# A Legacy across Two Continents: The Poniatowski-Arseniev Collection at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History

**Igor Krupnik**



*Abstract.* This article explores the history of two ethnological collections from the Russian Far East at the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), Smithsonian Institution, as a part of an ongoing multistep assessment process. Both collections, currently known under the names of their respective donors/collectors, Stanisław Poniatowski and Vladimir Arseniev, were shipped to the then-U.S. National Museum in Washington in 1918, following the 1914 field trip by Dr. Stanisław Poniatowski to the Amur River area. Poniatowski's fieldwork was cut short by World War I; only a portion of his collections arrived in Washington, with the rest taken to Warsaw. The two Smithsonian collections are very close to each other, particularly when compared to acquisitions from the Amur River area at other museums. The NMNH collections constitute a fraction of 500+ photographic, ethnographic, and documentary materials related to Poniatowski's trip of 1914, with the rest now held at the Polish Ethnological Society in Wroclaw, Poland, and, perhaps, in Khabarovsk, Russia. This dispersed legacy may be "reunited" via today's digital means, which is to pave the way for the next phase, namely, to engage Indigenous and local cultural experts from the Amur River region in knowledge coproduction and to make the collections accessible to the home communities surveyed by Poniatowski 110 years ago. Regretfully, prospects for such an effort remain distant in 2024 as Russia's war against Ukraine continues.

The story of two ethnological collections from Siberia, currently in the care of NMNH Department of Anthropology (accessions nos. 63969 and 63972), involved three noted anthropologists of the past century—a Pole, Stanisław Poniatowski (1886–1945), a Russian Vladimir K. Arseniev (1872–1930), and a Czech-American Smithsonian curator of physical anthropology, Aleš Hrdlička (1869–1944). Relevant writings and archival records in three languages, English, Polish, and Russian, are scattered across three nations: at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., the Polish Ethnological Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze—PTL) in Wroclaw, Poland, and the local archives in Khabarovsk, Russia. Pieces of this historical puzzle illustrate how hard-won field collections could be easily dispersed by political upheavals and museum protocols, how they may be revisited, and their value reassessed using modern perspectives, research tools, and insight from home communities.

The story of these two Smithsonian collections also has direct implications for the field of

*Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, USA; krupniki@si.edu*

ARCTIC ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 145–165, 2022 ISSN 0066-6939 e-ISSN 1933-8139
doi:10.3368/aa.59.2.145 

Arctic/Northern research. It illuminates how interaction with the local Indigenous people may transform a visiting anthropologist, even alter one's trajectory within a few weeks of fieldwork. It also brings into its orbit several renowned scholars of the late 19th and the early 20th century, like Franz Boas, Waldemar Jochelson, Lev Shternberg, Bronisław Pilsudski, and others. The lives of the three main characters, Poniatowski, Arseniev, and Hrdlička, were impacted by two world wars, the two Russian revolutions of 1917, the subsequent Russian Civil War of 1918–1921, and the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–1921.

Most importantly, the fate of the collections is now affected by a break in international collaboration because of *another* war launched by Russia against Ukraine in February 2022. It shows that wars and broken connections amidst world crises and political turmoil can quickly crash anthropological work, the search for knowledge, and partnerships with home communities. Steps that would have been part of a contemporary collection "protocol"—engaging Indigenous experts from the home area in knowledge coproduction, promoting international exchange and collaboration, sharing collections to strengthen community heritage efforts, and more—cannot be implemented, until the war is over and professional relations resume.

## The "Cast"

The three main characters—Hrdlička, Poniatowski, and Arseniev—were seminal figures in the development of Anthropology in their respective countries, though only Hrdlička's name enjoys broad recognition, with a twist of notoriety. Hrdlička was an ambitious and powerful curator at the U.S. National Museum (USNM) and a devoted builder of the field of physical anthropology (Loring and Prokopec 1994; Montgomery and Chien 1996; Schultz 1945; Stewart 1940). He was also a voracious collector of human skeletal materials and often used methods and terminologies that are considered ethically controversial, if not repugnant today (cf. Bray and Killion 1994; Mason 2006).

Stanisław Poniatowski (Fig. 1), a Polish anthropologist, was born in the small town of Ceranów, about 60 miles (97 km) from Warsaw, in what was then part of the Russian Empire. He initially enrolled at the Warsaw University of Technology but later traveled to Zurich, where he studied physical anthropology and archaeology (Skowron-Markowska and Novakowska 2022:75). After returning to Poland, he worked at the Ethnological Laboratory of the Museum of Industry and Agriculture in Warsaw. Poniatowski was a founder and curator of the University of Warsaw Library and, later, its director in 1917–1934. From 1920 to 1939, he was also a lecturer at the Department of General and Foreign Ethnology and Ethnography, University of Warsaw, and the head of the Department of Ethnology at the Institute of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences of the Warsaw Scientific Society. Most of his post-1920 works were published in Polish, as were later overviews of his life and professional career (Heidenreich 1966, 1973; Skowron-Markowska 2016), except for a few recent articles and blog posts (Anonymous 2015; Piotrowicz 2022; Skowron-Markowska and Nowakowska 2022).

Vladimir K. Arseniev, like Poniatowski, would not be known outside his native country, Russia, if not for the movie *Dersu Uzala* (U.S. title: *Dersu Uzala: The Hunter*), a 1975 Soviet-Japanese film directed by the famous Japanese film producer, Akira Kurosawa. Hugely popular in the U.S. and Europe, the movie projected a romanticized and skewed image of friendship between an Indigenous hunter named Dersu Uzala and a Russian explorer called Arseniev. The latter, a career military officer in the Imperial Russian Army, had a rather controversial life story (cf. Glebov 2020). Beginning in 1906, he conducted mapping and reconnaissance surveys in the then-poorly known border areas across the Russian Far East, primarily along the Amur River and its tributaries. Arseniev did not receive any training in anthropology; being sympathetic to local Indigenous peoples, he started researching their cultures and folk traditions inspired by his friendship with a Native Nanay guide, Dersu Uzala. A prodigious writer and an avid museum collector, he authored over 60 works on the geography, wildlife, and ethnography of the Russian Far East, including several popular books. He also served as honorary director of the Grodekov Regional Museum in Khabarovsk from 1910 to 1919 and again from 1924 to 1925.

### Dr. Poniatowski Goes to Siberia: 1912–1914

The activities that brought these men (and several other people) together were associated with the large "public exposition" ("fair") in San Diego, California, in 1915 to celebrate the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, after twenty-some years of construction. The fair, named the "Panama-California Exposition," was designed to promote San Diego as the first American port of call along the Pacific coast north of the canal (Amero 1990).[1] When funding for the exposition was secured in 1912, its planners reached out to Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, who was a physical anthropologist at the USNM. In the tradition of the era, they wanted to promote science and "explorations" at the new venue[2] and invited Hrdlička to create a

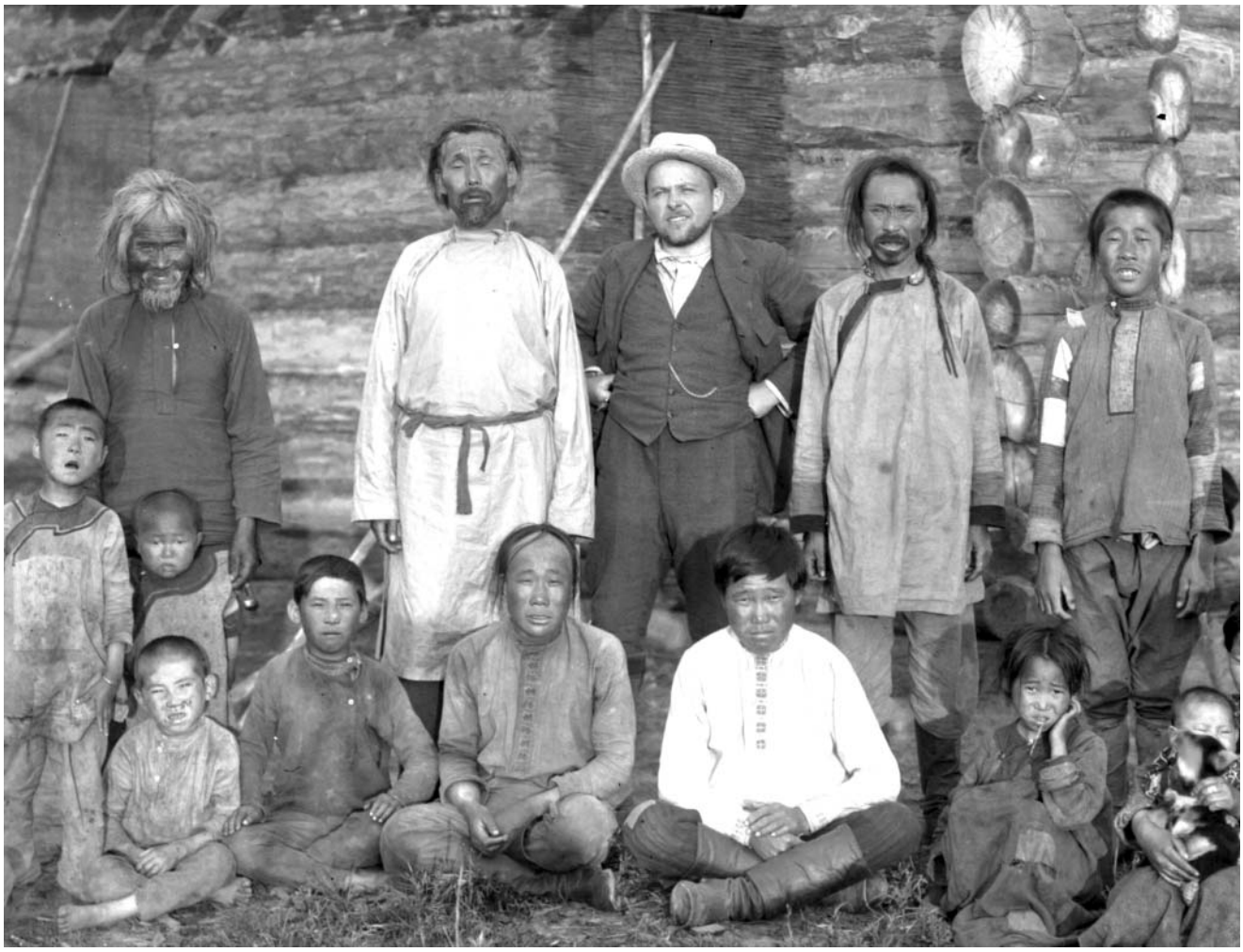

**Figure 1. Stanisław Poniatowski with local Nanay residents in the village of Nizhni Mari, July 1914. Several people featured in this photograph have also been measured and photographed individually by Poniatiwski. Polish Ethnological Society, Wroclaw. https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/73564/edition/71740.**



public display on the history of human evolution for a pavilion on the "Science of Man," using the Smithsonian collections.

