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# "This family has been found and is now located in Obdorsk region..." (reflections on the list of Samoyeds of Berezovsky district in 1832)\*

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**Abstract.** The article details the list of "Samoyeds", compiled in 1832 by Tobolsk missionary Hieromonk Makarii. The generic names and surnames indicated there show that they belonged to the European, Ural and Siberian tundra Nenets, and it was not by chance that they were on the same list. It was a small group from the "Vojkar Samoyeds", a separate territorial group of the Nenets ethnos, wandering in the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries on both sides of the Subpolar Urals. On the basis of information from the "List", generalization of materials from archival documents and works of researchers and travelers of the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, it was possible to put forward several reasonable assumptions and clarifications about the origin of some Nenets families and patronyms, places of their settlement and marital relations. In addition, for the first time, it was possible to find information about the compiler of the "List", its life and activities long before the missionary trip to the north of the Berezovsky department.

Keywords: hieromonk Makarii, Nenets, mission, christening, Voykarsky Samoyeds, clans, patronymy, origin.

### Introduction

For many decades, the State Archive of Tobolsk attracted scientists with its precious materials on the history and ethnography of Siberia. They contributed to hundreds of scientific and popular scientific articles and books, and dozens of candidate and doctoral dissertations. However, archival funds keep a significant number of documents still unused by experts. The information hidden there is often the missing fragments in the mosaic of historical processes occurred in Western Siberia.

One of such documents — "The List of Samoyeds of Berezovsky District Baptized in the Mission of 1826 in the former Arkhangelsk Province" (1832) was found by us in the "Act on secondment of the Mission of the Kaluga eparchy of Borovskiy for a first-rate of Hieromonk Makariy from Pafnutiev monastery to the Berezovskoe Department for preaching the word of God to the foreigners who are nomadic there." From the title of the document, it follows that they were baptized by the mission of Archimandrite Venjamin, who worked in the north of the Arkhangelsk province in 1826–30. Makariy's "List of Samoeds", as well as the writing of his "Report" for the Metropolitan of Tobolsk, was caused by the inability to find "*at what church their baptism was recorded in metric books, and in what Christian societies they were listed*"<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> State budgetary institution of the Tyumen Oblast the State Archive of Tobolsk (SBITO SAT). F. I156. Op. 11. D. 189. L. 74-74ob, 75-76. [In Russian]

The "List of Samoeds", we placed at the end of the article, was first published by V.Ya. Templing among the other documents. However, when preparing it for publication, mistakes in several names and surnames were made, and the record about one woman was missing [1, pp. 50–51].

Reviewing the "List", we had to refer to several archival documents and works of scientists and travelers of the  $18^{th} - 20^{th}$  centuries, directly or indirectly affecting the ancestral organization of the Nenets people. The material made it possible to put forward reasonable assumptions and clarifications on the origin of some Nenets clans and patronimies, places of their settlement, and family relations. An important conclusion of the study is that the "Samoeds" of European, Urals, and Siberian families were not accidentally in the same list. It was a small group from among the "voykarskaya samoyadi", a separate territorial group of the Nenets people, which migrated in the  $17^{th} - 19^{th}$  centuries on both sides of the circumpolar Urals. They belonged to Kunovatskaya and Lyapinskaya volost of the Berezovsky district, and paid yasak "willingly" in Pustozersk, in Obdorsk or in Voykarsky town.

Mentions of clans of the "voykar samoyadi" are in the works of V. Islavin [2, pp. 132–135], A. Reguli [3, pp. 164–165], Archimandrite Veniamin [4, p. 97], A. Shrenk [5, pp. 560–562], G.D. Verbov [6, pp. 52–57], L.V. Homich [7, pp. 102–111]. In the works of these researchers, the information on a family on the local territory is found but it has no analysis of their origin. Archival documents concerning the Voikar Nenets are considered by A.I. Andreev [8, pp. 84–103] and E.I. Kolychev [9, pp. 76–88], Sokolov Z.P. [10, pp. 33–36] and Martynov E.P. [11, pp. 88–93] wrote about the Kunovat and Lyapin Nenets and their marriages with Khanti and Mansi. The generalization and analysis of information about Nenets are in the works of Dolgikh B.O. [12, pp. 33–47], Minenko N.A. [13, pp. 136–137], and Vasilyev V.I. [14, pp. 12–20; 15, pp. 118–130; 16, pp. 86–98]. Among recent works, we should mention the article by E. Rutkai-Miklian [17], who has some common points with the present article.

Researchers of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century used various materials about the "voykar samoyad" and interpreted them differently. As a result, they did not agree on the history of this ethnic group. In our article, we tried to clarify some controversial points. In addition, we managed to find information about the author of the "List of Samoyeds" — Hieromonk Makariy, his life and activities long before the missionary trip to the north of the Beryozovsky Department.

#### "A humble novice — Hieromonk Makariy"

Mikhail Ostalsky, the name of Makariy, was originally from Malorossia. He was a teacher of Volyn Seminary and was briefly mentioned in the "Summary review of the activities of Orthodox missionaries among northern non-Russian peoples of Siberia in the  $18^{th} - 19^{th}$  centuries" (1869)<sup>2</sup>. Information from the book of a local historian N.I. Theodorovich "Volynskaya Spiritual Seminary" shows that Mikhail was born in 1783 in the village of Labun (Zaslavsky district) in the family of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Federal State Institution of the Russian State Historical Archive (FSI RSHA). F. 797. Op. 96. D. 45. L. 3ob. [In Russian]

priest Anthoniy Ostalsky. Mikhail had a brother lakov, born in 1786. They studied at the Volynskaya Seminary at the theological department. Mikhail was accepted there in 1800, and lakov — in 1799. After graduating in 1811, lakov was appointed a priest in the village of Zbityn (Dubensky district), and Mikhail entered the male convent of loann the Merciful in the village of Zagajtsi (Kremenets district) "with hope to receive monasticism". Then Mikhail's career developed rapidly. In 1812 he took a monastic shaving. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of June that year, he became a hirodiakon, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June he got the post of a hieromonk, and on the 9<sup>th</sup> of September — governor of the Zagaetsky Monastery. After eight months, on the 12<sup>th</sup> May 1813, hieromonk Makariy was appointed deputy of the first-class male Preobrazhenskiy Monastery in Ostrog and a present in the Volynskaya consistory. In 1814, he became a teacher of the Russian school at the Volynskaya Seminary. In October 1818, Makariy founded, and in February 1819 opened, a parish spiritual school in the village Zagaitsi and remained its caretaker until 1823 [18, pp. 48, 50—51, 189, 276, 847—848, 916].

