PRINCIPAL WORKS OF THE SAME AUTHOR

Essay of an Investigation on General Theory of Shamanism Among the Tungus, 1919 (in Russian)
Ethnos, General Principles of Variations of Ethnographical and Ethnical Phenomena, 1923 (in Russian)
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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS

WITH INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS CONCERNING GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY OF THESE GROUPS

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS

INTRODUCTION

1. Position of the Northern Tungus Among Other Ethnical Groups. 2. Previous Studies in Northern Tungus Ethnography. 3. Remarks Concerning Social Phenomena and Ethnical Units in General. 4. Remarks Concerning Social Phenomena Among the Tungus.

1. Position of the Northern Tungus Among Other Ethnical Groups

The Northern Tungus form a part of the Tungus in general, but distinct from the Southern Tungus, the best known of which are the Manchus. The term "Northern Tungus" covers linguistic similarity, either past or present, between groups, for among the Northern Tungus, from the anthropological and ethnographical point of view, several distinct groups may be distinguished. The common origin of their culture and fundamental anthropological type may, however, be traced back with some degree of probability, so that the Northern Tungus proper may be regarded as an ethnical unit formerly possessing the same language, the same culture, and perhaps composed of the same anthropological elements. Moreover, among these Tungus, one meets with some groups which do not speak Tungus, and which have adopted the Mongol ethnographical complex in its entirety and have only partly preserved their fundamental anthropological type. This is so, and some of the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, who, owing to their origin, which may be only historically established, are included in the Northern Tungus group.

The Southern Tungus is also a linguistic group, whose language shows beyond any doubt its common origin with the Northern Tungus language. This is not so in reference to their culture and only partly so anthropologically. Their culture is a complex, composed mostly of Chinese, Palæasiatic, and Mongol elements, and also of some other elements pointing to a common origin with the Northern Tungus in former days. Though the common origin of one of their anthropological types is without any doubt, yet their anthropological components are mainly distinct from those of the Northern Tungus. All these facts permit one to infer the common origin of the Northern and the Southern Tungus from certain pro-Tungus groups, which have transmitted to the Northern and the Southern Tungus some common elements of language, ethnographical complexes, and anthropological components.

In spite of several attempts to trace the Tungus languages and the so-called Altaic languages, i. e., the Mongol and the Turkic, back to a common origin, the problem is still to be solved. The idea of a common origin for these languages was based mostly upon a general idea of the common origin of all languages, by analogy with the Indo-European languages, and upon the hypothesis that the Altaic languages are a relatively recent differentiation from a common ancestor; also on certain phonetic peculiarities, not always confined to these languages only; moreover, on some morphological similarities which are not characteristic of these languages only; and especially on common words, most of which in the Tungus languages are borrowed from the Mongol and the Turkic.[1] The distinctions between the Tungus and other languages are, however, so essential that the former seem to be rather a family by themselves, though truly largely influenced by the Mongol languages. Yet the Tungus languages cannot be connected with the Chinese and other languages belonging to this group; also, they cannot be connected with other agglutinative languages of the Far East, like Japanese and Korean; and they find no relatives among the so-called Palæasiatic languages, as Gilak, Kamchadal, Chukchi, and others.

Certain ethnographical elements which may be hypothetically traced as far back as the pro-Tungus find no analogy among other ethnical groups. But as to the anthropological type, characteristic and fundamental among the Tungus, it is also found among non-Tungus groups and may also be suspected of being present among those groups that live far away from the present Tungus area. This seems to point to a distinct geographical distribution, in the past, of the Tungus as a physical body and to their very long and complex history.

As far as my own investigations, and those of my predecessors, permit, one must conclude that the present Tungus groups have undergone a long process of formation. It has been proved beyond any doubt that the Tungus, as Tungus, already existed during the late Stone Age. Yet their original home in China was left under the pressure of the Chinese, who themselves trace their history as far back as the end of the third millennium before Christ. These facts show that the Tungus, as a group, are of great antiquity.

At present, the Northern Tungus are met within the basin of the three great rivers; namely, the Enissy, the Lena, and the Amur River. Beyond these basins they live east of the Yablonov (Stanovoi) Mountains as far as Kamchatka, which they reached not long ago; and they are found almost everywhere in China, and especially in Sinkiang province, where they have preserved their original tongue. In China they first changed their language for that of the Manchus, and later they changed from the Manchu language to Chinese.

[1] Some new attempts, however, of a serious character have lately been made. Four publications of importance have appeared: C. J. Ramstedt, "Ein anlautender stimmloser labial in der mongolisch-turkischen Ursprache"; two publications by P. P. Schmidt, "The Language of the Negidals" and "The Language of the Olchas"; and P. Pelliot, "Les mots à *h* initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le Mongol des XIIIe et XIVe siècles." All of them treat this problem phonetically, and a limited number of words are supposed to be genetically common to all Altaic languages. From the point of view of the Tungus language these new attempts are not always convincing, for they deal with the living dialects not yet analysed, and languages referred to in recent historic periods when the intermingling of different ethical groups had already taken place several centuries before. As a matter of fact, the analysis of the Tungus linguistic material is far from being complete, but before we know the essential ethnographical elements of the pro-Tungus, pro-Mongol, and pro-Turkic complexes it is, I believe, hardly possible to trace the common origin of words as far as the Altaic pro-language. In the present study, together with the analysis of ethnographical phenomena, I shall give instances of borrowings, some of which ought to refer to a very remote period.

They live mostly by hunting, but they adopt other modes of life if local conditions demand. They are breeders of reindeer, and hunters; but they easily become breeders of cattle, horses, and dogs, and change themselves into fishermen and agriculturists, in the regions where breeding of reindeer is impossible. Such a variety of Tungus ethnographical complexes mostly depends upon the diversity of region, climate, topography, latitude, altitude, flora, and fauna, as is characteristic of all ethnical groups which spread over spacious territory and are able to adapt themselves in a high degree to the primary *milieu* they met.

2. Previous Studies in Northern Tungus Ethnography

The first direct indications as to the existence of the Northern Tungus are found in the reports of Russians who at the beginning of the seventeenth century spread eastward as far as Kamchatka, and Witsen was the first, who published some linguistic material in 1692. During the eighteenth century, several travellers gave accounts of their observations in Siberia, and the Amur River basin. Messersschmidt Ysebrants Ides, Strahlenberg, Georgi, Pallas, French Jesuits (published by du Halde), are the best known among them, but these observations are neither complete nor systematic. Klaproth, however, has made use of some linguistic material gathered by Pallas and other early travellers in his "Asia Polyglotta." During the nineteenth century several investigations of a more extended character were carried out. The most important material gathered was that of Castrén, Spasskiĭ, Czekanowsky, Middendorff, Maack, Baron Maydell, and Radloff. At the end of the same century and the beginning of the present, several investigations of a more detailed character were carried out in different regions. The Enissy River Tungus have been investigated by G. Huth, who unfortunately died before his material was published; K. M. Ryčkov, who published a detailed account of his work; and Miss Czaplicka, who died also without seeing her material in print. In the Yakutsk Government, the Tungus have been investigated by I. I. Mainov, W. and D. Jochelson, V. Bogoras, E. K. Pekarskiĭ, and V. P. Cvetkov; and in Transbaikalia by J. Talko-Hryncewicz, E. I. Titov, and some others. Several other travellers have visited the Tungus and left fragmentary accounts.[1]

The Far East has been much more attractive for investigators. The most important investigations are mentioned by me in my previous publications.[2] Accounts have previously been published on the Goldi by L. von Schrenck, I. A. Lopatin, P. Šimkevič, P. P. Schmidt, and B. Laufer; and on the Manchus by R. Torii and myself.[3] The Udehe have been investigated by S. Brailovskiĭ, the Oroči of Port Imperial by V. P. Margaritov,[4] S. Leontovič, and lately by I. A. Lopatin. As to the Northern Tungus, although some linguistic and anthropological material and ethnographical data including

[1] See W. L. Kotwicz, also my "Study of the Tungus Language." The list of investigators should be increased by the addition of some young investigators who between 1910 and 1914 visited some Tungus groups. No important publications, however, resulted.

[2] Cf. the Bibliography in my "N. T. M." and "S. O. M."

[3] Cf. "S. O. M." and "A. N. C." R. Torii, "Études Anthropologiques, Les Mandchoux."

[4] See also M. A. Frazer, "Fish-Skin Tartars."

very rich ethnographic collections[1] have been gathered, there is no one detailed work dealing with the Tungus general ethnography. Some of the accounts need to be checked; most are too general, and some only partly cover the field of investigation.[2] The Chinese records as to the Northern Tungus are naturally very scanty; and, owing to our present knowledge of Tungus, these records cannot be counted as material of importance. Tungus ethnography, therefore, is a practically virgin field.

The history of the Northern Tungus is also very little known, which is quite easy to understand, as the Northern Tungus have no written language and did not attract the attention of their neighbours in sufficient measure to create detailed records, except when they were politically influential, which did not often occur. At such times, however, they identified themselves with such ethnical groups as the Mongols, Manchus, and others, who were culturally more advanced.

In spite of the manifest deficiencies in the material gathered by investigators, literature dealing with the Tungus has been enriched by numerous attempts at broad generalizations, and the Tungus have been categorically assigned as a "Mongoloid race" speaking an "Altaic language." As a matter of fact, the differences observed among the Tungus are really strikingly apparent to anyone who is interested, even superficially, in this problem. As I have shown, the Tungus are not uniform anthropologically, yet their Altaic affiliation is far from being proved; also their present ethnographical complexes cannot be labelled, at any rate, as "Tungus complexes." In fact, the Tungus groups show such tremendous variations in all characters which constitute the complexes that go to form an "ethnical unit," that the term "Tungus" ought to be regarded as a genetic name for a group of ethnical units whose ancestors at certain and very remote periods lived in conjunction. Since that time a series of intermediary ethnical formations have been created by the Tungus, during which processes some Tungus groups have changed their language, their original ethnographical complex, and the fundamental anthropological type has sometimes been superseded by others. More than that, some non-Tungus groups have adopted the Tungus language, and Tungus ethnographical elements, so that they are now classified as Tungus. Nobody now believes in the possibility of maintaining any longer the hypothesis as to the "Aryans," who, according to some old theories, were originally uniform, anthropologically and ethnographically. The same step ought to be taken in reference to the Tungus. It is, however, beyond doubt that certain combinations of linguistic and ethnographic characters now observed among certain groups, and recorded at previous historic periods, permit one to trace the history and differentiation of these groups. The conventional terms, like "Northern Tungus," "Southern Tungus," "Nomad Tungus," "Mongolized Tungus,"

[1] Such collections are to be found in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Science of St. Petersburg, and also in the Russian Museum of that city, in the Museum für Völkerkunde of Berlin, and I think in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Excellent collections are also found in the local museums in Habarovsk, Vladivostok, Chita, etc. Unfortunately, most of these collections have not been studied by ethnographers.

[2] S. K. Patkanov's work, dealing with the statistical material gathered by other persons, stands apart as excellent material.

"Reindeer Tungus," etc., are quite justifiable as containing certain definite ideas, but this is not so with groups like the Goldi, Udehe, and perhaps the Solon, who occupy intermed ary positions to these groups, so, while being classified with some groups from the linguistic point of view, they cannot be classified with the same groups ethnographically, and vice versa. Complex classifications are common in Europe as well. It is, for instance, impossible to classify the Hungarians and the Prussians in the same simple way as the Norwegians, though the southern and northern groups of the latter may be thus classified. Let us remark that the analysis of the combined characteristics found among groups speaking the Mongol and Turkic languages will lead us, I think, to conclusions similar to those concerning the classification of the Tungus groups.

Indeed, it would be very desirable to introduce new terms sharply distinguishing the linguistic, anthropologic, ethnographical, and also ethnical classifications; but remembering the fate of several terms coined, for instance, for European groups, I shall, for the time being, abstain from such an attempt, and in this study I shall continue to use the old terms in a sense limited by what I have just mentioned.

3. Remarks Concerning Social Phenomena and Ethnical Units in General

In this study into the social organization of the Tungus, I shall give an account of the facts observed among them, and, as far as possible, I shall give their meaning also in the *Tungus system and mind*. In many instances, together with the analysis of constituent elements of complexes, I shall trace the history, i. e., the sequence, of some Tungus institutions. The facts presented in this study cannot always be accommodated satisfactorily to suit some ethnological-sociological theories. For this I am not responsible, but I have also permitted myself to expound some general theories for which I am indeed responsible. When the facts are set forth for general deduction, as the history of ethnology shows, a controversy is almost absolutely inevitable, as this naturally depends on the authors' views as to the understanding of social phenomena. I shall use the privilege of holding my views too. Remembering that, together with the general disagreement with the author's points of view, facts are also very often rejected, I shall give some preliminary remarks as to my idea regarding ethnographical phenomena, as this will facilitate the understanding of my points, and those readers who do not agree with my conclusions will not reject the facts *in toto*. The term "social organization" will denote a complex of the ethnographical elements regulating the function of society as a permanent aggregation of individuals and as forming by themselves a complex with a certain inner equilibrium, which permits the ethnical unit to reproduce itself, maintain an economic system, material culture, mental and psychic activities—i. e., which assure the existence and continuity of ethnical units. A social organization is naturally a result of the biological adaptation of ethnical units, struggling for existence. From this point of view, the term "social organization," limiting a certain class of ethnographical phenomena, is too narrow, and such a grouping of ethnographical phenomena is somewhat artificial.