Jumping on this opportunity, Hrdlička designed an ambitious program to gather data and objects for the exhibit. He went on a trip to Europe and Russia in the summer of 1912 and visited the leading European museums and prehistoric archaeological sites (Hrdlička 1915a,b). While in Russia, he traveled to southern Siberia, including to Lake Baikal and the then-Chinese province of Outer Mongolia and its capital of Urga (today's city of Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia) (Hrdlička 1912, 1913a).

With the funds for the San Diego exposition, he commissioned several people to collect materials for the 1915 displays: a young medical doctor, Riley D. Moore (1913), who went to St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, in the summer of 1912; anthropologist Philip Newton (1920) from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., who studied the aboriginal "Negrito" tribes of the Philippines; and a professional sculptor, Frank Micka, who worked under Hrdlička at the Smithsonian to make busts of Native American individuals for the exposition.[3] Hrdlička also relied on his central European connections and invited a Czech anthropologist from Prague, Dr. Vojtech Schuk (Schuck/Suk), to work in South and East Africa among the Zulu, Bushmen, and Pygmy peoples, and arranged for Polish anthropologist Kasziemierz Stołyhwo (1880–1966) to explore ancient caves and contemporary Indigenous people of southern Siberia along the Yenisei and Biryusa Rivers (Hrdlička 1915a:6, 1915b:54–55, 1915d:235–238). It was via Stołyhwo that Hrdlička contacted another young Polish anthropologist, Dr. Stanisław Poniatowski from Warsaw, with an offer to conduct fieldwork

among the people of the Amur River area for a display on "Ancient Man in Asia."[4]

Following Poniatowski's enthusiastic response to Hrdlička's invitation in July 1912, the two men quickly established regular correspondence and exchanged about two dozen letters between 1912 and late 1914.[5] Poniatowski was concerned about the scholarly content and the funding for his research; he was not an experienced fieldworker and never did research outside eastern Europe. Hrdlička was detailed and mentor-like in his instructions. His letter of July 13, 1913, included a detailed contract ("conditions") for Poniatowski's research trip, which by that time was moved to 1914.

There was a particular task for which Hrdlička anxiously anticipated Poniatowski's input. At that time, Hrdlička was promoting his theory about the peopling of North America by ancient "Asian" groups, whose home was in eastern Asia (Hrdlička 1912a, 1913b), and simultaneously contested a hypothesis about a "reverse" migration to Siberia of some early populations from North America:

> The theory has even been expressed that man, instead of migrating from north-eastern Asia into America, may have moved in the opposite direction, and especially that, after peopling this continent, a part of the Americans reached Siberia (Hrdlička 1912b:7, 1913b:59).

The latter statement was an obvious jab at Franz Boas (1912:178) and Waldemar Jochelson, his Russian partner on the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of 1897–1902, who argued for strong biological and cultural relations between the Indigenous people of Northeast Siberia and Northwest North America. Hrdlička's criticism was partly driven by his known personal antipathy towards Boas, since by 1912, both Boas and Jochelson were rather discreet in arguing for such a "reverse" migration.[6]

Hrdlička's true feelings and his forceful personal style were obvious in his letters to Poniatowski:

> Also bear in mind, however improbable or even impossible the theory may appear, the claim advanced by a few, that branches of American aborigines have reimmigrated from Asia. I have come to the conclusion that this opinion is vicious, but it can be properly refuted only by a mass of undisputable facts. I have in mind of course an American immigration into Asia on any larger scale, or such as could have disseminated the American-like type over all these regions where it is found to-day (Hrdlička to Poniatowski, October 18, 1914 [erroneous date, should be "1913"], NAA, Box 53).

In search for the descendants of such an "ancient Asian race" in their presumed homeland, Hrdlička put in Poniatowski's contract ("conditions") a special clause that "A preference should be given in both in casts and photography to individuals showing a type allied to that of the American Indians" [underlined by Hrdlička]; Hrdlička to Poniatowski, July 13, 1913, copy in Poniatowski's response, September 17, 1913, Box 53). He was even more outspoken in his further instructions to Poniatowski:

> As to the tribes included, regulate your decision by the amount of resemblance they bear towards the American Indian; the more of this resemblance, the more important they are for this particular piece of work; and throughout the individuals showing most of the resemblance should receive the greatest attention. Cast and photographs in fact should be restricted only to such individuals (Hrdlička to Poniartowski, February 25, 1914, also July 2, 1914, NAA, Box 53).

These, of course, were rather flawed guidelines by any scholarly standards, but again, they represented Hrdlička's style. In his letters, Hrdlička was also meticulous about the scope of Poniatowski's work and specific details on measurements, photography, cast making, and other tasks, including skeletal collections that he insisted "may be possible to bring together without extensive excavations." Yet he was circumspect, if not secretive, regarding larger plans for his Panama-California display. I found no references in his letters from 1912–1914 to other people, like Moore, Newton, and Schuck, who were also collecting materials for the 1915 exposition. Even the name of Poniatowski's colleague Stołyhwo disappeared after the original introduction in the summer of 1912.

In the winter of 1914, Hrdlička suggested limiting Poniatowski's study to a smaller area and focusing on the Nanay (Goldi)[7] and the Udege (Orochen/Udeghe) people, while excluding the residents of the Sakhalin Island, the Nivkh (Gilyak) and the Uilta (Orok) from the investigation. He also directed Poniatowski to visit Professor Jindrich Matiegka (1862–1941) in Prague. Matiegka, a friend of Hrdlička and the founder of Czech biological/physical anthropology, offered practical lessons to Poniatowski in making anthropological plaster casts. On his trip to Prague in January 1914, Poniatowski stopped in Kraków and met with Professor Julian Talko-Hryncewicz (1850–1936), a Polish medical doctor and physical anthropologist, who had spent ten years in Siberia among the Evenki (Tungus), Khalkha-Mongol, and the Buryat people in the early 1900s. Poniatowski also met in Kraków with another renowned Polish Siberian anthropologist, Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918), who had spent 15 years studying Native people on the Sakhalin Island and in the

Lower Amur area, first as a political prisoner and, later, as a researcher (Poniatowski to Hrdlička, February 7, 1914, NAA).

Poniatowski finally set out on his journey to the Russian Far East in May 1914. He first visited St. Petersburg and collected official letters and permissions needed for his fieldwork. At the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, he interacted with Leo (Lev) Shternberg (1865–1928) and other Russian experts on the people of Siberia and the Amur River region (Poniatowski 1966:77–78). Shternberg, fresh from his visit to the area in 1910, provided a recommendation letter to Vladimir Arseniev, director of the Grodekov Museum in Khabarovsk (Goncharova 2015; Kuchinski 2001:132).

Poniatowski arrived in the city of Vladivostok on May 30, 1914, and on June 2, he finally reached his selected field hub, the city of Khabarovsk on the Amur River. He quickly met with two men instrumental to his fieldwork: Arseniev, a museum director (Goncharova 2015; Kuchinski 2001:132), and Ivan A. Lopatin (1888–1970), a young Russian anthropologist who was familiar with the Nanay (Gold) people in the focus of Poniatowski's study.[8] Both Areseniev and Lopatin helped Poniatowski develop his itinerary and recruit a field team made of three high-school students and Lopatin's wife, Mrs. Lyubov Lopatin (Goncharova 2015).

On June 15, 1914, Poniatowski and his crew left Khabarovsk by motorboat and traveled to the Nanay community of Sikachi-Alyan on the Amur River (today's population 273, Russian 2020 census), some 70 km (40 miles) from Khabarovsk. They spent three weeks in Sikachi-Alyan, where they measured and photographed 32 local Nanay residents and collected ethnographic objects, drawings, and other materials. From there, Poniatowski's crew continued its path down the Amur River, with short stops at several local villages and fishing camps.[9] Their last recorded site on August 7–8, 1914, was the small Nanay village of Ady, about 450 km (280 miles) from Khabarovsk (Poniatowski 1966:74). It was the farthest point the expedition was able to reach on its planned five-month itinerary that Poniatowski had shared with Hrdlička two months prior.

## Plans Interrupted by World War: 1914–1917

In late July 1914, while Poniatowski's crew was surveying Nanay and Udege camps along the Amur River, World War I broke out in Europe. It prompted Poniatowski to hastily return to Khabarovsk and abandon his field plans. On August 24th, he left Siberia on a train to his native Warsaw. His expedition was over barely four months after his departure and with less than two months spent in the field (Poniatowski 1966:75).

During his short stay in Khabarovsk, Poniatowski sorted and divided his field materials. He prepared a list of the objects he collected using the data recorded in his field diary. Poniatowski took with him to Warsaw his field notes, glass plates, negatives, physical measurement sheets, and some ethnographic specimens. He left the bulk of ethnographic objects, plaster masks, and measurement tools given by Hrdlička in Arseniev's care at the Grodekov Museum. Reportedly, the two agreed that Poniatowski would return to Khabarovsk in the summer of 1915 for joint fieldwork with Arseniev among the Udege people (Goncharova 2015).

Upon return to Warsaw, Poniatowski provided a summary of his aborted trip to Hrdlička. The letter attested that Poniatowski was unsuccessful in at least two of Hrdlička's key assignments, namely in making plaster masks and skeletal collections:

> Owing to circumstances over which I had no control, I was obliged to cut short my expedition soon after the war broke out, that is, [on] the 8th of August. I was then in Adi 500 km from Habarovsk. I returned to Habarovsk by steamer where I was obliged to wait over a week for the train . . . . On the 24th of August I left Habarovsk . . . On the whole the expedition took up four months and two days, but I made researches [sic.] only during two instead of the 5 or 6 projected [months], owing to this I only took the measurements of 109 Golds and of 25 Orochons. Besides this, I took over 130 photos, one cast, and I collected 113 ethnographical specimens. As the shipping agencies would not undertake the transport of goods to America on account of the war, I left the cast and collections with colonel Arsenieff, director of the Grodecoff's museum in Khabarovsk (Poniatowski to Hrdlička, November 6, 1914).[10]

Like many people during that ill-fated year, Poniatowski believed that the war in Europe would be over soon and that, in 1915, he would travel back to Russia to continue his work. He aspired to use some leftover monies from the 1914 trip and to secure new funds from the Smithsonian (Skowron-Markowska and Nowakowska 2022:81). This was not to happen.

