

The Collected Works of
Bronisław Piłsudski
Volume 1



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The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski

Volume 1

The Aborigines of Sakhalin

edited by

Alfred F. Majewicz

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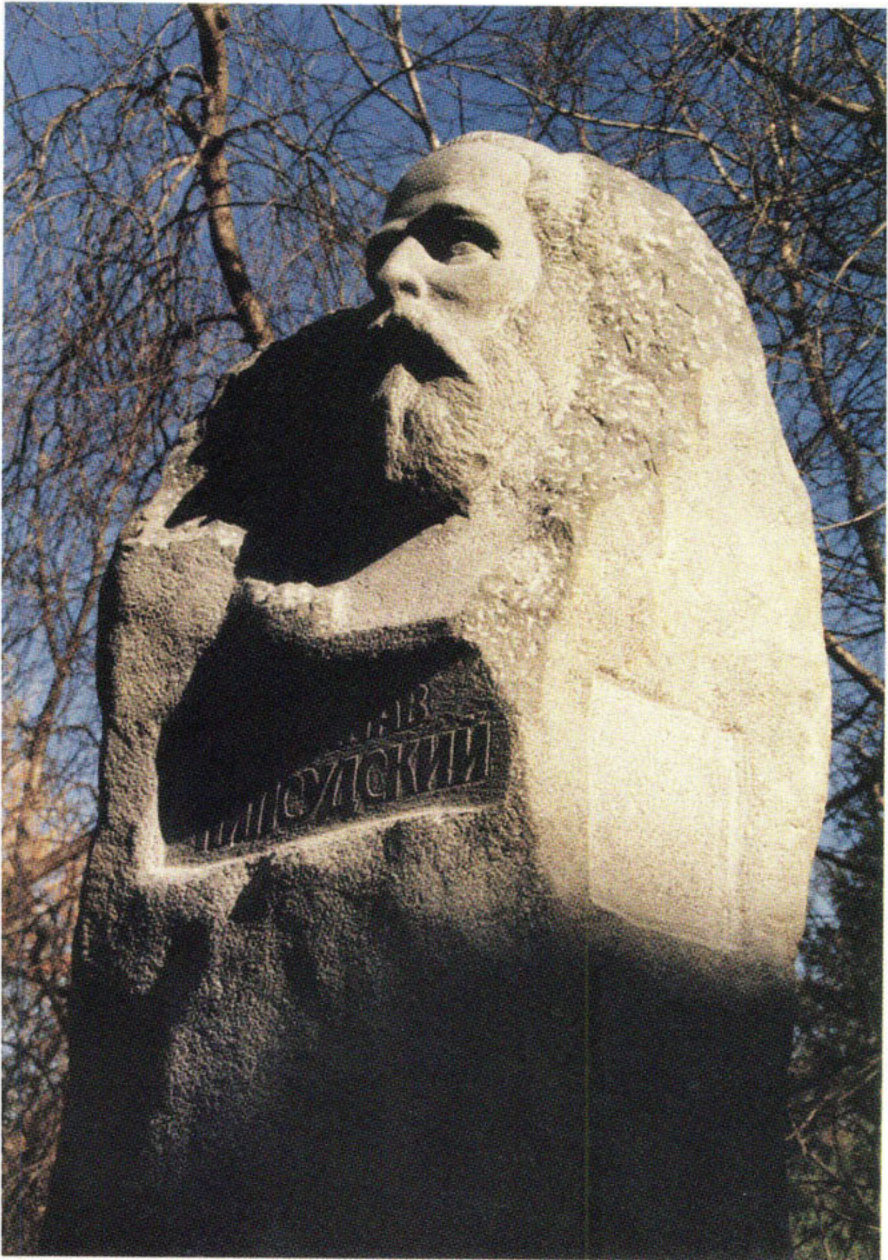
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*For my Mother Wanda,
an innocent victim
of Stalinist rule
A. F. M.*



A monument to Bronisław Piłsudski erected in 1991 in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk

Preface

The present volume opens an edition of the Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski, an eminent self-made scholar, whom history has proved to have been one of the best explorers of all times of the languages and cultures of the small aboriginal peoples inhabiting the island of Sakhalin and the adjacent lower Amur region on the turn of the 20th century: the Sakhalin Ainu, Nivhgu (Gilyaks), Oroks, Olchas, Nanais. His works, in part published in languages ranging from Japanese, through Russian and Polish, to German, French, and English, mainly in small local periodicals now constituting bibliographical rarities retrieved only with utmost difficulties from the fog of oblivion, but for the most part remaining unpublished, hardly leave any important aspect of their life untouched, presenting thus a versatile and incomparable image of the spiritual and material world of communities long since extinct.

The principal goal of the present volume, as well as of the volumes to follow, is to reconstruct this invaluable contribution, but, at the same time, to attempt a reconstruction of this world of the Sakhalin natives already completely absorbed by the past. The organization of the material offered by the book (the arrangement of consecutive chapters, bibliographies, commentaries, notes, indices, illustrations, etc.), the selection of the sources for translation as well as the translation techniques and options, etc., have been subordinated to this goal.

The work on the Collected Works, conceived within the framework of an international research project labeled ICRAP (cf. this volume, pp. 1 ff., 8 ff., 40), has been delayed for over eight years due to a shortage of specialists able to work in several of the languages involved (hence the team-work in its final stage turned practically into a one-man task) and due to financial problems. For more than a decade the project has been supported by money and equipment from Japan, Germany, and other countries, including financially troubled and unstable Russia. It has, however, proved impossible to secure financing on the part of Poland, Piłsudski's "own beloved fatherland"; in particular applications to the state committee of scholarly research (KBN) have proved unsuccessful. This is a development to be deplored as one would think that the work of one of the great Polish scholars of the past would seem to be a matter of natural concern for national funding agencies.

It is with great sorrow that we have to report the death of a number of leading scholars in the fields of Piłsudski's interest: First among them is the

actual initiator of the Project to save his scholarly legacy, Professor Shin'ichirō Kuroda of Hokkaido University; his untimely passing away shocked us and plunged us into deep and long mourning. Recently, the sad news reached us of the death of another friend of Piłsudski and a great friend and researcher of the Nivhgu, Professor Robert Austerlitz of Columbia University and of the passing away of the outstanding specialist in the Nivhgu language from the Vladivostok branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, a Nivhgu herself, Galina Aleksandrovna Otaina.

There were also some brighter moments. A gabrodiorite monument to Bronisław Piłsudski has been erected in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk in front of the Sakhalin Regional Museum. It was unveiled on November 2nd, 1991, to commemorate the 125th anniversary of his birth. Preceding this event the Second International Piłsudski Conference “Piłsudski as researcher of Sakhalin natives” was convened in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (Oct. 31st–Nov. 2nd, 1991); its proceedings appeared in two volumes in 1992 in Russian (В. М. Латышев & М. И. Ищенко (eds.), “Б. О. Пилсудский – исследователь народов Сахалина”, *Južno-Saxalinsk: Saxalinskij Oblastnyj Muzej*), a selection of Japanese papers has been published in Japan (Murasaki Kyōko (ed.) 1991, “Saharin-to B. Piusutsuki. B. Piusutsuki tanjō 125 shūnen kinen kokusai shimpojiūmu hōkoku”, Sapporo: Piusutsuki-o meguru Hoppō-no Tabi-jikkō Iinkai), and another selection of papers from that Conference appeared in vol. 2 of the *Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań. A number of B. Piłsudski's writings (both reprints and newly discovered ones) and an impressive number (over 250) of works concerning him and his work have been published in Russia, Lithuania, Japan, Poland, Germany, Thailand, USA, and a number of his manuscript texts have been discovered.*

Stęszew, November '94
Sapporo, September '97

afm.

*Aliquando tandem
vincet tao linguae*

The way of Bronisław Piłsudski

The endeavors to do justice to the work of Bronisław Piłsudski have at last come to fruition. The *Collected Works* of this eminent self-made scholar retrieve his invaluable contribution from the mists of oblivion, thanks to the generosity of the publishing house of Mouton de Gruyter. Readers will now be able to immerse themselves in the spiritual and material world of the aboriginal peoples of Sakhalin and Hokkaido, a world which has long since vanished into the past. The fate of the peoples described by Piłsudski was as tragic as his own. Are we ready today to fully appreciate the humanistic attitude of this researcher and friend of the Sakhalin natives, of this tragic, homeless wanderer? The message of his life's work is clear: Treat minority peoples as your fellow citizens, help them to survive. This was Piłsudski's guiding ethos, expressed concisely by himself in the following words full of despair: "Nous étudions avec intérêt chaque détail de leur passé, mais nous n'apportons presque aucun souci pour leur avenir: Ils se meurent, ils disparaissent. Déjà à l'heure actuelle ils perdent rapidement leur individualité propre au contact destructif des envahisseurs". These words of long ago, referring to the plight of the Ainu and their neighbors are more relevant now than ever before. May they not remain the lost words of a lone voice crying in the wilderness!

Piłsudski's works present a multifaceted image of the autochthonous peoples of Sakhalin. Hardly a single aspect of their way of life is left unexplored. Language and folklore, poetry and songs, economy and shamanism, music and medicine are just some of the areas we become acquainted with. The life of these oppressed peoples, which were not given a chance to continue their participation in the history of mankind, reappears before our eyes in all its captivating dimensions, multicolored like a shining rainbow, profound and dynamic like a rolling ocean. Only now can we realize how much we have all lost.

We look with amazement at the broad intellectual horizons of Piłsudski and at the tenacity of purpose, which enabled him to overcome the immense

adversities of a life lived in exile. However, we should not be content with admiring his unique contribution; we are rather under the inalienable obligation to at least try to follow his implied or expressed commandments. How are we to act — is a challenging question that we all have to answer in our own hearts. Let us increase therefore our efforts in the area of the ecology of languages, of which minority idioms form a natural and necessary component; let us create for them conditions that make their speakers feel truly at home in their native countries.

We should be fully aware of the fact that accomplishing these objectives in today's world is a very difficult, but hopefully not impossible, task. Therefore, let us not give up trying to convince others and to win them over to the cause of language ecology. Our intentions should not lead to mere exhortations reflecting a fleeting fashion of the moment, and having thus no more than a temporary effect.

The preservation of language diversity is a necessary precondition for the preservation of diversity in human culture. We are still unable to imagine all the negative consequences, which lingual and cultural unification may bring about. It is not improbable that language, similarly to life, can optimally function only if it develops a multitude of its various manifestations. With the death of a language a unique grasp of reality always passes irretrievably away; a unique access to this reality is eliminated forever.

Since human communication has both inter- and intraethnic aspects, the development of a preference for one particular language (or, at most, a few of them) for the purposes of panethnic communication can be easily reconciled with lingual diversity, provided the former does not devastate the latter. Thus, lingual unity at the panethnic level is reconcilable with lingual pluralism at the interethnic level, since they are two complementary manifestations of communication in a multiethnic and multicultural world. The intraethnic communication means helps to secure continuity for ethnic otherness, whereas the panethnic means makes it possible to transcend language barriers, and thus to establish communication on a global scale, which also has become a necessity for the world today.

The awareness of the basic oneness of all languages, originating with a universal source, should also be conducive to their harmonious co-existence. Language may be compared with water flowing in various rivers: the shape and the size of the riverbed determine how much water can flow, but they do not affect the quality of the water itself. If ultimately a lasting harmony with the *tao* of language is achieved and preserved, stable conditions for a sustainable ecology of language will be attained, an ecology resistant to the destructive forces of whatever provenance.

We do not have the slightest intention to impose our view of Piłsudski's philosophy upon anyone. We should all feel free to arrive at our own evaluations. Ideally, each reader will develop a full appreciation and deep understanding of the humanism that was the all-pervasive power shaping Piłsudski's life and thought. It would be nice to hope that the publication of the *Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski* will familiarize a wider public not only with this scholar's significant contributions to knowledge, but also with his goals and dreams, and thereby will help to carry his message to present and future generations. Since the prospects for minority languages are today rather gloomy, this message is especially urgent. It should move our conscience and shake us into action, in order to save that which is still savable. May we not be roused from inactivity too late.

How much time must elapse before diversity of languages ceases to divide humanity, but rather unites it in an awareness of the blessing and the potential for the perfection of human communication present in this very diversity. How much additional effort is necessary to make Piłsudski's ideas our own?

Jerzy Bańcerowski

Contents

Preface	vii
The way of Bronisław Piłsudski	ix
Introduction	1
List of ICRAP contributors	8
Acknowledgements	12
A note on bibliographical information	13
Researcher and friend of Sakhalin natives	
The scholarly profile of Bronisław Piłsudski	15
Bibliography of biographical material concerning B. Piłsudski	37
Appendix 1	43
Appendix 2	44
Bibliography of works by Bronisław Piłsudski	53
I. List of publications	54
II. Unpublished works	65
a) Works preserved in manuscript	65
b) Unrecovered works	66
III.	67
Selected bibliography of works on peoples investigated by Bronisław Piłsudski and on related problems	70
a. general	70
b. Ainu	74
c. Nivhgu	88
d. Orok	92
e. Olcha	94
Abbreviations	95
A note on the translations	96
List of names of Sakhalin Ainu settlements and their variations in Piłsudski's writings	99

I.

Wants and needs of the Sakhalin Nivhgu (1898) 105

Poetry and songs of the Nivhgu (1911, 1913, 1934, 1904, 1908) . . . 143

II.