In fact, purely psychic and inherited characters, the result of close inhabitation, play the most important part in the functions of society. Yet the economic system and the complex of material culture, so far as they result from the primary *milieu*, in many instances imply the forms of social institutions. Moreover, the biologic functions, using the term in a narrow sense, also imply the creation of certain social institutions. The psychic, economic, and biologic phenomena (using these terms narrowly), implying certain social forms, are but various aspects of the true biological function of man.[1]

On the other hand, I shall not use the term "social" in the sense covering anything which cannot be performed by a single person. Owing to the lack of another term less misleading, in spite of my dissatisfaction with this term, I shall use it.

Any system, any form, or any element of social organization may be adopted by the ethnical unit if it does not destroy the equilibrium of the ethnographical complex as a whole, or if it is best adapted for the needs of social organization. Any such system, form, or element may be changed if the ethnical unit has already undergone a process of change of ethnographical complex as a whole, or as a social organization; such a change is necessary in order to maintain the equilibrium.

Owing to these changes the elements constituting the complex may be of different age and of different origin as well. From this point of view there are no survivals. In fact, the ethnographical phenomena cannot be regarded from the rationalistic point of view, as they all form elements of the complex, and, as such, they have certain weight and influence on the equilibrium of the complex, and the ethnical unit, as a whole. Let us remark that the rationalistic point of view is only one of the reactions, characteristic of units undergoing the process of variations in an intensive form. Over-expansion or undergrowth of phenomena is harmful, and of course, very common. If such are not compensated for by other neutralizing factors the unit naturally falls into an unbalanced state of dis-equilibrium. The nature of social phenomena, as peculiar forms of the biological adaptation of units, causes one to look for an analogy in the phenomena of adaptation in animal organism, and particularly in the adaptation of various organs for maintaining the existence of the species. From this point of view, the animal organism, being a complex of organs (and functions) of different origin as to their age, is immeasurably more elementary than ethnographical phenomena, particularly social phenomena; for the latter, as stated, are perceptible expressions of complex functions, and not the physical organs as such investigated in animals.

[1] Owing to the many-sided perceptible character of biological phenomena, as they are expressed in social organizations, several schools emphasizing psychic, economic, and biological aspects have been created among the sociologists. Unsatisfactory explanation (and description) of social phenomena, has even resulted in a denying of the need for the term "sociology." The practical need for such a science for controlling the masses of population, temporarily or organically lacking in ethnical and ethnographical equilibrium, has resulted in the creation of a special branch of sociology which studies the methods of "active adaptation." This practical deviation of sociology is nothing but a new form of the biological function of ethnical units, so it ought to be included in the science of sociology, or, better, ethnology as one of the subjects to be investigated. It may be here noted that this new art originated owing to the intensity of the process of change now occurring in the most culturally advanced ethnical units, and owing to the special need of preparing these units for the approaching ethnical struggle in connexion with the expected over-population, and possible extinction of some of the so-called backward ethnical units.

In this study I use the term "ethnical unit" in the sense of a unit, in which the processes of change of ethnographical elements, and their transmission to succeeding generations and biological processes are known. These units are always in process of change (variations) so that the unit of yesterday is not quite the same as it will be to-morrow, but genetically it *is* the same. The process may be quick or slow; or it may be in a stationary state, which also finds its analogy in the animal species, sub-species, varieties, and races. The processes occurring in these units are often, but not always, noticeable in the manifestations of "temporary dis-equilibrium." The tempo (intensity in time) of the process of change depends upon two principal conditions: (1) the reaction of the unit to changes occurring in the primary environment with or without man's interventions, and the expansion or decrease of territory and growth of population; the reaction to such may be either slow or fast, positive or negative, or it may also be absolutely lacking; and (2) the interethnical pressure. The first condition is shown in the form of conservatism, love of old institutions, preference for the known forms, or love of innovations and sharp changes; thus various forms of psychic adaptivity seem to be inherited character. When the ethnical unit is unable to change its institutions and habits, it naturally falls into conflict with changes which are beyond its control. In such a case the reaction, being negative, but intensive, may result in loss of psychic equilibrium with all the consequences resulting from it,[1] or even loss of ethnical equilibrium which naturally results in the perceptible increase of interethnical pressure. The processes which go beyond the interethnical pressure are naturally different from those which go under such a pressure. In the latter instance, the ethnical unit has at its disposal new forms which may be borrowed from neighbours; and cultural changes are caused by the absolute or relative decrease of territory and growth of population, which are also caused by interethnical pressure.[2] Owing to these conditions, the tempo of variations of cultural complex enormously increases, while at the beginning, when interethnical pressure is not intensive, the tempo is very slow.[3] Naturally, if the biological adaptation expressed in the ability of reaction does not follow the process of variations, the latter may be retarded.

[1] Let us remark that most of the so-called "revolutions" occur among ethnical units of "conservative" attitude — those inclined to maintain their *status quo*, but at the same time susceptible to psychic dis-equilibrium. In political terminology, such particular form of change, or, better, transition from one state to another, is not characteristic of all phenomena known as political and social revolutions, as these rarely affect the ethnographical complex, particularly the social organization, in its essential elements, but result in a mere change in persons, ethnical units, and their amalgamations.

[2] In fact, the actual power of the ethnical unit expressed in the density of population and in the quantitative expression of culture and territory is increased by the combined impulses of variation resulting from interethnical pressure. See my "Ethnical Unit and Milieu," p. 23.

[3] Cf. my "Ethnical Unit and Milieu." Sir Arthur Keith, in the Preface to the last (1925) edition of his "Antiquity of Man," has formulated that "the more densely populated parts of the world are also the centres of the most rapid evolution" (physical of man) (p. xviii). The process of physical change, as he has previously shown, is still progressing, but, let us remark, at a very slow rate, as compared with the processes of change occurring in ethnographical phenomena. Both of them are found in the same units, indeed. The morphological and ethnographical changes in ethnical units are intimately conjoined and are probably regulated by a mechanism which influences those conditions that find their observable outer expression in cultural phenomena. The latter are, as stated, mere functions of the biological adaptation of units, and naturally of the interaction between such units.

Units may be numerous as to the number of individuals composing them, or they may be very few. The number of individuals composing units is not characteristic of the unit as a phenomenon of biological adaptation in man.

Owing to the character of the processes occurring in ethnical units, I shall refrain, in so far as it is possible, from the use of terms which involve the idea of changes leading units to the "inferior" and "superior" states, for these terms include in a certain degree the element of subjective judgment.[1] Therefore, when possible, I shall not use terms like "progress," "development," or even "evolution," as the latter term is often misunderstood. As a matter of fact, until the process of variation is complete we cannot tell whether it will be to the interest of the unit (i. e., to maintain the existence of that unit) or whether it will lead to its extinction.[2] Yet, particularly speaking, ethnographical phenomena as mere functions cannot be treated as evolving physical phenomena in the same sense as other biological phenomena. One may speak, for instance, about the evolution of the leg in mammals, but one may not speak about the "evolution of locomotion" unless one agrees to make a marked distinction between the different senses of the word "evolution." The quantitative expression of changes which have occurred may be measured, if not now then perhaps later. But without presuming the final stage of the process, as it usually seems to be from the point of view of the given ethnical unit and very often from the point of view of the person speaking about it, definitions like "increase or decrease of phenomena," "growth or decline," "complicated or simple," also "change and variation," which mean a certain status or process, may suffice for the purpose of the analysis and description of ethnical and ethnographical phenomena. In some instances, the process of change involving, for instance, an absolute decrease of population and physical deterioration, points in a definite manner to a general tendency towards the decline of the unit; but even these phenomena are sometimes misleading, for units during

[1] As shown by the most recent publications, e. g., A. L. Kroeber (1923), A. M. Tozzer (1925), some anthropologists, attempting to convince their readers either of the equality or the inequality of groups and races, are still discussing the problem of "inferiority" and "superiority" of ethnical groups and races. The controversy depends merely upon political conceptions. (Among quite recent publications one may quote authors who classify their adversaries as unscientific because of a difference in these political opinions; however, some authors are very sensible in this matter.) Strictly speaking, this problem has absolutely nothing to do with scientific classification, as is also true in problems forming the background of religious, moral, political, and very often philosophical conceptions. They themselves ought to be investigated as a subject of ethnographical enquiry. Human groups exist, such as they are. They may be defined as possessing "complex" or "simple" ethnographical and morphological characters, and (in an ideal case in years when possible) the sequence of elements constituting these characters may also be defined; but as to "superiority" and "inferiority" these designations merely belong to the European complex (it is not clear why some authors, e. g., R. Lowie and others, call it "Caucasian") and portray reactions to alien groups. The same may be stated in reference to the terms "savage," "primitive," and other terms naturally opposed to "civilized," which, as a survival of early anthropological attempts at the classification of human groups, still appear in ethnographical writings. Indeed, they are more than a mere survival. One also meets, in ethnological works, some reasonings as to the practical importance of dissipating "superstitions" and "national prejudices," etc. The authors suppose it to be one of the aims of ethnology. From a political point of view, and from the point of view of ethnical struggle, perhaps it is so; and perhaps from the educational point of view it is also true. But these considerations have nothing to do with science, unless one intends to make of it a new "*politischen Anthropologie*" such as that of the last century. It is solely a subject for the ethnographer studying the American-European complex.

[2] This is the only possible method of judgment. In fact, if the unit is preserved by means of change the latter ought to be considered as a fact occurring in the interest of the unit. The horse's foot is much more recent and evolved than man's hand, but the former is more simplified from a morphological point of view than the latter, both of them being the most perfect forms of adaptation, one for the horse and the other for man.

the periods of intensive variations and transitions from one state to another ethnographically sometimes show signs of decline.

The death of ethnical units, in the form of physical extinction, in the form of a complete disappearance of the original ethnographical complex, and even in the death of ethnical units as such due to crossing, amalgamation, and assimilation, are also common. True, sometimes the unit as such dies out, but leaves offspring that continues the existence of the mother-unit in a new form.

It is thus evident that a study in the "evolution of social institutions" regarded as phenomena varying somewhat independently of one another, ethnographically and anthropologically, is rather meaningless and cannot be successful, as the "evolution of locomotion among animals" may not be understood without being connected with the morphological history or organs of locomotion, other organs, and the general history of the given animal or that of a group of animals. The social phenomena are yet much more complex than any other biological phenomena; for, as stated, they are the results of variations of phenomena which underlie human and animal activity. They are mere by-products of the biological adaptation of units; they are, if the analogy may be allowed, the same phenomenon as life is a condition of matter. The confusing of analogous and homologous functions and organs is inevitable, indeed. Owing to the nature of social phenomena as a function the restoration of the genetic history of a social institution is of an absolutely artificial construction. On the other hand, no social institution is possible and no idea may be adopted by an ethnical unit or individual, unless it is ready to adopt it and to assimilate it. Otherwise, institutions and ideas always take forms that correspond to the original ethnographical complex, or mental and psychic attitude, and they naturally become absolutely distinct from the original. It is thus evident that the social phenomena, as a function, may be regarded only in connexion with the other ethnographical phenomena in action.

In this study I shall use some other terms, which, owing to their conventional meaning, ought to be defined. The terms used by different authors for designation of social units like "clan" and "family" are not understood in quite the same sense. The controversy between different authors is based upon the difference of phenomena defined by the same terms.[1] Under the term "clan" I shall designate the phenomenon as it is defined by me in Chapter III. However, this definition is correct only when one deals with the phenomenon from a static point of view. As I have shown, the term defining this institution among the Manchus has already been changed at least twice. It has been called *xala*, *gargan*, and *mokun*, all of them defining at different periods the same social unit. In fact, a unit showing cleavage into two new and distinct exogamous units is not a clan in the above-defined sense, though genetically it is the same. This definition still remains in the Manchu mind, for they preserve the term *xala;* but this unit has no functions at all, and survives principally because of the existence of the written records. The same is true of the Northern Tungus, who did not invent or borrow any new term. However, the Northern Tungus usually

[1] Cf. R. H. Lowie, "Primitive Society," and W. H. R. Rivers, "Social Organisation."

forget the old clan names, so the latter are not preserved as among the Manchus. Among the Manchus and the Northern Tungus no other larger functioning unit has been created, so that I have used the term "clan" and "father clan" for the unit that has originated from a new one. With reference to the Northern Tungus the term "family" has yet a more limited meaning than "clan," as shown in Chapter VI. It is absolutely evident that this institution defined as a purely social phenomenon is not understandable. I have therefore included in this conception economical[1] and biological functions of this unit.[2] Owing to this restricted meaning, when it ought to be emphasized I sometimes use a double term — "unit-family."