The San Diego exposition opened on January 1, 1915, and lasted till January 1, 1917. Hrdlička was able to stage a massive show of human physical variations in the style of the era by displaying busts, facial casts, photographs, and charts (cf. Breton 1916; Hrdlička 1914, 1915a,c,d). Specimens and photographs collected by his associates on this project, like Moore, Schuk, Mica, and Newton, were featured in San Diego and used for another Smithsonian display at the "World Fair" in San

Francisco (Anonymous 1915:25–40, 52). But there was no contribution from Poniatowski.

Following the exhibit opening, Hrdlička wrote at least two more letters to Poniatowski in February and June 1915. His last one-page letter of June 10, 1915, stated that all Poniatowski's materials left in Khabarovsk in Arseniev's care should "be sent to the nearest U.S. Consul, with a request that they be forwarded by him to our Institution." Hrdlička also informed Poniatowski that he was unable to raise any funds for further explorations. He stated the reason explicitly:

> If you had been more fortunate on your trip and could have sent us some skeletal and other collections, which could have been shown [at the Panama-California Exposition], things might have been different (NAA, Hrdlička's Papers, Box 53).

Evidently, Hrdlička was considering his investment in Poniatowski's fieldwork a failure. Barely two weeks later, Poniatowski sent another letter to Hrdlička that repeated his plea for more funds for work in 1915.[11] I am unaware of any further correspondence between the two men.

Meanwhile, Arseniev in Khabarovsk was left in charge of shipping collections in his care to Poniatowski in Warsaw (per his letter to Poniatowski of December 19, 1914) (Kuchinski 2001:135). No collections were yet mailed to Hrdlička at the USNM in anticipation of Poniatowski's instructions (Kuchinski 2001:135). Finally, in a letter from Warsaw from June 2, 1915, Poniatowski instructed Arseniev to ship "2 boxes and one long package (in cloth) with the ethnographic collections" to the U.S. National Museum in Washington, D.C. He asked Arseniev to keep some items at the museum until

> further instructions from Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, curator . . . in the U.S. National Museum in Washington DC, from whom I have not yet received a response to my letter of last October [November 1914]. . . . Perhaps Hrdlička will come to your museum when the war is over, or I will travel myself (Kuchinski 2001:137).

Little did Poniatowski know that a few months later, Warsaw would be occupied by the German army and that he had to abandon all hopes for a new fieldwork in Russia. Poland declared its independence in 1918; soon after, Poniatowski served as a cavalryman in the Polish army in another war, this time against Soviet Russia in 1919–1921. He continued his ethnographic career in independent Poland (Kuchinski 2001; Skowron-Markowska and Nowakowska 2022). His life tragically ended during the second German occupation of Poland in WWII. He was arrested by the Gestapo (German secret police) in 1942 for covertly teaching ethnology classes to Polish students in his apartment (training of Polish students was forbidden by German occupational laws). Poniatowski spent his last years in German concentration camps and evidently passed away in January 1945 (Heidenreich 1966:9; Kuchinski 2001:130; Skowron-Markowska and Nowakowska 2022:82). His American mentor Aleš Hrdlička died in Washington more than a year prior; Arseniev's life ended much earlier in September 1930. There is no record of any correspondence or other interactions among the three men after 1917.

## Poniatowski's Collections Travel to Washington

In 1917, Arseniev received a letter from Theodore (Fedor) Fielstrup, a Russian anthropologist in St. Petersburg, with a request from Hrdlička to ship Poniatowski's collection in Khabarovsk to the care of the American Consulate in Vladivostok (Goncharova 2001:128).[12] The year 1917 was known for two revolutions (regime changes) in Russia and the ensuing Civil War. Arseniev was active in local political life and served for seven months as the "Commissar (deputy)" on Indigenous Peoples affairs of the Russian Provisionary government for the Siberian and Far East region.[13] Nonetheless, by the fall of 1917, Arseniev was able to send at least some (?) of Poniatowski's objects left in his care to Vladivostok to the attention of the American Consulate (Khisamutdinov 2022). The rest of the story is reported in the collection accession file at the Smithsonian Institution Archives (SIA) in Washington, D.C.

On May 10, 1918, the American Consul in Vladivostok, J. K. Caldwell, informed the U.S. National Museum that on April 17, the consulate shipped to the Smithsonian

> one box containing a collection of ethnographical articles and one box containing a collection of wooden idols . . . [that] were sent to this Consulate by the director of Grodekoff's Museum in Habarovsk, Siberia, with the request that they be shipped to you (SIA 63972).

Seven months later, in another letter to the Smithsonian, Caldwell provided more details on the donor:

> Referring to collections sent to you by Mr. W. K. Arseneff [Areseniev] of the Museum in Habarovsk, and forwarded through this consulate, as explained in my letters of November 2, 1917 [this letter is missing in the file], and April 17, 1918, . . . I have to inform you that . . . these collections are of considerable value and that Mr. Arseneff donated them to the Smithsonian Institution and the (U.S.) National Museum. . . . An acquaintance of Mr. Arseneff has informed me that Mr. Arseneff would like to continue having connections with

> the Smithsonian Institution, if his collections and services are desired (SIA 63972).

Since Arseniev's name was cited in this correspondence, both letters ended in the file for accession no. 63972 that was registered under "donor W. K. Arseneff, Grodekoff's Museum, Habarovsk, Siberia." It was officially processed on August 15, 1919 (the accession card has the date of August 16, 1919) as "Collections of fetishes from tribes of Eastern Siberia" (SIA 63972). Evidently, the objects lingered at the Smithsonian for over a year (!). On September 3, 1919, the long-delayed "letter of acknowledgment" went to Arseniev, which was signed by William de C. Ravenel, the assistant to the Secretary of the Smithsonian. Besides thanking Arseniev, the letter lamented the lack of details about the objects:

> No catalogue corresponding to the numbers on the specimens has yet been received, nor any information as to what became of the earlier numbers, but it is hoped that the latter will reach us in time. If you could supply the data relative to the specimens already received, it would be greatly appreciated and would add materially to their interest.

To that, the letter added an invitation to further partnership:

> Material from your region is much needed, as it is a locality not heretofore represented in our collections, and I beg to inquire therefore, whether you could furnish a more extensive collection from East Siberian or other available tribes? We desire especially specimens relating to the primitive life and need of the people, such as are connected with the natural environment and native arts and industries . . . producing the things used in ordinary life. . . . It would seem that there must be many artifacts connecting Asia with America, which collectors have heretofore not sought out and received from the natives.

No response from Arseniev followed, evidently because the political situation in the Russian Far East worsened in 1918–1920. At that time, Russia was engulfed in the Civil War between the Bolshevik government in Moscow and various White Guard armies supported by foreign expeditionary troops, including the Americans.[14] By 1920, Arseniev moved to Vladivostok and worked as a mid-level official at the Department of Fisheries under shifting local administrations. Nonetheless, his Russian biographers acknowledged that he was made a member of the National Geographic Society in Washington (Khisamutdinov 2022; Tarasova 1985:306), perhaps as a favor from Hrdlička or the USNM.

The accession file for collection no. 63972 includes a typewritten list of objects in English titled "Collection of Mr. W. K. Arseneff, Habarovsk, Siberia," obviously prepared at the USNM. It has numbers from 26 (?) to 97, with no provenience data (e.g., time, location, ethnic group) besides a mere technical description of the objects; the original source remains unknown. The descriptions from the list were copied to objects' accession cards, with one addition: "Tribes of Eastern Siberia, Russia." Even the old spelling of Arseniev's name ("Arseneff") from the Consulate letter was preserved. Today's NMNH online catalog (eMU) uses both spellings, "Arseniev" and "Arseneff," which generates 49 objects.

The second accession file for collection no. 69369 was processed on the same day, August 15, 1919, with the donor's name and address given as "Dr. Stanisław Poniatowski, Pracownia Antropologiczna, Kaliksta [Str.] 8, Warsaw, Poland." The accession was initiated by Hrdlička and was described as a "collection of ethnographic material, principally charms and fetishes from the Gold Tribes, Eastern Siberia." It contains no information related to the collection travel to the USNM, besides a short note signed by deC. Ravenel of August 21, 1919, addressed to Poniatowski. It acknowledged the collection accession at the USNM but made no appeal for further collaboration. It contains a similar four-page typewritten list of objects titled "Collection of Stanisław Poniatowski. Warsaw, Poland. From the Gold Tribes, E. Siberia." Poniatowski did receive this letter from the Smithsonian, as it is preserved in his personal papers now with the PTL in Wroclaw. No response from Poniatowski is preserved in the accession file.

The two object lists for the accessions, no. 63969 (Poniatowski) and no. 63972 (Arseniev) displayed a remarkable difference in the amount of provenience data. Objects in the Poniatowski collection had the name "Golds" as the ethnic definition (today's Nanay). Most objects listed the place of collecting as "Sakachialan. E. Siberia" (today's spelling, Sikachi-Alyan), but a few indicated other places.[15] Many items have Indigenous names for objects in a rough transliteration (i.e., "donte lakani," "seevusi," "kadaraku"), evidently recorded by Poniatowski (1966) from his Nanay informants. Such information was obviously attached by Poniatowski himself (Fig. 2a and b), including the descriptor "burhan," which was used for many wooden figurines ("charms").[16] It was once a common term in Russia, particularly in South Siberia and the trans-Baikal region (Shimkevich 1896), but hardly anyone at the Smithsonian could have put such a word in the USNM accession papers. Perhaps the difference in the provenience data between accessions nos. 63969 and 63972, or other lost details in shipping, ensured that the two collections remained *separate* entities in the museum records, under two donors' names to the present day.