Then traces of hieromonk Makaiy are lost. It is interesting, in the book by N.I. Theodorovich, no information about his relocation to any other monastery. Such information about many other priests and monks is found. Nevertheless, it is possible to assert certainty that in the 1820s, Makariy was at the first class Pafnutiev Monastery of the Kaluga diocese (rebuilt and renovated in 1822 after the fire of 1812). Any information about his service in this monastery has not yet been found. However, in 1831 Makariy moved to Tobolsk to prepare for missionary activities in the Ob North<sup>3</sup>.

In Tobolsk, hieromonk Makariy appeared under the surname Bogolepov<sup>4</sup>. No contradiction observed here. Surnames like this are artificial, "priests<sup>17</sup>. They began to spread in Russia since the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century among students of seminaries and clergy. It is interesting, artificial surnames were typical for the Great Russian clergy. The Malorossiya and Belarusian priests in seminaries kept their hereditary surnames [19, pp. 169–170]. Accordingly, Makariy, who passed from the Malorossiya diocese to the Great Russian one, changed the surname according to the local custom.

What was the motivation for Makariy to express his desire to become a missionary? Is it the invitation of Archbishop of Tobolsk and Siberia Evgeniy? Perhaps, he was inspired by the success of the baptism of Samoyeds by the mission of Archimandrite Benjamin, and he decided to try his hand in this field. However, there could be other reasons. In the record of Makariy, presented to the Tobolsk diocesan administration, it was said: *"that he was a touch on a secret matter."* Although *"the designated secret case of St. Synod and he was found completely innocent"*, perhaps, he needed to leave Borovsky Monastery for a while<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. I156. Op. 11. D. 189. L. 18. [In Russian]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid. L. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid. L. 5.

The trip of Makariy to Obdorsk (now — Salekhard) was preceded by almost a year of coordination with the diocesan authorities. During this time, three metropolitans were replaced in Tobolsk — Eugene, Paul, and Afanasiy. By spring 1832, the composition of the mission was approved. A graduate of the Tobolsk Theological Seminary Luka Vologodsky and a novice of the Tobolsk Znamensky Monastery Nikita Solovyov, who came to Tobolsk together with Makariy from the Kaluga, were his companions<sup>6</sup>.

The mission arrived in Obdorsk on June 20, 1832 and stayed there until February 1833. The strong reluctance of residents to accept the Christian faith let the missionaries to baptize only 17 Ostyak and Samoyed people in eight months [20, pp. 21–22; 21, pp. 15–16]. In April of the same year, hieromonk Makariy in his "report" to Archbishop Afanasiy proved his own powerlessness to baptize the Obdorsk infidels. According to him, they "*lead a vagrant life and are far away from Christian dwellings, in Obdorsk they are only once a year for the yasak*", "besides their language is very insufficient for explanations of the truths of the Christian religion", "hope of their conversion to it, I do not foresee".<sup>7</sup>

The inheritance of hieromonk Makariy, i.e., his "reports" to the Metropolitan of Tobolsk, is small and understandable for a narrow circle of specialists who are engaged in historical and ethnographic research of the culture of the peoples in Western Siberia. It is unlikely that Makariy thought about "how his word would respond" and what exactly can be of interest for ethnographers in the future among documents he wrote.

## "... the clans of Tuskda"

In Obdorsk, hieromonk Makariy, who received an excellent education, was a teacher at the Russian school at the Volynskaya Seminary, and therefore was good in Russian but completely unprepared to the perception of indigenous names and nicknames. The first thing you pay attention to when reading the "List" is the distorted names of some Nenets families. In "report", Makariy wrote that he was notified by Obdorsky separate assessor Ilya Ivanov Reshchikov about these Samoyeds<sup>8</sup>. So, Makariy used information from this document when drawing up his list, in which, perhaps, not everything was correctly written.

The first in the "List" is Tabak Aletov, clan Tuskda, other Samoyeds — Leokoysky, Valeysky, Tysyy, Juweysky, Khatacheysky, Yangasov, Karachyskago, Seradyty, and Serudety families. The families listed above existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and some of them are still existing today. A part of them are primary patronyms, others — separated ones. To understand who they are, we should look at their origin.

**Tusida** clan (in Makariy writtings — Tuskda): according to the scientific classification, it belongs to the Kharyuchi Fatria, and, according to the Nenets traditional division, to the Khasovo tenz. The name in translation from Nenets means "without fire", "orphan". According to relatively

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid. L. 36-38ob.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid. L. 122-122ob.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid. L. 74.

recently introduced data, the name Tusid is found in the documents of the Obdorsk Peter and Paul Church on the baptism of Samoyed for 1853 and 1880, and the name Tuzid — in documents for 1876 and 1886 [22, pp. 171, 230, 231, 239, 257]. Later, in the official documents of the First All-Russian Population Census 1897, it was noted that among Samoeds of Obdorskaya parish, migrating on the Kamennaya (Priuralsko-Yamal) side [23, p. 37; 16, p. 170]. In the list by A.A. Dunin-Gorkavich, in 1915, it was noted that the clan Tusida under the leadership of elder Nadi migrated in "winter between Poluy and Nadym, in the summer on Yamal near the river Tambey and further north" [24, p. 44]. Near the river Tambey, nomads of Nadi Tusida are also marked on the map of B.M. Zhitkov [25]. Approximately there is the patrimony of Yarkuloni Tusida on the scheme of V.P. Yevladov [26]. Similar information about the location of nomadic genus Tusida is in the works of G.I. Arteeva, I.F. Nogo and M.M. Brodneva [12, pp. 92–94].

A detailed description of the settlement of the Tusida family in the late 1920s is found in the "List of settlements of the Ural region". 19 families of this clan were there that time. The main places of their migration in summer were in the northern part of the Yamal Peninsula. In winter, many moved to the south, closer to the Gostorg trading stations; some passed the Ob Bay in the meridional direction [27, pp. 185, 189, 191, 195, 201].

The **Lähe** family (in Makariy writtings — Leokoisky) is one of the three main clans of the European tundra Nenets (like Tysyy and Vyutsi). The name is untranslatable. The first time Lahe (Lehei) was mentioned is in the "Charter of Grand Duke Basil III to Samoyeds on their acceptance into citizenship" in 1525. There, together with the Karachi family, it is called "the Ugric Samoyeds, who live along the Ob River" [28, pp. 10–11].