4. Remarks Concerning Social Phenomena Among the Tungus

The Tungus social organization, as is true of any other, is an extremely complex phenomenon. An account of observations and facts, confined to it only, would not suffice for the complete understanding of it as a whole, nor of the elements constituting this complex. As a matter of fact, the Tungus social organization and practices are naturally organically associated with the material culture, and the religious, psychic, and mental cultural activities which together form a complex partly dependent upon biological conditions and the primary environment of the Tungus in question. From the Tungus point of view their social organization is an absolutely perfect one, and sufficient for the assurance of their self-preservation. They believe it, except in certain practices, recently borrowed, to be of a purely Tungus origin both as a whole and in its elements. It does not seem to be so, however, when one analyses these elements. Some of them are very recent ones, while others have been preserved from an early Tungus period. Some elements may be genetically connected with the early Tungus institutions, while some others are borrowed from their neighbours. It is thus evident that the social organization and practices are composed of elements of different age and of different origin. Let us take some instances. The wedding customs include the visit of the bridegroom to the bride and the consummation of the marriage before the day of the wedding ceremony (this is also a custom among the ancient groups living in Manchuria); the custom of *kalym*, which was borrowed from non-Tungus groups long ago, is still in force; kissing the bride's hand, which was recently borrowed from the Russians, is another innovation. The complex of relationship terms among the Tungus of Manchuria, which includes the old Tungus terms, the terms long ago borrowed from the Mongols, and the terms of Chinese origin recently borrowed through the Manchus, show other instances illustrating this fact. In spite of the differences in origin and age, the wedding customs and terms of relationship are absolutely definite, and characteristic complexes, which cannot be changed without affecting the whole system of the given ethnographical complex. In fact, the *prima nox* custom, if abolished in one form, will re-establish itself in another form, as may be observed, for instance, among the Manchus; the names of certain relatives may disappear unless a new system

[1] Cf. W. Rivers' household, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[2] The latter is clearly emphasized by R. H. Lowie.

of relationship is adopted. On the other hand, wedding customs are closely connected with the system in vogue according to which the clan has an active part in the affair, so that the present wedding customs are partly implied by the prevailing rôle of the clan organization; the system of terms of relationship is also closely dependent upon the clan system, as are the inheritance of property, and other institutions. Even such unimportant customs as kissing the bride's hand cannot be suppressed, even if another custom, as the kneeling of the bride before the senior members of the husband's clan, symbolizing her adoption by the husband's clan, should be practised. Yet the terms designating the nine generations may be done away with, unless the judicial responsibility during the nine generations (indeed, a recent innovation under the Sino-Manchu influences) has been previously abolished. So, for instance, in the above-mentioned system of terms of relationship, the old terms are sometimes used together with the new ones, one of which will surely disappear or change in its meaning. It is obvious that without shaking the whole complex, it cannot be changed at once, and the complex comprising a series of customs and practices cannot be changed without affecting some other customs and practices, belonging to other complexes, and directly linked in a chain of equilibrium with the former ones.

As stated, the social organization of the Tungus is closely bound to their material culture, and also to their psychic and mental activities. In fact, the system of family variation among the Tungus is defined by economical reasons, for it is first of all an economical unit. In several instances, the "subjugated" position of the woman is defined by theories concerning the activity of spirits. Let us now suppose that the Tungus change their theories as to spirits in general, and all become Christians, and even learned theologists; then the system regulating their preservation or better economical exploitation of animals and forests, partly based upon the theory of spirits, must be superseded by a scientific rationalization of the old practices, and an elaboration of new scientific methods of exploitation of the primary environment. This will require either a general education of the Tungus, to make all of them students of forestry and agriculture, or to resort to supervision of them by a government agent, for scientific education will not restrain them from the rapacious exploitation of natural wealth, particularly in fur-producing animals. It is known that the Christianization of the Tungus of Siberia resulted in at least a partial loss of the theoretical and moral basis of regulations for the preservation of the forest and animals (the Tungus economical system), so the Tungus, to the great satisfaction of fur traders, started a real devastation of their fur wealth, which would have been impossible without their having changed their religious ideas. Police regulations naturally followed this process. The same would have happened if, instead of becoming Christians, the Tungus had become Confucianists or Buddhists or even materialistic atheists, for their system of spirits and customs, regulating the social and economical activities, could not have remained potent any longer. University education of all Tungus, which is of course practically impossible, would produce the same effect, unless all of them, having been well educated, left their original environment to take upon themselves duties of small officials, engineers,

and business men among their educators. In this way I want to point out the influence of ideas professed by the Tungus upon their social organization and economic system. Without the former, the latter could not exist, and vice versa. Indeed, they form a complex, possessing a certain equilibrium, so that a partial change of the complex without producing a harmful effect on the whole complex is, practically speaking, impossible. Such partial changes usually result in a complete change of the whole system, and very often if not always in a transition to another state, correlated with the loss of ethnical independence and the death of the former unit. Dissolution in the mass of their more numerous neighbours concludes the process.

CHAPTER I

PRIMARY *MILIEU* AND TUNGUS ADAPTATION

1. Geographical Description of the Tungus Area: Transbaikalia, Northern and Southern, and Manchuria. 2. Economical Activities of the Tungus: Hunting, Reindeer Breeding, Breeding of Other Domesticated Animals and Other Forms of Economic Activity. 3. Adaptation of the Tungus to Animal Environment: Animals as Competitors of the Tungus; Hunting. 4. Classification of the Regions.

1. Geographical Description of the Tungus Area: Transbaikalia, Northern and Southern, and Manchuria

The area occupied by the Tungus groups, treated in the present study, covers Transbaikalia, part of the Amur and the Maritime Government,[1] a part of Mongolia, namely Hulun Buir, and Heilungkiang Province in Manchuria. Certain peculiarities as to topography, climate, fauna, and flora permit one to distinguish different regions of this huge area. In order to cover the ground necessary to make the principal subject of this study sufficiently clear to the reader, in the forthcoming description I shall confine myself to a summary in outline of the primary *milieu*, and to the Tungus adaptation to it.

As to the general character of the country, in Transbaikalia, and also in Manchuria, two different types may be definitely distinguished: i. e., the *taiga*,[2] an area which is very often mountainous and covered with primitive forest, and the steppe. The *taiga* is characteristic of the northern part of Transbaikalia and the "steppe" is characteristic of Southern Transbaikalia, the northern limit of which lies about 53° north latitude. In the first part, one may distinguish three large regions — the western Barguzin *taiga*, the central Nerchinsk *taiga*, and the eastern *taiga*, lying between the Shilka and Argun rivers.

[1] In this study I shall use the old geographical names as they still occur in scientific and geographical language, and in all atlases not yet revised. As a matter of fact, changes in geographical names regularly occur, for instance, in China, with the change of dynasty; and lately this has happened to affect the territories controlled by the Soviets. These names, however, cannot always be found, owing to their instability. Moreover, some of them would often have to be explained, which enormously complicates reading and understanding of things geographical.

[2] I use this term as it is adopted in Russian geographical descriptions as a technical one used for denoting a region that may be characterized by a particular geographical condition, i. e., a Siberian primitive forest; just as the term "jungle" refers to tropical forest. Except the *taiga* region, geographical literature concerning Transbaikalia is rather copious. As to this region, some publications appeared previous to the beginning of the last war (e. g., a general description given by A. N. Kriukov, formerly of the Colonization Department of Chita). A detailed topographic and geological survey was carried out in several parts of this region, and other various investigations also cover a large area. In 1914, when I was preparing my study on the Tungus of Transbaikalia for publication I used some of these publications. Unfortunately, the bibliography added to the study was lacking in my copy. So in the present description I usually employ my old manuscript, partly based upon published material, and largely on material which is the result of my own personal observations.

East of Lake Baikal (about 1,500 ft. above sea-level) a high mountain chain lying in the general direction of north-east rises in peaks to over 7,000 ft. The southern part of this range is called Khamar Daban. It extends into the Barguzin *taiga* under the name of the Ikat Mountain Range with the peaks reaching a height of over 6,500 ft. This chain is separated from Lake Baikal by another range of lesser altitude, so that the Barguzin River valley and basin are surrounded by these two ranges. The altitude of the Barguzin River valley (middle course), is about 1,600 ft. Eastward from the Ikat Mountains the highlands decrease in height to the minimum of about 2,500 ft. at the Vitim and Amalat rivers and rise again on their approach to the Yablonov Mountains, the passes of which attain an altitude of 4,000 ft. The highlands are lower again to the south-east where the altitude at the Nercha River (53° north latitude) reaches only 1,800 ft. Except in the north-western corner, where the continuation of the Ikat Mountains, known as the Muia Mountains (*Muĭskiĭ Xrebet*, in Russian) dominate, and in the north-eastern corner where the lateral branches of the Yablonov Mountains cover a large area, generally speaking, the southern part of these highlands is somewhat higher than the northern part, which is cut by the Vitim River system, and which decreases northward. The north-western corner also shows a certain depression along the Upper Angara River basin. This highland, called the Vitim Plateau, derives its name from the principal river of this system, and reaches an elevation of about 3,000 ft. above sea-level, with a general depression to the north, and toward the basin of the Vitim from west to east, and from east to west. The western border is formed by the Ikat and the Muia Mountains, while the eastern border is formed by the Yablonov Mountains. A system of smaller ranges cross the highlands in the general direction of north-east. In the north-western corner, there are several small lakes between the ranges of mountains, which occupy a large area. The biggest of these lakes are Lake Baunt, about twelve and a half miles long and ten miles wide, and Lake Oron. Several of them have not yet been investigated (1914).

The scenery, typical of Transbaikalia, except in the western and eastern corners, is that of a valley about six miles wide, formed by the small rivers and rivulets lying between two slopes of low hilly ranges, which are covered with forest. Such a low valley produces the impression of its having been formed by the filling, as if of liquid matter, from the denudation of the surrounding mountains. The river, having very low banks, changes its direction continuously, moving from one side of the valley to the other. In flood, the river overflows its banks and sometimes submerges the valley. Shrubs and small groups of trees, usually birch and larch, sometimes cover the banks. The space between the river and the ranges of hills is flat and marshy. In these marshes, patches of shrubs and trees form small oases, of more or less firm soil. The ascent of the hilly ranges is not usually sharp, but very difficult, owing to giant trees which have fallen and which lie decaying, also to decomposed rocks, to small basins of water, formed especially in the granite, and covered with fallen trees, moss, and lichen. The northern slopes are usually drier than the southern ones, for the reason that during the



THE TUNGUS WOMAN'S COFFIN IN THE AKIMA RIVER VALLEY (TRANSBAIKALIA)
By the author (July, 1912)

short summer the southern slopes have not sufficient time to thaw completely and freeze again by the beginning of October. During the summer the southern slopes are usually very difficult for travel. The passes of the Yablonov Mountains are usually dry, while those of other ranges are, as a rule, very marshy. This valley scenery is sometimes varied by gorges full of rocks and fallen trees.

This rather sombre scenery, with its clear air, but low sun, is rarely animated by the appearance of animals and birds: silence as of death reigns over this wild country.

In the winter season, which begins very early, the condition changes. The rivers become covered with ice, and the valleys and the mountains with snow; these do not present any difficulty for the traveller, but life is even more dormant, and the scenery more monotonous than in the summer season.

The Vitim River divides this country into two unequal parts: the greater or western part, composed of the Barguzin *taiga;* and the lesser, or Nerchinsk *taiga,* which comprises the Yablonov Mountains, the basin of the Nercha, except the lower course, and the upper course of the Olokma. The Barguzin *taiga,* except for a small part which lies near the Vitim, is higher and is crossed more frequently by mountain ranges, than the Nerchinsk *taiga* where the steppes are spacious. Yet the third small *taiga* lying between the Nercha and the Argun is lower than the Nerchinsk *taiga.*

The Vitim is the largest river of northern Transbaikalia. It rises on the eastern slopes of the Ikat Range, and runs first under the name of the Vitimkan to the north-east; it changes its name at the confluence of the China, where it turns to the south-west; here it receives two tributaries of importance, the Zaza and the Kidimit; then, forming the shape of a bow, it again changes its direction and flows once more to the north-east. After having received the Karenga, its right tributary, it runs north to the Lena. In the upper course the Vitim is typically mountainous, but after the Zaza joins it, it moves more slowly. From the mouth of the Karenga, it becomes navigable. Within the Barguzin *taiga,* it has several rocky rapids preceded by shallow water which may be crossed on reindeer and horse-back, at almost any point, except after it is joined by the Yumarchen (the right tributary). In addition to the above-mentioned basins of the two large tributaries, the Muia and the Chipa form the north-western corner of the Barguzin *taiga.* The first lies behind the Muia Mountains, while the Chipa, descending from the south-west, receives the waters of the Amalat, and that of its several tributaries. The most important tributaries on the right bank of the Vitim are the Konda and the Yumarchen, which descend from the northern slopes of the Yablonov Mountains within the limits of the western part of the Nerchinsk *taiga,* and the Karenga which runs parallel with the Vitim. East of the Yablonov Mountains the Nercha receives its most important tributary, the Nerchukan, which flows to the south and changes its direction to the south-east, where it joins the Shilka, i. e., the upper course of the Amur. In the north-eastern corner, between the basins of the Nercha and the Shilka the sources of the Olokma, an important tributary of the Lena, are found. In the small, third *taiga,* lying between the Shilka and the Argun, the smallest rivers naturally flow into these two large ones.