**Figure 2. a) Bear-like figure (donte, "burhan," E303703), with the b) caption and explanatory drawing by Poniatowski from 1914, the only such record in the Smithsonian NMNH-Anthropology collection. Photo by Igor Krupnik.**



## Overview of the Collections

Both collections are medium in size: no. 63969 (Poniatowski) originally consisted of 54 numbers and no. 63972 (Arseniev/Arseneff) of 49 numbers. The actual number of objects is higher since some catalog numbers include numerous items, usually from two to ten. Hence, the total count of objects is close to 160 (no. 63969 has 97 individual items, and no. 63972 has at least 64 individual items), not counting the specimens tied together by leather or cord bands. All objects are currently in place (see below).

The NMNH accession cards scrupulously followed the description for each item presented in the original accession lists from 1919. Even though the provenience information is lacking for objects listed under "Arseniev" (no. 63972), we may assume that almost, if not all, objects were acquired at the same time among the Nanay or the nearby groups based on their visible similarity (in type, material, age, color, size, etc.) (Fig. 3), also based on analogous objects in printed catalogs and online databases (see below). The objects are reviewed with their Nanay names listed by Poniatowski and cross-checked against the illustrated catalog published by the Grodekov Museum in Khabarovsk, Russia (Titoreva et al. 2019). Regretfully, no Indigenous insight into the meaning and names of the objects is available at this stage (see below).

The most notable feature of the two NMNH accessions is the lack of, or extreme rarity of, objects that are popular in historical ethnographic

**Figure 3. Stephen Loring (left) and the author examine Poniatowski and Arseniev's objects in the NMNH collection storage facility in January 2023. Photo by Elisa Palomino-Perez.**

collections from the Amur River area and, generally, from Siberia and the Arctic regions in the late 1800s and early 1900s. There are no items of *clothing* or *footwear*, no *boats* (even models) or *sleds*, no elements or models of *dwellings*, and no *shaman drums.* Other common missing categories include clothing or containers made of fishskin (a popular type from this area; see Wierzbowski 2015); dolls made of cloth/wood or paper (also common in many Amur River collections; see Chaussonnet 1975 and Titoreva et al. 2019); sewing tools and kits, including women's bags; house models; and tobacco *pipes*. The lack of paper or birch bark *ornamentations* and *stencils* may be explained by the fact that such objects were taken by Poniatowski back to Warsaw (or shipped to him by Arseniev) and ended up in his collection now at PTL in Wroclaw (see below).

There are also only a few household items that are common in historical ethnographic collections: a single basket among 160+ objects ("koanza," *kongsa*)[17]; one cylindrical birchbark box ("kurka"/*kurkɛ*), and one rectangular wooden box with ornamentation (*kurmi*) (Fig. 4),

**Figure 4. Objects from accessions nos. 63969 and 63972 in the NMNH-Anthropology collection storage, with a cylindrical birchbark box ("kurka") and a rectangular wooden box with ornamentation (*kurmi*) in the middle. Photo by Igor Krupnik.**

but no spoons, bowls, cutting boards, or furniture pieces. Generally, there are hardly any large-size and bulky objects, so the NMNH Nanay items are usually of medium or small size (Fig. 5).

Instead, the two collections abound in carved wooden figurines of various ritual meanings. In NMNH accession cards, they were mostly identified as "charms," "charm figurines," or "effigies," often with their specific Nanay names in Poniatowski's transliteration. Many were also called *burhans* (see above). The Nanay people have a detailed nomenclature for various types of human- and animal-like figures that commonly represented shaman helping spirits or personal charms (Lopatin 1922; Rudaya 2014; Shimkevich 1896; Shirokogoroff 1919). The two collections include at least 30 figurines that could be solidly identified as human-like: some with large conic heads or headgear ("kalgama"/*kalgama*); some with triangle headgear marked by a horizontal line or cut ("odzha"/*adyakhe* or *edekhe*), flat rhomboid heads or headgear (*ayami*); and some with flat oval heads ("maangia"), with crude bent legs (*buchu*). Several human-like figurines are tied together as pairs or bundles. The figurines are not painted and differ in size, ranging from large and rather heavy pieces around 20 inches (51 cm) in length to small and even miniature objects of 2 to 5 inches (5 to 13 cm). Most are crudely carved; some are just pegs of wood with barely impressed faces or eyes.

The animal or animal-like figures constitute another major component, totaling over 50 individual and paired items in two collections. They


**Figure 5. Animal-like figurines from the Poniatowski and Arseniev collections: a) tigress with cubs (?) (E309998), b) bear ("donte") (E309997), c) turtle ("kaila") (E303714), d) frogs ("hora") (E30742). NMNH-Anthropology collections website https://collections.nmnh.si.edu/search/anth/.**

represent different animal species, with bears ("donte"/*duente*) and tigers (*khapa* or *mokha*, also *ambanso*) being the most common. Poniatowski collection includes images of horses ("moren," 11 items), ducks ("gasa"/*gasa,* 14 items), turtles ("kaila"/*kailan,* four items), frogs ("hora"/*khɛrɛ*), and even hedgehogs ("funntilka") and mice (Fig. 5a–d). Some of the small-sized wooden carvings are hard to identify as either human or animal-like. The Poniatowski collection also includes a small number of items associated with shaman's rituals and healing: a shaman's headgear and seven healing "yokes," bent branches or saplings tied at the end to form a hoop or an oval band. A drawing in the accession card illustrates its use, showing a human figure with a long braid (a shaman?) putting an oval hoop over a sitting person's head; it followed the description of an observed seance in Poniatowski's (1966:25) diary.

Hunting implements are represented by two bows and 19 arrows of different kinds, as well as three bow traps, also with arrows ("seevusi"). Surprisingly, just one item is associated with fishing (the Nanay's main occupation), a net float of rolled birchbark ("kokto"), but no fishing nets nor tools for net-making. The collections contain a number of household items and tools, such as two knives ("kucha" and *guasu*), two pot-lifters ("ganzo"), five wooden and bone-made skin-working tools ("kadavaku" and "sobgeku"), wooden wedge-clamp ("kaverko"), and even a set of chopsticks.

Overall, the objects listed under Poniatowski (accession no. 639969) are more diverse, thanks to the presence of hunting implements, shaman items, a larger set of animal species represented as carved wooden figurines, and more household items of various kinds. The objects listed under "Arseniev" are mostly small and medium-size carved figurines of human- and animal-like shaman helpers; many look like pairs or duplicates (supplements) of similar objects under "Poniatowski." Yet, there are some notable additions, like a set for processing fishskin for clothing made of a wooden beater (hammer) and a beating board/block.[18] Other unmatched objects under "Arseniev" include a decorated paper scroll and a triangular paper "hood" lavishly ornamented in ink or paint; a tiny wooden rattle; two "composed" chain-like wooden carvings representing a human arm and head (?); and a human-like figurine dressed in cloth with a shaman headgear, as well as other peculiar wooden carvings.

Nonetheless, when examined together, the two Amur River collections look remarkably close to each other. It begs the question: *Why* are they so close?

## Accessions Nos. 63969 and 63972 versus Other Amur River Ethnographic Collections

At this early stage in the assessment, we may evaluate the two collections by major *object categories* in comparison with other significant ethnographic holdings from the Amur River area. Each substantial museum collection has its individual "profile" that can be examined via shares (in percentages) of major object categories identified in museum databases and/or catalogs, like "clothing" or "equipment." Such an approach was first used in a recent study of historical Chukchi ethnographic collections from northeast Siberia (Krupnik and Schultz 2020:123–130).

This assessment uses a modified typology that includes ten major object categories (Table 1): 1) hunting and fishing equipment; 2) transportation; 3) tools; 4) house life/household items; 5) costume/clothing, including head- and footwear; 6) personal ornaments; 7) toys and other child-related items; 8) ritual/spiritual objects, including shamanistic items; 9) musical instruments; and 10) artistic and crafts products. This section compares nos. 63969 and 63972, which are organized along these categories versus *four* other large collections from the same area; some categories, like "weapons," are missing among the NMNH objects.

The American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York has a massive ethnographic collection from the Amur River and Sakhalin Island area assembled by Berthold Laufer (1874–1934) during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in 1899–1900. The collection numbers 703 objects under "Berthold Laufer/Asia/Russia" and 336 objects specifically from the Nanai (Nanay) people. It is accessible via the AMNH online database, with object descriptions and images.[19]

The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (UPenn Museum) in Philadelphia acquired a major historical collection from the Amur River area following the closure of the Commercial Museum in Philadelphia in 1994 (Wierzbowski 2015). That collection was assembled at the Khabarovsk Regional Museum to be displayed in the Russian pavilion at the Exposition Universelle (World Fair) in Paris in 1900. Its listing in the UPenn Museum online database consists of 389 objects from the "Amur River" area, though, obviously, not all belong to the Nanay people.[20] The database does not organize the objects by groups but lists individual types/names (e.g., arrow, apron, adze, bow drill) that allow arranging it by the ten categories.

The Nanay collection at the Danish National Museum (Nationalmuseet) in Copenhagen contains 144 objects under the name "Goldere"' (i.e.,

Table 1. Composition of individual Amur River collections by object category (%).

| Object Category | No. 63969 Poniatowski | No. 63972 Arseniev | AMNH Laufer | UPenn Museum | Grodekov Museum | Nationalmuseet Alexander |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Number | **97** | **64** | **336** | **389**[a] | **1520**[c] | **144** |
| Clothing | 1.0 | 3.0 | 14.9 | 15.2 | 18.9 | 27.5 |
| Hunting/fishing | 27.8 | — | 4.1 | 17.7 | 6.3 | 18.8 |
| Transportation | — | — | 0.9 | 32.6[b] | 2.0 | 3.3 |
| Tools | 6.2 | 10.9 | 1.5 | 4.4 | 3.9 | 4.0 |
| Home life | 5.2 | 4.7 | 6.8 | 26.2[b] | 16.3 | 20.1 |
| Toys/Child items | 1.0 | — | 1.5 | 0.8 | 17.2[d] | — |
| Ceremonial items | 58.7 | 79.7 | 28.0 | 2.6 | 14.9 | 19.5 |
| Arts/decorations | — | 1.5 | 41.5 | 0.3 | 10.2 | 1.3 |
| Musical instruments | — | — | 1.5 | — | 1.6 | — |
| Personal ornament | . . . | . . . | . . . | 0.3 | 9.7 | 5.3 |

Notes: a. not counting "wood fragments"; b. including "models" and parts; c. not counting "carpets and rugs" (all collected after the 1940s); d. mostly papercuts ("dolls"), including many post-1940 pieces by known artists.