Information on B. O. Piłsudski (on the basis of letters addressed to the Secretary of the Committee) (1904) 185

B. O. Piłsudski's letter while on an expedition to Sakhalin (addressed to the Secretary of the Committee) (1905) 186

B. O. Piłsudski's report on his expedition to the Ainu und Oroks of the island of Sakhalin in the years 1903–1905 (1907) 192

The aborigines of Sakhalin (1909) 222

A. On the western coast 229

B. In the Aniwa Bay 230

C. On the eastern coast 230

D. Inland in the valley of the river Tym 231

The Ainu (1911) 236

An outline of the economic life of the Ainu on the island of Sakhalin (1906, 1907) 271

A draft of rules for the establishment of authority over the Sakhalin Ainu with short explanations on particular points (1905, 1986) . . 296

Selected information on individual Ainu settlements on the island of Sakhalin (1907)

Eastern coast 311

Western coast 319

Statistical data on Sakhalin Ainu for the year 1904 (1907) 331

Leprosy among Nivghu and Ainu (1912, 1913) 346

Pregnancy, delivery, miscarriages, twins, freaks, fertility and sterility, and menstruation among the aboriginal inhabitants of the island of Sakhalin (Nivghu, Ainu and Oroks) (1908, 1909, 1910)	362
The Nivghu	362
The house of birth	362
The birth	363
Miscarriages	365
The husband's behavior	366
Generalities	366
The Oroks	368
The Ainu	368
General treatment of women	368
The husband's behavior	371
The woman after parturition	372
Treatment of the newborn	373
Miscarriage	374
Twin births	378
Sterility among the Ainu	381
Menstruation	383
Twins in the Orok Society	385
Freaks	385
Shamanism among the aborigines of Sakhalin (1908, 1909, 1910)	391
On the bear festival of the Ainu on the island of Sakhalin (1914, 1909)	438
Addenda	546
Íso réske ojna	558
Translation: On rearing the bear — a legend in song	559
Les signes de propriété des Aino (1912)	562
Signes individuels	563
a) Signes sur les flèches	563
Signes de famille	569
a) Signes sur la vaisselle et les effets	569
b) Signes sur les arbres	572
c) Signes sur les bateaux et les rames	574
d) Signes sur les animaux domestique	574
Materials for the study of the language and folklore of the Ainu (1911)	597

Ainu folk-lore (1912)	599
1. The owl	599
2. The otter	599
3. The man in the moon	600
4. Origin of Seal Island (“Robin Island”)	601
5. The sable-hunter	602
6. Seal Island	602
7. Why foxes’ eyes slant, and why the hare has no tail	604
8. The crow and the mussel	605
9. In quest of the sea-lion	606
10. The woman and the demon	606
11. Samayekuru and his sister	607
12. A Poem	609
List of objects sent to the Vladivostok Museum of the Society for the Study of the Amur Region on the S/S Mandzhur (1988)	613
Sakhalin Ainu	613
Sakhalin Nivhgu	617
From the report on the expedition on the Oroks in 1904 (1913, 1989)	618
Clan, family, community	618
Names	639
Reindeer breeding	641
The wars	647
Superstitions	651
Funeral. Graves	652
Talismans	656
Feasts	657
Medicine	671
Children’s Games	674
Appendices/Notes	679
Appendices	681
Short preliminary report on the Ainu school in the Korsakovsk Re- gion in 1903–1904	681
List	683
Short Report on the Ainu elementary school in the Korsakovsk Re- gion for the years 1904–1905	684

Notes	691
List of illustrations (with comments)	728
Indices	733
Personal names	733
Place names	745
Index of words in Ainu, Nivhgu, Orok, and other languages	754
Ainu	754
Nivhgu	765
Orok	770
Russian	771
Japanese	772
Latin	772
Polish, Olcha, Chinese	773
Subject index	774
Ideographic index	787

Introduction

The present edition of the Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski constitutes the final result of the international research project labeled ICRAAP (an acronym for the “International Committee for the Restoration and Assessment of Bronisław Piłsudski’s Work”) which was conducted in the years 1981–1986 with the financial support mainly from IBM-Japan. The project was coordinated by the National Museum of Ethnology (*Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan*) in Osaka, with the Institute of Northern Cultures (*Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Shisetsu*) of Hokkaido University (Sapporo, Japan) and the Institute of Linguistics of the Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznań, Poland) as principal participants. The Head of the project was Professor Kyūzō Katō, Director of the 4th Research Department of the National Museum of Ethnology, its Secretary, Professor Yoshinobu Kotani of the same Museum (at present Nagoya University).

The ICRAAP project originated after the rediscovery of phonographic recordings of Ainu folklore on wax cylinders made by B. Piłsudski at the beginning of this century (1902–1903) in Sakhalin and Hokkaido, and the publication of the description of the collection in 1977 (Majewicz 1977 a*). Primarily, the aim of the project was to restore the recordings and to save their contents. The accomplishment of the project was believed to contribute to several fields, such as acoustics and archive-material reproduction technology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, linguistics, not to mention Ainu studies themselves. The official documentation of the project specified, among others, the following:

“[The] project (...) possesses by itself the academic value because of the importance and the rarity of [Piłsudski’s] materials. Besides [the project possesses:]

1. The acoustic-technological meaning

“An application of the highest technics should be tried to reproduce the sound information recorded in the Piłsudski’s cylinders as it is about a century ago when the recordings were made and the process of their disintegration has already reached to a serious level owing to the bad state of their preservation. Therefore, the reproduction apparatus to be developed by us will naturally turn out a new device, an assemblage of the most developed technics.

* For references cf. the bibliographies in this volume, pp. 37 ff., 53 ff., 70 ff.

“A team of the technological experts, representing the most developed Japanese technology in electronics, optical machinery, chemical compounds and so on, was organized around the Research Institute of Applied Electricity, Hokkaidō University. (...) It is expected that some technological specialists of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation [NHK], who are well acquainted with the newest achievements of modern technology, will take part in the operation and in due course will contribute largely to the development of the new device.

“A completed system of reproduction, which will be established in this way for the Piłsudski’s cylinders, might be applicable to any other phonographic cylinders which, we believe, are found a lot untreated all over the world, first of all in the United States and Western Europe. (...)”

2. The linguistic meaning

“If compared (...) Sakhalin Ainu and Hokkaidō Ainu, the former is by far the less studied and less informed of than the latter. Now that the last speaker of the Sakhalin Ainu died, the Sakhalin Ainu (...) seems to follow the example of the Kurile Ainu dialect which had been long since extinct. Under these circumstances the discovery of the sound information of the Sakhalin Ainu language which dates back to the beginning of the 20th century is itself an epoch-making event in the history of ainology.

“The Sakhalin Ainu is supposed to be the language which shows morphologically, lexically and grammatically as well older traits than the Hokkaidō Ainu and accordingly can be reckoned as the most precious dialect for elucidating the genetic question of the Ainu language. (...) we have had no reliable clues to this question. Moreover, Piłsudski recorded this dialect in the beginning of the 20th century when the traditional Ainu society had not dissolved yet and the Ainu people had used still their own language in their daily life. Thus, the information recorded by him is by far the more valuable than the later one which underwent the strong (...) japanization.

“The linguistic analysis of the information taken from the (...) cylinders will not only contribute to the progress of the study of the Sakhalin Ainu language as well as of the comparative study of the Sakhalin and the Hokkaidō Ainu languages but also give some important clues to the elucidation of the relationship [between Ainu, Japanese, and other adjacent Siberian languages].

3. The ethnomusicological meaning

“So far as the music of Sakhalin Ainu is concerned, it is considered that the earliest record is that of the Hungarian scholar B. Baratos, recorded in the end of the 1920s. (...) if Piłsudski’s cylinder information will be revived, the earliest date will be set back by 20 years. With the appearance of the music

record (...) from the beginning of this century, we have got a chance of its comparison with the music materials recorded after World War II. It will enable us to grasp the older form of the Ainu music, the contemporary form of which suffered a strong influence from the other cultures. It is probable also that the Ainu ritual singings performed during the shamanistic seances and the bear festival would disclose a striking resemblance to the Japanese singing performances with relation to the folk beliefs and rituals which are preserved in the north-eastern part of the Japanese main island (Tōhoku chihō) still now. Moreover, if we will be able to reconstruct theoretically the acculturation process of the Sakhalin Ainu music in time it will help to establish an acculturation theory for the musical traditions of the native peoples of North America, Eurasia and the Aleutian Islands, too.

4. The anthropological meaning

“Among the items of the recorded information known to us from the notes which Piłsudski himself wrote down on the outer surface of each cylinder case, there are a lot of such myths and legends as “Hauki”, “Oina”. Like “Yukar” of Hokkaidō Ainu, they convey rich information on the topics pertaining to the substrata of the Ainu culture as well as on its concrete cultural features. Such kind of information, if complemented by the knowledge extracted from Piłsudski’s published as well as unpublished materials, will comprise an unprecedented information depository of the Sakhalin Ainu culture which is so little known to us so far.

“Although there have been made frequent remarks concerning the resemblance in cultural features between the Sakhalin Ainu and the Siberian cultures, we did have in reality quite few concrete proofs. In this connection Piłsudski’s materials might supply us with such abundant proofs. For example, the mythological analysis of the “Oina” of Sakhalin Ainu will emboss the proximity of the Ainu myths to the Siberian counterparts. On the other hand, the reassessment of Piłsudski’s materials might display clearly the northern character of the Ainu bear festival, shamanism, birth customs and so on.

“(…) researches based on Piłsudski’s materials will enable us to compare directly the cultures of Sakhalin and Hokkaidō Ainu and furthermore will contribute to elucidate the relationship between the Ainu and the Japanese cultures as well as to further the genetic problem of the Ainu culture as a whole, for which there have been proposed too many probable hypotheses” (cf. Majewicz 1985; also Katō & Kotani (eds.) 1987, Asakura & Ifukube (eds.) 1986, Janhunen 1986, Sakikawa 1987).

The ultimate purpose of the whole ICRAP project was defined as aiming at contributing to the clarification of the relationship between the Ainu and

ancient Japanese cultures and to the search for ancient northern cultures which possibly took part in and influenced the formation of the Japanese civilization.

In Japan, the project started with the treatment of the phonographic cylinders in the Research Institute of Applied Electricity (*Ōyō Denki Kenkyūjo*) at Hokkaido University. The documentation of the technological side of the project has been published as Asakura & Ifukube (eds.) 1986*.

With the progress of the project and especially the work of its historical, linguistic, and ethnological teams expanding, and to secure positive results of the project, two other goals were added: an international symposium on Bronisław Piłsudski and the compilation of his collected works.

The “International symposium on B. Piłsudski’s phonographic records and the Ainu culture” organized by Hokkaido University on September 16–20, 1985, to sum up the first stage of the project gathered 148 participants from ten countries (Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, USA, USSR) and turned out to be a well-organized and fruitful interdisciplinary conference covering a wide range of subjects related to its main topic, including history, sound reproduction technology, wax cylinder restoration and preservation, study of folklore, linguistics, ethnology, anthropology, museology. Altogether, 38 papers were presented, most of them by outstanding specialists in their particular disciplines. ICRAP was lucky and honored to attract their cooperation. The *Proceedings* of the Symposium were published as Asakura et al. (eds.) 1985**. Much attention was devoted to B. Piłsudski and his work also during the international conference on the “History and present state of Ainu collections in Europe and European studies on the Ainu” organized at Bonn University (West Germany) in June 1987, and a special conference to commemorate the 125th anniversary of his birth took place in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (Sakhalin, USSR) in 1991; in Europe, in the same year, an exhibition in Warsaw for the first time provided access to Piłsudski’s ethnographical collections preserved in Sakhalin. The catalogue of these collections has been published recently (Latyšev & Prokof’ev 1988) in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. Of numerous other publications devoted to Piłsudski in recent years either in conjunction with the ICRAP project or independently of it, the impressive volume of studies on “Bronisław Piłsudski’s materials on northern peoples and cultures” (Katō & Kotani (eds.) 1987) published in Osaka in Japanese deserves special mention***.

* For the table of contents of this publication, cf. this volume, pp. 47–49.

** For the table of contents of this publication see this volume, pp. 45–46.

*** For the table of contents of this publication see this volume, pp. 50–52.

ICRAP had astonishingly strong support from and extensive coverage especially in the Japanese media – press and television – and met with interest from a very wide public. All important breakthroughs were reflected in both local and nationwide newspapers and in local Hokkaido television. Besides, the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) produced two documentaries on Piłsudski and ICRAP, one documentary was produced by the local Hokkaido HTB station, another by Hokkaido TEN television, and one by Polish State Television (TVP). The collection of worldwide echoes includes an Eskimo-language newspaper clipping on Piłsudski and ICRAP activities, and the sound from Piłsudski's cylinders inspired a musical for children. It was indeed very poignant for this writer to observe Japanese school children learning and singing a song about “beautiful stories heard from cylinders of uncle *Piusutsuki*”.

The preparation for the compilation of B. Piłsudski's collected works involved search for items already published as well as for possible manuscripts and neither was an easy task. The published works were printed in journals now hardly available and often badly preserved. In fact, even the compilation of the bibliography of Piłsudski's works proved very difficult (cf. the introduction to the bibliography of his works in the present volume). What was located, identified, and copied must be considered a success. The search for manuscripts of Piłsudski's unpublished materials proved also partially successful: recovered were a superb collection of fifty Ainu prayer texts, an Orok grammatical sketch in two versions (Russian and Polish), Orok and Olcha texts, and two glossaries: Olchan-Polish and Orok-Polish. The importance of these glossaries is due mainly to two factors: their date and their size.

Toshirō Tsumagari, a specialist on Tungusic languages, pointed during the Piłsudski Symposium to the fact that Piłsudski's Orok glossary of approximately 3,000 entries collected chiefly in the mixedly populated Orok-Nivhgu village of Socihare in the vicinity of the Lake Taraika (eastern Sakhalin) since June 1904 was historically the second (of all known) Orok lexicological collection ever compiled. Its only predecessor was a Japanese source from the mid-19th century which listed only about 250 words, and it is still the third largest today. The Olchan glossary of over 1,660 entries was actually the first accurate account of the Olcha lexicon. Recovered were also a manuscript of one Ainu folkloristic *tuita* text in Cyrillic transcription, a sensational (unfortunately unfinished) report on the Oroks, the text of “a draft of rules for the establishment of authority over the Sakhalin Ainu”, and two reports on the schools for Ainu children founded and administered by Piłsudski himself. Some of these recovered texts are published in this volume in English translation.

Unfortunately, unrecovered remain manuscripts of Piłsudski's Ainu and Nivhgu dictionaries, but as no proof of their destruction had been established, an appeal to consolidate specialists' efforts to recover them was made during the 1985 Symposium. Such a recovery would undoubtedly be an event of enormous importance, not just for Ainu studies, because of the richness of the alleged contents*.

Volume One of the Collected Works contains all the material from Bronisław Piłsudski's works on the aborigines of Sakhalin, except his 1912 *Materials ...*, Olcha and Orok materials and Ainu prayer texts, published in any form, preprints circulated among specialists including, prior to the completion of this book. The material in Volume One is presented in English translation in accordance with the principles outlined in the "Note on the translation"***.

Volume Two will embrace the 1912 *Materials for the study of the Ainu language and folklore* together with an extensive multifunctional index-dictionary which is a partial reconstruction of Piłsudski's own missing dictionary of the Ainu language.

Volume Three will contain a partial reconstruction of the missing volume two of the *Materials for the study of the Ainu language and folklore* (1990 a), the fifty prayer texts (1984–1985 a), the linguistic Orok and Olchan materials, the two glossaries included (1984–1985 b, 1985, 1987), and all other Ainu, Orok and Olcha texts recovered and prepared for print before the completion of the volume.