Three distinct basins of large rivers form northern Transbaikalia: the Upper Angara and the Barguzin belong to the basin of the Enissy, being separated from the basin of the Lena by high ranges of mountains. The Yablonov Mountains separate the basins of the Lena and the Enissy from that of the Amur River basin. In southern Transbaikalia, the southern part of the Vitim Plateau separates the Lena River basin from that of the Enissy; so the Selenga, with its tributaries, the mountain range of the Khamar Daban being cut through by it, belongs to the Enissy basin. The Lena River basin, which cuts the Yablonov Mountains spreads, however, into the basin of the Amur.

Within the Barguzin and the Nerchinsk *taiga* the basins of different rivers form distinct regions. In the first, the following regions should be mentioned: (1) the upper course of the Vitim, together with the China; (2) the region of Lake Baunt; (3) a rather low region of the Amalat; (4) the Muia River region; (5) the region of the Žilinda and the Kidimit. From the north two distinct regions join the Barguzin *taiga:* the region of the Upper Angara and the region of the Kalar. From the west a separate region lies between Lake Baikal and the mountain ranges which separate the Enissy basin from that of the Vitim. In the Nerchinsk *taiga* one may distinguish five regions: (1) the Konda and the Yumarchen; (2) the Karenga; (3) the Nercha with the Nerchukan; (4) the upper courses of the Yumarchen, the Karenga, and the Chita; and (5) the Olokma. A region by itself is that of the third *taiga*, between the Shilka and the Argun.

The climate of northern Transbaikalia may be said to be rigorous, though it varies in accordance with the altitude of the different regions. The Nerchinsk *taiga*, for instance, has a milder climate than that of the Barguzin *taiga*, and the region of the Amalat also has a relatively mild climate. On the highland of the Vitimkan and China the snow lasts up to the first half of June, and the nights are frosty till July. Only in July is there anything approaching a summer season. Gad-flies, midges, and mosquitoes, which cannot stand the cold, are not often in evidence. By the end of July or the beginning of August the nights grow cold, and freezing sets in. The first snow sometimes falls in the second half of August. The Vitim, by the middle of October, is covered with ice. The summer is yet more rigorous in the Ikat and Muia Mountains, where the snow in the deep valleys does not thaw at all, though no glaciers, I think, are known. Strong winds blow from the north-east and the south-west. The winds from the south-west sometimes bring rainy weather during the summer season. The regions lying in the lesser altitudes are much milder. So, for instance, in the region of the Great Amalat (54° north latitude and 2,600 ft. above sea-level) summer lasts from the middle of June up to the end of August, leaving a period of about seventy days when cultivation can be carried on; flax is then grown.[1] June is usually very mild, but in the first half of July the rainy season begins, and, with intervals, continues up to the second half of September. The greatest rainfall occurs during this period. The short and rainy summer is succeeded by a short, dry, and pleasing autumn, which is followed by a windless winter, when the temperature falls

[1] According to the experiments of the local bureau of the Department of Colonization.



THE TUNGUS WIGWAM AND SACRIFICE ON THE VITIM PLATEAU (TRANSBAIKALIA)
By the author (September, 1913)

to −52° C. (−85° F.) in the mild region of the Amalat and below that in the mountainous regions. Except in the Muia region and in the mountains, snow is not plentiful. The same variations of climate dependent upon the altitude and the latitude are also observed in the Nerchinsk *taiga*. The Yablonov Mountains seem to be like the Ikat Range, but in the valley of the Nercha (53° north latitude) the cultivation of rye is possible, as in the villages of Keker and Akima.

The flora varies also, depending upon the climate. The valleys of the low courses of the rivers are best for pasturage; such, for instance, as the Vitim (except the upper course), the Žilinda and the Kidimit, the Amalat, and especially the Barguzin and the Nercha as far as the Akima mouth, together with their small tributaries. The tributaries of such rivers are usually covered with a dense growth of shrubs, and for this reason such rivers are often called *marekta*, from *mar*, dense shrubs. The low hills near these valleys are usually covered with white birch, sometimes with pines, firs, also aspen and mountain ash, though rarely with larches. As soon as one mounts the highland of the Vitim Plateau the mixed forest becomes a wonderful larch-tree forest, which degenerates, however, on the highest ranges, where shrubs again appear. The region of the Vitimkan and China rivers has very poor larch-tree forests, which struggle for existence against different kinds of shrubs. The change in vegetation is especially evident when one descends from the Vitim Plateau, into the valley of the Barguzin. The Ikat Range is partly covered with shrubs, and very poor larch trees, and in some parts lichens and rocks without any vegetation. Descending the valley of the Ikat River one enters an excellent larch forest, which gradually gives place to a pine and birch forest. At the mouth of this river shrubs cover the valley; the Barguzin River valley gives excellent pasturage. The same change, but not so sharply defined, may be observed also when descending the eastern slopes of the Yablonov Mountains.

From the industrial point of view, the Vitim Plateau is rather poor. Under the present means of communication, the lumber industry, owing to the northern direction of the rivers, cannot naturally be developed. The forests are destroyed by Russians who penetrate the *taiga* and burn them down. The greatest danger for the forests is, of course, from intentional fire setting. For a long time after a fire, the best lumber tree forest does not produce anything but very poor birch and shrubs. For long distances, one often meets no good forests at all. The destruction of forests is partly due to accidental fires and partly to intentional practice of fire setting by the Russians settled in the gold-mining regions. Protection of the forests, in a primitive but very effective form, is well known to the Tungus; they never leave, for instance, firewood burning when leaving camp; while the Russians, without thinking about the consequences, which they believe will not affect themselves, usually do so. On the other hand, owners of gold mines have to pay the Tungus administration a certain tax per tree, fallen trees being taxed more lightly than living ones. The wood is used by them, in enormously large quantities, for thawing the auriferous river deposits that remain frozen during the summer season. In order to get dry wood at a lesser tax, they intentionally start a fire that may destroy

hundreds of square miles of forest. Naturally, the greatest part of the forest is burnt out without any profit. In some cases the Russian settlers also burn out the forest just for the reason of having "good scenery without trees," for these settlers, being accustomed to the steppe region of south-eastern Europe, wish to have the same scenery in their new surroundings.

Besides copper mines on a small scale in the basin of the Barguzin River, gold mining is the only industrial branch well developed in northern Transbaikalia. Gold mines, or auriferous fields, are numerous in the basin of the Vitimkan, China, Cipikan, Lesser Amalat, and other rivers. In 1912, however, only 768 kilogrammes of gold, less than a million gold roubles in value, was presented to the governmental bureaux from the Barguzin *taiga*.[1] Most of the workmen are Chinese. The methods employed are usually very primitive — the washing of the sand in a kind of wooden plate, which is also well known in the gold-mining regions of America. Two or three enterprising concerns use machinery for excavation and the washing of the sand.

Agriculture, as shown, is impracticable, owing to climatic conditions. The colonization by the Russians did not succeed, but some Buriat families have penetrated into the Amalat River region, where some cattle breeding is possible. Hunting is the only important industry for the local population; to this question I shall return later.

The geographical distribution of animals depends upon the character of the regions. I shall only enumerate those animals which are of industrial importance to the local population. The most important of them are — the maral reindeer (*Cervus elaphus*), the elk, the reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*), the roe-deer, the musk-deer, the wild boar, the fox, the squirrel, and the sable. The maral, besides its skin and meat, has very precious antlers, which are used in the manufacture of Chinese medicine.[2] This animal is met with throughout the whole of northern Transbaikalia and especially on the slopes of the Ikat and Yablonov Mountains, and in the basin of the Kaivoda (the Amalat region). It formerly was very numerous in the basins of the China and the Cipikan, but, owing to the increase of the Russian and the Chinese population, it has left for regions not so frequently visited by hunters.[3] The places most preferred by this animal are small

[1] This amount seems to be below the actual amount of production, for the number of workmen employed must produce much more than this quantity. The gold was perhaps sold abroad at a higher price than that given by the governmental bureaux.

[2] The male reindeer changes his antlers once a year. By the end of April he loses them and during the period from May to August new antlers grow for the autumn fighting for females, which is in the middle of September. At that period the antlers lose their skin and become very powerful. Antlers used for Chinese medicine ought to be young ones, when the process of hardening has not been completed, and they are still covered with a velvet-like skin. In June and July the best antlers are those which have grown enough, but have not hardened. This medicine is very much appreciated by the Chinese, who pay a good price for young, fresh, and heavy antlers up to 600 and sometimes 1,200 gold roubles. This medicine is especially good for old men sexually weak and mentally lazy. As far as I know, the pharmacological properties of this medicine have not yet been investigated by Europeans, which fact has led some ethnographers to consider this medicament as magic. It is not so, I think, for the young antlers contain certain chemical ingredients stimulating to the growth of the antlers just before the animal develops its sexual activity. The presence of the secretion of the interstitial gland is quite possible. It has certain use in Chinese gynecology too.

[3] The Tungus hunters do not usually kill females and young, in order to preserve the life of this animal, while the Russian hunters, as in their burning of the forests, do not care about the future and kill every animal they meet, and naturally the animals soon become extinct.

rivers with good pasturage and salty soil.[1] The elk is not so numerous as the maral. It is met with mostly in the valleys of big rivers which are covered with shrubs and are rich in salty soil. This animal also likes some hydrophytes. It is also met with near the lakes; the Karenga, Vitim, and Kaivoda rivers are especially preferred by this animal. The elk is killed for its skin and meat, which are very good.

The wild reindeer — *Rangifer tarandus* — is not numerous, nor important. It is met with in regions rich in lichens, as in the basin of the Vitimkan, near Lake Baunt and in the Muia Mountains. Some details concerning this animal will be given in a section dealing with reindeer breeding.

The roe-deer, the commonest animal, is met with everywhere except in rocky mountains. It especially likes wide valleys with good pasturage and keeps mostly to the skirts of the forests. The roe-deer provides the Tungus with skin used for all kinds of clothing, wigwam covers, etc., and, according to the Tungus, is the best for meat.

The musk-deer is not numerous. It prefers the rocky mountains, though it is also met with in all parts. Its musk is precious, but the skin is small, and its meat is not appreciated by the Tungus.

The wild boar lives mostly in the valleys of big rivers covered with shrubs, but it also inhabits forests. Wild boars are numerous near the Vitim, in the basin of the Amalat, and in the valley of the Uldurga (the right tributary of the Nercha).

The fox and the squirrel are numerous, especially the latter, and are met with everywhere. The pole-cat prefers open places. The lynx and the ermine prefer rocky places, and the former is especially fond of caves. The sable is now (1913) met with in the Muia region and in the Olokma region, being rather rare in other regions, e. g., in the Upper Angara, the coastal region of Lake Baikal. This animal is becoming extinct, so that during certain periods hunting has been prohibited by the government. This sable is one of the best in Siberia.

Bears, wolves, and hares are met with everywhere. The wolf, however, prefers the steppe regions, and the bear, the forests. The glutton and the otter are rare. The black fox, which is exceptionally rare, is found in the Muia regions. A tiger, which had left its original area in Manchuria, probably owing to some accident, was killed in 1901 in the Muia region. (This fact was communicated to me by the Tungus.)[2]

The valleys of some rivers abound in snakes, which are sometimes poisonous. Names like *kulinda*, *kuli*, *kulikan*, etc., from *kulin*, a snake, show that such localities are not free from them. Such rivers are usually avoided by the Tungus in their travels, and their camps are very carefully chosen on this account.

Rivers and lakes are not rich in fish. Fishing is not an important branch of Tungus activity. The most common fish are: *Salmo taimen*, *Salmo lenok*, and sometimes sturgeon.

[1] All cervines, being very fond of salty soil, visit such places at night. Such soil is called *tala*, whence several rivulets take their names: *tala*, *talači*, etc. The artificial salting of the soil is practised by the Tungus. This has already been described by von Middendorff, Radde, and several other travellers.

[2] Similar cases have been recorded in the Yakutsk Government. Cf. Seroševskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

Birds play no important part in Tungus life. One meets with the wood-hen, the grouse, the alpine partridge, the swan, the goose, and different kinds of duck, also other eatable birds, mostly near Lake Baunt.

Southern Transbaikalia, except the mountain region near Lake Baikal — the Khamar Daban — and the Yablonov Mountains, is a continuation of the Mongolian steppes. In Transbaikalia these steppes are watered by several rivers: eastern Transbaikalia, by rivers belonging to the Amur basin; and western Transbaikalia, by rivers belonging to the Enissy Basin. The transition from steppe to *taiga* condition is gradual: the hills become high; at first they are treeless, but toward the *taiga*, birch trees begin to cover the northern slopes. Larches appear soon after, and the valleys become marshy and wild, and animals become numerous. The altitude varies: it is not below 2,000 ft. above sea-level, except in the deep valleys of the Shilka and the Argun. The climate is naturally much milder in southern than in northern Transbaikalia. The soil is good for agriculture, especially in the transitory belt, where cultivation was known long before Russian colonization took place. The steppes are not always good for agriculture, but they are excellent for cattle and horse breeding, which constitutes the only industry of importance known to the local population — the Mongols (Buriats), the Tungus (Mongolized), and the Russians. Wild animals are not naturally numerous, so that to live by hunting, exclusively, is absolutely impossible.