"Gold/Nanay"). According to the museum's online database, most of the objects were acquired in 1927 after the passing of a famed German collection dealer, Eugen Alexander. No provenience records are associated with Alexander's collection, except that the objects were evidently acquired via the Emperor Alexander III's Museum in St. Petersburg (today's Russian Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography) in the early 1900s.[21]

Perhaps the world's largest collection of Nanay objects, consisting of approximately 2,200 objects and over 700 photographs, is held at the Grodekov Regional Museum in Khabarovsk, Russia. Its illustrated catalog (Titoreva et al. 2019) includes 1,576 ethnographic objects, plus over 600 photographs, negatives, published books, and other documents. The catalog is organized along ten object categories that can be easily matched with those applied to other collections. The Khabarovsk Museum holdings are the most heterogeneous since they include the objects acquired or produced from the mid-1800s up to the early 2000s (Titoreva et al. 2019:26–32).

Obviously, each collection has its specific composition based on its history, provenience, and collector's interest. The Grodekov Museum collection is the most balanced and includes all ten selected object categories (and more). The AMNH Laufer's collection has the largest share of decorative arts and clothing, reflecting Laufer's personal interest in arts and symbolism. The UPenn Museum collection from the 1900 World Fair is skewed towards transportation and household objects but is very "thin" on ceremonial items. The small collection at the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen consists primarily of clothing and footgear but has a substantial number of hunting, household, and spiritual items as well.

Such comparison underscores the highly unusual structure of two Smithsonian Amur River collections in that they have a disproportionately large share of ceremonial items, mostly of ritual wooden carvings. The small "Arseniev" collection has the most atypical composition due to the highest share of ceremonial items (almost 80%). It remains a mystery unless we view it as a fragment of a larger and more balanced original set that also included the objects listed under "Poniatowski" (accession no. 63969), plus the scores of Indigenous drawings, paper cuts, stencils, ornaments, and objects that Poniatowski brought to Warsaw, which eventually ended up at the PTL and the Muzeum Przemysłu i Rolnictwa (Museum of Industry and Agriculture—see below).

## Life of Nos. 63969 and 63972 at the USNM/NMNH

The two Amur River collections that arrived at the USNM after the closing of the San Diego Exposition attracted little attention. Siberian ethnographic holdings at the USNM and, later, at NMNH were always modest in size, with no area expertise available until the 1990s. The two collections were neither researched nor displayed. They were briefly examined in the 1980s for the "Crossroads of Continents" exhibit (1988–1992), but preference was given to better-known pieces from Laufer at the AMNH in New York (William

**Figure 6. Nanay objects from the "Arseniev Collection" (E309972 and E309967) on display at the *Living Our Cultures* exhibit. Anchorage Museum, Anchorage. Photo by Dawn Biddison, February 2023.**

Fitzhugh, personal communication 2023). One object, a string of small wooden figurines (E303738, "Nanai gang of spirits"), was featured in the smaller "*Crossroads Alaska: Native Cultures of Alaska and Siberia*" traveling exhibit that toured Alaska and museums in the Russian Far East, including the Grodekov Museum in Khabarovsk in 1995–1997 (Chaussonnet 1995:75, 1976:75).

The collections were examined by the late Tatyana P. Roon, a Russian museum expert from the Sakhalin area, on her visit to NMNH in 1999. She used the term *amulets* (charms) for the carved wooden figures (e.g., "medical charms," "hunting charms")(Roon 2002:334) but provided few details on the meaning of the objects. Accession no. 63969 (Poniatowski) was the focus of one student paper based primarily on Hrdlička–Poniatowski's correspondence at NAA and the museum accession files (Watson 2012).

Most regretfully, the two accessions never received any insight from Indigenous cultural experts from their home area on the Amur River, which is currently a common practice at NMNH and other museums. They are now accessible online via the NMNH public collection website, where the objects are displayed with images, original accession cards, and provenience data.[22] Since professional connections with Russia have been recently suspended because of the war in Ukraine, any efforts in the online knowledge coproduction are to wait until the connections between the Smithsonian and the Russian museum and Indigenous specialists fully resume.

Since 2010, two catalog items under "Arseniev" have been on display at the *Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage* exhibit at the Anchorage Museum in Anchorage (Fig. 6**)** (Crowell et al. 2010).[23] They remain the only specimens in the large exhibit for which no insight from Native cultural experts was provided (Aron Crowell, personal communication 2023).

## In the Aftermath . . .

The main characters of this story parted ways before the two collections were delivered to the U.S. National Museum in 1918. Even if Hrdlička put his name on the USNM accession records, it was *not* the materials he was looking for. In his publications associated with the Panama-California Exposition, he enthusiastically referred to Poniatowski's work in Siberia using the language and terminology of his era:

> The results of these expeditions [of Poniatowski's and Stolyhwo's Siberian trips] comprise anthropological data, a valuable series of photographs, and a collection of rare skeletal material. The evidence indicates that there still exist throughout extensive areas of northern and eastern Asia remnants of former prehistoric (rather than 'paleoasiatic') peoples closely resembling the American Indian in type, mentality and other important particulars (Hrdlička 1915d:236).

It turned out to be a wildly inflated claim, as no Poniatowski's materials were accessible at that time, and, eventually, neither anthropometric measurement sheets nor photographs, plaster masks, nor skeletal materials entered the Smithsonian from the Amur River expedition. To my knowledge, Hrdlička never returned to his plan to support his vision of the early human migrations to North America via live measurements and photographs of Siberian Native people. He did visit Russia, then the USSR, in 1939 (Doklad 1940), but his interests were then primarily in the early peopling of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands (Loring and Prokopec 1994; Schultz 1944).

Unlike Hrdlička, Poniatowski was obviously keen to continue processing his records from the Amur River expedition throughout his life. He published a short paper on the Nanay language based on his 1914 field data (Poniatowski 1923). He donated several dozen ethnographic objects collected in Sikachi-Alyan to the Muzeum Przemysłu i Rolnictwa (Museum of Industry and Agriculture) in Warsaw (Poniatowski 1966:55–56). However, all its collections were reportedly destroyed during the German siege of Warsaw in September 1939.[24] Other records from Poniatowski's Amur River expedition miraculously survived his arrest in 1942. They were rescued from his apartment and preserved till the end of WWII (Heidenreich 1966:9–10; Skowron-Markowska and Nowakowska 2022:82–83). They are now part of the PTL collection in Wroclaw and are accessible at

the Wroclaw University Library website, thanks to the recent digitization project undertaken in 2016 (Krupnik et al. n.d.; Skowron-Markowska 2016; Skowron-Markowska and Nowakowska 2022).[25]

Poniatowski's online files and their archival originals at PTL include his 1914 field diary in Polish and a clean partial version of the diary he prepared in 1920 after the expedition (Poniatowski 1966; later translated and published in Russian). His photo collection from 1914 of 130+ glass plates, prints, and negatives also survived the war (Nowakowska 2016a:32), as did his anthropometric measurement sheets for 131 Nanay and Udege individuals. Many photographs and *all* anthropometric measurement sheets feature personal names and residencies (locality) of the Indigenous people who interacted with Poniatowski; they constitute an incredible heritage resource to today's descendant communities and families. His diary of 1914 contains numerous descriptions of his generally very friendly encounters. Unlike his mentor, Hrdlička, Poniatowski was evidently a warm, open, and easy-going individual who was engaged with and interested in his Indigenous counterparts (Krupnik et al. n.d.).

The record on other of Poniatowski's field materials is mixed. His anthropometric measurement forms from 1914 were not processed until decades after his death (Glinka 1966; Wokroj 1966). I did not find any evidence that these materials were ever used, even known to his colleagues prior to 1966. Maxim G. Levin (1904–1963), a Russian physical anthropologist who studied the Amur River and Sakhalin Island Indigenous groups in the 1940s, never cited Poniatowski's data (Levin 1946a, 1949, 1958/1963). A meticulous and broadly informed scholar, Levin was sympathetic to Hrdlička's work (Levin 1946b, 1958/1963:212–215). Yet he argued that, contrary to Hrdlička's views, the Nanay people had a very strong physical component common among the northern Chinese, as well as other eastern Asian populations (Levin 1958:98), with little if any resemblance to Native Americans, as evidenced in many photographs taken by Poniatowski, despite the guidelines he received from Hrdlička.

Notably, Ponatowski's field diary from 1914 illustrates a gradual change of heart, certainly of mind, during his Amur River survey. Trained as a physical anthropologist and commissioned by one of the leading scholars of his era, Poniatowski was initially enthused by the mission formulated by Hrdlička (Poniatowski 1966:16–17). However, when exposed to the daily life and culture of the Nanay and Udege communities, he started looking beyond Hrdlička's strict mandate—into Native material objects, dwellings, folklore, beliefs, and, later, language. He titled his field diary "*Trip to the Land of Goldi and Orochon*" and reported in minute detail his encounters, observations, and explanations of the objects purchased from local people.

