *yasak*. For example, in 1667 they sent 206 *puds* of flour, two *puds* and 12 *grivnas* of butter and 1.5 *puds* of cod liver oil to the *zimov'es* from Mangazeia "as food for the *yasak* people."<sup>68</sup>

One episode gives us a picture of how this food was given out to the *yasak* people. On January 28th, 1629, Luka Markov, a serving man, wrote to his brother Moroz Markov from the Khet *zimov'e*: "on January 2nd, 137 (1629), the Khed Samoyeds named Tabachiyka, Paravda and Sorokuy came to the *yasak zimov'e* and accused Yarofey [Pavlov Khabarov],<sup>69</sup> the *tselovalnik*, of stealing the tsar's butter and giving it to the non-*yasak* Samoyeds in the warehouse; but that butter was Your gift for us, Samoyeds, and Yarofey has instead given it to the other Samoyeds in exchange for fine sables." Later, he presented a written plea containing the Samoyeds' information about Yarko Pavlov making gifts to non-*yasak* Samoyeds in his warehouse. Ivan Gorokhov, the serving man, clarified this information: "Yarko has heard these Samoyeds swearing at him and saying that your butter and flour was sent for them, the *yasak* Samoyeds, but that he gives it to the non-*yasak* Samoyeds instead in exchange for fine sables to his own profit."<sup>70</sup>

...

Aside from sending the tsar's gifts to the *zimov'es*, it was also common to feast the *yasak* people in the towns when they brought their *yasak*. This was done in Mangazeia every time the *yasak* princes came there with *yasak* accompanied by their people, and also when the serving men and *amanats* returned from the *zimov'es* carrying the collected *yasak* and offerings—in these cases, free *yasak* people joined them hoping to dine. In both cases, small parties were held in the towns in honor of the *yasak* people; these feasts were intended to impress the *yasak* people with the tsar's power, luxury and generosity. They led the *yasak* people to the gathering hall through a corridor of serving men standing at attention, while others fired the old cannons that had no other purpose than to create a warlike image out of the half-rotten town walls and towers. The *voevod* awaited the *yasak* people in the gathering hall, in full, colorful dress, and received their *yasak* and offerings. This was followed by dinner for both *yasak* people and Russian serving men, the "tsar's table." The meals for the indigenous guests were bread and "burduk" made of flour, and also beer was brewed and served to the *yasak* people and serving men alike. Besides that, "the native people are

given the tsar's wine every time they bring *yasak*, and wine for that occasion is sent from Tobolsk.<sup>71</sup> The criminal case of Ovdokim Baskakov, Pelym *voevod*, presents evidence on how this dining was conducted. "Last year, the year 142 (1634), (*mirza*) Ortyuka came to Pelym bringing the tsar's *yasak*, and Ovdokim told him to bring it to the gathering hall. But Ortyuka brought only one-third of what the tsar's law required, and Ovdokim asked Ortyuka and his companions why they did not bring the full *yasak* from Konda township. Then Ovdokim decided to give the Konda *mirzas* and Vogulichs wine [p. 74] in the gathering hall, and after that he went home, transferring the duty of feasting the *mirzas* and Vogulichs to Konstantin Albychev, the nobleman, and Kalinka Viskunov, the *tselovalnik*."<sup>72</sup>

...In 1647, Ostafiy Kolov, a Cherkash, who was to feast a group of *yasak* people, was accused in Mangazeia of "brewing beer for Samoyeds from the tsar's stock of five *puds* and 30 *grivnas*, having purchased hops with the tsar's money at a high price," but instead of feasting the *yasak* people he "carried the beer out of the gathering hall and drank it with his friends, not with the Samoyeds."<sup>73</sup>

...The tsar's gift was mandatory in order to collect *yasak* from non-Russian people. No gifts meant no *yasak*. "Without the tsar's gifts, without tin or *odekuy* [glass beads], the Tungus give no *yasak*," was the blunt statement of the Mangazeia *yasak* collectors. Russian trappers who went for business to Mangazeia district describe without irony this dependency of *yasak* collection on gifts: The Tungus, they say, beat up and rob Russian trappers: "after beating up Russian people and robbing them of sables they come to the *yasak* collectors' *zimov'es* and pay the tsar's *yasak* with those sables, and the tsar's serving people give those foreigners tin and *odekuy*, and once they have run out of tin or *odekuy*, the native people leave." Yakut *voevods* reported to Moscow in 1678: "Now, sire, we, your serving men, spent for Your services less than one-third of the tin and *odekuy* compared to earlier times, for we did not manage to purchase more, so Your treasury sustains heavy losses, and now, sire, we, your serving men, have no tin or *odekuy* to give to the native people from the *zimov'es* and the more distant rivers, and to the Upper Lena Bratsk *ostrog*, and to the Yakuts of Yakutsk *ostrog* in exchange for Your *yasak*; and thus the *yasak* collections will stop."<sup>74</sup>

... That is why the government cared so much to provide Siberian towns and *ostrogs* with enough supplies from the "gift treasury": *odekuy* of different sizes and colors, tin dishes and plates, etc. All were purchased in Ustyug and sent over to Tobolsk, and from there distributed further.

On March 13th, 1641, 466 *puds* and 31 *grivnas* of "baraban" tin were delivered to Tobolsk, with orders to send it farther to the far Siberian towns of Tobolsk and Tomsk and to the *ostrogs*, to Mangazeia, to Yeniseisk, and to the great Lena River "according to Your previous order, to be used for Your gifts to the native peoples in exchange for assorted furs."<sup>75</sup>

... The Russian government was rarely very dependable in sending the "gift treasury," making it difficult for the serving men who had to collect *yasak* but were unable to do so without gifts. As the Yakut *voevods* wrote in 1647, "And as to the gifts to the native people in the *yasak zimov'es*, we purchased as much *baraban* tin as possible, having collected it from households in the form of dishes and plates, about four *puds* in total; and we gave ten *altyns* for a pound, and one *pud* cost us 12 rubles. We purchased a *pud* of white *odekuy* of small and medium size, and the price was 10 *altyn* for a thousand, and one *pud* cost us 26 rubles."<sup>76</sup>