Two principal conditions may be distinguished — the steppe and the transitory belt from the steppe to the *taiga* condition. So, for instance, the part east of the Shilka presents such a transitory character: the southern part of the region, lying between the Shilka and the Argun and the region north from the Uda in its western part, are also of the same type, while the Onon River region, and the Selenga River region, are of the steppe type proper.

Manchuria in many respects is similar to Transbaikalia.[1] The region lying between the Argun River and the Great Khingan Mountains and included in the Mongolian possessions under the name of Hulun Buir, ought also to be a part of Manchuria. This region, from a geographical point of view, is a mere continuation of eastern Transbaikalia of three characteristic types: steppe country in the south, the transitory belt midway, and the *taiga* country in the north and east.

In Heilungkiang, roughly speaking, one may distinguish three principal *taiga* portions and a low portion covered partly with steppes and partly with fields, good only

[1] Literature concerning the geographical description of Manchuria and a part of Mongolia, known under the name of Hulun Buir, has been enriched by several investigations. However, the investigations have not been complete, so that some regions have not been visited at all. Being deprived of a library, I cannot give a complete bibliography. Some investigators and their work will be mentioned further. The regions inhabited by the Chinese are described from the economic and statistic point of view by P. N. Menščikov, P. N. Smolnikov, and A. I. Čirkov, who investigated Heilungkiang as agents of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Some references are given by them in their work.

for agriculture. The Great Khingan Mountains separate the highlands of Mongolia and Transbaikalia from the lowlands of Manchuria. This range starts on the Manchurain Plateau and occupies the north-western part of Manchuria. This plateau is a natural continuation of the Vitim Plateau separated from Transbaikalia by the relatively deep valleys of the Argun and Shilka rivers, which flow into the Amur. The Manchurian Plateau is formed out of the old Great Khingan Mountain system, and perhaps a more recent latitudinal formation of the Ilhuri Alin Mountains,[1] and their continuation, the Lesser Khingan Mountains. The eastern edge of this plateau is formed by a high range lying between the Argun River, and the highest range of the Great Khingan Mountains. This plateau is of course much smaller than the Vitim Plateau. Several mountain ranges descend from it — the Great Khingan Mountains to the south, the Ilhuri Mountains to the south-east, and the Dapkur, the Nomin, and other ranges which occupy the area between the two first mentioned. In the north, the Panga, the Albaziha, and other smaller ranges spread northward, where they connect with the lateral branches of the Yablonov Mountains and form the gorges of the Amur River. The Ilhuri Mountains run first to the south-east and then change the name to that of the Lesser Khingan Mountains and also their direction to the south. They then take the form of a bow, and turn eastward, and later to the north-east not far from the mouth of the Sungari. At this point the Amur breaks through the Lesser Khingan Range and forms the gorges of this river.

The central part of the Manchurian Plateau is watered by the Bystraia (in Russian, and also adopted by the Reindeer Tungus), or Niur River (in Manchu, adopted by the Manchurian Tungus).[2] Being elevated over 3,000 ft. above sea-level, it is higher than the neighbouring region in the west. In the passes, the eastern edge of the Manchurian Plateau is about 4,000 ft. above sea-level. The deep valley of the Bystraia is about 2,300 ft. above sea-level only, while at its mouth the height is only 1,500 ft. The mountain range that I call the Djin (*ǰin*) Mountains, forming the western edge of the Manchurian Plateau, begins at about 51° north latitude and runs northward along 121° 30′ east latitude. At 52° north latitude, approximately, it is cut by the valley of the Bystraia River and continues northward up to where it is cut across once more by the Amur, and there it meets the Yablonov Mountain Range. Along the Djin Mountains several high peaks[3] attain an altitude of over 4,000 ft. above sea-level. The passes across this range at an elevation of about 3,500 ft. are covered with marshes and shrubs. The northern edge of this plateau is marked with several peaks and a high knot of mountains where several rivers rise. The eastern edge of the plateau is formed by the Great Khingan Mountains — a knot of the latter with the Ilhuri Mountains. The southern edge is formed by a group of peaks[4] located between the Great Khingan and the southern end of the Djin Mountains. Several rivers descend from this elevated part of the plateau; namely, the Gan, the Chinese Gan, the Marekta, and other

[1] *Alin* in Manchu is "mountain range," so that in order to avoid the repetition of the same words in different languages it would be better to call these mountains the "Ilhuri Mountains." In geographical names one finds sometimes combinations of three words with the same meaning in different languages.

[2] See *infra*, p. 23.

[3] In the local Russian dialect known as *golec* (from *golyi* — naked, treeless), pl. *golcy*.

[4] One of the highest peaks is called Siniaia Gora (in Russian—the Blue Mountain).

rivers. In this part of Manchuria three rivers of importance ought to be mentioned — the Argun, the Amur, and the Nonni (Naun in all local dialects). The first of them has its source on the eastern slopes of the Great Khingan Mountains. It flows west first under the name of the Hailar River, then turns north-east and under the name of the Argun flows to join the Shilka[1] at 53° north latitude. The Nonni rises in the corner formed by the Great Khingan and the Ilhuri Mountains. It flows to the east and south to join the Sungari, a tributary of the Amur.[2] The Argun (from *ergun gol* of the Mongol and *ergune ula* of the Manchus) rises under the name of the Hailar River, a name also of Mongol origin, which is connected by a channel with Lake Dalai Nor in Hulun Buir, so that when the water in the Argun and the Hailar is high, it runs into this lake. It is likely that the source of the Argun at an earlier period was found in Mongolia, and it was the Kerulen that flows into this lake. If it be so, then the former source of the Amur was the Kerulen, which, together with the Argun, is much longer than the Onon with the Shilka, and the Hailar then was only a small tributary of the Kerulen. It is possible that the disconnection between the Kerulen and the Argun occurred within a recent period of time.[3] The following rivers flow into the Argun from the Manchurian Plateau: the Gan with two important tributaries — the Derbul and the Haul; the Marekta (also Maritka, Marilka — Russian mutilations); and the Bystraia.[4] According to the

[1] The upper course of the Shilka is formed by two rivers; namely, the longer Onon and the shorter Ingoda. Both of these rise on the eastern slopes of the Yablonov Mountains, so that the actual source of the Amur now is the Onon. Formerly, the Amur was known at its source as the Kerulen, which is now disconnected with the Argun.

[2] As a matter of fact, the actual beginning of the Sungari is not the river descending from the Chang Pai Shan, or Long White Mountains, in Kirin, but the Nonni, which is longer and deeper and altogether much larger than the Sungari in its upper course. From the point where the Amur receives the Sungari, the name "Sungari" is also given by the Manchus to the Amur. It is evident that the Sungari, as it is called by the Manchus, in its geographical signification has developed historically. In fact, the Sungari is a tributary of the Amur and in its upper course it is also a tributary of the Nonni. Generally speaking, the names of rivers in Manchuria and in the southern part of Transbaikalia, are very often misleading, which is due to the historic succession of various ethnical groups. The actual source of the Amur, the Onon, bears a Mongol name. After receiving the Indoda, it takes a Northern Tungus name *Šilkir, sirkil* (mutilated by the Russians into *Šilka*), which means "narrow," "stressed," "gorges." Under this name the Amur is also known among the Tungus. It shows that in so far as linguistic evidence permits one to conclude, it was discovered by the Northern Tungus, in its upper course, while the Southern Tungus knew it only in the lower course as a continuation of the Sungari. Thus the Manchus who did not come from the north lived for a long time on the Sungari before they discovered the Amur and the Nonni. There is thus no common pro-Tungus name for the Amur and the Nonni. There is thus no common name for the Amur. This river, from the mouth of the Argun to the mouth of the Sungari, in Manchu is called *saxalan ula*, i. e., black river, which is rendered in Chinese as *xei-xe* (Hei-He). The same in Dahur is called *kara mur*, i. e., black river. From the latter, unless there were another Mongol name (Amer) for this river, the Russians and through them other geographers have derived *amur* by cutting off the first part of *kara mur*. The Russians met, first, on the banks of the Amur the Dahurs and some Tungus who were under Dahur control. The name "Amur" has of course nothing to do with "amour" from *amo, amare*, Lat., for the Russians of the seventeenth century were not versed in mythology. However, in the middle of the seventeenth century among Russians the Amur was called by the Northern Tungus name—*Šilker*. The local population living on the banks of the lower course of the Amur at the mouth of the Sungari called the first *mamgu, mangu*, etc., which is not, to be sure, a Tungus name but probably Palæasiatic. In Manchu the Sungari is known under the name of *Sungar Wula* (Manchu Sp.) and *sungari ula* or *bira* (Manchu writ.), whence *Šungat* of the early Russians. The same name is used to designate the Milky Way. This name seems to be derived from *sun* (cf. I. Zaxarov)—the milk (cf. Mongol *sun*—the milk) (cf. in Tungus milk is *ukun*, etc., the Milky Way is *dojin'i okto*—the birds' way). In fact, the water of this river is not transparent, but "milky." The Manchu names of the Sungari, Nonni, and Amur rivers permit one to suppose that the Manchus were gradually discovering the basin of the Amur going northward from the source of the Sungari, along this river which was originally occupied by the Palæasiatics and even perhaps by the ancestors of the Mongols, to the Nonni (after the joining of it by the Sungari known under this name), and at last to the Amur, where they spread over the upper and lower courses of this river and preserved the name Sungari in the lower course of the Amur.

[3] According to Spathary, who visited the region in 1675, the Argun was running from this lake.

[4] The lower course of this river was investigated (in 1914) by geologist P. Polevoi. As far as I know, he has not yet published his account.

results of my exploration of this river, it is much longer than it has previously been reckoned to be. Its total length is about two hundred fifty miles. It rises in the northern part of the Manchurian Plateau, approximately 52° north latitude and 123° east latitude. First it runs parallel to the eastern border of the plateau and turns westward, breaking through the massive ranges near a peak called Kiriči. Afterwards, it meets the Djin Mountains, and turns north, flowing parallel to them till it cuts this range and runs straight to the Argun. So it forms three large curves, according to which it is divided into three parts, each called differently by the Tungus: the upper course,—*sigača*, i. e., from *sigi*,—very dense forest and shrubs; the middle course—Bystraia, i. e., in Russian, "rapid," or Niur in Manchu, i. e., an arrow; the lower course—*uyikta*, i. e., narrow, between the rocks, where it runs between the rocks forming the gorges. The whole river is known among the Russians and the Reindeer Tungus under the name of Bystraia and among the Manchus and the Tungus of Manchuria under the name of Niur. This river has sixty-five tributaries which are named, and several other small unnamed tributaries. The most important tributaries of this river are the Upper and the Lower *Uŋugiči*, and the Djin.[1] The last rises not far from the source of the Marekta.

North from the Bystraia River basin, two large rivers near the source of the Bystraia begin; the Albaziha (in Russian; *albaði* in Tungus) and the Panga. They are separated at first from the Argun by a continuation of the Djin Mountains, and from the Panga by a range (the *Albaði* Mountains?) with a high peak (*golec*); the Panga River is separated from the Kumara by another range (the Panga Mountains?). East from the Bystraia lies the basin of the Kumara (*Kumar* in Tungus and Manchu) that has two equal sources: the *Kumar B'erajači*,[2] after the name of the tributary *B'eraja*, and the *Kumar Dovokoči*,[3] also after the name of its tributary. At the confluence they form the Kumara. The direction of the river changes: first, it flows to the north-east; afterwards, to the east; and later, it runs parallel to the Amur—south-east. The total length of the Kumara is about two hundred sixty miles. It has several tributaries,—over fifty at least,—among which the principal trubutaries are: the Taga, the right tributary, about one hundred miles long, which flows between the Kumara and the upper sources of the Nonni; and the Kamala, the left tributary, which is about sixty miles long, and approaches the sources of the Upper *Uŋugiči*, tributary of the Bystraia. The altitude varies from 2,303 ft. above sea-level at the confluence of the two sources of the Kumara and 1,073 ft. at a locality called Orodon, situated in the lower course of this river and fifty miles from the Amur (the village *Černa'jevo*). The character of this river is not uniform. In the upper course it is like other rivers of the *taiga*, but from the confluence of its two sources, it becomes sluggish and its valleys are usually wide; and from the mouth of the Taga, it becomes sluggish like a river in a steppe country. The change in vegetation and scenery, as one descends, is rather sharp. It calls to mind the slopes of the Ikat Mountains,

[1] Tungus names: all these tributaries are over sixty miles long.

[2] It rises near the sources of the Gan River.

[3] It rises near the sources of the Bystraia River.

already described, so that the western and eastern slopes of the highlands of Transbaikalia and Manchuria are more or less alike.[1]

The Nonni has its source, which has not been investigated,[2] in the southern slopes of the Ilhuri Mountains and the Great Khingan Mountains(?). In its upper course it is like the Kumara River, but from Mergen in its middle course it changes its character, and gradually becomes like a steppe river. Several of its tributaries descend from the eastern slopes of the Great Khingan Mountains, among which the following rivers may be noted: the Dapkur River (the Dobokuli of the Chinese), the Chinese Gan (usually pronounced as distinct from the Gan River—*gän*), the Nomin, and the Yal, and also some smaller tributaries. The large tributaries are separated by ranges of mountains, which are branches of the Great Khingan System. The slopes of the latter are not very sharp and the *taiga* gradually gains ground. The basins of these rivers form distinct regions, viz., (1) the northern part of Hulun Buir, including the upper course of the Hailar River, the Gan, the Derbul, the Haul, and partly the Marekta; (2) the Bystraia with the sources of the Gän, the Gan, the Nonni, the Kumara, the Albaď'i, and the Panga; (3) the Kumara, the Albaď'i, and the Panga, except in their upper courses; and, south from the Ilhuri Mountains, (4) the upper course of the Nonni, the Gän, the Dapkur, the Numin, and the Yal, except at their sources.