Volume Four will include materials recovered from and related to the wax cylinder phonographic records.

Volume Five will contain Nivhgu materials recovered from Piłsudski's unpublished manuscripts (cf. the bibliography of B. Piłsudski's works in this volume, II, items 3, 4, 8) and presumably Piłsudski's correspondence with L. Ya. Shternberg (cf. *ibid.*, item 10).

Volume Six will provide the English translation of B. Piłsudski's contributions that did not enter the preceding volumes, an evaluation of Piłsudski's contribution to the study of the peoples of Far East and to ethnology in general, and indexes to Volume 1–6.

If recovered, Ainu and Nivhgu dictionaries and other similar material will constitute Parts 2, 3, etc., of Volume Three and Five, respectively.

A special Companion Volume will contain all the Polish-, Russian-, Japanese-, French- and German-language originals and translations as printed between 1896 and 1936.

* Cf. this volume, p. 598.

** This volume, pp. 96 ff.

The content matter of the present volume which follows the introductory and bibliographical section is divided into two parts. Part I contains works based on the material Piłsudski had collected mainly as a prisoner, while Part II consists of works prepared on the basis of the material Piłsudski collected as the official representative of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and the Vladivostok museum (see his biography in this volume, pp. 14 ff.)

A. F. M.

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A note on bibliographical information

Titles in languages other than English, German, and French in all the bibliographical lists in volume one of the Collected Works are provided with an English translation or explanation in the brackets immediately following them. In subsequent volumes, however, only titles not in volume one lists will be provided with such information.

A list of bibliographical abbreviations follows the “Bibliography of works by Bronisław Piłsudski” in this volume.

Researcher and friend of Sakhalin natives

The scholarly profile of Bronisław Piłsudski*

Bronisław Piłsudski had the second given name Piotr. He sometimes also signed himself Ginet-Piłsudski indicating thus his ties with an ancient family Ginet, Ginejtowicz, and in Russian literature he has been known as Bronislav Osipovič Piłsudskij, the second element of this name being the so-called patronymic (a name derived from one's father given name) coined from the Russian rendering (Osip) of his father's main given name Józef.

Bronisław was born on the 2nd of November (21st of October, in accordance with the Russian "old-style" calendar then legally in force) of 1866 in the Piłsudski family estate Zułów of Święciany county, Vilna Province (*guberniya*), approximately 60 kilometers north-east of the then provincial capital of Vilna, the present-day Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, as the third child and first son in the family. Altogether, he had six sisters and five brothers.

His father, Józef Wincenty Piotr Piłsudski (1833–1902), was the legitimate successor of an eminent Polish-Lithuanian nobility (*szlachta*) family, and owned about 2,970 acres of land, a saw mill, a turpentine production factory, a distillery, and a number of other small works. His mother, Maria Piłsudska (1842–1884), came from an equally (or even more) eminent Polish-Lithuanian family, the Billewicz.

The children enjoyed a happy family life in Zułów, beloved by their parents who – especially the mother – strove to provide their offspring with a very patriotic, yet broadest possible education, so that the children on the one hand were familiar with the best of banned Polish literature and, on the other hand, a Swiss governess was hired to teach them French and German. The reader should be aware that at that time Poland did not exist as an independent state and the Polish soil had been partitioned between German Prussia, Austria-Hungary and Russia.

* This sketch owes much to the Japanese biographer of Bronisław Piłsudski – Prof. Kōichi Inoue of the Chūbu University in Kasugai who over the course of many years painstakingly pursued almost every step of his hero, and to Piłsudski's Russian biographer – Vladislav Mikhailovich Latyshev, Director of the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

In 1867 Bronisław's younger brother Józef Klemens was born. Later he was to become the architect of Poland's independence (1918), one of the leading figures on the European political scene, and the Marshal, the military dictator of Poland.

In July of 1874 a disastrous fire destroyed the entire Zułów estate, together with the beautiful park and surrounding forests, and the family had to move to Vilna where they settled in a middle-class apartment house.

In September of 1877 both Bronisław and Józef started their education in a Russian gymnasium where all classes were run by Russian teachers in the Russian language. Speaking Polish, even privately during breaks, was forbidden and always met with punishment. On holidays the Polish pupils who were predominantly Roman Catholic were forced to attend Russian Orthodox Church services and pray in Russian for the Russian czar, who in their deepest convictions was the main oppressor of their miserable Motherland. All this, as well as the exceptionally conservative attitude of their teachers towards new trends in intellectual life worldwide, naturally brought about first spontaneous and then institutionalized protest. In 1882 both Piłsudski brothers, then fifth-grade gymnasists, organized a self-education circle named *Spójnia* ("union, tie, bond, link" < *spójny* "compact") which soon attracted all those Polish youngsters that hated both Russian education and the Russian policies and dreamed of an independent Poland. During illegal secret meetings the *Spójnia* members read Darwin, Comte, Spencer, and banned Polish literature, and studied Polish history, with special emphasis on the Polish independence-oriented November (1830) and January (1863) uprisings. Especially attractive for these very active hot-heads were the ideas of socialism. The Piłsudskis were the leading force of the *Spójnia* and, as Bronisław's biographer Kōichi Inoue has put it, "the *Spójnia* was in fact Bronisław's university".

In June of 1883 Bronisław failed to pass the exams for promotion to the seventh grade which was a bitter setback to him; one year later on the 1st of September 1884 his beloved 42-years-old mother died (Inoue noted: "Bronisław lost not only his mother but also his best counselor and friend") and then a year after that he was expelled from the gymnasium for his activity in the *Spójnia* circle after finishing only the seventh grade.

In September of 1885 Bronisław Piłsudski left for St. Petersburg to try to obtain a gymnasium graduation certificate as an external student and to enter university studies. Unbelievably, he succeeded in both. In September of 1886 he was enrolled as a first-year student in the Faculty of Law of the Imperial St. Petersburg University but soon, on March 14th 1887, he was arrested in his Petersburg flat for an alleged and problematic involvement in an attempt on the life of Czar Alexander the Third and together with 14 other accused,

including V. I. Lenin's brother Aleksandr Ulyanov, he was tried and sentenced to 15 years of *katorga* (hard labor) in Sakhalin. Five persons received the death sentence after the trial and even Bronisław's brother Józef who had only been summoned as a witness was administratively exiled in connection with it for five years to Kerensk and Tunka in Eastern Siberia. A petition letter from Józef Piłsudski to the authorities begging to be allowed to join his brother Bronisław in the Sakhalin *katorga* in order to help the latter to survive there has been preserved. The reply was, of course, negative.

According to some Soviet sources, Piłsudski was also sentenced to death (by hanging), and the sentence was only later changed to the *katorga* penalty (see e. g. Latyšev & Prokof'ev 1988: 6) with bribes allegedly involved (Piłsudska 1989: 91). Some other sources suggest that he did not receive the death penalty. Below, the course of events as reconstructed and summarized by K. Inoue is quoted from Asakura et al. (eds.) 1985: 3–6.

“On the 13th of March, 1887, about 10 o'clock a. m., policemen interrogated three young men near the Anichkov bridge on the main street of Petersburg, the Nevski Prospekt. The police found explosives on them, which were concealed as thick books. They were arrested on the spot together with three more youths who had tried to run away. After investigation, it came out that the former group were bombers, whereas the latter were signalists, and that both groups were cooperatively roaming on the Nevski Prospekt, waiting for the arrival of Czar Alexander III to assault him. It was a special day for Alexander III, since his father Alexander II had been assassinated by the terrorists on this very day of 1881. Therefore, Alexander III was to come along the Nevski Prospekt on his way back from the Peter-and-Paul Cathedral where the sixth anniversary service of his father's death was being held.

“Six arrestees, all students of the Imperial St. Petersburg University, declared that they were members of the “Terrorist Fraction of the Party Narodnaya Volya”. They all refused to tell any further, except for one, Mikhail Nikitych Kancher.

“Kancher brought to light all the names of the people concerned and even accompanied police in search for the suspects. Consequently, B. Piłsudski was also arrested owing to Kancher's information.

“This unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Alexander III is usually called “the Second Case of the 1st of March” in connection with the successful assassination in 1881 (this is because the 13th of March corresponds to the 1st of March by Russian or Julian Calendar).

“I will not dwell on this “Second Case” but I think it necessary here to touch upon at least some details which concern our Bronisław.

“1. Why he was arrested?

“So far as the charge against him is concerned, it was because he had offered his home for printing the “Programme of the Terrorist Fraction of the Party Narodnaya Volya” which Alexander Ulyanov (Lenin’s elder brother) completed on the 11th of March, and also because he gave assistance to those who prepared the attempt.

“The following is an example of his assistance.

“In February of 1887, Bronisław, while visiting Vilnius for the New Year, was asked to obtain strychnine and atropine and to bring them to Petersburg. It is said that Bronisław, knowing nothing about the conspiracy, accepted and fulfilled the request. Then, on the 12th of February came from Petersburg Kancher to receive the chemical poisons. Bronisław offered him a night’s stay and lent him 40 rubles. On the following day Bronisław left for Petersburg, and thereafter Józef, who happened to be also at Vilnius, took care of Kancher and guided him around the city. Kancher, too, returned to Petersburg with two boxes of the chemicals, which were really put into the explosives later.

“Because of his service Józef was also arrested on the 22nd of March and taken to Petersburg for trial as a witness.

“2. What was Bronisław’s real function in the conspiracy?

““God knows!!” It is true that through activities of the “Spójnia” Bronisław educated himself toward socialism. Accordingly we may assume that he could have found common words with members of the Party “Narodnaya Volya” and of its Polish fraternal Party “Proletariat”. In addition to this, I presume that, since Piłsudski came to Petersburg, he kept a very close relation with Józef Łukaszewicz, his senior alumnus of the Vilnius gymnasium. As is well known, Łukaszewicz was the chief conspirator, or at least one of the main conspirators, even though he succeeded in escaping death penalty. Bronisław’s youth does not exclude him from the full membership in the conspiracy, since the majority of those involved in it were of his age.

“On the other hand, there are many indications and opinions to the contrary, namely, he was only by chance entangled in the conspiracy. Most Polish authors are inclined to hold this position. So far as I am concerned, it appears to me that the truth lies in between. But, for the time being, let us listen to and believe what Bronisław stated at the court. In his statement Bronisław did not hide his own revolutionary views but clearly declared “non!” to terror and said: “In the whole affair I played a minor rôle, and the help I rendered to others I explain by my own weak character and lack of will power to decline when I was asked to”.

“A special court was staged in the Senate in order to try the 15 accused during 27th of April and 1st of May, 1887. Death sentence was pronounced

upon 5 persons, including Alexander Ulyanov, who were hanged on the 20th of May at the Schlisselburg fortress; whereas on Łukaszewicz and Novorusskiy life sentence was passed, ... Novorusskiy had scarcely anything to do with the conspiracy but only offered his villa for bomb-making.

“The remaining 8 accused got either imprisonment or “katorga” (penal servitude or compulsory labor) for the term from 2 to 20 years. It was 15 years for Bronisław (the second longest), and 10 years for the signalists (Kancher, Gorkun and Volokhov). These four were sentenced to “katorga” on the island of Sakhalin.

“Besides, about 50 persons were exiled to Siberia not through court process but by administrative measurement. For example, Józef Piłsudski, who was summoned as a witness, was exiled to West* Siberia for 5 years.

“Four convicts, sentenced for exile to Sakhalin, were convoyed by train to Odessa, and thence aboard on a ship of the “Russian Volunteer Fleet” via Suez Canal, Indian Ocean, Japan Sea, to Sakhalin”. The ship “arrived in Aleksandrovskiy Post, a military port on the western shore of North Sakhalin, in August, 1887. ... we may presume that the departure from Odessa should have taken place at the beginning of July at the latest, for the Volunteer Fleet sailed usually two months to reach Sakhalin”.

Piłsudski, in the company of four other “state criminals” including Kancher**, reached the island of Sakhalin, a huge prison and labor camp at that time, on board of the Volunteer Fleet steamship “Nizhniy Novgorod” at the beginning of August 1887 and on the 9th of August in a group of some 200 convicts started his long march to the village of Rykovskoye (also known at that time as Rykovo, present-day Kirovskoye) in the Tymovskiy District where he was registered and conscripted to hard labor first at forest clearing, then as a carpenter for church construction.

Although Sakhalin, with its harsh climate and brutal jailers, obviously did not offer an easy life to the convicts uprooted from their remote native soil, Piłsudski seems to have been just a little bit more fortunate than most of them.

He got in contact with children exceptionally easily, became their friend and started teaching them at the cost of his own scarce free time. Some of these children happened to be those of the jailers and officers so his activities did not remain unnoticed and some officials started to invite him to give lessons to their children and even to pay him a very small amount for that

* Actually Eastern, cf. p. 17.

** Kancher committed suicide in Rykovskoye in 1892 when his betrayal became known to his comrades.

job. As there were very few literate people there, Piłsudski's abilities soon proved to be useful in other domains. He soon became engaged in administrative paper work, became a school teacher, and started systematic meteorological observations. For some period he shared his room at the Rykovskoye meteorological station with I. P. Yuvachov, one of his ship companions en route from Odessa, who later published works on meteorological matters (cf. the "Bibliography of works by Bronisław Piłsudski", part III, item 1896 b) and, after release, published memoirs from his Sakhalin stay under the pen-name of Mirolyubov (Mirolyubov 1901).

It was meteorology which was the discipline in which Piłsudski started pursuing his intellectual passions, and "weather surveys from the village of Rykovskoe" for 1895 and 1896 which appeared in the "Sakhalin calendar" – an important local yearly – for 1896 and 1897 respectively were his first printed works.

1891 saw an important event in Piłsudski's biography: in January of that year for the first time he met Lev Yakovlevich Shternberg (Leo Sternberg) who already had some reputation as an ethnologist, and afterwards gradually entered on what was to become his life passion – the ethnology of peoples of the easternmost recesses of Asia. Emotional motives that brought him so close to the natives of Sakhalin were later so beautifully described in the preface to his 1912 book (cf. vol. 2 of the *Collected Works, Materials ...*, pp. vi ff.).