[p. 75]... The government tried to reduce the costs of the *yasak* gifts by any means. An instruction given to the Yakut serving man Ivan Pilnikov states: "The Yukagirs ask for big offerings, like whole suits of armor or cauldrons; you should discourage this by saying that all the districts pay *yasak* to the tsar and everyone gets a small reward from the tsar and is content with that... the native people should not cheat; they give *yasak* to the tsar, not sell it, and they will not get any more reward for it." The government followed this policy steadfastly in spite of the petitions of the *voevods* who knew the state of affairs much better than the Siberian *Prikaz*. Ilim *voevod* P. A. Bunakov wrote: "According to Your will the *yasak* payers get Your reward—tin and *odekuy*, and copper, and knives, and axes, and Brat Kyshtyms get red cloth... they get enough hot wine, so that they, the *yasak* people, from this time onwards do not depart from their allegiance to You and will gather and pay *yasak* every year without break or shortage. It is impossible to find or buy tin, copper, *odekuy* and fabrics in Ilimsk *ostrog*, no matter how much it costs.... *Yasak* collection will stop unless the Ilimsk *ostrog* gets tin, fabrics, and hot wine for *yasak* expenses." The reply from Moscow stated: "He is ordered to wine and dine the *yasak* payers when they bring *yasak*, as the decree says, but not to reward them with cloths and *odekuy*, because this place already is not new,<sup>77</sup> and the *yasak* people should not be detained."

... Despite the stingy government decrees, real life did not comply with these attempts at economizing. The

gifts, being an unconditional part of *yasak* payment, existed not only throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but as long as the late nineteenth century. P. M. Golovachev writes that until the early twentieth century the Chukchi were “nearly independent from the Russian authorities; they pay *yasak* voluntarily and only if their business brought profit. They also demand gifts before payment is made.”<sup>78</sup>

...In fact, the distribution of gifts, bread and food “in exchange for *yasak* payment” is very similar to trade. The locals brought the required furs and “asked for” tin and *odekuy* in exchange. The *yasak* collectors accepted the tax, distributed gifts and then the *yasak* payers went home. Even the “tsar’s reward” feast is completely equivalent to seventeenth-century trade methods. The sale of wine was arranged in the same manner even between Russians. The *voevod* hosted a dinner and invited the guests; everybody had to bring money or a gift; the host estimated this gift’s value or the amount of money and poured a larger or a smaller cup of wine for every guest according to that value. The Khet Samoyeds, as we can see in the case of Yerofei Pavlov (Khabarov), considered this feasting a method of purchase: “He gives butter and flour to some Samoyeds but gets finer sable furs in return.”

... The external methods of *yasak* payment correspond completely with Siberian peoples’ trade methods. In the seventeenth century, the Nenets, Evenki and other indigenous peoples of far northeastern Siberia were in that stage of development at which sellers and buyers did not trust each other. The buyer contacted the seller with caution and care, and the seller was always on guard while doing business with the buyer. They did not even approach each other during trade; instead, the buyer “dropped” or “threw” the object to be traded, hastily took the object [p. 76] proposed by the seller and left quickly; neither side put its weapons down. In 1652, in Turukhansk gathering hall the *amanats* from the summer camp, Tivleulko “and accomplices,” gave evidence that Pavlik Ivanov, a trapper, “and accomplices” conducted trade with Tivleulko’s father and brother, who brought their sables and beavers—before *yasak* collection. Pavlik Ivanov explained that “the Tungus came to our *zimov’e* and gave us three beaver furs intact, one cut in two and sewed back together, and also three young beaver furs. In exchange, they took four axes and a copper cauldron.” A few days later, another *promyshlennik*, Timofei Filippov “and accomplices,” brought “two beaver furs and one young beaver fur” to the gathering hall. As they stated, “they were trapping sables at Lower Tunguska

River when some Tungus came and offered them two beaver furs and one young beaver fur. They did not dare take these furs because there were too many Tungus and they feared for their own lives, so they gave the Tungus an ice pick and two small axes.” In 1654, the trappers brought 68 sables to the gathering hall, claiming to have obtained these “from the Tungus who exchanged these for flour supplies.” Apparently this was a normal way of trading with the indigenous population. In 1640 a Yakut customs *tselovalnik* reported that Parfen Hodyrev, a nobleman, took a sable fur coat from one Yakut “in exchange for nine strings of glass beads.”<sup>79</sup>

... We see the same suspicion-based trading methods when we deal with *yasak* collection.<sup>80</sup>

Usually the *yasak* payers did not dare enter the *zimov’e*s where the collectors sat and the chained *amanats* were kept; the exchange was performed through the window. In 1663, the Mangazeia *yasak* collectors told *voevod* Grigory Orlov and *diak* [senior clerk] Vasily Atarsky the following: “When they [indigenous people] bring *yasak* they do not tell us their names, do not enter the camp but just deliver *yasak* through the window. These Tungus are afraid of being taken as *amanats* by the *yasak* collectors. The collectors give these Tungus their tsar’s reward, tin, and *odekuy*, through the window.” Sables were delivered through the window using a pole or a spear.<sup>81</sup>

... The following episode can further highlight these methods. In 1651, Semyon Yepishev, a serving man, wrote from Okhotsk *ostrog* to D. A. Frantsbekov, the Yakutsk *voevod*, that after the successful capture of Nyunyukan, a



Dating between 1697 and 1703, this picture from the Siberian chronicler S. U. Remezov depicts the delivery of *YASAK* to the Russian ostrog in Tiumen.

man of the Kondakagir people, “around thirty of his kinsmen came to Nynyukan during winter, all of them *ulus* people from thirty non-*yasak* townships. And I, Senka, spoke to them of the tsar’s majesty to make them serve the tsar and pay *yasak*; and I called them to the window, and began to shake their hands and give them the tsar’s gifts of glass beads. . . . And when Nyunyukan’s [p. 77] people started pleading with the tsar for a reward, I ordered the serving men not to leave the *ostrog* lest the native people be frightened.” He gave the instruction, but nevertheless one of the serving men went outside, “and the natives saw him and, being afraid that more might come, fled from the window and never returned.<sup>82</sup>

. . . Sometimes, a more primitive form was used: tossing *yasak* from afar. Ivan Argunov, a nobleman sent to Obdorsk, reported from there: “Many Karachey Samoyeds came near the town of Obdorsk bringing their *yasak*, and I sent Pronka of Pustozersk, an interpreter of Samoyedic, and serving men along with the Obdorsk Ostiaks to these Samoyeds, ordering them to enter the town and bring Your *yasak* with them. But the Samoyeds did not enter the town, saying: “they cannot do that because they have robbed and killed two Russian men; and having said that, they dropped the *yasak* on the Poluy [River] ice and left for good, and it was impossible to catch them or do anything else because these Samoyeds were numerous and did not approach the town.” During the winter of 1715, the Yukagirs of Chuvan and the Khodyn people came to Anadyr *ostrog* lightly outfitted and riding reindeer; they stood “near the *ostrog* at the frozen river with hand cannons and bows ready to battle” but did not enter the fortress and said via the interpreter that “they had killed Afanasiy Petrov, the *prikazchik*, for his cruelty and greed. And these Chuvan Yukagirs threw 64 sables and 73 red foxes onto the ice for the year [1]716 as if it were their *yasak*”; in addition to that, they “threw onto the ice” three *soroks* [bundle of 40 sables] and 24 sables and 45 foxes as an offering for Captain Petr Tatarinov.<sup>83</sup>