The climate varies enormously in this part of Manchuria. The Manchurian Plateau is in many respects similar to that of the Vitim Plateau, though somewhat milder in climate, and the lower course of the Kumara is good for production of certain cereals. The Nonni River valley, even in its middle course, i. e., the Mergen district, is good for agriculture. According to my observations, in the mountains the temperature during June to July in Hulun Buir is rather low: on July 1 and 2, white frost was recorded. In the Bystraia River basin it is yet colder. On September 12 the temperature dropped to 3° C. (37.4° F.) at 1 P.M. and at night a good white frost deeply covered the trees, the grass, and the ground. By the middle of September the temperature was usually below 0° C. (32° F.) in the morning at 7 A.M. and in the evening at 9 P.M., and the first snowfall was recorded on September 12. In the valley of the Kumara the temperature is naturally higher, so the first snowfall was recorded on October 3. The upper course of this river is ice-bound at the end of October.

HULUN BUIR JUNE–JULY	MAXIMUM		MINIMUM	
	C.	F.	C.	F.
7 A. M.	21.7°	(80.8°)	9.7°	(53.9°)
1 P. M.	28.5°	(96.1°)	10.5°	(55.1°)
9 P. M.	19.0°	(74.8°)	8.0°	(50.0°)

The flora varies according to the climatic and topographical conditions. The region is similar to that of the Vitimkan region in Transbaikalia, having the same trees and lichens; while the other regions are like that of Amalat. The middle course of the Nonni is essentially distinct from what was observed in Transbaikalia — it is much lower and more southerly in latitude than Transbaikalia.

[1] Both of them were observed by me at the same season — at the beginning of autumn (in 1913 and 1915).

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Ižickiĭ's report (1903?) says that his expedition was unable to discover the source of the Nonni. As far as I can tell, no other expeditions have been undertaken since that time. W. Stotzner, as head of a German expedition, was to start its exploration (1927).

The fauna of Manchuria is slightly different from that of northern Transbaikalia. The western part is quite distinct from the eastern part of Manchuria. The wild reindeer is lacking in Manchuria, although lichens are found on the Manchurian Plateau (region 2); in the southern parts of regions 1 and 4 the antelope appears, being very abundant on the steppes. The elk is known only in regions 2 and 3. East from the Great Khingan Mountains and south from the Ilhuri Mountains, tigers and leopards are found. These animals also visit the Kumara and Gan rivers. Bears are very numerous in the Great Khingan Mountains. The sable is mostly confined to the highest part of the Manchurian Plateau. The squirrel is numerous where larches are abundant,[1] especially in regions 2 and 3. The lower course of the Kumara is famous for wild boar and roe-deer; the musk-deer is rather rare. Among the birds, the bustard, which appears in regions 1 and 4, may be noted.

Except in region 4 the lumber industry is not developed. Gold-fields are common throughout the whole territory, but the work is not properly organized. Some gold mining is carried out in northern Hulun Buir (the basin of the Kerali, also the Kelari of the Russians, near the Marekta) and also in the basins of the Albazixa and the Panga. In the eighties, in the north-western section of Manchuria, near the Amur, the Žeľtuga region was famous for its gold, and for a so-called "republic," which was a kind of independent organization of adventurers who had their own self-government, their own justice, with a very peculiar common law, and who recognized no outside authority. Most of these adventurers, whose number attained twelve thousand, were Russians, who also adopted into their organization Chinese, Americans, French, Jews, and others. After an agreement between the Chinese and Russian authorities this "republic" was destroyed by the Chinese troops in 1886.

The southern part of the Hulun Buir region is of an entirely different character. As stated, this is a natural continuation of southern Transbaikalia and therefore Mongolia. It is watered by several shallow rivers, but has grassy steppes excellent for horse and cattle breeding. This region has been several times described.[2]

The eastern part of Manchuria lying between the Nonni, the Amur, the Ussuri, and the southern Sungari is also a region by itself. It is occupied largely by the Lesser Khingan Mountains. The rivers descending from these mountains are not long, but are numerous. In the northern part, there are two rivers of certain importance, i. e., the Sun and the Kurpin River. The eastern part of Manchuria is occupied by the Sungari River, which has two important tributaries: from the north, the Kulun (or Hulun); and from the west, the Taun (or Tawn). These two rivers are separated by the Lesser Khingan, a high range of mountains. East of the Sungari, within the limits of Kirin, another region of lesser importance lies between the Sungari and the Ussuri. The southern end of it

[1] This animal lives mostly of larch-tree nuts. If the nuts are abundant the squirrel is also to be found in large numbers; if the nuts are poor, the squirrel is rarely found. There is a certain periodicity in the harvest of nuts and consequently in the number of squirrels. This animal naturally migrates from one place to another according to the abundance or otherwise of the nut harvest, and it is followed by the Tungus.

[2] The best is that by Strelbickiĭ. Also Th. Boržinskiĭ, Prince P. Krapotkin, Colonel A. Baranov, and others.

approaches Lake Hanka. In this part of Manchuria one may distinguish the regions thus: (1) the region lying between the northern slopes of the Lesser Khingan Mountains and the middle course of the Amur; (2) the Taun River, connected with the Sungari; (3) the Kulun, open to the south; and (4) the eastern region, lying between the Sungari and the Ussuri.

The climate of this part of Manchuria is much milder than that of the Manchurian Plateau; in the valleys of the Sungari and the Amur the winter is rather cold, though the summer is long and sometimes hot. In the Lesser Khingan Mountains the summer is, of course, shorter and cooler than in the valleys of these rivers, and the Amur River valley is colder than that of the Sungari. The rivers, however, are not ice-bound before November. The flora is rich, and new shrubs and trees appear. The wild animals are also different: the elk and the wild reindeer are unknown; the musk-deer is rare; the wild boar and the roe-deer are abundant; the maral reindeer is not so frequently found as in some other regions; in region 4 a new species of cervidæ appears—*Cervus Dybowsky;* tigers and leopards are numerous; three different species of bear, the badger, and the *Canis Procinoides* are very numerous; the squirrel and the sable are not of the best quality for fur; the lynx and the fox are common. These animals, however, do not suffice to cover the needs of nutrition, and fishing takes an important part in the economic system, especially along the Amur and the Sungari.

2. Economical Activities of the Tungus

Hunting. Hunting is the principal occupation of the Tungus in all regions, except those good for cattle breeding, agriculture, and reindeer breeding. The Tungus hunt for all eatable and fur-producing animals. Throughout the whole Tungus area, the hunting of the squirrel forms the major part of the yearly income of various groups. The squirrel is not, however, alike in all regions; e. g., it is good in the regions of the Barguzin *taiga*, and in the high part of the Manchurian Plateau; while in the Nerchinsk *taiga*, and in the eastern part of Manchuria, it is rather poor. Sable hunting, as stated, is confined to certain regions only: this animal is not numerous, except in the Muia region and in the high part of the Manchurian Plateau. As is well known, it was much more numerous in former days than now: for instance, in the eighteenth century, the Tungus of Manchuria had to pay their tribute to the Chinese emperor in sable skins. In the middle of the last century, they were even unable to produce the necessary number by hunting and were then forced to buy them from their neighbours.[1] The same occurred in Transbaikalia, where the tribute in sable was abolished, and the Russian authorities established a tribute paid in cash. The sable is now (1913) protected by a policy of preservation. Its quality also varies enormously—from five dollars to seven hundred dollars a skin. The fox, the lynx, and other fur-producing animals are not numerous, and as such, they are of secondary importance.

[1] E. g., the Tungus living in region 3 of western Manchuria. Cf. Maack, *op. cit.*

The methods used for hunting these animals differ with the different animals hunted. The sable is usually, if not always, taken by different systems of traps, while the hunting of the squirrel is confined to shooting it with a gun of small calibre and a ball-like bullet; for the skin, according to market requirements, must not be injured by the bullet. The Tungus usually shoot this animal in the head; in Manchuria the Tungus also kill them with sticks. From the middle of October to the end of December, when this animal migrates, the Tungus follow it. Foxes are taken in traps, while bears and lynx are hunted with guns.

The hunting of various cervines is another important branch of the economic system of all Tungus. The Tungus may really be called the hunters of the reindeer. Hunting with a gun is the usual method, but in the eastern part of Manchuria different kinds of traps are also used. These animals form the basis of the food supply. As stated, however, some of these animals are lacking, e. g., the wild reindeer is confined to regions 1, 2, and 4 of northern Transbaikalia; the elk is rare in the eastern parts of Manchuria. The skins of cervines are used for clothing, wigwam covers, various kinds of bags, also rugs, etc. A portion of the skins procured is sold at market. In regions where these animals are lacking the Tungus use material of non-Tungus origin, fish skins, and others. The skin of domesticated reindeer is also used for the same purpose as that of other large cervines.

The Tungus hunt with guns for wild boar and bear, which provide them with meat and skins. In some regions, for example in the Nerchinsk *taiga*, in the lower part of the Kumara and in region 1 of eastern Manchuria, these animals are used as substitutes for cervines.

The following table shows the annual products from hunting in the Barguzin regions:[1]

	SQUIRREL	SABLE	FOX	LYNX	BEAR	WOLF	ROE-DEER	MUSK-DEER	ELK	DEER *Cerv. Elaph.*	WILD REINDEER	WILD BOAR
1906	12.385	2	47	6	7	10	500	222	35	65	2	7
1907	17.645	10	41	3	8	10	813	734	61	133	22	44
1908	19.565	5	47	10	5	14	789	573	45	101	21	47
1909	37.000	10	59	7	12	11	1,143	1,075	97	172	23	29
1910	30.720	3	62	13	11	17	906	833	122	179	19	42
1911	13.310	13	41	9	10	10	712	804	146	171	55	46

From this table it may be seen that the principal fur animal is the squirrel. Meat and skins are supplied by the musk-deer, roe-deer, elk, and maral reindeer. It is interesting to note in this table a gradual increase of hunting products, culminating in 1909. The reason is that at the end of the nineties the cervines were affected by an epidemic. Most of them, including the domesticated reindeer, perished entirely. The Tungus, without reindeer,

[1] These data have been copied by me from documents found in the office of the Baunt Uprava (see *infra*, Chap. II). They are based upon direct inquiries from all hunters. There is no place for doubt as to correct information of the Tungus, for the Tungus do not usually lie, especially in cases of hunting, and there was no reason to hide the truth. Yet the Tungus know very exactly the number of animals killed. The omissions are not, I think, numerous enough to change the actual figures of this industry, so this table gives a good approximation.

naturally could not hunt. The increase of the squirrel in 1909 and its later decrease depended upon two different factors; viz., the periodical increase and decrease of this animal (I think, six years' periodicity, according to the Tungus) and the lack of reindeer for hunters, which prevents their going far from the camp. I have calculated approximately from these data that the annual quantity of meat (without skin and bone) supplied by all cervines and also by the wild boar and bear in 1911, was about 75,000 kilogrammes, or 96 kilogrammes per capita. It is absolutely evident that this quantity of food cannot suffice to maintain life without any other supplementary food. This food is supplied from two sources: the domesticated reindeer, which is not in itself sufficient, as will be shown; and flour in large quantities procured from the Russians. The domesticated reindeer, as food stock, in these regions, is subject to great variations, so that flour and other food products have become one of the fundamental sources of supply. In fact, in the report of the year's market in 1827, one may already see 1,600 kilogrammes of flour, 320 kilogrammes of salt, 320 kilogrammes of sugar, and 176 kilogrammes of butter, the value of which was 52 per cent of the total transactions. The supply of flour since that time has enormously increased. During the years following the epidemic afore-mentioned, the Tungus lived exclusively on flour. These facts also show that reindeer breeding cannot provide the Tungus with the necessary quantity of food, and skins for clothing. These economical conditions thus involved the Tungus in a regular trade with the Russians.

With the introduction among the Tungus of fire-arms, hunting has changed as to its methods. As a matter of fact, the gun is for them a much more effective weapon than the bow and arrow, and the spear. It is beyond doubt that the productivity of hunting has increased with this technical revolution. The animals have naturally decreased, for the quantity of meat and furs needed by the Tungus in previous periods has also increased, owing to the growing trade with neighbours. Yet fire-arms and ammunition, which also forms a new branch of importance in Tungus trade, must be bought from neighbours.

As stated previously, hunting supplies the Tungus with everything they need for their clothing, wigwams, and travel accommodation, which constitutes the essential part of the elements forming their material culture. It is thus true that the variations of the animals in different regions imply variations of the ethnographical complexes. Yet the lack of animals implies a complete change of material culture. In fact, when animals are lacking, the Tungus live by (1) fishing, which attains its greatest importance among the population which lives on the banks of the Amur and the Sungari; (2) cattle breeding in regions good for such; (3) agriculture in regions of good soil. In spite of this, the Tungus usually preserve their hunting habits, if there are animals to hunt.