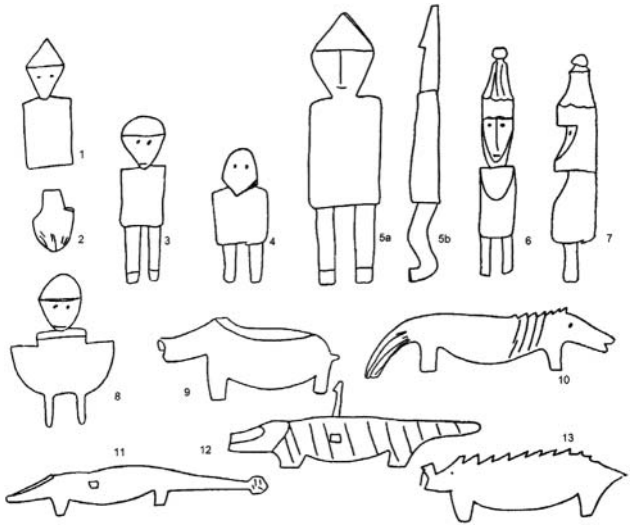

**Figure 7. A page from Poniatowski's published diary, with his drawings of the types of Nanay ritual sculptures, with rough transliteration of their Native names, numbers, and comments inserted by Poniatowski (1966:38, author's translation):**

**1. Caania—aides to Dudgermari; 2. Donte-pukani—when one has heartache; 3. Man(gia)—when one has stomach cramps; 4. Pokori—when a child has stomach cramps, it [the idol] is placed into the fire head-on because it is "biting" the child's abdomen. This is why its head is burned; 5a. and 5b. Echchenungnuni—the main wooden burkhan (face view and side view). People commonly hang two of its "children" on its neck); in Semeyon's family, these children are made from silver; 6. and 7. Kalgama (a couple)—People hang these on a tree: one main one, two children, and nine others or 9x9 ("make the other nine times nine"); 8. Odzha—hazarku—a man with the wings, like an angel; 9. Olgia—swine; 10. More(n)—horse; 11. Mucha—(mucha) a symbolic animal that can walk several thousand versts (equal to many thousands of kilometers) in one night; 12. Dudgermari—the main shaman's burkhan, with the oczolani on top; the square on the body symbolizes its wings; 13. Fuuntilka—hedgehog.**

Already on his first days in Sikachi-Alyan, he encouraged Nanay children to make pencil drawings, inquired on the meaning of spiritual wooden sculptures (and secured some for the museum in Warsaw), attended a shaman's healing performance, and explored ancient rock paintings along the Amur River (Poniatowski 1966:24–26). In less than three weeks, with the help of his Nanay informants, he developed a typology of Nanay carved figures/shaman helpers, made drawings of its major types (Fig. 7), and recorded the Nanay terms

that would later figure in the NMNH accession records (Poniatowski 1966:38–40). By the end of his first field month, he dreamed about another field trip "for ethnography" and for making ethnographic collections: "I am yearning for a much longer visit for ethnography, get *a conto* from several museums, some recommendations—and up we go" (Poniatowski 1966:45, author's translation).

Such transition from a champion of early racial "types" to a four-field anthropologist interested in Native life may explain the peculiar nature of Poniatowski's ethnographic collection, his search for Native terms, and explanations of Nanay spiritual objects. Such transformation would not have been welcomed by Hrdlička; no wonder their partnership did not survive.

Interestingly, a similar transformation befell another of Hrdlička's associates on the Panama–California 1915 exhibit, an American medical doctor, Riley D. Moore, who was sent by Hrdlička to the Yupik village of Gambell, on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. Like Poniatowski, Moore developed a close rapport with local people, took several dozen pictures of Native families and village scenes, explored local cultural traditions, collected 500+ ethnographic objects, and was the first to report on five large kin groups ("clans") in the islanders' social system (Krupnik et al. 2002; Moore 1912, 1923). Like Moore, Poniatowski might have been holding onto his field materials from 1914 (as attested by personal notes now in the PTL collection), perhaps hoping to rework it into a concise treatment of the Nanay ethnography. It was achieved but partly and only posthumously because his field records survived his death (Heidenreich 1973).

To Vladimir Arseniev, Khabarovsk Museum director, caring for Poniatowski's materials and shipping his objects to the USNM was a bad omen. Years later, in 1924, he was accused by a Russian colleague of "selling out" the Khabarovsk Museum collections to the Americans during the Russian Civil War of 1918–1921. Arseniev was cleared of any charges, but it was a huge blow to his reputation (Goncharova 2001:129; Khisamutdinov 2005:111, 178–186, 2022). As a former career military officer and a member of the pre-Bolshevik administration, he was under the constant eye of the Soviet secret services during the 1920s. He was "lucky" to die in 1930 of pneumonia; shortly after, he was falsely accused of being the "ringleader of the Japanese spying network." His widow was arrested and executed in 1938 for "treason and conspiracy" (Krivshenko n.d.). Arseniev's past interactions with the American consul in shipping Poniatowski's collection in 1917–1918 would have been a deadly charge against him in 1937.

Lastly, the information in hand does not provide definitive clues to the relation between the two NMNH collections known as accessions nos. 63969 and 63972. Did Arseniev ship Poniatowski's objects in two installments—one for which Poniatowski provided the provenience data from his field notes and the other without it, perhaps due to the lack of time? It may be the most plausible interpretation; it also means that the two accessions are simply parts of the same collection. Or was Arseniev trying to compensate the USNM with close or similar objects from his personal holdings for some segment of Poniatowski's materials that, for whatever reason, was left behind in Khabarovsk? As unlikely as the latter explanation may sound, it cannot be refuted altogether. We may never know the answer, and since the objects in two NMNH accessions are so close to each other, it makes perfect sense to consider it a combined Poniatowski-Arseniev collection or, simply, the Poniatowski collection of 110+ objects. It almost equals the number of "113 ethnographic specimens" reported in Poniatowski's letter to Hrdlička in November 1914.

## Concluding Note

As I was pouring through historical sources, images, and online databases, it was obvious that we are at the very beginning of a long process of reassessing Poniatowski's legacy through contemporary lenses. Poniatowski's objects at the NMNH in Washington constitute just a portion of what he acquired during his Amur River expedition of 1914. The elements of this pool of 500+ pieces that include ethnographic objects, photographs, drawings, ornaments, stencils, anthropometric sheets, birchbark cutouts and applications, field diaries, letters, and more are now preserved at NMNH, at the PTL in Wroclaw, Poland, and probably at the Grodekov Museum and local archives in Khabarovsk, Russia (Krupnik et al. n.d.). It would require a multistep approach to reconnect the elements under both the initial 1914 context and modern museum protocols.

The next step in this process is to "reunite" these dispersed pieces electronically, if not physically, under a combined online platform/database, an exhibit, or a catalog using four languages: English, Polish, Russian, and Nanay. This work is to pave the way for the following phase, namely, to add the insight by Indigenous and local cultural experts from the Amur River region into Poniatowski's linguistic, ethnographic, visual, artistic, and other materials, both in Poland and the U.S., via a special knowledge coproduction effort. Adding such information would then facilitate the final step—to bring Poniatowski's collections, even if initially in a digital format, back to their "home area" to the descendants of people he surveyed in 1914. For today's communities in the Russian Far East, Poniatowski's objects, photos, diaries, and

other materials provide a heritage resource to strengthen Indigenous cultures, languages, and local connections. Regretfully, the prospects for such an effort remain distant for the moment as long as Russia's war against Ukraine continues. We may only hope that in the future, we may add this crucial local "vision" to Poniatowski's materials, and a journey once started by a young anthropologist from Warsaw may be completed.

*Acknowledgments*. Research for this article was triggered in the winter of 2020 by a request about Vladimir Arseniev's collection at NMNH from Russian museum specialists Dr. Galina Titoreva at the Grodekov Museum in Khabarovsk and Vera Kavetskaya at the Arseniev Museum of the History of (Russian) Far East in Vladivostok. It was put on hold due to the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic and was not resumed until January 2023. At the Smithsonian, my colleagues Felicia Pickering, William Fitzhugh, Stephen Loring, Aron Crowell, Paul Taylor (all NMNH-Anthropology), and Deborah Shapiro (SI Archives) offered their comments, insight, and relevant documentation. Elisa Palomino-Perez and Dawn Biddison took two photos used as illustrations; Martin Schultz and William Wierzbowski brought to my attention two online databases of Nanay ethnographic collections used for comparison. My special thank-you goes to my Polish colleagues on the international "Poniatowski's Collections project," Drs. Joanna Dolinska (University of Warsaw), Stefania Skowron-Markowska (University of Wroclaw), and Marta Nowakowska (Wroclaw University of Science and Technology), for their insight and copies of Polish sources, and to the Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze (Polish Ethnographic Society) for the permission to use photos and images from its website. I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers and the journal editor for their helpful comments on the first version of this text.



## Endnotes

1. Not to be confused with the *Panama–Pacific International Exposition*, one in the series of the world's fairs held in San Francisco in 1915. For information on the complicated relations between organizers of the two California exhibits, see Avero (1990); on Smithsonian displays at the San Francisco Fair, see Anonymous (1915).

2. The "world fairs" and other large exhibits for the general public played a significant role in the growth of museums and the development of anthropology in the late 1800s and early 1900s. See more in Benedict (1981, 1983) and Hinsley and Wilcox (2016).

3. On Frank Micka's work on the busts of the Native Americans for the 1915 Panama-California exposition, see https://sova.si.edu/record/naa.photolot.9 (accessed 01/24/2024); for the impact of his life sculptures on today's Native communities see https://osagenews.org/fidelis-cole-bust-unveiled/ (accessed 01/24/2024).

4. Hrdlička and Poniatowski actually knew of each other and exchanged offprints of their scholarly publications in 1911 (see NAA, Hrdlička correspondence, Box 53).

5. Copies of exchanged letters, including the introductory letter of July 17, 1912, in which Poniatowski presented an overview of his professional training and early career, are at the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives (NAA, Hrdlička files, Box 53) and the Archives of the Polish Ethnographical Society (PTL) in Wroclaw. They are also available online at https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/73345/edition/131291/content. Some letters are missing on one or both ends.

6. Jochelson became more outspoken in his views on the Indigenous migration from North America to Siberia (then called Siberian "Americanoids") in the 1920s (Jochelson 1926:92, 1928:43–44). This concept has been rejected by later studies (Levin 1958).

7. In this and further cases, the first name is the contemporary ethnic name of the Siberian Indigenous group introduced in the 1930s, whereas the name in parenthesis was common in Poniatowski's time and was used in his diary, writings, and field materials.

8. Ivan A. Lopatin (1888–1970), a Russian American anthropologist, started his career in the 1910s in Khabarovsk by studying the Nanay (Gold) and the Oroch people along the Amur River and the Tartar Strait (Lopatin 1922, 1937). After the Russian Civil War, he emigrated to China and later moved to Canada, and then to California.

9. In his field diary from 1914, Poniatowski's recorded the names of all Native communities he visited in June–August 1914: Sikachi-Alyan (June 16–July 4, 1914), Nizhnee (Lower) Mari (July 4–9), Mukhu (July 9–11), Dada (July 12–14), Dayerga (July 14–15), Naikhin (July 15–17), Torgon (July 17–20), Troitskoye (July 20–21), Barkas (July 21), Mengen (July 22–26), Orochon villages along the Khungari River (July 26–31), Voznesenskoye (August 1–2), Srednetambovskoye (August 5), and Ady (August 7–8) (see Goncharova 2011; Poniatowski 1966; Skowron-Markowska and Nowakowska 2022:79).