. . . In this primitive form of trade, the *amanat* played a special role. Chained up in the winter abode, the *amanat* did not just attract his kinsmen to the *yasak* collectors and to the tsar’s gifts; he also guaranteed the safety of the collectors themselves. It was not only the Tungus who were afraid of the serving men and approached their camp with caution; the serving men were also with good reason afraid for their own lives. The *amanat* guaranteed the amicability of the numerous *yasak* people coming to the camp. This danger was by all means real. At Vilyuy, Voin Shakhov’s

“chained” Murgat *amanats* broke out; while Shakhov himself was absent searching for them along the Vilyuy, some “new” Murgat people along with the runaways accidentally came upon three serving men who were fishing. They killed the serving men near the camp and then desecrated the bodies, cutting them into ribbons before fleeing for good into the woods.”<sup>84</sup>

. . . The following episode, which took place while the Russians were trying to collect *yasak* from the nomadic Taz River Yuraks, gives particularly strong evidence.<sup>85</sup>

In 1694 a serving man, Pavel Shaposhnikov, was sent with a company of ten from New Mangazeia (Turukhansk) to Old Mangazeia town at the Taz River (abandoned by the Russians long ago and lying in ruins) [p. 78] to collect *yasak* from the Yuraks of Nausik and the Baray people; their *amanats* were kept in Turukhansk. Evidently afraid of betrayal, the Russians did not allow the *amanats* to go with them, which is why *yasak* collection was not successful—*yasak* was collected “in a small amount.” The Yurak princes Oleyko Tyalov of the Nausik people and Niagurko—or, more commonly, Barayko Khareev of the Baray people—who stayed on the spot, told the serving men to write to the town, to the *voevod*, about the *amanats* left there: “They should send those *amanats* to Taz, so they stay with us, the serving men.” The Yuraks claimed that “having seen the *amanats*, they will pay *yasak* more readily and will give more.” Believing the Yuraks’ words, the serving men sent two of them to the town accompanied by a spokesman from both families concerned—Michutka Eteev, a Samoyed who had some influence with the Upper Taz Samoyeds who had been paying *yasak* to the Russians and giving *amanats* regularly and who at the time had migrated near the Old Mangazeia settlement. *Voevod* S.M. Volkov agreed with this and delivered the *amanats* into the serving men’s care, ordering them to bring new *amanats* and to give the old ones away “in exchange.” The serving men accompanied both *amanats*, White Head Tyalov of the Nausik people (Oleyko’s brother) and Pay of the Baray people, to Old Mangazeia, but on the road they allowed the *amanats* to do some reindeer hunting. Pay took advantage of this and escaped, while White Head returned and was chained so that he would not escape. When they finally arrived at Old Mangazeia with only one *amanat* left, rumors of their arrival spread. Seventy to 100 Yuraks arrived at the town and stayed under the hill on the ice of the Taz River. With the help of the Upper Taz Samoyeds, who also stayed nearby, *yasak* collectors tried to get a new *amanat* to replace the escaped one, but

none of the Yuraks came to the serving men. Then Pavel Shaposhnikov himself, along with Mochka the interpreter, went to the Yuraks “for a conversation” and told them to come to the *zimov’e* and to give one *amanat* from the Baray family. But as the Yuraks saw him, they escaped like a flock of birds flushed by a hunter. The interpreter asked in vain why they did not come to the *yasak* collectors’ *zimov’e*; they did not answer, and having left, stayed in the tundra, behind the “boyar forest,” two days’ ride from the city.” *Yasak* collectors then sent the “Upper Taz Samoyed” *amanat*—Michutka’s brother Ezeduma—to the Yuraks; Ezeduma led Oleyko Tyalov and Barayko Khareev to the town. The princes came to the hall and saw White Head sitting in chains. Oleyko began pleading for his brother’s release, promising to give his nephew as *amanat* instead, but the serving men would not consent. Oleyko then told his brother to stay as *amanat*. Barayko sat silently in the hall without saying a word; then they said their goodbyes and both left the *zimov’e*. Michutka Eteev, the Upper Taz Samoyed, hurrying the whole time between the town and the Yuraks’ camp, began convincing the serving men “to chase those Yuraks off and take an *amanat* from them; and he, Michutka, was ready to go with all of his comrades, with his entire Asid kindred.” The serving men consented to that, and the next day, May 19th, on the (Meat) Fast Day of St. Peter, Pavel Shaposhnikov with a company of nine started pursuing the Yuraks on reindeer. They were accompanied by the Upper Taz Samoyeds; these provided them with reindeer, but some of Samoyeds gave poor animals so that “the serving men would return sooner.” Only one *strelets* [marksman], Yakov Erofeev (colloquially called Zima), was left to guard the *amanat*; and the *yasak* treasury and the *amanat* was guarded also by [p. 79] an Upper Taz Samoyed, old Uteyko. The wives and children of the serving men stayed in the *zimov’e*, too; the *yasak* collectors usually brought them along when leaving for the distant camps. Having started the chase, the serving men sent Michutka and the other Upper Taz captain, Sanarayko, ahead to the Yuraks; they returned bearing a message from the Yuraks for the serving men to go home. “Having loaded the guns,” the serving men continued on the road, accompanied by the Upper Taz Samoyeds “on both sides of the road.” All of a sudden, Michutka and his kinsmen took out their bows and arrows. Other Samoyeds who were not privy to the plot were confused; suddenly a shower of arrows poured from the roadside bushes where the Yuraks were hiding. At the same time some of Upper Taz Samoyeds directed their arrows at the