It is known that in  $11^{th} - 13^{th}$  centuries, the chronicle Ugra land was to the West of the Ural Mountains. [29, pp. 150–151; 30, p. 2005]. Distinct groups of Mansi and Khanty lived there. In our opinion, the expansion of the Ugra land to the lower Ob began in the  $14^{th}$  century. This is indirectly confirmed by information from the Novgorod fourth chronicle of 1364, where it was written: "*Novgorod boyars' children and young people arrived from Ugra where they were fighting along the Ob river to the sea, the other half of the army was fighting to the up the river Ob"* [31, p. 64–65; 32, pp.219–220]. It was the  $14^{th}$  century, when a part of the Ugric population was displaced from the European part of the country to the Ural by Komi and Russians migrating to the north [10, p. 18]. All this gives a reason to believe that the Lahe family and Karachi have long traveled along the northern tundra on both sides of the Ural Mountains.

In the  $16^{th} - 18^{th}$  centuries, the Lahe family was noted in the yasak documents of the European North as a part of two departments — Pustozersky and Izhemsky. The first collected yasak from the Tundra Kanin, Timan and Bolshezemelsky Nenets, and the second — from the Nenets who migrated in forests. That time, the parts of the genus Lahe and Valy lived in the Kanin tundra [16, p. 13], and the Bolshezemelsky Lahe continued to migrate, the way they did in the previous centuries, in the Northern Urals. In the town books on Novgorod Velikiy, in 1704, it is written that the Lahe and Tysyn lived "around Kamen (Urals — Yu.K.), on the edge of the sea, on clean steppes,

and not in the woods". At the same time, they were noted in Obdorsk yasak books as "Pustozerskiye Lahe and Tysyn" [9, p. 77].

Lahe, like all large families, began to gradually divide into big-families related collectivepatronymies. When this division appeared? It is impossible to say with accuracy. But since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in the yasak books, the Kanin Nenets began to be written not by descent, but by surnames with Russian formants *-ov*, *-ev*, *-in*, and sometimes with Russian names [33, pp. 30–37]. This was due to the gradual Christianization of Nenets in the western tundra, which took several centuries. Among Bolshezemelskie Lahe the same process was different. Christian missionaries reached these territories only in the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and found dissociated patronymies in Nenets — Xiadai-Lahe, Wenokan-Lahe, Vylka-Lahe, and Pyreka-Lahe. The main family of the Lahe clan continued to exist in parallel with them [2, p. 134; 4, p. 97].

**Tyosy** clan, as well as Lahe, probably existed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, as mentioned above, migrated in the Northern Urals. The name of the clan comes from the Nenets word "yasya" — "a small bird living in talnik". In various documents and scientific works, these families are constantly mentioned together, incl. in the erroneous spelling of Tussa-Ilogai or Tysya-Ilogei [34, p. 4; 35, p. 222]. Since 1703, in the books of yasak collectors of the Pustozersky department, except for the Tysyya (Tysynia), the patronymies of Yavtysyn and Nogatsyn appear. After a century, researchers noted the appearance of three more divisions — Laptander-Tysiya, Paganse-Tysiya and Siussed-Tysiya [2, pp. 132–133; 4, p. 97].

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a small part of Tysyya clan migrated in the Kaninsky tundra, where they began to gradually separate families with Russian surnames, as in the case of Lahe family [16, p. 84].

The clan **Nyvai** (in Makariy's writtings — Juweisky) refers to the Liapin Nenets, which along with the Kunovatsky, constituted the main group of the voykarskiy "samoeds", who lived in the Berezovsky district of the Tobolsk province [12, p. 34]. The first notes are three entries in the materials of the 4<sup>th</sup> revision census of unbaptized "Samoyadtsov" of the Obdorskaya parish 1783. There, the Nenets of the family called Murtyuki of the Kamennaya storona had wives from the family of Nyvay<sup>9</sup> [16, p. 97]. This clan was recorded as Gõjvai in 1837 by A. Shrenk [5, p. 562]. The tribe Gniwai was described, among other things, in a letter to academician P.I. Köppenu in 1847 by a Hungarian scientist A. Reguli [3, p. 165]. In the metric books of Kolvinskaya Church of Mezensky (later Pechorsky) county of the Arkhangelsk province, in 1870s — 90s, liapin samoyeds Yive and Jowei are found. In Ust-Kozhvin parish of the Pechora County of the Arkhangelsk province, in 1897, a "samoed" from the Jovitsky family was recorded [16, p. 97; 36, pp. 68–69].

An extinct tribe Nyevai, who once lived in the lower reaches of the river Pur and the cape with a sacred place belonging to him, was mentioned in writings of 1911 by T. Lehtisalo [37, p. 52, 54]. Recognizing the data of the Finnish scientist, G.D. Verbov wrote that the Ngivai family "lives on the eastern slope of the Northern Urals", and "before it spread far to the east" and "at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. 1154. Op. 8. D. 43. L. 169, 170ob. [In Russian]

mouth of the river Pura to this time one of the capes is called Ngyvay-Salya" [6, p. 54]. In these works, it is all about the Cape Iwai-Sala, located 16 km from the mouth of the channel Maly Pur. In the book "Overview of the basin of the river Taz" by I.N. Shukhov, in the description of wintering and crafts of Russians in the Tazovskaya gulf, there is information about the "wintering of the famous Siberian firm of Plotnikov", located "on a high Cape Gyivay-Sade", regardless of any family or clan [38, p. 41]. In one of the works of B.N. Gorodkov, the cape was called Ivay-Sala [39, p. 53].

The name Nyevai is most likely from Nenets "neva" — head or "newei" — the brain. In this regard, it seems interesting to think about B.O. Long's assumption that the Nyevai clan is "a group of Siberian forest Nenets from the Pyak family, namely from its division Ngaevahei" (Nenets word "nevahy" — forward, head; leader, leader) [12, p. 39]. However, the Ngaevahei family, as well as other units of the Pyak family (Saepa, Panhei), is not mentioned in the lists of forest Nenets neither in the archival documents of the  $17^{th} - 18^{th}$  centuries nor in the works of researchers and travelers  $18^{th} - 19^{th}$  centuries. It can be said that the question of the nomadic movement in the lower reaches of Pur remains open.

**Hatanzi** clan (in Makariy's writing — Hatacheyskiy) together with Vanyuta and Valley belongs to the forest European families. Among them, it was the largest in terms of the amount of people. If we translate the name from the Nenets, it means "spider of a light color with long legs". In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, representatives of this family paid yasak in all the three departments — Pustozerskiy, Izhemskiy and Ust-Tsilemskiy, and since the 17<sup>th</sup> century — only in the last two. The main places of the summer migration of Hetanzi was Pechora and its right flows to the south of the northern forest border. For the winter they went to the areas near the rivers Tsilma, Pizhma, and Izhma. Some families migrated through the Urals and brought yasak to Obdorsky and Voikarsky towns [40, p. 72; 12, pp. 34–35; 16, pp. 76–78, 86, 204].