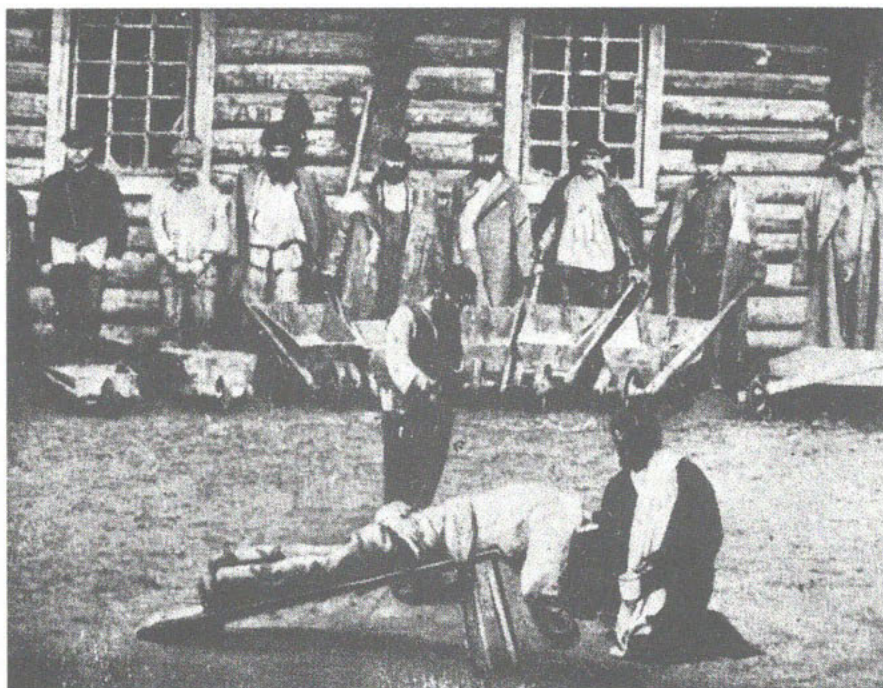
The first people that attracted his attention were the Nivhgu, or Gilyaks as they were known at that time. His first ethnological work published in 1898 concerned the "wants and needs of the Sakhalin Nivhgu" and originated not only from his scholarly interests but, perhaps above all, from his sympathy with the miserable folk and wish to do something concrete to change their lot for the better. Again, an extensive quotation from Inoue (Asakura et al. (eds.) 1985: 7) is not out of place here:

"Sternberg had already started ethnological field research among the native peoples of Sakhalin, the Gilyaks and the Oroks, engaging as well in their population census which the prison authorities entrusted Sternberg to pursue. As a matter of fact, this last enterprise was motivated by a proposal of the Russian writer Anton Chekhov who made a famous round trip to Sakhalin in 1890.

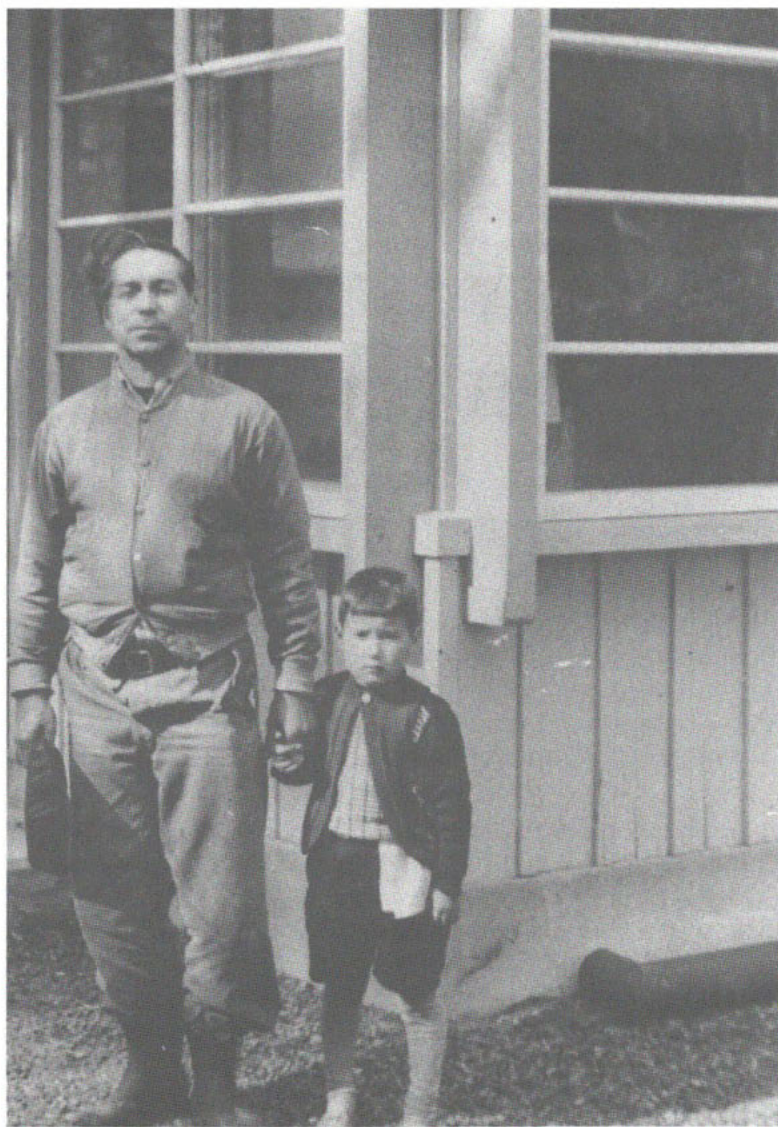
"Having got interested in the person as well as the job of Sternberg, B. Piłsudski decided to help him and thus stepped into the field of ethnology with no professional preparation. They then commenced the field research among the Gilyaks jointly. Sometimes they listened to the same informant simultaneously and compared their handscripts with each other afterwards. Presumably, Piłsudski had keener ears and a warmer heart than Sternberg. Piłsudski



Bronisław Piłsudski in Sakhalin.



A Sakhalin katorga scene.



Bronisław Piłsudski's son Sukezō and grandson Kazuyasu from his Ainu marriage.



Bronisław Piłsudski in 1897 recording the folklore of the Nivhgu among *sambucus* bushes near their yurts.

was not able to overlook the miserable situation of the Gilyaks and voluntarily took the initiative to improve their life. He taught the Russian language to their youth, and also taught them to plant potatoes, to salt fish, and so on. What was more, he sent a Gilyak boy to Vladivostok for schooling. In turn, the Gilyaks began to trust him and open their heart towards him. A Gilyak clan even bestowed on him its full membership and consequently the youth addressed him as *akanda* which means an elder brother in the classificatory sense in the East Sakhalin dialect of the Gilyak language”.

In Sakhalin both Shternberg and Piłsudski first became interested in what proved later to be closely associated with their lives and work – the organization of museums. In 1894 an initiative arose among physicians and the few members of the intelligentsia of Sakhalin to found a regional museum and it was backed by the administration. The museum was opened on the 6th of December 1896 in Aleksandrovsk and almost the entire ethnographical collection which consisted of well over 1,000 objects was donated by these two researchers. The priceless collection is now preserved in the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

It was the Ainu, however, that were to be the people on whom Piłsudski’s contribution was the most outstanding.

The May 14th 1896 amnesty issued in Russia upon the death of Alexander III shortened Piłsudski’s *katorga* to ten years, so it expired in the following year and his status changed from prisoner to deportee – with no right to return to Europe. In 1898 he was appointed conservator-curator in the Museum of the Society for the Study of the Amur Region (Общество изучения Амурского края) in Vladivostok where he moved in March of 1899 and stayed until July of 1902. Apart from his work in the museum, he worked also as the Vladivostok branch secretary of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and, according to certain sources, contributed to a bi-weekly statistical magazine and (as associate editor?) to a local newspaper*. He also worked as a librarian in the Society’s Library and in this capacity he was credited with obtaining many important rare books for the Library.

Almost all the objects of Piłsudski’s Sakhalin collection were presented at the International Exhibition in Paris in 1900 and for that display the Imperial Geographical Society was awarded a Silver Medal.

* Presumably the biweekly was the Листок Приморского областного статистического комитета (leaflet of the Primorye Oblast Statistical Committee), although no contributions signed by Piłsudski were found in the papers issued in 1900, 1901, 1903 during a commissioned check. The 1902 issues proved unavailable. On the other hand, an archival document implies Piłsudski was a “hired” co-worker of the Committee. Most probably, Piłsudski took part in the editorial work of the “magazine”.

Leaving Sakhalin for Vladivostok, Piłsudski took with him an intelligent Nivngu boy to enable the latter to receive proper education in order to become the first native teacher after returning home. The boy named Endyn was making impressive progress and Piłsudski devoted all his time to this charge but the boy soon fell ill with tuberculosis and died. It was a terrible experience for Piłsudski who kept accusing himself of causing the youth's death*.

In spring of 1902 the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (where Shternberg already worked as curator in the Academy's museum) proposed Piłsudski go on an expedition to Sakhalin. Piłsudski hesitated but, encouraged by Shternberg, accepted the proposal.

In July (8th) of 1902 he was officially sent by the Imperial Academy to Sakhalin on an expedition organized to collect and purchase ethnographical objects related to the material culture of the island natives. He was also to continue his studies among the Ainu and Oroks. In 1904 a report on his achievements and plans based on Piłsudski's letters to the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia was published in the Committee's bulletin; in 1905 his letter was printed in the bulletin and in 1907 the extensive "B. O. Piłsudski's report on his expedition to the Ainu and Oroks of the island of Sakhalin in the years 1903–1905" with a very detailed account of his travels and activities on the island appeared in vol. 7 of the bulletin. All of these documents are outstanding and incomparable primary source materials related to Sakhalin and its peoples. Their English translations are included in the present volume.

In 1903 Piłsudski joined another Polish political deportee, a noted specialist on the Yakuts and later an outstanding novelist, Waclaw Sieroszewski, on an expedition to the Ainu of Hokkaido. The expedition had very ambitious plans to survey the entire Ainu population of the island and establish patterns of acculturation of the nation and the degree of japanization of the Ainu. Very soon, however, the expedition abruptly ended: the Russo-Japanese war was at hand and as *personae non gratae* the researchers from Russia had to leave Japan after only starting their research in the Shiraoi region, Iburi Province in Southern Hokkaido. Piłsudski returned to Sakhalin and Sieroszewski set on a journey to Europe visiting Korea and Ceylon on the way. The only result of the Hokkaido expedition was a report entitled "among the hairy people" (*Wśród kosmatych ludzi*) by Sieroszewski published in instalments in the Polish press

* This story was even reflected in Russian poetry, in the poem "Пасынок природы" – "stepson" but also "pariah" – "of nature", by N. P. Matveyev-Amurskiy (a known historian, poet, editor and journalist) published, e. g., in the first book of his "Стихотворения" (poems) in 1915 in Vladivostok and in at least one literary journal.

in 1926 and republished in book form several times thereafter, and copious notes and other materials taken by Piłsudski back to Sakhalin.

Piłsudski went back to Sakhalin to his studies and to ... his Ainu family. He had an Ainu wife named Chuhsamma (Japanese name Shinkincho) – the beautiful niece of the Ainu village Ai Kotan (the present day settlement of Sovietskoye) chief Bafunke-ainu in whose Russian-style house Piłsudski used to stay, and a son Sukezō (born in 1903, later family name Kimura). Another child, the daughter Kiyō, was born to Chuhsamma in December of 1905, already after Piłsudski had left Sakhalin – as it turned out, forever.

Because of these family ties, because of his friendship with many Ainu for whom he became a sort of protector and representative in confrontation with Russian authorities, and because of his keen interest in the Ainu oral tradition, Piłsudski was very fluent in the Ainu language. Besides, Piłsudski was always very open-minded and eager to use the most advanced equipment in his fieldwork: he made extensive use of a camera to take numerous photographs, a new revolutionary invention in sound recording – the Edison phonograph, and a movie camera on his expedition with Sieroszewski to Hokkaido. All this made Piłsudski an exceptionally competent data collector and researcher on the peoples involved and the materials he collected exceptionally valuable. It should be noted that numerous old photographs of Sakhalin natives published in specialist and encyclopaedic literature throughout the world which do not mention the name of the photographer have turned out to be those taken by Piłsudski.

The results of Piłsudski's expedition were enormous and highly valued by the Academy of Sciences. Inoue wrote:

“His expedition was successful. He took to Sakhalin an Edison phonograph and wax cylinders with him, which he bought, presumably, at Vladivostok, and visited first the western and then the eastern shores of South Sakhalin. He was able to collect many Ainu materials and record Ainu folklore. The more he got acquainted with the Ainu culture the more he felt it necessary to go on with his study. Moreover, he discovered a very convenient base at Ai Kotan on the eastern shore, where he settled in at the end of 1902. It was a Russian-style house owned by the Kotan chief, Bafunke Ainu. Presumably it was here and at this occasion that he met and fell in love with a beautiful Ainu girl, Chuhsamma, the beloved niece of his landlord, for she gave birth to his son, Sukezō, in the following year, in 1903.

“Piłsudski sent a letter to Sternberg saying that he wanted to continue his expedition for another year. Fortunately enough, his desire was fulfilled. That year in Petersburg the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and East Asia was founded, the chairman of which was [... V. V.] Radlov. Sternberg

was appointed to one of the two secretaryships. The Russian Committee sanctioned Piłsudski's plan not only for the year of 1903 but also for the years of 1904 and 1905 successfully.

"According to its bulletins, the Committee granted Piłsudski 700 rubles for 1903, 750 rub. for 1904, and 1,000 rub. for 1905. As the total annual budget for the year of 1904 was 10,876 rub., Piłsudski's share amounted to 8%. It is not known how much was paid to Piłsudski *de facto*. I suspect whether he received his grant in full amount for 1905, when the Russo-Japanese war was at its height and the first Russian revolution broke out, and moreover, he abandoned his mission halfway.

"On the other hand, Piłsudski himself mentioned elsewhere that the Committee gave him "a sum of about 225 £".

"In 1903, Piłsudski, while stationed at Ai, concentrated on the survey of the Ainu kotans along the eastern shore of South Sakhalin. This year he was able to observe several bear festivals and, besides, he performed a fox festival together with the landlord, his uncle-in-law. During three summer months, however, he joined the Sieroszewski's Hokkaido expedition to study the Ainu there, sponsored by the Imperial Geographical Society in Petersburg. Generously enough, the Russian Committee gave him official approval to take part in it.

"In 1904, although the Russo-Japanese war broke out in February, Piłsudski decided to bring about the planned trip to North Sakhalin to survey the Taraika Ainu, and then the Oroks and the Gilyaks on the Poronai and the Tym rivers. This trip was also fruitful, though it entailed complications and dangers. At the end of the year he returned to Ai.

"In 1905, Piłsudski at last made up his mind to abandon Sakhalin.

"On the 5th of March he started from Ai to the north, bidding wife and son the last farewell.