serving men, too; but most of them were shocked and afraid of the Yuraks, and some of them even called upon the Yuraks not to shoot the Russians. Caught unawares and surrounded by numerous enemies, the serving men were powerless to resist and were slaughtered; only one of them, Elfim Elistratov, “grabbed his hand cannon and managed to make a charge, shooting a Yurak’s arm; and he was killed by that same Yurak.” The Yuraks and Upper Taz Samoyeds rode to Old Mangazeia, leaving the dead behind. In order not to raise any suspicion, only four people entered the town: Oleyko Tialov with one more Yurak and Michutka Eteev with his brother, Akuyko. Michutka alone entered the house where Yakov Erofeev was staying with the *amanat* and Uteyko, the Samoyed, because he had the serving men’s trust, being an Upper Taz Samoyed. The other three waited at the door. In order to lure the Russian from the house, Michutka told Yakov that the Yuraks had brought the *amanat*. Yakov went out of the house and saw the Yuraks; guessing what was afoot, he “was frightened” and grabbed the ice pick, but Michutka took it from him. The others jumped on him and cut him to death with their knives. Uteyko started saying that “this ambush of the serving men was useless and there is no place to hide ourselves,” but the others threw him out of town. Meanwhile the rest of attackers arrived at the town and set White Head free; the Upper Taz Samoyeds urged the Yuraks to also kill the serving men’s wives and children, “so that they would not accuse Michutka and Sanarayko of killing their husbands.” This task was committed to White Head and another Yurak, who slaughtered the women and children with staves and threw their bodies onto the Osetrovka River ice. Then they took the furs previously taken as *yasak*, everyone taking the same furs he had brought, and left for good.”

... The rumors of the Old Mangazeia slaughter reached Turukhansk; in the spring of 1695 a troop of serving men was sent there, but they did not find the Yuraks or the traitorous Upper Taz Samoyeds, only finding the bodies of the slaughtered serving men three days ride away from Old Mangazeia town. The wives’ and children’s bodies “were nowhere to be found.”<sup>86</sup>

... It should be mentioned that the very fact of securing the safe exchange of *yasak* for gifts with the use of *amanats* suggests a new analogy with primitive trade. Trade “through *amanats*” existed, for example, in Russian-Kalmyk relations. At Yamysh Lake, while the Russians were loading salt and conducting trade with the Kalmyks,<sup>87</sup> the best “Kalmak men” were taken as *amanats* “for surety,”

to avoid “rows and scuffles.” In the same manner, in 1662 the Russian government agreed to let Ablay-Taysha “trade freely” in Ufa under the condition that “while his people come to Ufa for trade, [p. 80] he would give two or three good people from these traders as *amanats* in Ufa.”<sup>88</sup>

... The fact that the exchange of tribute for the gifts corresponded to a certain degree with market fluctuations contributed to the practice’s similarity to trade. At the moment of payment, the demand for the actual goods had to be taken into account. In 1681, Filka Scherbakov, a Cossack, complained that Yakutsk had not given him enough “return gifts” for the “new Tungus,” writing “from the New Ud River”: “The *Odekuy* with which I was provided do not suit these local Tungus, so they did not take it and I had to gift them my own *odekuy*.”<sup>89</sup>

... A letter by the Yakutsk *voevods* Vassily Pushkin and Kirill Suponev delivered to Moscow on January 15th, 1648, is even more definite. Upon arriving at Yakutsk they “found no *odekuy* or gems or glass beads in the treasury that could be used for gifts for the natives”; in 1646, they “found half a *pud* of blue *odekuy* and half a *pud* of white in the merchants’ stores,” but the next year “*odekuy* was not even available for purchase,” so they had to present the local Yakuts only with glass beads in exchange for all their *yasak* and offerings. “And those natives pleaded with You to give them for their *yasak* and offerings something different of Your choice, because they now have received so many glass beads from merchants and serving men that the demand for it (theirs and other peoples’) has dropped to zero and they have no use for the beads.” Taking into account the level of demand for certain goods, the Russian authorities sometimes resorted to trade, too: The Yakutsk *voevods* asked for green copper “cauldrons” “of thin copper but large-sized” to be sent.<sup>90</sup>

... Like the *yasak* people who imposed certain requirements on the gifted goods, the Russians, too, correlated the gifts’ size and amount with the amount and, possibly, the quality of the furs brought; “looking at the *yasak*,” they gave “tin, copper and *odekuy* according to their offerings and thus varied the gifts.” Adopting a phrase from a relatively recent document (dated 1709), the *yasak* people received “the great tsar’s gifts from the gift treasury according to their allegiance and *yasak*.”<sup>91</sup>

...

... A nearly complete view of how these gifts were made can be obtained from the *yasak* book of Yakutsk district dated year 148 [1640],<sup>92</sup> in which the amounts of the *yasak* received as well as the amounts of beads and *odekuy*

given to each payer in exchange for *yasak* were recorded. A total of 526 cases of *yasak* payment and gift giving are mentioned. In every case, the sizes of gifts correspond perfectly with the amount of *yasak*. The basis for the calculations was the regular *yasak* payment of five sables (with tails or without), with sables possible to be substituted with foxes. Five sables (or foxes) equaled a gift of one string of beads and one string of *odekuy*, or sometimes two strings of beads and two strings of *odekuy* (which did not affect the gift’s value). Payment was made according to this pattern in nearly every case where the number of furs was divisible by five, [p. 81] that is in 230 cases out of 239: ten furs brought two strings of beads and two strings of *odekuy*, 15 furs brought three strings of beads and three strings of *odekuy* etc. 115 furs brought 23 strings of beads and 23 strings of *odekuy*. In cases where the number of furs was not divisible by five, the calculations upon payment were approximate. If the numbers differed by one it was usually not taken into account, so four or six furs brought as much as five did, nine or eleven brought as much as ten did etc. The *yasak* collectors made such approximations in 107 cases out of 115. If the number of furs was less than four (three, two or—in a unique case—one), they brought a single string of beads or *odekuy* (88 cases out of 105).

... When dealing with intermediate numbers (from six to nine, from 11 to 14 etc.) it was somewhat harder to make a decision, and that was where the collector’s personal views and sometimes the taxpayer’s persistence could play a significant role. In ten cases, seven sables brought the same as five sables, in nine cases—the same as ten, and in nine more cases a median reward was given: one string of beads and two strings of *odekuy*. Generally, though, the collectors tended to maintain certain fairness and correlated gift sizes with the amount of *yasak* brought. Only several cases of major deviations can be found.

... A very special case is the gift of 24 strings of beads and 24 strings of *odekuy* to five Arguts for the 10 sables brought by them. The reason for this generosity was that they were the “new people” summoned by Ivan Metlek only recently, so they got very high quality gifts “to create attachment.”