10. This letter is missing in Hrdlička–Poniatowski's correspondence at NAA. The text is reproduced here from a copy in the PTL collection (see https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/73345/edition/131291/content [accessed February 13, 2023]).

11. Poniatowski's letter of June 22, 1915, is missing in Hrdlička's correspondence file at NAA, but it is preserved in the PTL collection (see https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/73345/edition/131291/content [accessed February 13, 2023]).

12. Theodore (Fedor) A. Fielstrup (1889–1933), a Russian anthropologist of Danish-British origin, accompanied Hrdlička on his trip to Siberia and Mongolia in 1912. He was active in the Soviet ethnographic studies in Siberia, the Urals, and the Trans-Caucasus in the 1920s. He was arrested in 1933 on the charges of "counter-revolutionary conspiracy" and died in Soviet prison, evidently from torture during his interrogation.

13. These and other dates related to Arseniev's life are cited from the Russian Wikipedia entry on Arseniev (see https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Арсеньев,_Владимир_Клавдиевич).

14. Over 7,000 American troops were stationed in the summer of 1918 and throughout 1919 in Vladivostok and along the Trans-Siberian Railway in the Russian Far East, including in Khabarovsk. By early 1920, the advance of the Red (Bolshevik) Army was imminent, and the last American service members left Siberia by April 1, 1920.

15. The majority of Poniatowski's objects have a listed collection site as Sakachialan (today's Sikachi-Alyan); a few were collected at "Sorgon" (evidently "Torgon"), "Gorum River," "Naihe, and near Troickoye" (evidently, Naikhin). Three objects have no listed locality.

16. "Burhan" (*burkhan*) is a Mongolian (Buryat?) word for a sculpture (or statue or any 3D image) of Buddha and/or other deities in the Buddhist pantheon. Several wooden figurines at the Grodekov Museum accessioned in the late 1800s and early 1900s, including those collected by Arseniev himself, were listed as "*burkhan"* in catalog records (Titoreva et al. 2019:313).

17. The name in single quotation marks is Poniatowski's original transliteration taken from the USNM accession list of 1919, accession cards, and his field diary (Poniatowski 1966); the name in italic is today's Nanay term, after Titoreva et al. (2019).

18. The identification was made by Elisa Palomino-Perez (January 17, 2023). See also Titoreva et al. (2019:67, 74, 88, 101).

19. See https://anthro.amnh.org/collections. In the AMNH database, the objects are organized by eight categories (containers, costumes, equipment, recreational artifacts, etc.); individual objects can also be accessed alphabetically by object type (bow, coat, shirt, etc.).

20. I am grateful to William Wierzbowski for sharing the electronic list of objects and for providing access to the objects on my visit to the UPenn Museum in winter 2023. I excluded from the total count six wood "fragments" and three objects listed as "not reported." Paired objects, such as boots, skis, and leggings, are counted as single specimens, though they have separate numbers in the collection database.

21. See https://samlinger.natmus.dk/objectbrowse?media=image,protocol&keyword=goldere. For the history of Eugen Alexander's Siberian collections, see Mourgunova Schwalbe et al. (2021:182–186). The Russian Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg has its own massive collection of approximately Nanay 2,000 objects, of which more than 300 can be accessed online at https://www.ethnomuseum.ru/collections/collection/kollekcii-po-kulture-narodov-sibiri-i-dalnego-vostoka. Accessed 02/12/2023).

22. See https://collections.nmnh.si.edu/search/anth/. The search under the keyword "Nanai" generates 63 objects with images, 62 objects via "Poniatowski," and 49 objects appear under the keyword "Arseniev."

23. E309972 (Five small carved wooden figurines) and E309967 (a mid-size figurine of a shaman spirit). See https://alaska.si.edu/record.asp?id=684 and https://alaska.si.edu/record.asp?id=683.

24. (https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muzeum_Przemys%C5%82u_i_Rolnictwa_w_Warszawie. I am grateful to Dr. Joanna Dolinska, who kindly confirmed this fact in communication with today's museum staff.

25. For a description of the project, "Utworzenie repozytorium cyfrowego: Dokumenty i fotografie Stanisława Poniatowskiego (1884–1945) [Creating a Digital Repository: Documents and Photographs of Stanisław Poniatowski (1884–1945)]," see Skowron-Jaślanek and Michałowska (2016). Poniatowski's personal papers, photos, letters, and other materials related to his 1914 trip, which are in the possession of the PTL, including paper drawings by the Nanay people, stencils, cut-outs and birch bark pieces, Nanay clothing patterns, ornaments,

and drawings of ethnographic objects may be accessed at: https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/results?q=Poniatowski&action=SimpleSearchAction&type=-6&p=0 (last access 08/14/2023).

## References


Amero, Richard W.
1990 The Making of the Panama-California Exposition, 1909–1915. The Journal of San Diego History. San Diego Historical Society Quarterly 36 (1): https://www.c100.org/books/JSDH/Amero.Making.PCExpo_1990-1.pdf (accessed 02/17/2023).

Anonymous
1915a The Exhibits of the Smithsonian Institution at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, California. San Francisco. https://ia800204.us.archive.org/26/items/exhibitsofsmiths00smitrich/exhibitsofsmiths00smitrich.pdf (accessed 01/26/2023).

2015 Stanisław Poniatowski. Dokumenty i fotogragie Stansiława Poniatowskiego. Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze (Polish Ethnographic Society) http://www.poniatowski.ptl.info.pl/en/content/stanislaw-poniatowski (accessed 01/19/2023).

Benedict, Burton
1981 World's Fairs and Anthropology. Museum Anthropology 5(2):2–7.

1983 The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915. London and Berkely: Scolar Press.

Boas, Franz
1912 The History of the American Race. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 21:177–183.

Bray, Tamara L., and Thomas W. Killion (eds.)
1994 Reckoning with the Dead: The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Breton, A. C.
1916 Physical Anthropology at San Diego. Man 16 (26–27):36–38.

Chaussonnet, Valérie
1995 Crossroads Alaska. Native Cultures of Alaska and Siberia. Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution.

1996 Perekrestki kontinentov. Kultury korennykh narodov Dalnego Vostoka i Alaski. Katalog vystavki [Crossroads of Continents. Cultures of the Indigenous Peoples of the Far East and Alaska. Exhibit Catalog]. Igor Krupnik, ed. Moscow: Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution, and Russian Heritage Institute.

Crowell, Aron L., Rosita Worl, Paul C. Ongtooguk, and Dawn Biddison (eds.)
2010 Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage: The First Peoples of Alaska. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books.

Doklad
1940 Doklad amerikanskogo anthropologa d-ra A. Hrdlički v Institute etnografii Akademii nauk SSSR [Presentation of American anthropologist, Dr. A. Hrdlička at the Institute of Ethnography, the USSR Academy of Sciences]. Sovetskaia etnografiia 3:256–258.

Glebov, Sergey
2020 The Political Ecology of Vladimir Arsen'ev. Sibirica 19(3):15–36.

Glinka, Josef
1966 Somatoskopia i somatotypologia (konstytucjcjonalna) grup nadamurskiej ludnosci Goldow i Oroczonow. Lud 50(1):191–229.

Goncharova, Svetlana V.
2001 Istoriia odnoi perepiski [A Story of One Correspondence]. Vestnik Sakhalinskogo oblastnogo kraevedcheskogo muzeia 8:128–129.

2004 Ekspeditsia v krai goldov i orochen [The Expedition to the Land of the Gold and the Orochen]. Slovesnitsa iskusstv 2(14) http://www.slovoart.ru/node/1971 (accessed 02/03/2023). Khabarovsk.

2015 Issledovaniia S. F. Poniatowskogo i problemy ethnogeneza korennykh narodov Priamurya [Studies by S. F. Poniatowski and the Ethnogenesis of the Native People of the Priamur Region]. Amurskie sezony 01.16.2015 http://xn--80afg3aiou.xn--p1ai/sources/peoples/last/peoples_00.php (accessed 01/30/2023).

Heidenreich, Barbara
1975 Kultura Goldow i Oroszonow w swietle etnograficznycj materialow Stanislawa Poniatowskiego [Culture of the Goldi and Orochen people based on ethnographic materials collected by Stanisław Poniatowski]. *In* Historia kontaktow polsko-rosyjskikh w dziedzinie etnologii. J. Babicz and A. Kuczynski, eds. Wroclaw: Polish Academy of Science.

Hinsley, Curtis M., and David R. Wilcox, eds.
2016 Coming of Age in Chicago. The 1893 World's Fair and the Coalescence of American Anthropology. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Hrdlička, Aleš
1912a Remains in Eastern Asia of the Race that Peopled America. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 60(16):1–9.

1912b The Bearing of Physical Anthropology on the Problems under Consideration. American Anthropologist 14(1):8–12.

1913a A Search in Eastern Asia for the Race that Peopled America. Explorations and Fieldwork of the Smithsonian Institution in 1912. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 60(30): 10–13.

1913b The Derivation and Probable Place of Origin of the North American Indian. *In* International Congress of Americanists. Proceedings of the XVIII. Session, London, 1912. Pt.2. Pp. 57–62. London: Harrison and Sons.

1914 Preparation of Exhibits Illustrating the Natural History of Man. Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1914. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 65(6):55–62.

1915a A Descriptive Catalog of the Section of Physical Anthropology: Panama-California Exposition. Sand Diego: National Views Co.

1915b Anthropological Research in Africa and Siberia. Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1914. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 65(6):54–55.

1915c Preparation of Exhibits Illustrating the Natural History of Man. Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1914. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 65(6):56–62.

1915d Some Recent Anthropological Explorations. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences I:235–238.

1916 The Natural History of Man. *In* Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year Ending June 30, 1915. Pp. 10–11. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

1917 The Genesis of the American Indian. *In* Proceedings of the XIX International Congress of Americanists. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed. Pp. 559–568. Washington, D.C.

Jochelson, Waldemar
1926 The Ethnological Problems of Bering Sea. Natural History 26(1):90–95.