The process of decomposition of the Hetanzi family to patronymic began, apparently, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Evidence of this is the documents preserved in the Tobolsk archive. E.g., in 1789—1790, Tobolsk governor board considered the case of a Samoyed man from "Mezen district, Izhemskiy clan of Khatanzeyskiy samoyad" Alka Dyldin and his family transfer to Kunovat-sky parish of the Berezovsky district [13, p. 137].

In the 19th — 20th centuries, the introduction of surnames among Samoyed people was directly related to Christianization. In one of the metric books of the Kolvina Church for 1867, Malgin Osip Talkov is recorded "samoyadin" of Izhemsky department of Khatanzeysky family. But in the book of the village Bolshaya Pyssa of Yarensky district of Vologda province at the beginning of the 20th century was found a peasant of the Kolvinsky parish Alexey Nikolaev Katanzin. The materials of confessions from the Colvinskaya Church for 1916 show that there were 59 surnames in the Khetanzi family that time [16, pp. 142, 149, 150].

In the  $18^{th} - 19^{th}$  centuries, active business and marriage contacts between Nenets people and Komi-Izhemtsi in the European North of Russia led to the formation of a special group of Kolvinsk Nenets, who spoke the language of Komi-Izhemtsi, but maintained the Nenets selfidentification. Hiring as shepherds to Komi-Izhemtsi, the Colvintsy moved for the Urals. Some of them settled in the villages there [41, pp. 30, 45; 42, p. 121]. Samoeds of Kolvinskaya parish with the names Khatanzey, Khatanzeev, Khatanziev are found in confessional notes of the Muzhevskaya Mikhailo-Arkhangelskaya Church at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> — the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>10</sup>.

The record of the **Yangás** family in the "List" of Hieromonk Makariy is one of the few that could be accurately correlated with the record in another source, namely, the materials of the Archimandrite Benjamin's mission that baptized Nenets of the Arkhangelsk province in 1825-1830 [16, pp. 203-204]. After A. Shrenk, Soviet ethnographers began to interpret the name of this family incorrectly [6, p. 44; 12, pp. 37, 40, 41, 62, 82; 7, p. 111; 16, pp. 148, 150, 170, 171, 203]. Shrenk A. wrote: "... with Samoeds from the Gyvai and **Yagaggasova** (**river people**) clans, migrating on the right bank of the river Ob, closer to the sea". Here we read about another family — "**Padraggasovo** (forest samoyeds) migrate near the northern Urals and the lower Ob" [5, pp. 562–564]. It becomes obvious that this author drew a simple analogy between the two clans and how their names are pronounced. Pedaranhasovo and Yanhasovo are correctly spelled. When pronouncing in both cases, a nasal sound is heard, indicated on the letter by a combination of letters *ng* or the letter *'n*. The name Padaranyhasovo can be translated as "forest people", but perhaps it means "Nenets from the river Padarata (Baydarata)". Yanhasovo is easily translated from the Nenets language and means "Nenets living separately" [43, pp. 502–503, 844].

Our conclusions about the correctness of writing "Yanhasovo" are confirmed even by materials that were studied by Soviet ethnographers. E.g., V.I. Vasiliev analyzed the data of metric books from the Muzhevskaya and Grado-Berezovsky churches for the 1870–1880s. Leads the entry "Young Hazov", but immediately in brackets writes "Yahan-Khasova" [16, p. 150], considering the correct translation of Shrenk "river people". Interesting, in confessional notes of the Muzhevskaya church in 1898 and 1911, the names of Yangosov and Yankhozov appear<sup>11</sup>.

If the note in the list of Makariy is correct, then the Yangasov family is a division of the European forest family **Vali** (in Makariy notes-Valeyskiy). The name probably comes from the Nenets word "vale" — "nimble, agile". At the turn of the 17th — 18th century, Vali family was registered as yasak payers in Pustozersk and Izhemskiy departments. In comparison with the Hetanzi, this family was small and migrated in the Kaninskaya tundra, in the forest on the right flows of Pechora, as well as on the eastern slopes of the Urals together with voykarskikh samoeds [12, pp. 17, 34, 44].

As in the case of the Lahe family, the Vali migrated in the Kanin tundra became divided into patronymics in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Representatives of Izhemskiy Vali family were recorded as the Woley in the yasak books of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the name was written in the Russian way — Valeyevi, Valeyskiye. Patronimia with Russified surnames began to stand out

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. I700. Op. 1. D. 20. L. 13; Ibid. D. 37. L. 20ob.-21. [In Russian]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid. D. 26. L. 31b; Ibid. D. 37. L. 20ob.-21.

among Izhemsky Vali only in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. [16, pp. 77, 78, 80, 148]. Yangasov clan, apparently, is an exception.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Izhemskiy Vali joined the Colvinskiy Nenets. Together with Hetanzi and representatives of other families, they periodically went to the Urals. In the materials of the Muzheva Church, they mentioned samoeds of Kolvinskaya parish Valleevi and Valleja<sup>12</sup> [16, p. 150].

**Háryuci** clan (in Makariy's notes — Karachei) was one of the largest for centuries along with Vanuito, exogamous division of the Nenets people. The name of the clan means "cranes" (Nenets word "haryo" — a crane). For the first time, Nenets Karachi were mentioned in the "Complainted Diploma" of Vasily III in 1525. It was mentioned above in connection with the family of Lahe.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> — 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, "Karachian Samoyed" moved to the east of the Urals, making periodic referrals to the west, to the Bolshezemelskaya tundra, where they got stable marriage ties with the Lahe family. Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they jointly began to attack the yasak collectors, ruined Pustozersk, Obdorsk, and Mangazeya [28, pp. 10–11, 29–32, 56]. The divisions of the Haryuchi family are marked in the yasak documents of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the increase of deer in Kharyuchi family, the division into patronymies intensified and continued the entire 19<sup>th</sup> century [40, p. 75; 16, pp. 84–86, 108; 16, pp. 86–87, 92, 164–172; 44, pp. 103–104, 151].

One of the divisions of Haryuchi is **Serotetto** clan (in Makariy's notes — Seradyta or Serudeta). The legend about the origin of this name is still kept in the Nenets culture: "There lived three brothers. They had a lot of deer. Once they got a fight. The elder took away almost all the deer and became Ngokoteta ("multi-deer"). The middle took the white deer (Sarotata), and the younger had nothing left, he went on foot (Yadnya)" [7, p. 110].