... In the same manner, gift distribution in other districts was correlated with *yasak* size. In 1681 Fyodor Voeykov, the Nerchinsk *voevod*, wrote: “We present them [the Namyasin Tungus] richly with Your gifts: a bolt of Anbur fabric in exchange for a horse.” There is a very curious decree from 1708 commanding sables with intact navels and tails be taken as *yasak* from the Pelym Mansi and



“to give them flour from the treasury in exchange because they keep the sables’ navels.”<sup>93</sup>

...In Mangazeia the local indigenous population brought more furs as *yasak* and did it quite willingly because of larger gifts; they paid “more sables and other assorted furs or other things like reindeer-hide beds or *rovdugas* (reindeer chamois) because their trapping was successful and because they await the tsar’s gifts—tin, *odekuy*, cauldrons, axes and knives.” In the *yasak* books there are frequent mentions of certain “natives” paid “more than in previous years because of their successful trapping.”<sup>94</sup>

...This exchange of *yasak* for furs contains, though, one definite difference from true trade. The state price paid for *yasak* furs was by all means much lower than the market one. The Yakutsk *yasak* book of [year] 148 [1640] equaled five sables for one string of beads and one string of *odekuy*. The same book mentions the purchase of assorted furs from *yasak* people for the same beads and *odekuy* and makes it evident that the market price was much higher, varying from two to 3.5 strings for one sable; thus, the median market price of one sable was three strings, so five sables should have been paid with fifteen strings, not two.<sup>95</sup> They paid the full market price to the newly summoned peoples, though: The Orguts, “new people,” were paid almost five [strings of] beads for each sable. Of course, that price decreased gradually. A curious [p. 82] exception is the abovementioned 1708 decree: according to it, the Pelym *yasak* people should be paid with flour in exchange for *yasak*, “they should be given bread from the state treasury...according to that year’s purchase price.” Here, market prices were used to set the payment.<sup>96</sup>

... These figures should be sufficient to claim that the original way of collecting *yasak* is in fact quite similar to a certain kind of compulsory exchange of furs for the tsar’s gifts; compulsory tribute thus intertwines with more or less voluntary trade. We can say that both the compulsory, “forced” tribute collection and the free-will trade at unprofitable state prices were equally impossible at this stage of the northeastern Siberian peoples’ development. One may use the term “requisition” to describe *yasak* collection at this stage.

## V [FROM YASAK TO TAX]

...This primitive form of *yasak* collection had to be gradually replaced by more progressive form of taxation. Nonfixed *yasak* tended to become fixed. We can trace these processes using the Mangazeia *yasak* books.

...First, despite all the difficulties, name books, though neither flawless nor complete, were actually composed for most of the *yasak* people. Some peoples though, such as the Yuraks, experienced no census until the eighteenth century, and attempts to take *amanats* from them and to compose tax name books have led, as we have seen, to the slaughter of *yasak* collectors and caused even non-fixed *yasak* collection to be interrupted for a certain time. With some exceptions, people on the lower reaches of the Siberian rivers were registered quite accurately, and the 1681 census results were preserved; it was conducted in every *chum* and listed the ages of the younger part of the population and the duration of *yasak* payments by every single taxpayer. Anonymous *yasak* disappears gradually.<sup>97</sup>

...Next, even taking into account the randomness and uncertainty of income, a certain approximate *yasak* was fixed. In other words, non-fixed *yasak* becomes fixed, at first due to the fact that every following year the *yasak* size for each *zimov’e* was equal to the previous year’s size. Thus the aggregate tax size was fixed, even in the cases where *yasak* was collected anonymously and without books. The 1681 census made an attempt to set common rates for all *zimov’es*. In the Avam *zimov’e*, the *yasak* Samoyeds had to pay *yasak* according to the following: five or four *rovdugas* [reindeer-hide chamois] a year for the princes and three *rovdugas* a year for their kinsmen; the youths “pay one *rovduga* in their first working year and two *rovdugas* the second year, so that they reach full *yasak* size in their third *yasak* year.” In the Turukhansk *zimov’e*, *yasak* people had to pay four sables a year, “and if they could not procure sables one year, they pay the tsar’s *yasak* with beavers, foxes and wolverines instead.” In the Khantay *zimov’e*, *yasak* people pay two sables a year or instead “with beavers (mature and young alike), foxes and wolverines, one-to-one; [p. 83] or with Arctic foxes, ten of them for one sable; or with reindeer hide beds, parkas, *sokuys* (coats) or *pimas* (boots), one-to-one” the young men “pay one sable in their first year and two sables the second one, so the full rate is reached in the third year.” In the Inbak *zimov’e*, the princes pay six or five sables and their kinsmen pay five; the young men “reach the full rate in five years.”<sup>98</sup>

...

...The complexity and uncertainty of the rates set by the census of [year] 189 [1681] suggest that imposing these rates was just an attempt to document and formalize gradually established practices, not an introduction of some controlling principle. In real life, the fixed individual rate often existed only on paper: the taxpayers could bring

less *yasak* (if they “could not procure enough”) or, on the contrary, more of it (if they were lucky in trapping and wanted to get the “tsar’s reward”), not knowing at all what their *yasak* rate was. Not without difficulty did the *yasak* collectors try to reconcile these irregular payments with the fixed rates and the income estimates. The *yasak* books of Mangazeia demonstrate a surreal accounting system consisting of arrears defrayed little-by-little. “The *yasak* collectors write down the figures from the previous years taken from old books, but the *yasak* people do not tell them the actual figures and, as the collectors say, neither do they know these figures.” As written in the *yasak* book of 1636–37, “a native taxpayer pays his *yasak* for the actual year when he comes, but if he brings more sables or other assorted furs, reindeer-hide beds or *rovdugas*, because of his trapping luck or the desire to get the tsar’s reward, then the collectors write this down as if it was paid the year before, and the taxpayers do not realize that at all.”<sup>99</sup>

... Therefore, during the course of eighteenth century the haphazard and random *yasak* collection in Mangazeia district became somewhat more shaped and fixed.