Reindeer Breeding. Among the industries of importance is the breeding of domesticated animals, and the principal industry is reindeer breeding. Though this topic ought to be treated in a detailed manner and separately, in a study devoted to the material culture of the Tungus, I shall give here a preliminary account of reindeer breeding without which, comprehension of the history of the Tungus and their social institutions would not be clear.

When, and for how long the reindeer—*oron* (Barg. Nerč. RTM.; Tum. Lam. of Yak. Gov.; Ur. *Castr.*; Ang. *T.*; Neg. *Sch.*; Oroči, Goldi, *Sch.*) and *oro, ojon* (Neg. *Sch.*), *oron buku* (Manchu.), *hora* (Koriak), *horana* (Chukchi), *olen'* (Mank.) (from the Russian *olen'*)—has been domesticated, the Tungus do not know. They believe the reindeer to have been known to them since the very beginning of the existence of the Tungus, i. e., the existence of man.

The adult male reindeer of northern Transbaikalia is a little smaller than the Transbaikalian horse. The foot is supplied with two fore toes and two back toes, a little smaller than the foremost ones. They are movable, so that when the animal steps on marshy ground the toes give great support, permitting the animal to move without any difficulty on uncertain marshy ground, where a horse cannot travel. The female is more slender and smaller than the male.

Large antlers surmount the head, sometimes attaining a weight of fifteen or more kilogrammes. There are two distinct types of antlers—the spade-like antlers, and those with several pointed branches. In some cases both forms are met with and, according to the Tungus, are the result of the crossing of the two fundamental types. The antlers begin to grow in the first autumn, and they attain a length of twenty centimetres or more. When the reindeer attains its fifth year the antlers in males are of their maximum weight and size. Afterwards they decrease from year to year. In females, as a rule, they are smaller, but when the female gets sterile, the antlers grow as large as they are in males. The antlers are rarely regularly symmetrical. Usually a single branch protrudes in front, up to the nose of the animal. The number of branches is not equal in the left and the right antler. Reindeer shed them in the first half of April, and soon after that new ones appear and slowly grow up till the beginning of August, when they become covered with a tender, but thick skin. At the beginning of September the skin falls off itself, or by friction of the antlers against the shrubs and tree trunks. Sometimes the skin is still alive, and blood can be seen running down the head of the animal.

The colour of the reindeer varies from white to black through shades of smoky grey and brown. The back and the uppermost portion of the legs are always somewhat darker than the sides: the abdomen and the lower legs are usually white. Along the throat, beautiful, long white hair descends toward the chest. This hair must not be cut off, or the reindeer, according to the Tungus, may die. This hair is very much appreciated as material for ornaments. For this purpose the hairs are pulled out one by one by the women. Different colours and different shades of colours and their combinations have special terms in the Tungus language. Reindeer hair is very rich in quality, but rather short. Wounds caused by wolves cannot be seen without close inspection. In spring the hair falls off, usually in sections, but at the beginning of autumn the animal becomes covered again with its usual amount of hair.

The reindeer lives principally on lichens, called *lavukta* (Bir. Kum., Nerč., Barg.), *laukta* (Oroči, Neg. *Sch.*, Nerč.) (*labekta, labykta,*—Tung. *Sch.*), *lawikta* (Ang. *T.*), which is in Yakut (*Pek.*) *labykta;* in some dialects (RTM, Nerč.) it is merely *oyko*, i. e., pasturage. These lichens usually cover the high mountains, especially on the northern slopes, so that sections

of *taiga*, sometimes without interruption, are covered, as with a carpet, by lichens. No other kind of moss or lichens are used by the reindeer. Lichens remain, well preserved under the snow, so that reindeer, at any season, may easily find food. Besides the lichens, the reindeer feeds on mushrooms, young twigs of trees and shrubs, but not sufficient of these can be obtained, so the reindeer cannot exist without lichens. In fact, after a short period of living without lichens, the reindeer gets thin and weak; while after a period of good lichen pasture, it gets fat and strong. The same may be stated in reference to wild reindeer, but the other cervines do not require this particular food. Owing to this fact, the geographical distribution of the reindeer is confined to areas containing lichens.

The reindeer is of incomparable use in the *taiga*. It serves for riding, and for carrying loads. Its step is smooth and very easy, without any rough movements; hence they do not tire the rider. It is so swift, and so adapted to the *taiga* that with a good reindeer one may travel over fifty miles a day, while under the same conditions the horse cannot do more than thirty-five miles. As stated, the reindeer passes without any difficulty through marshy places, and also between shrubs, broken rocks, and fallen trees; it very rarely falls down. It may be loaded, when it attains its first year,[1] with about thirty kilogrammes; and later, the adult male can carry sixty-five and more, — even eighty kilogrammes, — while the adult female can carry from thirty to fifty kilogrammes. The sledge is used only in the Muia region,[2] where good snow permits its use.

The reindeer is of a very mild and kind nature. It is attached to man and specially to those who use it kindly, speak to it, caress it, and generally pay attention to it. Only when the reindeer is saddled and loaded for the first time does it sometimes try to escape this duty. The young reindeer must then be forced by four or five men to keep quiet This happens but rarely, however. When the reindeer is first loaded it bends its back, and spreads out its legs, to show that it cannot carry the burden, but after a few hundred yards it goes quite well, and just as adult reindeer do. The females in character are milder than the males, especially during the pairing season, when the male becomes nervous and cannot support any burden or a rider on his back. The elegant-looking reindeer has, for Europeans, a very rough and disagreeable voice, especially the fawns who abruptly "bark" in a low and harsh tone of voice.

The wild reindeer — *sogdo* (Barg. Nerč. RTM) — resembles the domesticated reindeer in many respects. It is met with only in the upper course of the Vitimkan, in the vicinity of Lake Baunt, and in the Muia region. The colour of the wild reindeer varies in grey-brown shades only — no black or white wild reindeer is known. The antlers are rather symmetrical and do not show so many variations as is found among domesticated reindeer. It is somewhat larger, heavier, and better nourished than the domesticated reindeer, which, according to the Tungus, depends upon its better pasturage. During the pairing season the wild male reindeer sometimes joins herds of domesticated reindeer. The Tungus say that these

[1] The horse is loaded for the first time at a later age than the reindeer. Under *taiga* conditions the weight of the burden of a horse rarely exceeds eighty kilogrammes.
[2] I do not know if the sledge is used in the Kalar region.

half-breeds cannot be used for loading, riding, or further breeding, but only for meat and skin. They are always killed. Such a fawn does not approach the camp, and very often leaves the herd altogether. According to the Tungus the same happens with the domesticated fawns if they leave the herd and join the wild reindeer. After such an experience the reindeer cannot be used for loading or riding. It is thus evident that a crossing of the wild with the domesticated reindeer, even though on a limited scale, is going on. But the deliberate crossing of the domesticated reindeer with the wild is never practised by the Tungus, who on the contrary kill all that are cross-bred.

The domesticated reindeer is subject to various maladies, which are also pernicious for the other cervines, and especially for wild reindeer. The most dangerous maladies are: an epidemic of itch,[1] anthrax, and pneumonia.[2] In the nineties, hundreds of reindeer perished, so that the Tungus of these regions lost almost all their animals.[3] During 1912 and 1913, in the Nerchinsk *taiga* hundreds of animals perished, owing to the itch. According to the Tungus, among the white reindeer (though never in the black ones) a kind of growing tissue is found on the lower part of the antlers. This tissue has a repulsive smell, grows very quickly, and attains enormous dimensions. The animal gets weak, but rarely dies, if the antlers are cut off in due time.[4]

The greatest danger for the reindeer is from wolves. During autumn and winter, the herd commonly loses up to fifty per cent of its animals, especially the young ones, as the adult animals are naturally stronger and more experienced than the young ones, and give a better account of themselves. Wolves attack the reindeer by biting their legs and lips; when the animal is tired, the wolf kills it very easily. They attack, usually, soon after sunset. They sometimes even approach the Tungus camps in the early morning.[5] I once observed a herd, which, during two weeks, decreased by a third of its number. Every night the reindeer rushed back from the pasturage to the camp and many of them had wounds on their legs and lips. Dogs do not fight the wolves, but the Tungus know of the approach of the danger by the barking of the dogs. Then the Tungus go out of the camp and fire some shots in the air.[6] The Tungus prefer to poison the wolves with strychnine. The wolves, however, do not easily eat poisoned meat, but the dogs perish in great numbers. Wolves rarely attack horses and men.

[1] This malady seems to resemble that described by Pekarsky and Cvetkov (*op. cit.*, p. 25) among the reindeer of the Aian region, in the Okhotsk district.
[2] So far as I know reindeer maladies are not yet (1913) defined, but have already been investigated during several expeditions of specialists. For instance, on behalf of the Chita Plague Survey, such an expedition was working in the Nerchinsk *taiga* in 1913.
[3] The symptoms of this malady are quite typical. First the abdomen swells, the animal cannot stand, and a few hours later it dies. No recovery is known. It is contagious for man too: those who touch the animal fall ill and usually do not recover.
[4] As a rule, the antlers are cut off, though not before the process of hardening is over. If the growing tissue spreads before that time, and exhausts the animal, the latter may die.
[5] By a mistake, I believe, in daylight a band of wolves once attacked my camp, though we had no reindeer. After we met them with rifle shots they ran away at once.
[6] As a rule, the Tungus do not like to kill wolves with a gun. Some idea frightens them to use fire-arms against wolves. Cf. also V. Bogoras, "Sketch of the Material Culture of the Reindeer Chukchi," p. 44; also, "The Chukchee," p. 82.

Accidents with reindeer are rather frequent. The commonest accident is that of perforation of the abdomen by sharp sticks. This happens when the reindeer, in running, steps on one end of a stick, and the other flies up and perforates the abdomen.

Owing to these conditions, as already described, among the Tungus of the Barguzin and the Nerchinsk *taiga*, reindeer are not numerous, yet their number is subject to great variations. According to the Tungus, the number of reindeer, as compared with that of the past, has decreased. I do not think, however, that the Tungus are right. The Tungus of the Angara region sometimes possess over two hundred reindeer per family.[1] In the Kalar region the number of reindeer is still higher than that of the Angara River Tungus. Reindeer breeding is naturally the principal occupation among these groups. Per family, among the Tungus of the Barguzin and the Nerchinsk *taiga*, the number of reindeer is much less than that found in the Angara and Kalar regions. The richest among them possess no more than about sixty head of reindeer. At the beginning of the last century (about 1804) among the Tungus of the Barguzin *taiga* 73 families possessed 534 reindeer, — 7.3 per family, — while in 1912 there were 161 families with 1,078 reindeer, i. e., 6.7 reindeer per family.[2] In 1913, among the Nerchinsk *taiga* Tungus, this average, was, I think, lower than it had been during the preceding years, as an epidemic of itch had caused great damage to reindeer breeding.[3] Tradition, also, does not support this Tungus assertion. Taking into consideration the prevailing characteristics of hunting, climatic conditions, and ideas as to property, it may be inferred that among these Tungus, reindeer breeding was never so important as among the Kalar Tungus, who live mostly on reindeer meat and milk.

When there is a limited number of reindeer, they are used as food in case of real starvation only. The Tungus slaughter reindeer on certain ceremonial occasions, like weddings, and as a sacrifice for Shamanism and rites connected with maladies and death. These occasions are not very common. Moreover, the Tungus slaughter reindeer in case of malady or incurable wounds caused either by accident or wolves. The reindeer also supplies the Tungus with skins, as do other cervines.

The milking of the reindeer is well known. The milk is very sweet and thick like good cream, though it is not very rich in butter. A female, after suckling her fawn, gives from three hundred to six hundred cubic centimetres daily. The milk is used very little for tea, but for a kind of gruel, especially for small children.

The care of the reindeer, except in castration, and slaughter, is one of the woman's duties. As the Tungus usually travel, — two or three families together, — the reindeer form

[1] It was so in 1913. See also *infra*, footnote 3.

[2] It ought to be pointed out that the number of active men per family in both cases was nearly the same, i. e., 80 active men in 1804 and 187 in 1912, i. e., 1.10 and 1.17, respectively, per family. In 1804, probably not all the families were recorded, but that does not affect these conclusions.

[3] Lately, E. I. Titov visited the Tungus of the Nerchinsk *taiga*, and found there some groups which seem to me to have migrated from other parts of northern Transbaikalia. According to him 69 families with 418 males and females and 1,232 reindeer were wandering in the middle course of the Vitim. The Tungus of the Kalar region seem to be included in this group. The average is 17.95 reindeer per family. On the other hand, he mentions having met many families without any reindeer, so that this average ought to be reduced. The Tungus roaming through the basin of the Nercha (8 families with 109 reindeer, i. e., 14.6 reindeer per family) are not included in the number given above. So it may be supposed that some groups possessing many reindeer moved south. See *infra*, Chap. II.

a herd which is practically left to itself to find pasturage and water. Soon after the arrival of the caravan, the reindeer usually leave the camp for pasturage, which sometimes lies several miles from the camp. The reindeer sometimes return the same day, but it also happens that they may stay away for several days. In exceptionally rare instances, they do not return at all, and the Tungus have to search for them, for the Tungus have no shepherds.[1] Such an order of things is maintained during the period after the pairing season up to the appearance of the first fawn, from the middle of October to the middle of May. When it is time for fawns to be born, the women have to look after the female reindeer, for they usually show a tendency to leave the herd and give birth to their young somewhere far from the camp. As stated, if this happens, the fawns sometimes grow semi-wild. When the female has her fawn, she does not leave it alone, and does not move away from the camp. During the first two or three months, the fawns do not become accustomed to following the caravan and often return to the camp which has just been left. Sometimes the young fawns leave the herd and join the wild reindeer, but as it happens very rarely the Tungus do not look after them very consistently.