"On the 11th of June, he left the port Aleksandrovski once more by ship" (Inoue in: Asakura et al. (eds.) 1985: 8–9).

Upon leaving the island he had with him, among other possessions, an abundance of ethnographical and linguistic notes, numerous photographs and phonographic records*. Some materials had been sent earlier to Petersburg (e. g., a box with 35 phonographic wax cylinders).

Piłsudski landed in Nikolayevsk (-on-Amur) and went to the Lower Amur region where for a short time he investigated the Olchas (= Ulcha = Manguns) whom he had occasionally met before in Sakhalin. He visited Mariinsk, Troitskoye, Khabarovsk, went to Japan (October 1905) and returned to Sakhalin with the aim of taking his Ainu family along but his wife's family

* Cf. this volume p. 217, and note 107, p. 703.

would not agree to let Chuhsamma go. This was reflected but in one rather enigmatic sentence in his *Materials ...* of 1912 (p. xiv): “For some time afterwards, the feeling that a part of my task remained unaccomplished, – together with other and more personal motives – tempted me to accept a proposal which had been made that I should return amongst the Ainu to make yet fuller researches” (spacing emphasis added A. F. M.).

By November 1905 he was already back in Vladivostok and he wrote an article “Southern Sakhalin under Japanese rule” subsequently (1906) published in the paper “Nature and people of the Far East”. In the same month he went again to the Amur region where he managed to purchase still another ethnographical collection – Nanaian – for his museum (still preserved in Vladivostok), and to deliver a prorevolutionary speech at an all-town meeting in Khabarovsk in which he proposed to found a “workers’ office” for which he donated 100 rubles.

At the end of November of 1905 Piłsudski left for Japan in the company of N. P. Matveyev*.

In Japan he stayed until August 3rd, 1906, devoting himself mainly to political and cultural work, which included founding a Japanese-Polish Society together with the prominent Japanese writer Futabatei Shimei (pen name; actual name Tatsunosuke Hasegawa (1864–1909)), but he also conducted some anthropological studies getting in contact with the most outstanding anthropologists and specialists on Ainu of that time in Japan, Shōgorō Tsuboi and Ryūzō Torii. His first work on the Ainu ever to appear in print was in Japanese, a paper entitled “Karafuto ainu-no jōtai” (the situation of the Sakhalin Ainu) prepared by a Shō (or Masashi) Ueda (cf. below) which appeared in two parts in the monthly *Sekai* (“the world”); it was preceded by an extensive introductory note in issue 25 of the monthly. During his stay in Japan Piłsudski managed to visit Kobe, Tokyo, Yokohama and Nagasaki.

Kazuhiko Sawada, another Japanese biographer of Bronisław Piłsudski, summarized the latter’s stay in Japan in the following points:

“1. Nikolay Russel, whose real name was [N. K.] Sudzilovskiy, was a Russian who took refuge in America and was later naturalized in the Hawaiian Kingdom. In May of 1905 he came to Japan with the aim of turning Russian prisoners of the Japanese-Russian war against the Russian Czar. He became a journalist of a Russian weekly “Япония и Россия” (Japan and Russia), which was published in Kōbe for Russian prisoners, and wrote many political articles. Moreover, he made rounds at prisoners’ barracks in Narashino, Hamadera, Matsuyama and Kumamoto, and talked with the inmates directly.

* Cf. the footnote on p. 26.

“Early in October of the same year Piłsudski came to Kōbe and began to assist in Russel’s activities. Late in November Piłsudski went back to Vladivostok. Later he came back to Japan again and late in January of 1906 went to Tōkyō. Meanwhile Russel moved to Nagasaki, where he rallied comrades and they began to publish a Russian revolutionary newspaper “Volya” (Liberty) on the 27th of April. Piłsudski promoted this newspaper in Tōkyō. In July he himself went to Nagasaki and directly aided Russel with his activities.

“2. Soon after Piłsudski came to Tōkyō, he visited Shimei Futabatei, who was a famous Japanese novelist and translator of Russian literature. As Futabatei was agonized about the policy against Russia, he ungrudgingly helped Piłsudski both concretely and spiritually. A paraphrase of Futabatei’s comments is as follows: Piłsudski always advocates protecting the Ainu people in spite of his own helplessness and poverty. This seems really absurd, but his innocent, serious attitude arouses our sympathy.

“Before long Piłsudski trusted Futabatei and asked him to cooperate in selling the estate of 100 acres, which Russel owned in Hawaii, in order to make funds for Russian revolutionaries. Futabatei, with Piłsudski, enthusiastically visited Japanese statesmen Shigenobu Ōkuma and Taisuke Itagaki, the proprietor of a newspaper *Yokohama-mainichi shimbun* Saburō Shimada, the educator and critic Yoshiharu Iwamoto and others, but failed to enlist their support. They used the sale of Russel’s estate, however, as a pretext for visiting the leading figures in Japan. The fact is they wanted to sound them out as to whether the Japanese government would extradite Russian refugees to the Russian government or not.

“Piłsudski and Futabatei organized the Japanese-Polish Society and decided to translate and introduce the literature of each country as a first step. After returning to his native land, Piłsudski in Cracow asked Polish representative writers and critics to recommend some of their own works and to present Russian, German, French and English translations of their works and sent them to Futabatei. Of these works Futabatei translated from Russian into Japanese the short story “Konchilsya” (He died) by P. S. Polivanov*, the prose poem “Kocham” (I love) by A. Niemojewski and the short story *Michałko* by B. Prus. Futabatei also sent Piłsudski English translations of the short story *Maihime* (My Lady of the Dance) by Ōgai Mori and the novel *Ryōjin-no jihaku* (Husband’s Confession) by Naoe Kinoshita, the latter of which was translated into Polish.**

* This was not a Polish writer.

** Probably not: no such translation could be identified.

“3. Futabatei introduced Piłsudski to Gennosuke Yokoyama. Under the influence of Futabatei, Yokoyama became a journalist and a specialist in the lower classes. Early in spring of 1906 Futabatei and Piłsudski came to Yokoyama’s lodgings. Yokoyama wrote along these lines: Piłsudski looks at the Ainu people not only with scholarly expertise but also with charity and social sympathy, which distinguish him from Japanese scholars.

“When Yokoyama told Piłsudski about people in the segregated district, the latter felt a great interest in the issue and immediately visited the district for himself. It is interesting to note that a Pole, and thus from an oppressed nation, was interested in the Ainu people and along with people in the segregated district in Japan.

“Yokoyama also wrote two biographies, one about a heroine, L. Volkenstein, who was killed in the riot in Vladivostok in January of 1906, the other about Russel; both were based upon what Yokoyama had heard from Piłsudski.

“4. Piłsudski made contact with Japanese socialists. On the evening of February 6th of 1906 a reception was held in Tōkyō for a Japanese socialist, Sen Katayama, who had just come back to Japan. Piłsudski attended the reception and made a speech in Russian with the help of an interpreter. He was introduced by Futabatei to members of the socialist group “Shinkigensha” (New Era), such as Sanshirō Ishikawa, Isoo Abe, Naoe Kinoshita, Hideko Fukuda, Tokijirō Katō and others. On February 25th he attended their dinner party in a sukiyaki house and had his photograph taken with them.

“Incidentally, in 1913 Ishikawa ran away from Japan and wandered around Europe for about eight years. During this time, at the end of June of 1914, he again met Piłsudski in Brussels. According to Ishikawa, Piłsudski was perhaps on his way from Cracow to Vienna and looked worn out, having lost his wife*.

“5. Piłsudski also made contact with Chinese revolutionaries. On the afternoon of March the tenth he met Song Jiao-ren through the agency of Tamizō Miyazaki, one of the famed Miyazaki brothers who assisted in the Chinese Revolution. Later Piłsudski visited “Minpōsha”, a Chinese revolutionary group led by Sun Yat-sen in Tōkyō, and had his photograph taken with Japanese and Chinese people, such as the Miyazaki brothers, Huang Xing, Song Jiao-ren and others. In the fourth issue of the Chinese group’s serial “Minpō” there appeared an article about the publication of “Volya”, materials of which

* The lady in question, Maria Żarnowska née Baniewicz, a friend from their school years, never formally married Piłsudski. She left her husband Jan, a state official, to be with Bronisław upon his return from Sakhalin but later they parted; soon she died.

Piłsudski had given them. He, as a Pole, must have been much interested in the Chinese people who had imposed on themselves the task of national independence.

“6. Piłsudski studied anthropology in Japan. It is interesting to note that Piłsudski’s second* paper (though the first concerning the Ainu people) was published in Japanese in 1906 in the 26th and 27th issues of the Japanese monthly *Sekai* (World) under the title “The situation of the Sakhalin Ainu” with five photographs of the Ainu people which he himself had taken. The translator of this article was Shō (Masashi?) Ueda. Ueda, who had learned Russian in an Orthodox Theological Seminary founded in Tōkyō by archimandrite Nikolai in 1875, was in those days a journalist with the newspaper *Tōkyō-nichinichi-shimbun* and was collecting subscriptions and accepting advertisements in Tōkyō for “Volya”.

“Piłsudski actively made contact with Japanese anthropologists, such as Dr. Shōgorō Tsuboi in the Chair of Anthropology at Tōkyō Imperial University and Ryūzō Torii. The latter translated into Japanese Piłsudski’s German paper “Die Urbewohner von Sachalin” and in 1911 published it in the journals *Jinruigaku zasshi* and *Hokuto*.

“7. Piłsudski made contact with Japanese specialists in the Russian language and common people.

“8. Piłsudski made contact with a Japanese rightest organization called *Kokuryūkai*” (quoted after Asakura et al. (eds.) 1985: 20–23).

Leaving Japan on board the steamship “Dakota”, Piłsudski returned to Polish soil via America and France and settled in Bystre in the vicinity of Zakopane in today’s southern Poland to become one of the founders of ethnology and ethnological museology studies in Poland. His principal activities in Poland were concerned with ethnographical museology – here he was able to apply his experience from the work in the Vladivostok museum as well as his numerous visits to museums in Russia, Japan, and various countries of Western Europe in the organization of the Tatra Museum in Zakopane and in writing a special lengthy essay concerning the “organizing and aims of the ethnological department” in the Museum, which was published as a separate booklet (1915 b) and in the journal *Rocznik Podhalański* (the Podhale region yearbook) of which he was one of the initiators and a coeditor (1921). He also conducted ethnological research on local matters of his homeland. Two studies, one concerning “Lithuanian crosses” in French and the other on “mountain pasturage in Tatra” in German were published in Zürich in 1916. In November of 1911 he cofounded the Ethnological Section in the

* I. e., his second ethnographical paper.

influential Tatra Society and became its chairman. In this capacity he developed a long-sighted research program in which he himself took part doing field research, among others in the ethnographically attractive Orawa region.

Apart from these, he published a small book on “Poles in Siberia” in Le Puy, France (1918), a small paper on education in China (1910 d), three short communiques and five book reviews printed in the journal of the Polish Ethnological Society *Lud*, the world famous *Materials for the study of the Ainu language and folklore* (1912), and over twenty papers on the aborigines of Sakhalin printed in various countries, languages, journals, today often bibliographical rarities. He was also commissioned to write a popular book, combined with a sort of memoirs entitled *Z Dalekiego Wschodu. Sachalin-Syberia-Japonia* (“from the Far East. Sakhalin–Siberia–Japan”) for one of the then leading Polish publishing firms “Książka” to meet tremendous (and understandable) interest in those areas among Polish readers. No traces of this work have, however, so far been found; probably it was never written.

Naturally, the Sakhalin peoples consumed most of his time as he gained a reputation as the foremost specialist in this field in Europe. He traveled frequently to give lectures upon invitations from renowned learned institutions all over the continent although due to the lack of a formal university degree he could not obtain a permanent academic position – his last attempts to obtain a degree were baffled by World War One.

The last opportunity to meet the Ainu after his return to Europe was during the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London in 1910 when from the eight Ainu brought as an attraction to Europe by the Japanese he managed to collect about fifty new tales and other “valuable data, especially as concerns folklore” (1912 a: xiv)*.

Because of poverty and lack of money to support his work on the elaboration of his collections, he tried to sell a part of his materials but although there were many institutions interested in having them, no one was willing to pay. With the outbreak of war Piłsudski had to leave his beloved country again – this time for good; he went to Vienna, later to Switzerland to end his hopeless rambling in Paris.

In 1915 in Switzerland Piłsudski served as a very effective president of the Comité Général de Secours pour les Victimes de la Guerre en Lithuanie based in Fribourg (Freiburg im Üchtland). The Committee managed to collect

* The encounter is described in the “Materials ...” p. xiv; although Piłsudski courteously acknowledges the help of some persons at that time, the correspondence concerning it in my possession discredits this help and constitutes but one more proof as to how much damage honest scholarship suffered from bureaucratic blockheads.

and send to Lithuania about – or at least – 10,000 Swiss francs. He was also active in charity institutions and co-worked on a project labeled *Encyclopédie Polonaise*. In Paris he worked in the offices of the Polish National Committee.

The most important papers on the natives of Sakhalin include very valuable contributions in the field of medical anthropology (especially the studies on sexual life – pregnancy, delivery, miscarriages, sterility, fertility, twins, etc., published in Polish, German, French and Russian, and the unique report on leprosy among the Ainu and Nivhgu published in Polish), an essay on the economy of the Sakhalin Ainu of 1907 (the paper repeats the information from the already mentioned 1906 Japanese-language contribution), studies on the Tonchi – the legendary primitive pre-Ainu(?) people of Sakhalin in German and Russian, on shamanism (several papers in Polish and German), the bear ceremony (in Polish, German, and a book-size account in Russian), Ainu property signs (in French), and Nivhgu and Ainu folklore. Among his minor papers in the field, the entry “Ainu” in the Russian language Brockhaus encyclopaedic dictionary deserves special attention.

All these incomparable and irreplaceable materials related to the Sakhalin natives are in the present volume in English translation prepared in accordance with the principles briefly outlined in the “Note on the translation”.

Piłsudski himself managed to publish but a small portion of his materials during his life – most of the unpublished materials have long been considered lost and only a small collection of Nivhgu songs was published posthumously from Piłsudski’s manuscripts (1936). As already mentioned, however, in the Introduction to the present volume, the undertakings within the ICRAP research project resulted in recovering a considerable part of Piłsudski’s archives scattered in places ranging from Cracow through Leningrad, Tomsk, Vladivostok, Tokyo, to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. Some of these recovered materials found their way into the present volume, most other materials will be incorporated in subsequent volumes of the Collected Works.