... In the same way fixed *yasak* tended to become a standard tax, “according to wealth and profession.” In Pustozersk district, where the Nenets tribes had long ago (from the fifteenth century) been subdued by the Russian state, the *voevod* in 1664 had to “collect the tsar’s taxes” from the Puryega Samoyeds “in Pustozersk *ostrog* in money and assorted furs according to their wealth and profession, as the Holy Bible says, as other Samoyedic tribes are levied tribute in Pustozersk *ostrog*.”<sup>100</sup> The next step was to begin collecting *yasak* in its monetary equivalent. This was already happening in the early eighteenth century, though it was not always profitable for the state and thus the government did not enthusiastically sanction it. *Yasak* in the form of assorted furs inevitably had to be replaced by “*yasak* money” in the long-subdued district to the west of the Urals. The transition to the monetary equivalent was gradual. For example, in 1697–98 the Russians collected eleven *soroks* and four martens “and, equivalent to six *soroks* and 27 martens, i.e., the rest of the required *yasak*, a *poltina* for each marten, in total 133 rubles and 13 *altyns* and three *dengas*” from the *yasak* people of Kungur district.<sup>101</sup> [p. 84] ... The full transformation of *yasak* into an ordinary tax can be found as early as the seventeenth century in the Kazan district. Here, *yasak* appears in the form of a fixed tax for land rent. The Tatars were given a plot of “*yasak* land”, i.e., arable land and meadows, “for *yasak*,” so they paid the *yasak* from this plot. The very word

“*yasak*” was still in use there at the end of the seventeenth century, meaning not a universal tax rate but a simple unit of taxation. One “*yasak*” was equivalent to a plot of land of certain size: according to a document from the years 1600/21, “this rate is equivalent to ten units of land or to 100 haycock from the meadow.” That is why, according to the census books of 1691–1692, individual *yasak* payers could pay tax “from a half *yasak*,” “from three quarters of a *yasak*,” “from the whole *yasak*,” etc. After the census the *yasak* could be extended by one quarter of a *yasak* or by a half a *yasak* according to the taxpayer’s wealth. The aggregate solvency of the villages was also estimated according to the number of *yasaks*: for example, “in the Kannerdin village there are five vacant *yasaks* and a quarter.” In other words, the *yasak* of the Kazan district corresponded to the *vyt* (a land share) in the Russian-populated districts.<sup>102</sup>

It seems to me that the study of *yasak*’s evolution is to a certain degree of common interest. No doubt we see the most primitive form of taxation in Siberia—not compulsory but rather voluntary and willing taxes. Thus, we can trace the indigenous Siberian population’s motivations for paying “free *yasak*.” The expectation of gifts in exchange for *yasak* payment played a significant role in these motivations. This type of tribute, one that included traits of compulsory trade, is probably one of the most ancient forms of taxation, from which (along with military plunder) the modern tax system originates. Similarly, non-fixed *yasak* became fixed and fixed *yasak* transformed into *yasak* money collected “according to wealth and profession.”

Therefore we can observe here, at its very inception, the first marks of state taxation.

The taxation of the Slavic tribes by the Varangian princes in the eighth and ninth centuries probably had similar foundations. The very form of the tribute collection, “*povoz*” and “*polyudie*,” is perfectly analogous with *yasak* collection. The cases of amicable Samoyed princes coming to town with their kinsmen in reindeer sledges for *yasak* payment and camping by the river in the hope of receiving gifts and dining, demonstrate perfectly what “bringing *povoz*” meant. The annual visits of serving men to the *zimov’es* for *yasak* collection and also to receive payers’ complaints and pleas are equivalent to *polyudie*. The tribute collected by the princes during *polyudie* was collected as “gifts,” which is why *polyudie* was also called “gifted *polyudie*,” and in the Novgorod townships tribute was still obsoletely called “gift” in the fifteenth century. Of course, as in seventeenth-century Siberia, this gift was not given voluntarily and the princes had to use force, to “torment

their tribes slightly.” But the destiny of Prince Igor, who desired more than was given to him, recalls how dangerous it was to put the taxpayers under too much pressure; and the story of Princess Olga—who in vain besieged rebellious Iskorosten the entire summer and (according to the legend) took the city only by cunning, and afterwards levied a large tribute—illustrates not the prophetic princess’s wisdom but rather her [p. 85] inability to overpower the Drevlyans. She should have used “friendliness” and “kindness” and not only “force.” It was necessary to make the subdued people consent to the tribute and make them “give honey and furs willingly.” In due course, the voluntary “gift” became fixed and transformed into fixed *yasak*—“*urok*” as it was called in a twelfth century document (the statutory letter of Prince Rostislav Mstislavich). But *yasak* still existed alongside *urok* in the form of honorary tribute, the offering, which soon became fixed, too.

...

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## NOTES

1. “Sheibaniada” in Berezin, ed., vol. V, note 74.
2. *Akty Moskovskogo gosudarstva*, vol. 11, no. 691, 911; vol. III, no. 524: Russkaia Istoricheskaiia Biblioteka (RIB), vol. 31, clmn. 184–185; DAI, vol. III, no. 102: Tsentralniy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov, Prik. dela st. let, 1643, no. 9, etc.
3. *Akty Istoricheskii*, vol. IV, no. 17.
4. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 202, 376.
5. *Sibirskie letopisi*. Arkheograficheskaia Komissiia, 1907, pp. 319–321.
6. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 623.
7. *RIB*, vol. II, no. 56, 73, 89; *Akty vremeni pravleniia tsar Vasiliia Shuiskogo*. A.M. Gnevushin ed., no. 57, 64; Müller, 1787, pp. 205, 206, 443; Müller, “Sibirskaiia Istoriiia,” *Ezhemesiachnye sochineniia*, 1764, vol. 1, p.