We managed to identify the first mention of the Yadnya's (Yadne) ancestor, i.e., Yaur/Yavor in the materials of the 4<sup>th</sup> revision census of 1783 in Obdorskaya parish. We compared the information about it with the information from the legend about the origin of this family, recorded by us in Antipayutinskaya tundra from the informant N.N. Yadne [44, pp. 43–45]. Other patronymies, incl. Okoetto and Saroteto, also began to stand out from the Haryuchi family, precisely from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was a consequence of the development of large herding in the Nenets. However, in the yasak documents at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, small families continued to be recorded within the maternal family.

The first mention of the Sarotetto family is found in one of the metric books of Benjamin's mission in 1825. The wife of the Kanin samoed Grigory Yeltsov is named Agafia Tobokov Syrtyt [16, p. 158]. Saradat clan is mentioned in the work of A. Shrenk [5, p. 562]. Then it disappears for a long time from documents and descriptions and appears among the other names in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in documents of Obdorskaya Peter and Paul Church on the baptism of "Samoeds" [22, pp. 220, 221, 224, 228, 230, 234, 240, 242]. In the metric books of the Mu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid. D. 20. L. 13.

zhevskaya Church for 1870s-80s, in records on baptism, we found "samoedin" Hattet Sartetttnoy vatagi and "samoedka" Pirepti-Tokoliva-Serdatat from the lands possessed by the elder Yamruina [16, p. 169]. The last record indicates Yamra Madarin, the foreman of the 6<sup>th</sup> vataga of the Haryuchi family, noted in the materials of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> revisions in 1850 and 1858 respectively [16, p. 165]. Judging by the records in the revisions of the  $18^{th} - 19^{th}$  century, the name Yamru was one of the ancestral names of Haryuchi and passed by inheritance to the grandson or great-grandson, even when the family began to divide.

"Yamru Aletov, a family of Karracheiskogo Seraditi, at baptism is called Ioann". In the "List" of Makariy, in the materials of the 7<sup>th</sup> revision census of 1816, he is recorded as "Emru or Yalku Yunsin Emruyev"<sup>13</sup>. His wife, two sons, three daughters, his daughter-in-law and grandson are recorded as well. Makariy wrote: "was he married or not — it isn't shown"<sup>14</sup>.

In the same 7<sup>th</sup> revision census, it was succeeded to find Sabarey Litkov, from the Serudeta family, who was recorded as Habka Hupadin or Suborin Litov. His family members were a wife, a son and two daughters<sup>15</sup>.

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> — 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the main pasture for summer nomads of the Sarotetto family was the northeastern Yamal Peninsula. In winter they crossed the Ob Bay and moved a parallel direction between Poluy and Nadym rivers [45, p. 106; 24, p. 44]. Separate families of this clan migrated to Bolshezemelskaya tundra and reached Pechora. They probably went there looking for brides. In the metric books of the Pustozersky parish of 1890–1900s, clans of "obdorsky samoeds" are repeatedly mentioned. One of them is the family of Seredyata [16, pp. 169, 203].

#### How to call you?

The next thing you look at in Macariy's "List" is the names, as well as some patronymic and surnames. The baptismal Orthodox names are clear and understandable, but most Nenets ones are hardly translatable.

Number one is Tobak Aletov. Perhaps the nickname of this Nenets man was "tobak" — "stocking of deerskin" because "tobak" in the Nenets language is called — "sayr".

Further on the list goes "Yauta Atsypin Petin, the family of Valeyskago". Here we will dwell on the patronym/surname of Atsypin. Undoubtedly, this is a distorted record often mentioned in various documents concerning the European North, i.e., the Nenets surname Apitsyn [16, pp. 84, 136, 147]. The name of Samoyed Apitsa is first found in the "Zhalovannaya nesudimaya gramota Kaninskim i Tiunskim samoedam ("Non-Judging Act for Kanin and Tiunsk Samoyed") 1545 of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, confirming their ownership for hunting and fishing lands [46, p. 182–184]. His direct descendants — Tiunskie (Timanskie) "samoyeds" "Erofeiko and Menshichko Apitsyna" reported about the same to Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich in 1631 [47, pp. 280–281].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. I154. Op. 8. D. 404. L. 647ob. [In Russian]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. I156. Op. 11. D. 189. L. 75b. [In Russian]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. I154. Op. 8. D. 404. L. 657ob.-658. [In Russian]

According to B.O. Dolgikh, Apitsyni is patronymic for the Vera clan, which, in turn, is a division of the European family of Vanyuta migrating in the Timansky tundra [12, p. 13]. There is no more precise information on the Vera family. As for Apitsyn, they constantly appear as payers of yasak in the revision censuses of  $18^{th} - 19^{th}$  centuries as "samoyeds of the Timanskiy coast" [16, pp. 84, 136]. At the same time, Apitsyn from the "List" by Makariy belongs to the family Vali (Valeyskiy), i.e. its part attributed to the Izhemskiy department. To confirm this fact, it is possible to give data informants V.I. Vasiliev, who claimed that Apitsyns are "different and not all of them belong to the Vera family" [16, p. 220].

This is followed by "Vek Soskin Vyrtsabin, the family of Juweiskago" and his married daughter "Terelya Vekkina Vyrtsabina". It is in the variant of *Vyrtsabin* this surname is written only in the materials of Veniamin's mission and in the "List" of Makariy. In the censuses of the  $18^{th} - 19^{th}$ centuries, it was written by *Vertsepov*. Representatives with this surname had one of the patronymies of the Ngywai family (Juweiskiy).

The ancestor of Vyrtsabinys/Vertsepovs for V.I. Vasiliev is a Liapinskiy "samoed" Vyrsamey. If this is true, then the "sameyds" Toya, Sinya and Tongali Vertsepovi, recorded in the materials of the 4<sup>th</sup> revision census 1783, are his sons<sup>16</sup> [16, p. 97]. The daughter of Vyrsamey, 50 years old, noted, in the same census, was married to her coeval Sozej Huypalev from the family of Vanyuta Kamennoi storoni. In the explanation written before the listing of the Sozej family, reveals the Huypaliv family, i.e., 23 people, was moved "*by order of the former Tobolsk provincial Chancellery of Pustozersk department… for payment to the treasury of the yasaka in 782.*"<sup>17</sup>

Makariy recorded a wife of the Vek Vyrtsabin, i.e., "Valei Kalinina Lotpina, clan Khatacheyskiy". In this case, we treat the description in the name of the clan *as Khatanzei*, i.e. *Khatanzi*. Representatives of this family repeatedly appear among the marriage partners of the Liapinskie "samoedi" in  $18^{th} - 19$ th and early 20th centuries <sup>18</sup> [16, pp. 203–204].