1928 Peoples of Asiatic Russia. New York: American Museum of Natural History.

Khisamutdinov, Amir A.
2005 Mne soputstvovala schastlivaia Zvezda . . . : Vladimir Klavdievich Arseniev (1872–1930 gg.) [I Was Blessed by a Lucky Star: Vladimir K. Arseniev, 1872–1930]. Vladivostok: Dal'nauka Publishers.

2022 Chest' imeyu—Vladimir Arseniev, Chast 44 ["I Have the Honor"—Vladimir Arseniev, Pt. 44]. https://www.rgo.ru/ru/article/chest-imeyu-vladimir-arsenev-chast-44 (posted December 19, 2022, last accessed August 17, 2023).

Krivshenko, Sergei
n.d. Vladimir Klavdievich Arseniev i ego tvorcheskoe nasledie (Vladimir Klavdievich Arseniev and His Creative Legacy), https://web.archive.org/web/20070913123524/http://www.vld.ru/ppx/Krivsh/Arsenev.htm (accessed 02/03/2023).

Krupnik, Igor, Joanna Dolinska, Stefania Skowron-Markowska, and Marta Novakowska
n.d. Waiting to be Reunited? Nanay and Udege Cultural Heritage in Stanisław Poniatowski's 1914 Collections from the Amur River Region. Paper submitted to the journal *Sibirica.*

Krupnik, Igor, and Martin Schultz
2021 Dispersal and Reunion—The Saga of the "Vega" Expedition Chukchi Collection, 1878–2020. Archiv Weltmuseum Wien 69:106–137.

Krupnik, Igor, Willis Walunga (Kepelgu), and Vera Metcalf (Qaakaghhleq) (eds.)
2002 Akuzilleput Igaqullghet/Our Words Put to Paper. Sourcebook in St. Lawrence Island Heritage and History. Igor Krupnik and Lars Krutak, comps. Contributions to Circumpolar Anthropology 3. Washington, D.C.: Arctic Studies Center.

Kuchinski (Kuczyński), Antonii
2001 Neizvestnaia perepiska Valdimira Arsen'ieva s polskim etnologom Stanislawom Poniatowskim (Unknown Correspondence between Vladimir Arseniev and Polish Ethnologist Stanisław Poniatowski). Vestnik Sakhalinskogo oblastnogo kraevedcheskogo muzeia 8:130–137. Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

Levin, Maxim G.
1946a Antropologicheskie tipy Amura i Okhotckogo poberezhia [Anthropological Types of the Amur River and the Sea of Okhotsk Shore]. Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta etnografii AN SSSR 1.

1946b Alesh Hrdlichka (zhizn' i deiatelnost') [Aleš Hrdlička: Life and Legacy]. Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta etnografii AN SSSR 1:88–101.

1949 Antropologicheskie issledovaniia na Amure i Sakhaline [Anthropological Studies in the Amur and Sakhalin Island Region]. Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta etnografii AN SSSR 5:25–31.

1958 Etnicheskaia anthropologiia i problemy etnogeneza narodov Dalnego Vostoka. Trudy Instituta etnografii AN SSSR 36. Moscow [Ethnic Origins of the Peoples of Northeastern Asia. Henry P. Michael (ed.) 1963. Arctic Institute of North America. Translation from Russian Sources 3].

Lopatin, Ivan A.
1922 Goldi Amurskie, Ussuriiskie i Sungariiskie [The Goldi People of the Amur, Ussuri, and Sungari (Rivers)]. Zapiski obshchestva izucheniia Amurskogo kraia. 17. Vladivostok.

1937 Anthropology of the Orochee. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 22(2):201–227.

Loring, Stephen, and Miroslav Prokopec
1994 A Most Peculiar Man. The Life and Times of Aleš Hrdlička. *In* Reckoning with the Dead: The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution. Tamara L. Bray and Thomas W. Killon, eds. Pp. 26–40. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Mason, Rachel
2006 Frederica de Laguna and Aleš Hrdlička: A Missed Collaboration. Arctic Anthropology 43 (2):130–135.

Montgomery, Robert Lynn, and Jennifer Chien
1996 Guide to the Aleš Hrdlička Papers, 1875–1966 (Bulk 1903–1943). National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution https://sirismm.si.edu/EADpdfs/NAA.1974-31.pdf.

Moore, Riley D.
1912 Riley Moore's Materials on St. Lawrence, Alaska. 1912. National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution. Aleš Hrdlička's papers, Box 97.

1923 Social Life of the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island. American Anthropologist 25(3):339–375.

Newton, Philip
1920 Observations on the Negritos of the Philippine Islands. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 3(1):1–24.

Nowakowska, Marta
2016 Metody wizualne w badaniach etnograficznych. Zbiory fotograficzne Stanisława Poniatowskiego (fotografia podróżnicza). *In* Znad Amuru do przestrzeni cyfrowej. Digitalizacja kolekcji dokumentów i fotografii Stanisława Poniatowskiego ze zbiorów Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego. S. Skowron-Markowska, ed. Pp. 77–97. Wroclaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze.

Nowakowska, Marta (ed.)
2016 Fotografia 100 lat temu. Kolekcja fotograficzna w zbiorach Stanisława Poniatowskiego. Wroclaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze. http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/78744/Fotografia_100_lat_temu.pdf.

Piotrowicz, Grazyna
2022 Stanisław Poniatowski's Siberian Expedition. https://www.europeana.eu/en/blog/stanislaw-poniatowskis-siberian-expedition (posted 07/08/2022, accessed 01/19/2023).

Poniatowski, Stanisław
n.d. Dziennik opracowany Stanisława Poniatowskiego [Diary of Stanisław Poniatowski]. Archive of the Polish Ethnological Society. Wroclaw (cited from Skowron-Markowska and Nowakowska 2022).

1923 Materials to the Vocabulary of the Amur River Gold. (Materialy do slownica Goldow nadamurskich) // "Bibliotheca Universitatis Liberae Polonae." Fasc. 10, S. 1–11. Varsaviae.

1966 Dziennik wyprawy (do Kraju Goldow i Oroczonow w 1914 roku. Lud 50(1):7–120.

Roon, Tatyana P.
2001 Kollektsii narodov Amuro-Sakhalinskogo regiona v muzeyakh SSHA [Collections on the Peoples of the Amur-Sakhalin Region in the U.S. Museums]. *In* Bronislaw Pilsudski and Futabatei Shimei: An Excellent Charter in the History of Polish-Japanese Relations. A. Majewicz and T. Wicherkiewicz, eds. Pp. 323–336. Poznan: Wydawn.

Rudaya, Irina M.
2014 Ritual'naia skul'ptura nanaitsev na materiale muzeia istorii i kul'tury narodov Sibiri i Dal'nego Vostoka [Ritual Sculpture of the Nanay Based on the Collections of the Museum of History and Culture of the People of Siberia and the Far East]. Balandinskie chteniia 8(1):69–73.

Schultz, Adolph H.
1945 Aleš Hrdlička, 1869–1943. National Academy of Sciences Biographical Memoirs 23:305–338.

Shimkevich, Pavel P.
1896 Materialy dlia izucheniia shamanstva u gol'dov [Materials to the Study of Shamanism among the Golds]. Zapiski Priamurskogo otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva 1(2). Khabarovsk.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei M.
1919 Opyt issledovaniia shamanstva u tungusov [A Study of Shamanism among the Tungus]. Uchenye zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo fakul'teta v g. Vladivostoke 1:47–108.

SIA 63969
1920 Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 305, United States National Museum, "USNM Accession Records: 1920 Acc. No. 63969." SIA000305_R231_Y1920_A0063969.

SIA 63972
1920 Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 305, United States National Museum, "USNM Accession Records: 1920 Acc. No. 63972." SIA000305_R231_Y1920_A0063972.

Skowron-Jaślanek, Anna and Aleksandra Michałowska
2016 Jak Stanisław Poniatowski trafił do Internetu, czyli o projekcie badawczym realizowanym w Polskim Towarzystwie Ludoznawczym słów kilka [How Stanisław Poniatowski Moved to the Internet, or on the Research Project Carried Out at the Polish Ethnological Society]. *In* Znad Amuru do przestrzeni cyfrowej. Digitalizacja kolekcji dokumentów i fotografii Stanisława Poniatowskiego ze zbiorów Polskiego Towarzystwa

Ludoznawczego. Stefania Skowron-Markowska, ed. Wroclaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze.

Skowron-Markowska, Stefania (ed.)
2016 Znad Amuru do przestrzeni cyfrowej. Digitalizacja kolekcji dokumentów i fotografii Stanisława Poniatowskiego ze zbiorów Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego [From Amur to the Digital Space. Digitization of the Documentary and Photographic Collections of Stanislaw Poniatowski at the Polish Ethnological Society]. Wroclaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/78743/Znad_Amuru_do_przestrzeni_cyfrowej.pdf (accessed 01/30/2023).

Skowron-Markowska, Stefania, and Marta Nowakowska
2022 The Expedition of Stanisław Poniatowski to the Land of the Golds and the Orochs (1914). Anthropos 117:73–83.

Stewart, T. Dale
1940 The Life and Writings of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička (1869–1939). American Journal of Physical Anthropology 26(1):3–40.

Tarasova, A. I.
1985 Vladimir Klavdievich Arseniev. Moscow: Nauka Publishers.

Titoreva, Galina T., Victoria B. Malakshanova, and Ksenia E. Peresypkina
2019 Nanaitsy: Katalog kollektsii sobraniia Khabarovskogo kraevogo muzeia im. N. I. Grodekova [The Nanay: Catalog of Ethnographic Collections Held at the Khabarovsk Regional Museum Named after N. I. Grodekov]. Krasnoyarsk: Yuniset Publishers.

VanStone, James W.
1985 An Ethnographic Collection from Northern Sakhalin Island. Fieldiana Anthropology, New Series (8), Publication 1361.

Watson, Katherine
2012 Accession #63969. Manuscript. National Museum of Natural History, Collection Research Project. Report for the George Washington University Anthropology in the Museum Course under Prof. Daniel Rogers. On file at the NMNH Anthropology Collections.

Wierzbowski, William
2015 Yupi Dazi. Fishskin Tartars of the Amur River Delta. Expedition 57(1):32–35.

Wokroj, Franciszek
1966 Ludnosc Nadamurska w swietle antropologicznych materialow St. Pontiatowskiego. Lud 50(1):121–190.