- 331; *Sbornik Khilkova*, no. 99; *DAI*, vol. XI, no. 53; *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 623.
8. The author of this paper is now preparing a work specifically on the Khanty of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: “Ocherki po istorii kolonizatsii Sibiri v XVI–XVII vekakh”, issue II.  
[The work mentioned is the subsequent paper by S.V. Bakhrushin, “Ostiatskie i vogulskie kniazhestva v XVI–XVII vv.” (see this volume of *Nauchnye Trudy*). In all subsequent cases when S.V. Bakhrushin refers to the second volume of “Ocherki po istorii kolonizatsii Sibiri” (prepared by him for print) in the footnotes, he means the aforementioned work.]
  9. *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Zakonov*, vol. XIII, 1st half, pp. 221–222, 247, 282–283.
  10. Müller, pp. 441–443.
  - [11. S.V. Bakhrushin’s opinion on the “easiness” of Siberian peoples’ migration “from one master to another” cannot be deemed entirely true. It is true that the Siberian people “easily” denounced their allegiance to one steppe feudal lord or another, thus coming under the Russian tsar’s power. But this mere “easiness” is insignificant because it does not reveal the main point, the profoundly progressive meaning of Siberian peoples’ inclusion into Russia. The annexation of Siberia by Russia did not just mean “another master” for its peoples; it meant the real possibility of further economic and cultural development in the context of persistent communication with the Russian workers who colonized the vast spaces of Siberia. Therefore, the analogy between the Siberian situation of 16th–seventeenth centuries and the Russian history of Kievan Rus drawn by S.V. Bakhrushin is hardly valid (see also pp. 84–85 where the Siberian *yasak* is identified with the Kievan Rus *polyudie*.)]
  12. *Sibirskie letopisi*, pp. 321, 371.
  13. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 19, pp. 423–447; Dmitriev 1897, issue VII, pp. 70–71, 170–175.
  14. *AI*, vol. II, no. 76, 82; vol. III, no. 1; *Akty Arkheograficheskikh Ekspeditsii*, vol. II, no. 75; *Akty pistovogo dela*, S.B. Veselovskiy, ed., vol. II, issue 1, no. 101; *Kungurskie akty XVII v. (1668–1699)*, Arkheograficheskaiia Komissiia, no. 73 (IV), p. 25.
  15. *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Zakonov*, vol. XIII, pp. 164–166, 247, 266, 282; *Akty vremeni pravleniats tsar Vasiliia Shuiskogo*, no. 28; Veselovskiy, “Nizhegor. platezhnitsy”; Sukhotin, ed., “Pervye mesiatsy tsarstvovaniia Mikaila Fedorovicha,” no. 152; *Akty Melnikova*, no. 4, 30, 70, 74.
  16. *Sibirskie letopisi*, p. 335.
  17. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 19.
  18. The data on Konda principedom were to be included into the second issue of “Ocherki po istorii kolonizatsii Sibiri v XVI–XVII vv.” that was being prepared for print by the author.  
[See “Ostiatskie i vogulskie kniazhestva v XVI–XVII vv” in this volume of *Nauchnye Trudy*.]
  19. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 19.
  20. On the Khanty, see the second issue of “Ocherki po istorii kolonizatsii Sibiri v XVI–XVII vv,” being prepared for print by the author. See the editorial note at page 51 [see note 8?].
  21. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 19, pp. 922–923.
  - [22. This custom was also common in the European part of Russia. *Amanats* as a guarantee of *yasak* payment were also taken by Russian authorities from the Bashkirs and Tatars of the Urals (Priuralye). Bashkir *amanats* were kept in Ufa; in Kungur they kept the *amanats* of the indigenous population of the Sylva–Iren river confluence, etc.]
  23. On the *yasak* payments in iron to Mongols by the Kuznetsk district in 17th–eighteenth centuries, see *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 43, p. 83; clmn. 623; Müller, “Sibirskaia istoriia,” *Ezhemesiachnye sochineniia*, April 1764, p. 302; Fischer 1774, p. 321; “*Pamiatniki sibirskoi istorii XVIII v.*”, vol. I, no. 36, 47; Potanin. *Materialy dlia istorii Sibiri // Chteniia O IDR*, 1866, book IV, pp. 68, 88; *Sibirskie letopisi*, p. 382.
  24. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 941, pp. 410–415 (on a horse costing five sables—p. 422, verso side); book 1063; *DAI*, vol. V, no. 101. Cf. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 623: in Tomsk district “the *yasak* people of mountain townships,” prince Tayda “and accomplices” gave 17 horses, mostly mares and foals, “as *yasak*.” In 1609 the government had to consent to take *yasak* from Kalmyks in horses (G.F. Müller. *Opisanie Sibirskogo tsarstva*, p. 441).
  25. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 941, pp. 47–49.
  26. *Sobranie gosudarstvennikh gramot i dogovorov*, vol. II, no. 54, 185; *RIB*, vol. II, no. 80, 87.
  27. In the last case the unit of payment was one sable, and the amounts of different animals’ furs were correlated with it. For example, in Mangazeia in the end of that century foxes and wolverines were priced one-to-one to sable, white polar foxes were priced sixteen

- to one, squirrels were priced 100 to one; a sable also equaled one otter and two blue polar foxes *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 1220, pp. 103 verso/verso, 104, 107).
28. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 19, pp. 521a–556, 681a–705, 581a–619, clmn. 68, pp. 30–34.
  29. *Sobranie gosudarstvennikh gramot i dogovorov*, vol. II, no. 185, pp. 369–370.
  - [30. Bakhrushin refers to the so-called “Yenisei Ostiaks” (Kets) and maybe some “Ostiak-Samoieds” tribes (Selkups).]
  31. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 19, pp. 706–706 verso/verso, 819–830.
  32. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 708, pp. 92 verso/verso, 96 verso/verso; book 19, pp. 367 verso/verso, 368, 681, 725, 787.
  - [33. For more information on *alman*, see the essay “Yeniseiskie Kyrgyzy v XVII v” in this volume of *Nauchnye Trudy*.]
  34. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 2, p. 76; *Akty Arkheograficheskikh Ekspeditsii*, vol. II, no. 75.
  35. *Akty Arkheograficheskikh Ekspeditsii*, column. 303, pp. 36–38; clmn. 613.
  36. *Akty Arkheograficheskikh Ekspeditsii*, clmn. 153, p. 87; column. 1533, 83, pp. 56–59.
  37. *Pamiatniki sibirskoi istorii XVIII v.*, vol. 1, no. 109, p. 462.
  38. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 986, p. 274 verso/verso; clmn. 220, p. 54; clmn. 494b; clmn. 24, p. 232; *DAI*, vol. VIII, no. 101; *Pamiatniki sibirskoi istorii XVIII v.*, vol. 1, no. 99, pp. 425–426.
  39. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 71, p. 907; clmn. 656; book 443, p. 160 (“they brought no tsar’s *yasak* and related that not a single Tungus brought any *yasak* payment to the Ust-Nepa *zimov’e*”), *ibid.*, book 150, p. 1029; Potanin 1866, book 4, p. 58.
  40. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 19, pp. 47–51; books 127–686, 50, 783–784; book 986, pp. 150 verso, 279; book 708, p. 2 verso/verso.
  41. On Teles townships, see Potanin 1866, book 4.
  42. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 150, pp. 1080, 1129.
  43. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 986, p. 181a; book 95, pp. 268, 285–286.
  44. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 71, p. 929.
  45. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 95, pp. 192 verso/verso, 193 and other books.
  46. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 95, pp. 192 verso/verso, 193; book 986, pp. 181–182, 273–275, 360–361; book 57, page 478; book 1422, page 198; clmn. 77, p. 23.
  47. Novitskiy 1884, p. 54.
  - [48. A kind of weapon.]
  49. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 53, p. 791.
  50. *Tsentralniy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov, Mungalskie Dela* (Mongol Acts), year 1616, p. 46, *Sbornik Khilkova*, no. 100; *Pamiatniki sibirskoi istorii XVIII v.*, vol. 1, no. 37, p. 179.
  51. *Dela Yakutskoi prikaznoi izby*, bundle III, no. 14-A, p. 32.
  52. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 408.
  53. *Tsentralniy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov. Prik. dela st. let*, year 1630, no. 55.
  54. *Tsentralniy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov. Prik. dela st. let*, year 1630, no. 71, p. 371.
  55. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 57, p. 476. Cf. some curious evidence given by Mangazeia *yasak* collectors on *amanats* and *yasak* arrears in the Nepa, Kurey and Summer winter camps in the year 159 (1650–51) (*Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 382).
  56. *DAI*, vol. VI, no. 136 (II). Cf. Vladimir Atlasov, “Dve skaski ob otkrytii Kamchatki,” *Chteniia O IDR*, 1891, book 3, p. 8).
  57. *DAI*, vol. VIII, no. 15 (XVII), p. 49.
  58. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, column. 446 and 448.
  59. *Sibirskie letopisi*, pp. 333, 335, 337.
  60. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 1422, p. 198.
  61. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, column. 244, pp. 111–119; clmn. 408; book 332, 941, pp. 377, 395 verso; *DAI*, vol. II, no. 88; vol. VIII, no. 112; vol. IX, no. 14, p. 43; *Pamiatniki sibirskoi istorii XVIII v.*, vol. 1, no. 89, p. 110.
  62. *Tsentralniy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov. Prik. dela st. let*, year 1636, no. 1.
  63. Data from *Sibirskii Prikaz* on tsar’s reward for the year 1647–48, book 332, p. 133; 1649–1650, 1650–51 (year 159), clmn. 1405, pp. 63–69; 1651–52 to 1655–56 (year 164), book 396, pp. 314 verso; 1662–63 to 1667–68 (year 176), clmn. 650; 1696–97 (year 1703), book 1422, pp. 78 verso—84 verso, 136 verso.
  64. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 491, pp. 377, 380 verso, 383 verso, 395 verso, 398.