Husband Terel Vyrtsabina "Vysyk Eulin Seylamin, the clan of Yangasov Valeysky, was named Matphei at baptism". Perhaps his ancestors paid yasak for some time in Kunovatskaya parish. Let's try to justify this hypothesis, pushing away from Seylamin's name.

In one of the legends recorded by V.I. Vasiliev, it is told about three brothers who came to pay tax to Lyapin. "The brothers were called by nicknames: Varsabiy — the forefather of all Varsapovs; Saloma (?) — his descendants live beyond the Urals and Pinals — the ancestor of all Pinaleevs. Since then Pinals and Varsapovs are considered relatives, and marriages between them (previously) were forbidden" [16, p. 97].

The first thing to pay attention to — Saloma in this story was left aside from the "brothers". The second is the reaction of the interviewer, V.I. Vasiliev put after the name of Seilom a question mark. This is not surprising because the descendants of Seiloma (Seilomina) do not seem to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. I154. Op. 8. D. 43. L. 22ob.-23. [In Russian]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid. L. 148-148b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid. L. 22ob.-27ob.

found either in the revision censuses or in the metric books of churches. However, in the 1783 audit of Kunovatskaya parish revealed only one interesting record — "Yasak samoyeds moved from Obdorskaya parish after the census (1763 — Yu.K.) to Kunovatskaya parish, where they pay yasak to the treasury". The following are the three brothers with their families: Tyara, Lyaku and Nyaka Seya Pomini. Two brothers have wives, both taken from "samoeds" to the clan of Vanyuta of the Kaminnoi storoni<sup>19</sup>.

In our opinion, Seya Pomines is Seilomins. Apparently, there was a very ordinary event for the  $18^{th} - 19^{th}$  centuries — a mistake of one of the yasak scribes. Most likely, it happened when Tyara and his family moved from one department to another. Then the record began to move from one census to another census, almost unchanged. Interestingly, in the  $6^{th}$  revision of 1811, the surname of Tyara and his brothers is written together — Seyapinya. In the  $7^{th}$  revision of 1816, it is written — Tyara Sei Pomin, and in names of brothers the prefix, Sei is absent<sup>20</sup>. Let us suppose that the records in the census documents were not made according to the representative of the family, but simply checked with the records of the previous audit. Yasak, at the same time, was the gurt passed by the foreman of the clan or vatagi.

The further fate of the family Seyaminys / Seylomins is easy to trace. Though here it didn't work out without records of census scribes. E.g., in materials of the 9<sup>th</sup> revision 1851 among the unbaptized kunovatskiy "samoeds" of the Synsky township, the son of Tyara Sei Pomin — Sel Tyarin was noted. In the 10<sup>th</sup> census 1858, Selya's sons Sei, Yapta and Nyavi were recorded under the surname Toyarov. Yapta was also baptized under the name Nikon. In the materials of the Muzhevskaya Church 1886, Nikon Alekseev Teyra<sup>21</sup> is found among the Kunovatsky Nenets [16, pp. 172–173].

The family name Seyapomin / Seylomin / Seylamin in a pure form is not found anywhere else. But in the documents of Obdorsky church for 1876, the son Vysyk-Matthew Seylamin was mentioned. In one of them it is stated that by the decree of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of the All-Russian, the Holy Government Synod taught "*self-alone and foreman*" Stephan Matpheev Yangasov blessing, with issuing a printed certificate from the consistory for the transfer to Obdorskaya Peter and Paul Church "13 and to Obdorskaya Mission 12 deer worth more than 100 rubles" [22, p. 219]. Whether Stefan Yangasov was a rich reindeer herder or, using the rights of the foreman, he collected reindeer from members of his vatagi; it is not known for sure.

The last name, awarded our attention, belongs to the wife of Sabarey Litkov, a family of Karacheiskiy — Serudeta. Her name was "Natya Karacheeva Dvoinikova." Dvinikovi is one of the patronymies of the Tysyya family, who migrated in the Kaninskaya tundra. It is evidenced by the materials of the 5th revision census 1795 for the European North and the records of Benjamin's mission 1825. There is nothing unusual in the fact that the Kanin nenka Natya Dvinikova is the wife

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid. L. 2ob.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. 1154. Op. 8. D. 289. L. 1098; Ibid. D. 404. L. 314ob.-315. [In Russian]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> GBUTO GAT. F. I154. Op. 8. D. 756. L. 224ob. [In Russian]; GBUTO GAT. F. I700. Op. 1. D. 10. L. 124. [In Russian]

of the "samoed" of the Stone (Priural-Yamal) side from the family of Sarotetto. The testimonies of priests and the metric books of Pustozersky and Kuyskiy parishes of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century contain information about the Obdorsk "samoeds", incl. the family of Sarotetto, who reached Pechora and Timansky tundra [16, pp. 84, 138, 203]. Probably, similar migrations happened before.

Now let's pay attention to the Samoyed from the "List" of Makariy who, judging by their names, were baptized twice. The wife of Tabak Aletov is recorded as "**Anna** Hoytseva, Leokoiskago family; at baptism, is called **Maria**." Several other Nenets were re-baptized. E.g., the four children of Tabak and Anna: "Ophonka is called John at baptism; Vaska is called Fedor at baptism; Vanka is called Mihail at baptism; Marina is called Vassa at baptism. And here are children from other families: Anka is called Anna at baptism; Lufa (perhaps Lusha, Lukerya?) is called Marina at baptism. And, finally, Natya Karacheeva Dvoinikova, mentioned above, got the name of Anastasia at baptism.

As it follows from the title, all these Nenets were baptized by Benjamin's mission in 1826. The youngest of the re-baptized, Vanke-Mihail, was only 6 years old that year, and the oldest, Anne-Maria — 37 years old. It follows that they accepted the first baptism no later than 1820–21. And it happened, perhaps, in the Sosvinsk Chrystorozhdestvenskaya Church of the Gradoberyozovskiy Department, whose priests worked in Sosvinskaya and Lyapinskaya parishes. The exception is Natya Dvoinikova, who was baptized, most likely, in a parish near the Kaninskaya tundra.

### "... in Kunovatskaya and in Lyapinskaya due to a small number, they are not called clans"

All Nenets, appeared in the "List" of Makariy, can be attributed to "voykarskaya samoyadya". In the scientific literature, this term denotes the Nenets who constantly or periodically brought yasak in Voykarsky town, standing on the river Laypin. The basis of this community, as mentioned above, were Nenets of Kunovatskaya and Lyapinskaya parishes. Occasionally, the delivery of yasak and the choice of brides made European and Obdorsky Nenets migrating there.