A representative selected bibliography of literature on the life and works of Bronisław Piłsudski follows the present essay and is in turn followed by the possibly complete bibliography of Bronisław’s own contributions. The texts by W. Kotwicz and V. M. Latyshev quoted in this volume as notes 64, 203 and 457 respectively as well as the contributions by Piłsudski himself printed in this volume (especially texts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 17), and the introductions to this and consecutive volumes of the Collected Works essentially complement the present sketch.

Bronisław Piłsudski met his tragic end on the 17th of May 1918 in Paris. His body was fished out of the river Seine under the Pont Mirabeau on May

21st and buried on the “Polish” cemetery in Montmorency near Paris on the 29th of May after the highest-class mourning ceremony in the Notre-Dame Cathedral. Police archives classify the case as suicide although a meticulous search for motives has produced a negative result: we found none thus supporting the opinion of W. Jędrzejewicz (cf. 1986, I, 376–377).

In the preface to the “Catalogue of ethnographic collections of B. O. Piłsudski preserved in the Sakhalin Regional Museum” its authors V. M. Lатышев and M. M. Prokofyev concluded their biographical essay on Bronisław with the following words:

“Bronisław Piłsudski left after himself a mark of importance in scholarship. At present, when interest in minor peoples is gaining momentum throughout the world, Piłsudski’s works seem to have been granted a second life. (...)”

“B. O. Piłsudski was not only an eminent scholar (...)”

“Favorable recollections about the scholar, about his humanness and humaneness, are still preserved today among the Nivhgu and Ainu. Astonishingly similar are the recollections of an old Nivhgu woman named Maria Mukdina from the settlement of Nogliki in the north of Sakhalin recorded by G. A. Otaina in 1972 and the recollections of an Ainu man named Shirokawa from the settlement of Shirohama (present-day Kirpichnoye) noted down by Zherebtsov (Žerebcov) in 1948*. Both reflect, above all, Piłsudski’s goodness and kindness, concern and courtesy. Thus he remains forever in the folk memory” (Lатышев & Prokof’ev 1988: 32).

Practically, a good reputation among the Sakhalin natives and a Nivhgu song devoted to him** were the only rewards Piłsudski received during his lifetime. One of the very few signs of official recognition was the small silver medal of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society awarded to him in 1907 for his contributions “in the field of ethnography”.

* Otaina’s article “Подарок Бронислава Пилсудского” (gift from B. Piłsudski) was printed in the newspaper Знамя труда (the banner of work) in Nogliki on September 14th 1972, Zherebtsov’s testimony is to be found in Žerebcov 1988: 24–25. Mukdina’s recollection went back to her youth when upon falling into a river she was saved by Piłsudski who – in order to cure her shock – gave her “beautiful red beads”. She could recall how Piłsudski lived in a tent near their settlement, observed their life, listened to their songs and understood their language and how her mother spoke highly of him. Zherebtsov quotes the words of an Ainu named Shirokawa from Shirohama who remembered well and spoke superlatively of Piłsudski’s worrying about Ainu problems as well as about his teaching of the Ainu and about his crucial role in the foundation of schools for Ainu children.

** Cf. this volume, p. 172–173.

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* For English translation, see this volume, note 64 (pp. 693 ff.).

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* For the list of abbreviations, see this volume, pp. 95–96.

** For English translation, see this volume, note 203.

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* Cf. this volume, p. 60.

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Appendix 1. TV documentaries on Bronisław Piłsudski

1. Takashi Yamagishi's *Yūkara chimmoku 80nen – Karafuto ainu rōkan hiwa* (the yukars that were silent for 80 years – a secret history of wax cylinder recordings of the Sakhalin Ainu folklore). NHK (Tokyo) for the *NHK tokushū* (NHK Special) series. 50 minutes. 1984.
2. Takashi Yamagishi's *Karafuto ainu hōkyō-no koe* (Sakhalin Ainu voice of nostalgia). NHK for its Educational Channel. 40 minutes. 1985.
3. Hokkaidō TEN's "rekishi dokyumento" *Piusutsuki-no rōkan* (Piłsudski's wax cylinder recordings – a historical documentary).
4. HTB hōdō Special documentary *Rōkan-o utatta, operetta-to kodomotachi-no 115 nichi* (they sang the wax cylinder melodies – the musical and the children's 115 days). 1985.
5. Czesław Duraj's *Dzwoniły im kajdany* (their chains were clanging). TVP (Polish State Television) 1989.
6. Witold Stefanowicz's *Starszy Brat* (the elder brother). TVP (Polish State Television) 1989.
7. Сахалинское ТВ программа "Зеркало" (Sakhalin TV broadcast "Mirror" magazine). Panel discussion (participants: S. V. Bukchin, T. de Graaf, K. Inoue, V. M. Latyshev, A. F. Majewicz, Yu. A. Sem, G. A. Otaina) and a report on the exhibition of B. Piłsudski's collections accompanying the Second international Piłsudski conference in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (guide: O. Shubina). November 1991.

Appendix 2. The tables of contents of:

A. Asakura et al. (eds.) 1985	pp. 45–46
B. Asakura & Ifukube (eds.) 1986	pp. 47–49
C. Katō & Kotani (eds.) 1987	pp. 50–52

A CONTENTS

Preface	i
List of Executive Committee	iii
 Session 1 Pilsudski's Life and Career	
K. Inoue: A Brief Sketch of Br. Pilsudski's Life	1
J. Banczerowski: On Discovery and First Attempts at Rerecording B. Pilsudski's Ainu Phonographic Materials	10
K. Sawada: B. Pilsudski in Japan	20
 Session 2 Technical Aspects of the Restoration of the Wax Cylinders	
G. Brown: Development of a Cylinder Transcription and Methodology	24
T. Owen: Electrical Reproduction of Acoustically Recorded Cylinders and Disks	30
F. Granger: Wax Cylinder Restoration and Preservation	31
A. Seeger: Ethnographic Anomalies and Technical Puzzles in the Reproduction of Wax Cylinder Recordings	39
T. Kawashima, T. Ifukube, T. Asakura, H. Aoyama: Development of a Wax Cylinder Machine and Reproduction of B. Pilsudski's Records by Using the Stylus Method	55
J. Suzuki: Enhancement of Speech Signal Embedded in Noise by SPAC (Speech Processing system by use of AutoCorrelation function)	61
T. Iwai, T. Asakura, T. Kawashima, T. Ifukube: Reproduction of the Sounds from Old Phonographic Wax Cylinders by Using the Laser-Beam Reflection Method	66
 Session 3 Ainu Folklore in the Phonographic Recordings	
K. Murasaki, H. Kirikae, H. Fujimura: The Task of Interpreting the Contents of the Pilsudski Recordings	73
K. Tanimoto: A Study on the Process of Chronological Changes in the Music of Sakhalin Ainu Recorded by B. Pilsudski	78
N. Beaudry: The Ainu <i>Rekuhkara</i> and the Eastern Arctic Inuit <i>Katajjaq</i>	86
R. Austerlitz: Gilyak Verse and Music	94
L. Spear: The Role of Ethnographic Cylinder Recordings in Understanding and Preserving Culture: with Illustrations from the Indiana University Archives of Tadtional Music	101
 Session 4 The Ainu Language in the Phonographic Records	
S. Tamura, H. Nakagawa: Hokkaido Ainu Songs in the Pilsudski Recordings	108
H. A. Dettmer: Rev. John Batchelor—a Preliminary Report on his Method of Working	117
H. Aoki: Possible Linguistic Contacts of the Ainu Language	123

J. Patrie: Lexical Evidence Suggesting Prehistoric Contact between Ainu and Korean.....	127
K. Refsing: Sentence Embedding in the Ainu Language	143
T. Asai: The Ainu Prayers and <i>Iso</i>	151
T. Sato: The First Person Objective Affix <i>in-</i> in the East Coast Dialects of Sakhalin Ainu	157

Session 5 Ainu and the Other Northern Languages

J. Ikegami: B. Piłsudski in Uilta and Olcha Studies.....	168
A. Majewicz: Vicissitudes of B. Piłsudski's Lexicological Collections.....	173
T. Tsumagari: On B. Piłsudski's Orok Vocabulary	184
G. Doerfer: Terms for Aquatic Animals in the <i>Wu T'i Ch'ing Wên Chien</i>	190
M. Krauss: Phonograph Cylinder Recordings of 1909-1910 by Jochelson and the Aleut Text Corpus	203
J. Janhunen: Early Phonographic Recordings of Siberian Languages in Finnish Collections: a Preliminary Report.....	214

Session 6 The Culture of the Ainu and Other Northern Peoples

P. Qiu: The Historical Changes of Shamanism	222
К. Катô: О Мерах Предложенных Б. О. Пилсудским для Подъема Жизненного Уровня Народов Сахалина ¹	225
S. Ogihara: The "Animal Myths" of the Ainu and the Peoples of the Sakhalin and the Amur-basin	228
M. Haginaka: <i>Oyna</i> as an Art Form in the Ainu Oral Tradition	236
K. Wada: B. Piłsudski's Works in the Medical Anthropology	240

Session 7 Evening Lectures

H. Yamada: An Inquiry into Ainu Place Names	244
F. Maraini: The Days of the Last Ekashi.....	247
F. C. C. Peng: Sociolinguistic Perspectives of the Ainu	248

Manuscripts Only

A. Kuczynski: Bronisław Piłsudski as a Practician and Theoretician of the Ethnographic Museology	265
А. В. Смоляк: Аины Сахалина в XIX в. и их Контакты с Коронным Насолоном ²	272

¹ "On measures proposed by B. Piłsudski to improve the life standard of the Sakhalin natives" by Kyūzō Katō.

² "The Ainu of Sakhalin in the 19th century and their contacts with other natives" by A. V. Smoljak.

B 目 次

I. まえがき

本資料の作成にあたって	1
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II. 経過と展望

1. ビウスツキ録音蠟管の研究への経過：付 資料	3
2. 愛れ樺太アイヌの肉声（日本経済新聞）	10
3. ビウスツキ録音ろう管の工学的再生（北大時報）	11
4. ビウスツキ録音ろう管の再生と解説（自然）	16
5. ビウスツキ録音ろう管の再生（北大生協ニュース）	22
6. 流浪の人類学者ビウスツキと樺太アイヌの交わり －ビウスツキ録音ろう管の再生（高校ニュース）	23
7. 重要性増す文化の復元（朝日新聞）	26

III. 蠟管の背景

1. プロニスワフ・ビウスツキ年譜	27
2. 博愛家ビウスツキと蠟管 ー幼少年時代ー	29
3. 樺太における出産慣行 ービウスツキのロー管復元によせて	33
4. アイヌの語りと流浪の学者（読売新聞）	34
5. 期待の樺太アイヌ語復元（毎日新聞）	35
6. ビウスツキ兄の復権を（朝日新聞）	36
7. 蠟管解明への期待（赤旗）	38

IV. 蠟管の工学的再生

1. ビウスツキ録音蠟管の修復処理	39
2. ビウスツキ蠟管のレプリカ製作	42
3. 思いがけぬところで示した歯科技術の力（自然）	59

4. ビウスツキ録音蠟管レコードとその再生方法 (日本音響学会誌)	61
5. アイヌ語録音蠟管の信号検出方式 (日本音響学会音声研究会)	69
6. 光学的手法による蠟管の音声の再生 (電子通信学会)	77
7. ロー管レコードから再生した音声のS/N比改善 (電波研ニュース)	83
8. 蠟管レコードの工学的再生技術 (JAS Journal)	85
9. レーザー光を用いたビウスツキ録音蠟管からの光学的音声再生 (0 plus E)	92
10. Reproduction of Sound from Old Wax Phonograph Cylinders Using the Laser-Beam Reflection Method (Applied Optics)	101
11. Reproduction of the Sounds from Old Wax Phonographic Cylinders Using the Laser-Beam Reflection Method (Proceedings of ICASSP 86, Tokyo)	110

V. 蠟管の内容

1. ビウスツキ蠟管の内容に関する研究	115
2. ビウスツキ蠟管の民族音楽に関する研究	119
3. ビウスツキ録音のろう管をめぐる (北大言語文化部紀要)	121
4. カラフトアイヌ語をたずねて (習語)	125
5. アイヌ語文化について (にちぎん)	131

VI. 国際シンポジウム

1. 国際シンポジウム”B. ビウスツキ古蠟管とアイヌ文化”	135
2. 発表要旨集 (目次)	147
3. Proceedings (目次)	151
4. 昭和60年度国際シンポジウム「B. ビウスツキ古蠟管とアイヌ文化」 開催さる (北大時報)	154
5. B. ビウスツキ古蠟管とアイヌ文化 (北海道民族学会通信)	155
6. 国際シンポジウム風景	157

VII. 資料

1. On B. Pilsudski's Unpublished Ainu Material (北方文化研究) 167
2. 80年前の録音機ろう管を再生 (ポピュラーサイエンス) 180
3. ビウスツキのロウ管 (北海道新聞) 184
4. 「樺太アイヌ・ロウ管」を追う (北海道新聞) 187
5. ビウスーツキー音声資料の複製探しとソ連における音声の
解析技術について (学術月報) 194
6. 報道記事 196

C 目 次

はじめに	小谷凱直：はじめに——報告書出版までの経緯と概要……………	1
第1章	ピウスツキの生涯	
	加藤九祚：ロシア民族学のあけぼの——革命運動から民族学への道……………	21
	井上絃一：プロニスワフ・ピウスツキの不本意な旅路……………	45
	沢田和彦：ピウスツキと日本……………	67
	吉上昭三：プロニスワフ・ピウスツキ，北海道以後——シェロシェフスキの 記述を中心に……………	81
第2章	ピウスツキの業績	
	井上絃一：プロニスワフ・ピウスツキ業績目録……………	101
	田村 進：ポーランド民族音楽学におけるピウスツキの足跡と意義……………	109
	伊東一郎：バルト・スラヴ民俗学におけるピウスツキ……………	117
	A. クチンスキ（井上絃一訳）：博物館学の実務家及び理論家としてのプロニ スワフ・ピウスツキ……………	123
	大塚和義：サハリン州郷土博物館のピウスツキ資料……………	131
第3章	ピウスツキ蠟管の音声再生と録音内容	
	岩井俊昭・朝倉利光・伊福部達・川嶋聡夫：レーザービーム反射法によるピウ スツキ蠟管からの光学式音声再生……………	147
	切替英雄：ピウスツキ蠟管ケースの記載……………	165
	言語・音楽班（村崎恭子ほか）：B. ピウスツキ蠟管の録音内容……………	207
	谷本一之：ピウスツキ蠟管の音楽的内容……………	267
第4章	ピウスツキと北方諸民族文化の研究	
	池上二良：ウイルト語・オルチャ語研究における B. ピウスツキ……………	275
	津曲敏郎：B. ピウスツキのオロッコ語文法記述について……………	283
	A.F. マイエヴィチ（大島稔訳）：プロニスワフ・ピウスツキの『アイヌ語及 びフォークロア研究資料』（最終報告）……………	295
	和田 完：B.ピウスツキの医人類学的業績——特に出産慣行に関する研究を 中心として……………	303
	黒田信一郎：ギリヤークの世界像とハンセン病——資料の提示……………	317
	佐々木史郎：ピウスツキ資料に基づく北サハリンにおける民族関係の研究 ——サハリン・ギリヤークとアムール・ギリヤーク……………	329
第5章	アイヌ文化研究	
	萩原真子：アイヌにおける動物説話の類型——神話の一考察……………	349
	萩中美枝：アイヌの口承文芸オイナ……………	389
	A.V. スモリャーク（灰谷慶三訳）：十九世紀サハリン島のアイヌと同島 およびアムール河下流域の原住民との交流……………	405
	J. クライナー：ヨーロッパにおけるアイヌ関係コレクションの歴史と現状…	417

¹ The same in English follows on two consecutive pages.