- [65. A *mekh* was a loose goods measure that existed in the Ural Area (Priuralye) and Siberia (cf. Ustyugov 1946, book 19, pp. 339–340; Shunkov 1952, p. 168). The weight of a *mekh* equal to over five *puds* mentioned by S.V. Bakhrushin does not seem to be universal for Siberia: there existed also a *mekh* equal to under five *puds* (cf. Shunkov 1952, p. 168).]
66. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 1000; book 1270, p. 129 verso.
67. Titov 1890, pp. 123, 169.
68. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 1000.
69. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 1000.
70. Tsentralniy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov. *Prik. dela st. let*, year 1629, no. 28, p. 80; year 1630, no. 55, pp. 138–179.
71. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 93, p. 79.
72. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 42, p. 438.
73. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 303, p. 39.
74. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 57, p. 477; clmn. 244, p. 118; clmn. 56, p. 506; Tsentralniy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov . *Belgor. st.*, no. 15, p. 209; *DAI*, vol. XVIII, no. 44.
75. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 65, p. 306.
76. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 244, p. 119.
- [77. The meaning seems to be that these were not new *yasak* payers and thus should be in a state of pacification.]
78. P.M. Golovachev. *Sibir*. Moscow: 1905, p. 175; cf. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 494b.
79. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 443 and 441. *Dela Yakutskoi prikaznoi izby*, bundle I, no. 21. In 1642, at the Tokuy River the Evenki came to Sergushka Anikeev and his accomplices' *zimov'e* and took three *puds* of flour, six axes, two cauldrons, a cooking pot, four knives and two *puds* of salted fish by force, "having left 11 sables in exchange" (bundle I, no. 27).
- [80. One should not overestimate these "suspicions" in trade with the Siberian indigenous population. This particular way of trade ("throwing") that S. V. Bakhrushin describes was mainly caused not by the suspicious attitudes towards Russians but rather by the poor development of Siberian peoples' means of production; that is why these primitive forms of exchange were in use. When Russian merchants and *promyshlenniki* came to Siberia they had to take the local trade practices into account.]
81. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 57, pp. 476 verso—477.
- [82. *DAI*, vol. III, no. 92. Nothing is known about the "Kondakagir" people of Okhotsk Evenki. Presumably this refers to the Evenki who lived along the Kandagan-bira River.]
83. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 503; *Pamiatniki sibirskoi istorii XVIII v.*, vol. II, no. 35, pp. 114–115.
84. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 56.
85. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 1272, 1533, 1390/2026.
86. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 1533, 2026, 1272.
87. *DAI*, vol. VIII, no. 15 (V); *AI*, vol. V, no. 288; *Sibirskie letopisi*, p. 380.
88. Tsentralniy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov . *Mungalskie dela*, year 1662, no. 3, pp. 25, 31, 35–36.
89. *DAI*, vol. VIII, no. 44 (XX), p. 178.
90. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, clmn. 244, pp. 118–119.
91. *Ibid.*, clmn. 494b; book 1270, p. 129 verso; *DAI*, vol. II, § 100.
92. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 145, p. 132. "Knigi gosudarevy yasachnye Lenskogo ostrozhku yenis. syna boyarskogo Parf. Khodyreva 148 g." *DAI*, vol. II, no. 100 (*Nakaz yakutskim voevodam*).
93. *DAI*, vol. VIII, § 101; *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 127, p. 129 verso.
94. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 95, p. 286.
95. *Ibid.*, book 145, pp. 140–145.
96. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 1270, p. 114 verso.
97. *Ibid.*, book 708. The census for four *zimov'es* is preserved.
98. *Sibirskii Prikaz*, book 708, pp. 614 verso, 62, 92, 100, 41.
99. *Ibid.*, book 78, p. 255; book 95, pp. 286, 151.
100. *DAI*, vol. IV, § 137.
101. *Kungurskie akty XVII v.* (years 1668–1699), published by Arkheogr. Komissiiia. Saint Petersburg: 1888, no. 73 (IV).
102. *Akty Melnikova*, § 6, year 129; § 73, year 1705; § 70, year 1704; § 52, years 199 and 200; § 61, the data from the first census of years 199 and 200; § 62, the same.
- [103. References are often incomplete, but that is how they appeared in Bakhrushin's 1955 text. Supplemental information was added by the editors/translators when possible. Unfortunately, similar information gaps that cannot be resolved also exist in some of Bakhrushin's notes.]