Concerning the clan composition of the "voykar samoyadi", researchers could not reach a consensus. E.g., B.O. Dolgikh reasonably assumed that "European forest Nenets of Pustozersky County and Voikar forest Nenets of Berezovsky County in the  $17^{\text{th}}$  century represented one ethnographic community of forest Samodians, divided by the places of yasak payment and administrative belonging" [12, pp. 33–34]. N.A. Minenko, relying on several archival documents, considers that "almost the majority of the lyapin and kunovatsky Nenets were formed by European immigrants" [13, p. 137]. An interesting record is available in one of the documents of 1782 — "… in *Kunovatskaya and in Lyapinskaya duy to a small number, they are not called a clan, also because of the above clans of the Kamennaya storona are separated*" [8, p. 94].

V.I. Vasiliev criticized his colleagues and expressed his version (a weak one, in our opinion). He believed that "most likely to consider the Liapinskiy and Kunovatskiy "samoeds" as a shard ethnic community that arose on the slopes of the Urals while the ancestors of the Nenets people moved to the north of Siberia". At the same time, he relied on the work of A. Reguli and A. Shrenk and they do not represent full-fledged ethnographic research [16, p. 98].

Rather agreeing with the arguments of B.O. Dolgikh and N.A. Minenko, we can't accept V.I. Vasiliev's point of view. In our opinion, the "Povest Vremennih Let" directly indicates that in the 11<sup>th</sup> century Samodian ancestors of Nenets passed through the Ural Mountains and advanced to the eastern bank of Pechora [29, pp. 150–151]. Only insurmountable obstacles — sea or impassable mountains could stop their movement to the west.

Russian found the routes through the Urals the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. [31, pp. 64–65]. By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the people from the Western and Eastern Urals knew at least nine land crossings and seven waterways through the Ural Mountains and used them when it was necessary, moving from one side to the other and back in different seasons years [3, pp. 171–175].

Documents of the 17<sup>th</sup> century show that at that time the path "through the Kamen" was not particularly difficult and was actively used by "walking people", smuggling fur from Siberia to Russia. In the letter of Tobolsk voivode, dated 1633, it is described how "forty thieves' people" crushed on the river Irtysh below the Samarovskaya Mountains (near the modern city of Khanty-Mansiysk) a detachment of the "writing head" of Peter Aigustov, who went to Obdorsk to collect the state tithe duty. A detachment of servicemen was sent from Berezov to the Sobskaya outpost for the capture of robbers and it could not find them. They traveled to the outpost above the land of Ostyatsk Knyaz Alachev (probably on the river Wojkar). Voivodes sent messengers to Kazan and to Sol Kamskaya with letters to the local boyars and voivodes "about those runaway people and ordered on the Volga not to miss them and on Don". Mangazay Streletsky hundred-man Alexey Shafranu managed to catch up and beat robbers. He went to Siberia with commercial industrial people along the river Usa (a tributary of Pechora) [48, pp. 121–122, 124–126].

Another document is of importance for our study, because, among other things, it shows one of the ways of forming a "voykar samiyad". It is "Letter to Beryozov to the voivode Peter Cherkassk about the trade of Russians with samoeds in Berezovsky County" 1607. It refers to the capture of traders from Pustozersk in Obdorsk, who did not carry travel certificates. On interrogation, in Berezov the pustozyortsy people told, "that they went from Pustozero to kunnoi samiyodi because of the old debts". They decided not to keep these dealers in Berezov, took the tenth duty from their fur and released them to Pustozersk [49, pp. 234–235].

Further in the letter, there is a detailed story about the problems created by the fur resellers to the collectors of the state yasak — "... the pustozyortsi come to the Berezovsky district for all years, many people go via Pechora river in boats with great goods, and from Pechora to the Usa river to the Kamen, to the Rogovoi town, and there they spend fall; and as the road is possible, the pystozerski kamennyaya samoayd comes, their acquaintances and friends, and the Pustozorsky samopyad is hired by those trade people and carries their goods over the Kamen via the tundra, to the yasak and kunnaya samiyad, which comes with its yasak to Obdor and Kazym; and many of their goods they change over the Kamen, on the Usa river, in the Rogovoi town; and the trade people themselves go for their goods with the Kamenniy samoyad on reindeer and, not allowing the Kamenniy samoyad to go to the yasak collectors in Obdor, and to Kazym, and to Kunovat, they trade with them before yasak, and make them move over the Kamen, to the Usu river, in the Rogovoi ostrog; and many of samoyad deals with those puskozertsi and do not pay yasak, moving back in the tundra, and other samoeds go to the pustozertsi over the Kamen and trade on the Usa, in the Rogovoi town; and because of those pustozertsi, the tradesmen and their stealing for all the years, it is a shortfall of the yasak in the treasury, and the tenth duty is carried by many trade people" [49, pp. 235–236].

The formation of "voykarskaya samoyadya" contributed to the Russian "walking people" in a certain way. The 17<sup>th</sup> century (possibly earlier), they organized unauthorized trade with the Ural "samoeds". Having made friends with Nenets who migrated along the tributaries of Pechora, they trusted them their goods, which were carried through the Urals and exchanged for furs from Nenets who moved along the tributaries of Ob, Nadym and Pura. Some Russians went on deer with Pustozerskie Nenets and brought Voikar and Siberian forest Nenets with goods to the river Usa. It is safe to say that periodic trade contacts of European and Siberian Nenets led to the emergence of stable marriage relations between them. Some Nenets moved to a sedentary lifestyle in the villages of the European part, and some did the same but in the Siberia.

In the yasak books of the end of 17<sup>th</sup> — beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, a part of the Vokar Nenets, together with the Synevskaya and Lyapinskaya "samoeds", was a group of European Nenets: Tysyya, Lohei, Valey, Vanyuta, the group of Obdorskaya and Pustozyorskaya "samoedi", as well as some representatives of Siberian tundra Nenets: Lodokui, Ader, Karachei, and Siguney families [15, p. 34]. In the "List" of Makariy, we found the European Nenets: Valei, Tysyy, Lehe, and Hetanzi families, sub-Urals Ngyvai family and Siberian tundra Tusida and Sarotetto families. As you can see, the composition of the "voykar samoyadi" from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century remained quite mobile. Although its main backbone was formed.

Mobility in different periods of time was caused by different reasons. At the end of 17<sup>th</sup> — the first half of 18<sup>th</sup> century, local authorities tried to organize trade with "samoeds" and collecting yasak. Some Nenets, in turn, tried to avoid continuous control over them. Since the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, tundra Nenets began to increase the number of deer and got the opportunity to make cross-country trips at long distances, incl. for the Urals. It became more complicated due to periodically emerging epidemics of smallpox. The last one was close in time to the "List" of Makariy. It occurred in Western Siberia in 1816 and partially affected the European North of Russia [16, pp. 140–141].