Contents

Introduction

Yoshinobu KOTANI	Acknowledgments and Introduction	1
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Chapter 1 Life of Bronisław Pilsudski

Kyuzo KATO	Russian Pioneers in Ethnological Field Research	21
Koichi INOUE	Bronisław Pilsudski's Unwilling Journey	45
Kazuhiko SAWADA	Bronisław Pilsudski in Japan	67
Shozo YOSHIGAMI	Sieroszewski's Descriptions of Bronisław Pilsudski during and after Hokkaido Trip	81

Chapter 2 Scholarly Contributions by Bronisław Pilsudski

Koichi INOUE	List of Bronisław Pilsudski's Works	101
Susumu TAMURA	Bronisław Pilsudski's Role in Ethnomusico-logical Research in Poland	109
Ichiro ITO	Bronisław Pilsudski's Contributions in Balt-Slavic Folklore	117
Antoni KUCZYŃSKI (Translated by Koichi INOUE)	Bronisław Pilsudski as a Pioneer of Muscology...	123
Kazuyoshi OTSUKA	Bronisław Pilsudski Collection at Sakhalin Provincial Museum	131

Chapter 3 Sound-Reproduction from Bronisław Pilsudski's Recordings and Their Contents

Toshiaki IWAI, Toshimitsu ASAKURA, Toru IFUKUBE and Toshio KAWASHIMA	Reproduction of Sound from Old Phonographic Wax Cylinders Using the Laser-Beam Reflection Method	147
Hideo KIRIKAE	Old Notes on Wax Cylinder Cases Written by Bronisław Pilsudski	165
LINGUISTICS-ETHNOMUSIC WORKING GROUP	Contents of Bronisław Pilsudski's Recordings ...	207
Kazuyuki TANIMOTO	Some Characteristics of Ainu Music Recorded on Bronisław Pilsudski's Wax Cylinders	267

Chapter 4 Bronisław Pilsudski's Works on Northern Peoples and Cultures

Jiro IKEGAMI	B. Pilsudski in Uilta and Olcha Studies	275
Toshiro TSUMAGARI	Remarks on B. Pilsudski's Orok Grammatical Sketch	283

Alfred F. MAJEWICZ (Translated by Minoru OSHIMA)	An Index to Bronisław Pilsudski's <i>Materials</i> of 1912 (A Final Report).....	295
Kan WADA	Bronisław Pilsudski's Work in Medical Anthropology, with Special Reference to Childbirth	303
Shin'ichiro KURODA	Gilyak Cosmology as Seen Through their Attitudes toward Hansen's Disease.....	317
Shiro SASAKI	Sakhalin Gilyak and Amur Gilyak; Ethnic Relations in Northern Sakhalin Based on Bronisław Pilsudski's Descriptions	329

Chapter 5 Ainu Studies

Shinko OGIHARA	Animal-Heroes in Ainu Oral Tradition; An Approach to <i>Kamui Yukar</i>	349
Mie HAGINAKA	<i>Oyna</i> , an Ainu Folk-Narrative	389
A. V. SMOLYAK (Translated by Keizo HAIYA)	Interchanges between Sakhalin Ainu and Other Peoples in Sakhalin Island and the Lower Amur Region during the 19th Century...	405
Joscf KREINER	History and Current State of Ainu Collections in European Museums	417

Bibliography of works by Bronisław Piłsudski

Alfred F. Majewicz

The compilation of a possibly complete bibliography of works by Bronisław Piłsudski turned out to be a difficult task.

Piłsudski himself managed to publish but a fraction of what he had collected and written. The manuscripts of works which remained unpublished but prepared for publication as well as those under preparation have long been considered lost in the turmoil of the two world wars and subsequent developments and were known only indirectly from other persons' reports. Certain attempts at tracing these works, especially some inspired by the ICRAP project but not only these, made above all by H. Swienko of the Warsaw Engineering University (Warsaw Polytechnic), K. Inoue of the Hokkaidō (Sapporo) and later Chūbu (Kasugai) Universities, V. M. Latyshev – head of the Sakhalin Regional Museum (Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk), A. Kuczyński – secretary-general of the Polish Ethnological Society (Wrocław), A. M. Kabanov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (Leningrad), and also this author, brought about, however, astonishingly good results: a considerable number of such manuscripts have been found, including some of whose existence no one had been aware. Those manuscripts, photographs, phonographic records, etc., have been preserved in places scattered throughout the world from Cracow, Dresden, and Vienna, through Leningrad and Tomsk, to Vladivostok, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Philadelphia, New York, and often still remain hardly accessible to be inspected in detail and at least bibliographically described.

To make the work of numerous scholars involved in the ICRAP project possible or at least to facilitate it considerably, the Institute of Linguistics, Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznań, Poland) started issuing preprints of these materials and a similar initiative has also been taken by the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

Almost equally complicated, however paradoxical it might sound, proved to be the listing of all the works Piłsudski did manage to publish. Despite extremely unfavorable conditions, Piłsudski succeeded in publishing about fifty works of varying volume and in various languages mainly in local periodicals now hardly accessible and traceable. A number of translations of his works were also published in periodicals of the same kind. Some of his alleged works, in spite of quite clear and detailed references, could not be identified until the completion of the present bibliography.

The most complete so far lists of writings by Bronisław Piłsudski have been presented by H. Swienko and K. Inoue*, both being complementary to each other to some degree and both faulty to some degree. Both omit certain publications and both list items not existing or not being works by B. Piłsudski himself. In the case of the writings still unpublished, the exactness of the bibliography by Swienko could not be verified and has been in its details questioned by this author's Soviet consultants while attempts at contacting its compiler proved futile.

The present bibliography is divided into three parts. Part one lists all the works that in one form or another appeared in print, each of the times being in this writer's hands. The year figure heading each group of items or an item indicates the year of publication. The date of origin of particular items, when in some way specified, is indicated in square brackets [] at the end of the respective item.

Part two lists unpublished items and comments on them. Part three is a comment on some of the items listed by Inoue and Swienko. Items mentioned in parts two and three of this bibliography have not necessarily been seen by this author.

That the present bibliography owes much to that by K. Inoue is duly acknowledged.

I. List of publications

1896

“Обзоръ погоды въ селеніи Рыковскомъ на островѣ Сахалинѣ въ 1895 г. — (по новому стилю)” (weather survey in the village of Rykovskoye on the island of Sakhalin in the year 1895). Сахалинскій календарь и матеріалы къ изученію острова Сахалина 1896 (Sakhalin calendar for 1896). [Aleksandrovsk]. Pp. 101–106.

1897

“Обзоръ погоды въ селеніи Рыковскомъ Тымовскаго округа въ 1896 году (по новому стилю)” (weather survey in the village of Rykovskoye in the Tum Region in the year 1896). Сахалинскій календарь (Sakhalin calendar [for 1897]). [Aleksandrovsk]. Pp. 160–173.

* Respectively Swienko 1973: 106–116 and Inoue “Buronisuwafu Piusutsuki gyōseki moku-roku” (bibliography of works by B. Piłsudski) in: Katō & Kotani (eds.) 1987: 101–108. Cf. also this volume, the bibliography following B. Piłsudski's scholarly profile, pp. 37–52.

1898

“Нужды и потребности сахалинскихъ гилияковъ” (wants and needs of the Sakhalin Nivhgu). ZPOIRGO* 4/4, 1–38. [April 20th, 1898].

1904

a. “Свѣдѣнія о Б. О. Пилсудскомъ (на основаніи писемъ къ секретарю Комитета)” (information on B. Piłsudski, on the basis of letters addressed to the Secretary of the Committee). IRKISVA 2, 18–19.

b. “Gilyak maiden’s song”. In: Charles H. Hawes, *In the Uttermost East*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. Pp. 266–267.

1905

“Письмо командированнаго на о. Сахалинь Б. О. Пилсудскаго (на имя секретаря Комитета)” (B. Piłsudski’s letter from his expedition to Sakhalin, addressed to the Secretary of the Committee). IRKISVA 5, 24–30.

1906

a. “Karafuto ainu-no jōtai” (the situation of Sakhalin Ainu). *Sekai* (the world) 26, 57–66 and 27, 42–49. Tōkyō: Kyōka Nippōsha.

b. “Южной Сахалинь подъ властью Японцевъ” (Southern Sakhalin under the Japanese rule). PLDV 4, 1 & 4, and 5, 1 & 4–5.

c. “Изъ Японіи” (from Japan). PLDV 7, 2; 8, 5–6; 9, 4–5; 10, 4–5; 14, 5; 15, 13; 21, 5–6; 23, 10–11; 24, 4–5.

1907

a. “Отчетъ Б. О. Пилсудскаго по командировкѣ къ айнамъ и орокамъ о. Сахалина въ 1903–1905 гг.” (B. Piłsudski’s report on his expedition to the Ainu and Oroks of the island of Sakhalin in the years 1903–1905). IRKISVA 7, 20–52. Also as a separatum, pp. 1–52.

b. “Краткій очеркъ зкономическаго быта айновъ на о. Сахалинѣ” (an outline of the economical life of the Ainu on the island of Sakhalin). ZOIAK 10, 89–116 (erroneous pagination 89–102, 17–30 in the original edition). [March 1905].

c. “Нѣкоторыя свѣдѣнія объ отдѣльныхъ аинскихъ стойбищахъ на о. Сахалинѣ” (selected information on individual Ainu settlements on the island of Sakhalin). ZOIAK 10, 117–157 (including 9 statistical tables).

1908

a. “Szamanizm u Ajnów na Sachalinie” (shamanism among the Ainu on Sakhalin). In: Tadeusz Pini (ed.), *Wieczory Polskie* (Polish evenings, an anthology). Lwów: H. Altenberg. Pp. 327–350; with 13 photographs.

* For abbreviations see this volume, pp. 95–96.

b. “Poród, ciąża i poronienia u tubylców wyspy Sachalinu” (childbirth, pregnancy, and miscarriages among the aborigines of the island of Sakhalin). *Głos Lekarzy* (“medical doctors’ voice”, a biweekly newspaper) 20 (15/10/08), 22 (15/11/08), 23 (1/12/08). Lwów.

c. “Женщины съ *vagina dentibus armata*” (women with vaginae armed with teeth, four variants). In: Л. Я. Штернбергъ, Матеріалы по изученію гиляцкаго языка и фольклора, томъ I (materials for the study of the Nivhgu language and folklore, vol. 1). С.-Петербургъ: Императорская Академія Наукъ. Pp. 159–164, 166–167, 169, 170.

1909

a. “Poród, ciąża i poronienia u tubylców wyspy Sachalinu, cześć II” (part two of 1908 b, cf. above). *Głos Lekarzy*, separatum. Lwów. Pp. 1–13.

b. “Der Schamanismus bei den Ainu-Stämmen von Sachalin”. *Globus* 95/5, 72–78 (with 3 photos),

translation into Japanese by Kan Wada: “Karafuto ainu-no shāmanizumu”, *Hoppō bunka kenkyū hōkoku* 16, 179–203 (1961, Sapporo: Hokkaidō Daigaku); an English translation “Shamanism among the Ainu-tribes of Sakhalin” is preserved in typescript of 18 pages in the Hoppō Shiryōshitsu of the Hokkaidō University Library; neither the translator’s name nor the year of the translation is known.

c. “Na niedźwiedziem święcie u Ajnów z wyspy Sachalinu” (on the bear festival among the Ainu from the island of Sakhalin). *Sfinks, Czasopismo Literacko-Artystyczne i Naukowe* 7/21, 206–221, 8/22, 106–113, 8/23, 299–309, 8/24, 489–501. Warszawa.

d. “Das Bärenfest der Ajnen auf Sachalin”. *Globus* 96/3, 37–41 and 96/4, 53–60; with 7 photographs.

e. “L’accouchement, la grossesse et l’avortement chez les indigènes de l’île Sakhaline”. *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d’Anthropologie de Paris* 10, 692–699. Paris.

f. “Аборигены о. Сахалина” (the aborigines of Sakhalin). *ZS* 70–71/3, 3–17.

g. “Die Urbewohner von Sachalin”. *Globus* 96/21, 325–330, translated into Japanese by Ryūzō Torii and published twice as “Karafuto-ni okeru senjūmin” in *Jinruigaku zasshi* (anthropological journal) 27/2, 83–89, 27/3, 163–167, 27/4, 226–232 (Tōkyō Jinruigakkai – the Anthropological Society of Tokyo, 1911) and in *Hokutō* (Ursa Maior) 2/6, 28–36, 2/7, 42–48, 2/8, 37–41 (Toyohara: Hokutōsha, 1911), and by Kan Wada and published as “Karafuto ainu-no genjūmin” in *Kita Ajia minzokugaku ronshū* (collection of papers on the ethnology of Northern Asia) 5, 23–34 (Kanazawa-Tōkyō: Kita

Ajia Minzokugakkai – the Society for the Study of the Ethnology of Northern Asia, 1968); translated into English by A. Holborn as “The Aborigines of Sakhalin”, HRAF 10, 1–16 (1964).

h. “Тусу-куру” (tusu-kuru [= “shamanism” in Ainu]). Русские вѣдомости 166, 3–4.

i. “Szamanizm u tubylców na Sachalinie” (shamanism among the Sakhalin aborigines, [part one]). *Lud* 15/4, 261–274.

j. “Turcyja i Japonia” (Turkey and Japan). *Świat* 11, 10.