The further fate of the "voykarskaya samoyad" is closely intertwined with the peoples who lived in proximity. Marriage contacts, gradually expanded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century of the Kunovatsky Nenets with Khanty, Komi, and Russians, led to assimilation and loss of Nenets identity by many of them. One of the territorial groups of the Nenets people, i.e., the Kunovatsky Nenets, disappeared

in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. [15, p. 129]. Lyapinskie Nenets forgot their native language, but kept self-consciousness, even in the second half of the 20th century distinguishing themselves from neighbors — Komi and Mansi [14, p. 20].

#### About clans and patronyms

The Nenets clans and patronymic surnames mentioned in the "List" of Makariy allow looking critically at the conclusions of some researchers about the formation of the clan system in Nenets communities. E.g., according to V.I. Vasiliev, "the vatagi's awareness of their social significance or, in other words, their registration in the public consciousness in small clans" falls on the 1870s—1890s [16, p. 158, 169]. In our opinion, the author refutes himself, incorrectly summarizing his own research. Indeed, according to the revision censuses of the 18<sup>th</sup> — 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is possible to imagine that the Nenetshad large undivided clans that time. Only in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the revisions, it is a division of clans into nameless vatags.

On the other hand, information from metric books and confessional notes, writings of travelers, officials and researchers of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, used by V.I. Vasiliev [16, pp. 37, 79, 84, 92, 97, 138, 141, 142, 147–155, 169–175, 184], speak of another. Patronimia (or small clans) in Nenets began to stand out from large families since the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the development of large herd reindeer husbandry in the European North of Russia and in Western Siberia. In the western tundra patronymies of the baptized Nenets received the Russian surnames. Sub-Urals-Yamal and Nadymsko-Tazovskie unbaptized Nenets continued to be recorded in yasak documents on belonging to the main, maternal family. One example is mentioned above samoed from the "List" of Makariy, i.e., "Sabarey Litkov, the family of Karachyskago Serudeta". He was recorded in the 7<sup>th</sup> revision 1816 and does not stand out from the structure of the Karachi family of the Kamennaya storona. In addition, the "List" confirms that such clans as Tusida and Yangasov existed in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Conclusion

In our study, we presented detail considerations on the "List of Samoyeds", by the Tobolsk missionary Hieromonk Makariy (Mikhail Ostalskiy-Bogolepov). Finally, it was established that the information reflected dates to 1826. The list contains the Nenets baptized by the mission of Archimandrite Benjamin 1825—1830 in the north of the Arkhangelsk province. Judging by surnames and names of clans, we conclude: some of them belonged to the Kunovatskiy and Liapinskiy Nenets, others — to the European tundra and forest Nenets, and the third — to the Obdorskiy tundra Nenets. Some Nenets were baptized twice. The first time was, probably, in Lyapinskaya parish of Berezovsky district of the Tobolsk province. The analysis of the ancestral and family composition of the Nenets from the "List" allows to attribute them to a separate territorial group of "voykar samoyadi". They paid yasak where it was convenient — in Pustozersk, Obdorsk or in Voykarsky town. Hieromonk Macarius was unable to find the families of these "samoed" (except for one) and to find out what parish they were in and to which church parish they were assigned. It was due to

the mobility of these families. Various circumstances made them periodically migrate from the east side of the Ural Mountains to the west and back.

Conclusions on the origin of Samoeds from Makariy's List contributed to important observations and clarifications concerning both the origin of individual clans, surnames and the Nenets family system. It was possible to confirm the division of large clans on patronymies began in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but not a century later, as some researchers suggested.

The "List of Samoyed" by Hieromonk Makariy is an indicator of how important it is for researchers to pay attention to the seemingly insignificant documents. How important they might be for expanding the horizons of research and drawing up the fullest possible understanding of the subjects and objects studied.

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7.

named Fevronia

Their children:

Hasov or Andrew at baptism

Number					
Male	Female	Who exactly?	Age	What district and what volost	Location and what Christian community they are in
1.		Tobak Aletov, the clan of Tuskda, his age and given name at			
		baptism are not in his note			This family is found;
	1.	The wife Anna Khoitsev, a family of Leokokas; at baptism she is called Mary,		Berezovsky county Obdorskoy parish	and it is now in Obdorskoy parish, but it is not a part of Christian society; Since they were baptized, they are not familiar with Church of God and live as they were
		Age	37		
		Her children:			
2.		Ophonka was baptized as Ioann	12		
3.		Vaska was baptized as Fedor	8		
4.		Vanka was baptized as Mikhail	6		unbaptized
	2.	Marina was baptized as Vassa	11		
5.		Yauta Atsypin Petin, the clan of Valeyskago; baptized as			
		Alexander	26	Berezovsky	Where are they now, it is not
	3.	His wife, Negei Gymuyev, the clan of Tysy; at baptism she was called Vassa	23	county Unknown parish	known; but local authorities make efforts to find them.
	4.	Their daughter Tuzhita; at baptism she was called Anna	1		
6.		[L. 75ob.] Vek Soskin Vyrtsabin, the clan of Iweiskago; at baptism he is called			
		Abraham	60	All family members	
	5.	His wife Valya Kalinina Lotpina, a family of Khatacheiskago; at baptism she is		live in Berezovsky County	Where are they now, it is not known; but local authorities
		named Fevronia	50		

# The list of Samoyeds of the Berezovsky District baptized by the mission of 1826 in the former Arkhangelsk Province

93

50

15

Unknown

Parish

make efforts to find them.

Table 1

Arctic and North. 2019. No. 35

8.		Hazomboy; baptized as loann	5		
9.		Soest; baptized as Petr	1		
	6.	Anka or Anna after she was baptized — age is unknown			
	7.	Loofah was baptized as Marina — age is unknown			
10.		His son-in-law Vysyk Eulin Seylamin, the family of Yangasov Valeyskago;			
		He is called Matphey at baptism	25		
	8.	His wife Terel Vekkina Vyrcabin, the clan of Iweiskago;			
		baptized as Martha	20		
	9.	Their daughter Kirikta; at baptism she is Anna	1		
11.		Yamru Aletov, the family of Karacheisko Seradyty; baptized as Ioann. Has he family or not — it is unknown	55	Berezovsky county Obdorskoy parish	Location unknown
12.	10.	[L. 76] Sabarey Litkov, the family of Karacheisk; at baptism he is called Nikita His wife, Natia Karacheeva Dvoinikova; at baptism she is called Anastasia	59 45	Berezovsky county Obdorskoy parish	Location unknown

Missionary Hieromonk Makariy

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