1910

a. “Szamanizm u tubylców na Sachalinie (dokończenie) (part two of 1909 i, cf. above). *Lud* 17/2, 117–132.

b. “Роды, беременность, выкидыши, близнецы, уроды, бесплодие и плодовитость у туземцевъ о. Сахалина” (child delivery, pregnancy, miscarriages, twins, freaks, sterility and fertility among the aborigines of Sakhalin). *ZS* 73–74/1–2, 22–48.

c. “Schwangerschaft, Entbindung und Fehlgeburt bei den Bewohnern der Insel Sachalin (Giljaken und Ainu)”. *Anthropos* 5/4, 756–774, translated into English as “Pregnancy, delivery and miscarriage among the inhabitants of the island of Sakhalin (Gilyak and Ainu)”, HRAF 15, 1–10 (1953), and (part two) as “Pregnancy, birth and miscarriage among the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu)” (translator of part two Richard Neuse, translator of part one not indicated), HRAF 8, 1–18 (1964).

d. “Оświata na Dalekim Wschodzie. Szkoły w Chinach” (education in the Far East; schools in China). *Nowe Tory* 5/1, 14–18.

e. “Co mówią o nas w kraju Wschodzącego Słońca. Shigi Hasiegawa” (what they say about us in the country of the Rising Sun – B. Piłsudski’s note on his friend, the Japanese writer Tatsunosuke (Shigi) Hasegawa, pen-name Shimei Futabatei, and an interview with B. Piłsudski about relations between Japan and Poland). *Świat* 12, 8–10.

1911

a. “Айну” (the Ainu). In: Ф. А. Брокгаузъ & И. А. Ефронъ (eds.), Новый энциклопедический словарь, Первый томъ (new encyclopaedic dictionary, ed. by Brockhaus & Yefron, vol. 1). С.-Петербургъ. Cols. 599–603.

b. “Poezyja Gilaków” (Nivhgu poetry). *Lud*. 17/2–3, 95–123, and separately as a booklet under the same title, Lwów: Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze (Ethnological Society), pp. 1–31,

translated into Russian as “Поэзия гилияков” by V. M. Drakunov and published in Краеведческий бюллетень 1, 76–111 (Южно-Сахалинск, 1990), with an introduction and commentaries by V. M. Latyšev.

- c. "O trądzie u Gilaków" (on leprosy among the Nivhgu). In: *Księga Pamiątkowa XI Zjazdu Lekarzy i Przyrodników Polskich w Krakowie 18–22 lipca 1911* (a commemorative book of the 11th Congress of Polish Medical Doctors and Natural Historians held in Cracow, June 18–22, 1911). Pp. 284–286.
- d. "Karafutotō-ni okeru senjūmin" (cf. item 1909 g above).
- e. "Dział etnografii na XII zjeździe rosyjskich przyrodników i lekarzy w Moskwie (grudzień 1909 – styczeń 1910) (Według sprawozdań rosyjskich pism)" (the ethnographic section on the 12th congress of Russian natural historians and medical doctors in Moscow in Dec. 1909–Jan. 1910, according to reports in the Russian press). *Lud* 17, 264–267.
- f. "W sprawie zjazdu etnografów polskich" (concerning the congress of Polish ethnographers). *Lud* 17, 267–269.
- g. "Materiały do języka i folkloru Ajnów" (materials for the study of the language and folklore of the Ainu). *Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, rok 1911* (reports on the activities and sessions of the Academy of Sciences and Letters in Cracow, the year 1911) 16/3, 3–5.
- h. Review of: J. Talko-Hryniewicz 1910, *Materiały do etnologii i antropologii ludów Azji Środkowej. Mongołowie, Buriaci i Tungusi* (materials for the ethnology and anthropology of the peoples of Central Asia: Mongols, Buriats and Tunguses). Kraków. *Lud* 17, 189–190.

1912

- a. *Materials for the study of the Ainu language and folklore*. Cracow: Imperial Academy of Sciences (Spasowicz Fund). "Spółka Wydawnicza Polska". Pp. xxviii + 242, partially translated into Japanese by Bunjirō Wada and published as "Karafuto-ainu-ni tsutawaru mukashibanashi" (old traditions of the Sakhalin Ainu) in *Hoppō Nihon* (northern Japan) 15/2, 100–107 (Toyohara: Hoppō Nihonsha, 1943); Ainu texts translated into Japanese by Mashihō Chiri and published as "Karafuto ainu-no setsuwa" (legends of the Sakhalin Ainu) in *Karafutochō hakubutsukan ihō* (communications of the Sakhalin Provincial Museum) 3/1 (Toyohara 1944), reprinted in: *Chiri Mashibo chosakushū* (collection of works by M. Chiri) vol. 1, *Setsuwa, shin'yō hen* (folkloristic studies), Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1973, pp. 251–372; Ainu texts partially translated into Polish by A. F. Majewicz and published as *Dzieje i legendy Ajnów* (history and legends of the Ainu) (Warszawa: Iskry, 1983); a complete translation into Japanese by the Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai Sapporo Shibu Ainugo Benkyōkai (the Sapporo Study Group of the Ainu Language affiliated with the Hokkaido Utari Association, the Utari Association being the only officially recognized socio-cultural society of the Ainu) under the supervision of, and with com-

mentaries by, Hisakazu Fujimura under the title “Karafuto ainu-no gengo-to minwa-ni tsuite-no kenkyū shiryō” has been published in instalments in the journal *Sōzō-no sekai* (the world of creation) since 1983, cf. below, under 1983); a complete translation (including the transliteration of the Ainu texts into Russian characters) into Russian by Valerij Dmitrievič Kosarev entitled *Материалы для изучения айнского языка и фольклора* in typescript has been deposited in the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

b. “Ainu Folk-Lore”. *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 25/95, 72–86 (New York).

c. “Les signes de propriété des Aino”. *Revue d’Ethnographie et de Sociologie* 3, 100–118 (Paris).

d. “Trąd wśród Gilaków i Ajnów” (leprosy among Nivhgu and Ainu). *Lud* 18/1–3, 79–91,

according to a letter by Piłsudski of November 1913 addressed to L. Ya. Shternberg, an article on the same subject in Russian, presumably a Russian-language version of this work, had been sent for publication to Vladivostok.

e. “Prace rosyjskiego Towarzystwa Geograficznego nad mapą etnograficzną państwa rosyjskiego” (undertakings of the Russian Geographical Society aiming at the preparation of an ethnographical map of the Russian state). *Lud* 18, 136–138.

f. Review of: Dr. St. Hupka 1911, *W sprawie muzealnictwa etnograficznego zagranicą i u nas* (concerning ethnographical museology abroad and in our country), Warszawa, and W. N. Charuzina [Kharuzina] 1912, *Otczot o letniej pojezdkie w Germaniju (Katalogizacja, konserwowanie i rozmieszczenie kolekcij w etnograficznych muziejach)* (report on a summer excursion to Germany (cataloguing, maintenance and arrangement of collections in ethnographical museums), Moskva. *Lud* 18, 227–228.

g. Review of: L. Sternberg 1912, *Muziej Antropologii i Etnografii imieni Imperatora Pietra Wielikago* (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography), S.-Petersburg. *Lud* 18, 228–229.

h. Review of: N. D. Bartram (ed.) 1912, *Igruszka, jeja istorja i znaczenje, sbornik statiej* (toy, its history and meaning, a collection of articles), Moskva. *Lud* 18, 229–230.

1913

“The Gilyaks and their Songs”. *Folk-Lore, Transactions of the Folk-Lore Society, A Quarterly Review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, and Custom* 24/4, 477–490. London.

1914

“На медвѣжьемъ праздникѣ айновъ о. Сахалина” (on the bear festival of the Sakhalin Ainu). *ZS* 23/1–2, 67–162, with 10 photographs.

1915

a. the same as the 1914 item, separatum, pp. title page + 67–162. Петроградъ: Типографія В. Д. Смирнова.

b. *Muzeum Tatrzańskie imienia Dra T. Chałubińskiego w Zakopanem. Zadania i sposoby prowadzenia działu ludoznawczego* (Dr. T[ytus] Chałubiński Tatra Museum in Zakopane – aims and ways of managing the ethnographical section). Kraków: published by the author. Pp. 147–188,

it is in fact a preprint edition of a separatum of the 1921 item (cf. below), with an information printed on the title page that the money from the sales of the booklet is “for the benefit of the hungry in Polish villages”.

1916

a. “Les croix Lithuaniennes”. ASTP 20. Separatum, pp. 1–13.

b. “Almen-Vieh-zucht im Tatra-Gebirge in Polen”. ASTP 20. Separatum, pp. 1–12.

1918

Polacy w Syberji (Poles in Siberia). Le Puy: Jeniec Polak. Pp. 36, it was also published in instalments in the periodical *Jeniec Polak*, issues 32–43 (1918); a version in French entitled “Les Polonais en Sibérie” (48 pp.) is preserved in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow.

1919

“Muzeum historyczne w Bernie” (the historical museum in Bern). *Ziemia* 5, 262–266.

1921

“W sprawie Muzeum Tatrzańskiego. (O urządzenie działu ludoznawczego)” (concerning the Tatra Museum – for the establishment of the ethnographical section). *Rocznik Podhalański* [1], 147–188 (same as 1915 b, cf. above).

1922

“Krzyże litewskie” (Lithuanian crosses). In: Bronisław Piłsudski & Jan Wiktor, *Krzyże i kapliczki przydrożne* (wayside crosses and shrines): Kraków: Orli Lot. Pp. 1–21, Polish translation of 1916 a.

1935

“Na niedźwiedziem święcie u Ajnów z wyspy Sachalinu”. *Sybirak* 4, 15–20, fragments of 1909 c (cf. above).

1936

“Pieśni liryczne Gilaków (Ze spuścizny rękopiśmiennej wydał W. Kotwicz)” (Nivhgu lyrical songs, from the manuscript edited [and prefaced] by W[ładysław]

ślaw] Kotwicz). *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 12, 159–175 (Lwów). Separatum, pp. 1–17, Lwów: Polskie Towarzystwo Orientalistyczne (Polish Oriental Society).

with a French summary “Chants lyriques des Guilaks”.

1943

“Karafuto ainu-ni tsutawaru mukashibanshi”. Cf. 1912 a above.

1944

“Karafuto ainu-no setsuwa”. Cf. 1912 a above.

1953

“Pregnancy, delivery and miscarriage among the inhabitants of the island of Sakhalin (Gilyak and Ainu)”. HRAF 15: Piłsudski RX 2 Gilyak, pp. 1–10. Cf. 1910 c above.

1961

“Karafuto ainu-no shāmanizumu”. Cf. 1909 b above.

1964

a. “Pregnancy, birth and miscarriage among the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu)”. HRAF 8: Piłsudski E-5 AB 6 Ainu. Cf. 1910 c above.

b. “The aborigines of Sakhalin”. HRAF 10: Piłsudski E-5 AB 6 Ainu. Cf. 1909 g above.

1968

“Karafuto-no genjūmin”. Cf. 1909 g above.

1970–1971

“Kanzō Futabatei Shimei ate Piłsudski shokan” (Piłsudski’s letters to S. Futabatei preserved in the Library), translated into Japanese and edited by Ryōhei Yasui. *Waseda Daigaku Toshokan Kiyō* (bulletin of the Waseda University Library) 10, 78–100 and 12, 26–59. Tōkyō.

1973

“Karafuto ainu-no setsuwa”. Cf. 1912 a above.

1977

[fragments from a diary which B. Piłsudski wrote between Jan. 24, 1882 and Sept. 1, 1885]. In: Waclaw Jędrzejewicz, *Kronika życia Józefa Piłsudskiego 1867–1935, Tom pierwszy 1867–1920* (chronicle of the life of Józef Piłsudski, vol. 1). London: Polish Cultural Foundation. Pp. 21–31,

the book had three editions: 1977, 1982, 1986, and a reprint of the latter in 1989 (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sanacja). A transcript of the diary (403 pp. of typescript) is preserved in the archives of the Piłsudski Institute of America in New York.

1983

a. [Polish translations of B. Piłsudski's Ainu texts from 1912 a (cf. above)]. In: Alfred F. Majewicz, *Dzieje i legendy Ajnów* (cf. 1912 a above); original numbers of particular stories from the 1912 book precede the brackets in which the story number in the 1983 publication is followed by the indication of pages on which it appears: 1(1, 118–121), 2(21, 200–203), 4(13, 177–181), 5(22, 203–206), 6(3, 135–140), 7(27, 220–221), 9(23, 207–209), 10(24, 209–214), 12(7, 144–152), 13(8, 152–155), 14(14, 181–184), 15(9, 155–158), 16(19, 193–196), 17(20, 196–200), 21(10, 158–165).

b. “Karafuto ainu-no gengo-to minwa-ni tsuite-no shiryō”. *Sōzō-no sekai* (cf. 1912 a above) 46, 99–119, 47, 112–142, 48, 116–133(1983); 49, 134–147, 50, 118–139, 51, 98–118, 52, 134–164(1984); 53, 124–156, 54, 148–161, 55, 144–161, 56, 84–98(1985); 57, 104–113, 58, 140–159(1986); 61, 104–129, 62, 116–135, 63, 98–115(1987); 64, 96–113, 65, 120–135, 66, 120–127, 67, 98–129(1988); 70, 116–129, 71, 62–70, 72, 132–142(1989); 74, 112–122, 75, 138–150(1990); 77, 138–145, 78, 104–111, 80, 102–111(1991); 82, 108–119, 84, 136–145(1992).

1984

“Bronisław Piłsudski's Olchan-Polish glossary – with English equivalents”, ed. by Alfred F. & Elżbieta Majewicz. LP 27, 71–96.

1984–1985

a. *Ainu prayer texts* 1–4, transcribed from the manuscripts under the supervision of, and translated and edited by, Alfred F. Majewicz. Adam Mickiewicz University Institute of Linguistics *Working Papers* 10–13. Sapporo-Poznań: ICRAAP & Institute of Linguistics. Pp. 57+51+55(+ errata)+111.

b. *Materials for the study of the Olcha (Ulča/Mangun/Nani) language and folklore* transcribed from the manuscripts by Elżbieta Majewicz under the supervision of, and edited by, Alfred F. Majewicz. Adam Mickiewicz University Institute of Linguistics *Working Paper* 25. Sapporo-Poznań: ICRAAP & Institute of Linguistics. Pp. 99.

1985

Materials for the study of the Orok (Uilta) language and folklore I. Фонетические и грамматические замечания к языку ороков. Орокские тексты. Transcribed from the manuscript and edited by Alfred F. Majewicz.