During the hot summer season, the reindeer suffer very much from gad-flies and mosquitoes, so the Tungus make a smoky fire in camp and the whole herd stay as close to the smoke as possible, and even in it, if they can. The animals, tired of the persecution of insects, sometimes rush into the wigwams to find protection. They lie down near the fire-place, without being in the least afraid of the people: it is sometimes difficult to send them away. During the nomadic period, when hundreds of gad-flies suck the blood of the animals, the latter sometimes become wild, — jump into the bushes, try to defend themselves with their antlers, and sometimes roll on the ground, and thus destroy their loads or throw their riders. Owing to this, during the nomadic season, the Tungus abstain from travelling by daylight, and especially from 9 A.M. to 3 P.M. If possible, the Tungus migrate to cool places in the high mountains. The greatest number of gad-flies appears about the twelfth of July. White reindeer and white horses suffer much more from gad-flies than dark-coloured animals do.

At the beginning of September the antlers must be cut off. This is done by means of a small iron saw with a horn handle. In order to prevent too much bleeding, they tie a string very tightly around the antlers a little below the place to be sawn. In case of bleeding, a red-hot iron is successful in stopping it. A small section of the antlers is always left intact. This operation does not seem to be very painful, for the animal does not need to be kept quiet by force. It seems to be absolutely necessary in order to protect the reindeer from various accidents. In fact, when the animal with its huge antlers is running through shrubs and tangled trees, the antlers may be broken off and the skull damaged. Yet during the pairing season the males sometimes fight between themselves, using their antlers to kill each other.[2] Another reason is that the reindeer, without any intention, while running may move its antlers along its back, and thus may damage its load or rider.

[1] Among the Kalar Tungus, where big herds of reindeer are found, shepherds are used.

[2] Among the cervines, cases occur when two males become entangled with each other by their antlers, which they cannot separate, and perish. Such occurrences are not at all rare.

During the pairing season, the males often wish to drive several females away from the camp. This is especially dangerous, for the females may be also driven away by the wild reindeer, after having bitten the males, or may be attacked by wolves, which are very fierce during this season. Thus the women, helped by the young men, prepare a kind of reindeer yard — an enclosure surrounded by a fence made of young larches. The reindeer yard is called *kure* (Barg. Nerč. Ang.), *kur'e*.[1] The females and fawns are driven in ones after the others; and so if the fawns are in the yard the females when over-burdened with milk return to the camp, and the Tungus allow them to enter the yard to suckle their fawns. Afterwards, the fawns are driven away for pasturage, and the females remain in the yard. When they return for suckling, the Tungus let them into the yard. After the suckling, the females are allowed to graze, and to be at ease. When the females are in the yard, the males run round it, and if there are more than one, they start fighting. During this period, as stated, the male gets wild and sometimes beats on the ground with his hoofs and what remains of his antlers. If he is too wild the Tungus hang a wooden contrivance on his neck which hurts him when he runs about and paws the ground; this does not allow the male to be too active. During this time a man is sometimes charged to look after the reindeer and drive them to water.

This period lasts up to the middle of October. Then reindeer life again follows its normal course. The only care is that of finding good pasturage for the reindeer and protecting them, as described above, from the wolves. When the women go for berries they usually take all the reindeer with them, and a boy of about fourteen, who carries a gun. This boy has to frighten the wolves away.

In the autumn the herd consists of uncastrated males — *siru* (Nerč. Barg. RTM, Ang. Ir.) [but, Tum. *korb'e*[2] and Lam. *or'en*(?)] — and several females — *n'am'i* (Nerč. Barg. RTM), *namičán* (Tum.), *n'amičán* (Lam.);[3] small fawns — *oygnokón* (Barg. Nerč. RTM Ang.); also *čonoku* (RTM) (from the autumn up to the spring) and *jevkán* [*emken, honn'ixan* (Tum.), *enken* (Lam.)]; the young reindeer over one year — *evkan* (Nerč. Barg. RTM), *ewkān* (Ang.), *eŭkan* (Tum.);[4] young females of over two years which are of the age of impregnation — *multakan* (Nerč. Barg.);[5] the males of the same age — *sačar'i* (Barg. Nerč. RTM);[5] and castrated males — *g'ilga* (Barg. Nerč. RTM, Ur. *Castr.*).[6] If the family has no adult male it joins some other family: usually several families agree to keep an adult male.

[1] Cf. *kore* (Bir.) [*kor'é* — Dah.j, *kure* (Nerč.) — the yard; *kure* (Manchu) — a fence for cattle; *kuregan* (Khin), *kurgan* (Bir.), *korigan* (Ur. *Castr.*) [*kure*, Bur. *Castr.*] — fence for horses and cattle, but *xorigan* (Manchu) [cf. *xorimbi* — to put in a case, e. g., a bird] — the cattle yard; *xur'en*][*kürüjen* (Mon. *Rud.*) — a fence. The borrowing of this word from the cattle-breeding complex is evident.

[2] This seems to be merely "male."

[3] The musk-deer female is also called *n'am'i* (RTM). The root *n'am* seems to mean "female": cf. *n'amkan* (Tum.) — a bitch.

[4] The same term is used in reference to the young musk-deer (RTM).

[5] I hesitate to compare the Ang. of E. I. Titov. According to him, *multakan* — "the elk of one year old; the reindeer male of two years old" and *sat'ari* (cf. *sačari*) — "the reindeer female of two years old; *sat'irikan, sat'arikan* (diminutive form, in songs — the symbol of a girl)." I think there is a misunderstanding. *Sačari*, moreover, in Kum. is again connected with "male," viz. "the wild boar, male of two years old." *Sat'irikan, sat'arikan*, perhaps ought to be connected with some other root, e. g., *asat + kan* (Kum. Nerč. Man. *Castr.*), *asar + kan* (Khin.) [cf. *asixan* (Manchu)], which means "a girl" (from about fifteen to twenty years). The increase of *ar* and *ir*, which happens in Tungus, perhaps influenced the dropping of the first vowel *a*, for the accent is on *-kán*.

[6] In Neg. *Sch.* means "reindeer," I think, castrated.

The percentage of different age groups and sexes in a herd is approximately as shown: two or three males — *siru*; twenty-five females; thirty-five *oygnokon* and *evkan*; twenty-five males, castrated — *g'ilga*; twelve or thirteen *multakan* (♀) and *sačari* (♂), which shows that over fifty per cent of fawns perish before they reach sexual maturity. It also shows that several families must join together in order to fecundate the females; for, as shown, the average is only 6.7 per family, while adult males are rare.

The castration of *sačari* is made before the pairing season, in the second half of September, at the moment when the young reindeer male has reached the age when copulation can be accomplished. The reindeer is hung up on two saddle girths attached to a perch horizontally fixed upon two trees. Four men hold the reindeer's legs, while a man bites off the testicles. The latter are put into a hole in the tree upon which the reindeer had been hung during the operation. Castration with a knife has lately been introduced, but this method is not considered to be a good one.

A kind of bell is hung to the female's neck, to facilitate the finding of the mother by the fawn, and of the herd by the Tungus.

For attracting the reindeer, the Tungus use salt, of which the reindeer is very fond. The women always have with them a small bag of salt — *davasuruk* (from *davasun* — "salt"). Trinkets made of roe-deer hoofs are attached to the bag, to attract the reindeer by their noise. The reindeer are also very fond of human urine, the oldest method of reindeer attraction by man. In fact, if reindeer guess a man's intention they follow him with perseverance, fight one another, and sometimes push the man over.

During milking, the female stands very quietly. Though she does not evade the woman, the latter always keeps the bridle between her teeth. During the nomadic periods, the reindeer are attached by a bridle to the saddle of the foregoing reindeer, so that together they form a chain. The first reindeer is ridden by the leading woman of the group. The fawns are free and sometimes get very tiresome by their running away.

The Tungus are very kind to their reindeer. They do not use a whip or a stick to force them, but only use commanding words like "*mot! modu!*" (Nerč. Barg. RTM) (*mot-mot*, Ang. *T.*), which means "Quick! hurry! forward!"[1] and a short "*O! O!*" which means "Come!" Every reindeer has its own name, which it knows very well and answers when called. In a herd there are no two nick-names alike.[2] The Tungus do not use any property mark as do the Tungus of the Aian region[3] and recognize their reindeer by their colour, antlers, and other peculiarities, and also by their names. The buying and selling of reindeer among the Tungus is not usually practised. If they sell, which happens very rarely and only in transactions with alien groups, the price for a female is about forty roubles and for a male twenty-five or thirty roubles. A fawn five months old brings about five roubles. The bridle ought

[1] Perhaps from *mo* — the wood, stick, tree.

[2] The names given to reindeer destined for spirits are different from those given to the common reindeer. The common names are, for instance: *buγudikan, ogdilan* (from *ogdi* — big, large, great), *aločawun, onγikan, g'ilbangin, čomčongin*, etc. Special names are: *toγdilan, novoγyun, nuktukan* (piebald), etc. Not one of them are adjectives, but all are real names.

[3] See Pekarsky and Cvetkov, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

to be transmitted to the buyer and received by him in the border of the coat (I think this is a Russian custom). When the Tungus needs a reindeer, he is sure that some of his clansmen will give him one: exchange and gifts in reindeer are very largely practised.

The Tungus have a great esteem for this animal. It plays a very important part in religious ceremonies, as an intermediary between men and certain spirits. It is used by the souls of the dead to go to the other world. There are special reindeer that carry the "placings" for spirits and are free from any other duties. The reindeer also plays a very important part in Tungus folk-lore.[1] Reindeer must not be killed by a gun.

There are three different methods of reindeer slaughtering. First, by a stroke with a piece of wood, the animal is made unconscious. When it falls down, a knife is thrust into his neck, between the skull and the first vertebra. Afterwards, the knife is pulled out and replaced by a sharp wooden stick. Another method is that of thrusting a knife in its heart. A third method is used in ceremonial slaughter, and is the most difficult. The animal is forced to lie down. Its chest is opened with a knife, and the hand is pushed in through the aperture. The aorta is compressed and death occurs immediately. Not one drop of blood must be lost in this sacrificial method.

The account of reindeer breeding among the Tungus of Transbaikalia ought to be completed with some remarks concerning reindeer breeding by the Tungus of Manchuria. It is confined to a limited portion of the Bystraia River — region 2.

These reindeer are much smaller than those of Transbaikalia. The colour varies from white to dark-brown, black being unknown. The reindeer cannot carry more than fifty kilogrammes in weight. The men are too heavy for the reindeer, so that these Tungus use horses. Owing to the relative weakness of their reindeer, they have special terms for the three-year-old reindeer, — *iktana*, — on which the women are allowed to ride; and for the reindeer of four years old, — *n'oγarkana*, — which may be used by all, men and women, if the man is not too heavy. If the reindeer are strong enough when a year old they may be used for carrying light burdens. The reindeer of two may be used by children, and by women who are not too heavy for riding. The wild reindeer do not exist on the Manchurian Plateau, but are confined to the regions lying north, principally in the Amur Government — the basin of the Zeia, and especially in the Yakutsk Government — in the basins of the Vilui and Aldan.

The best domesticated reindeer, according to these Tungus, are found in the region of the Olokma (Nerchinsk *taiga*) and the Vilui basin, where the reindeer is different from that found on the Manchurian Plateau.[2] The price of reindeer in Manchuria is much higher than in Transbaikalia, as, for instance, a good male reindeer costs about one hundred twenty roubles, which is dearer than the price paid for a good horse.

[1] To this question I shall return in my study on the religion of the Tungus.

[2] The reindeer of Manchuria have been brought from the Yakutsk Government, so that by its origin it is connected with that of the Olokma and Vului river regions. Its present state perhaps results from unfavourable environment.

These reindeer suffer from the same maladies as those found in Transbaikalia and also from a special malady, in which the swelling begins in the legs and spreads over the abdomen, after which the animal dies. During the summer season the Tungus apply a perforation of the spleen for preserving the animal from certain maladies. They also make a decoction from selected plants.[1] Milk is more abundant than in the case of the Transbaikalian reindeer — a female with a fawn gives up to eight hundred cubic centimetres. The average number of reindeer per family is probably similar to the number in Transbaikalia.

From the account of reindeer breeding in Transbaikalia and Manchuria it is evident that in the Tungus economic system this industry is of secondary importance. The reindeer is used as a beast of burden and also for riding, in regions where it exists, and where the horse is not found. In case of starvation, the reindeer is used as food.

The region of Transbaikalia, except perhaps in the neighbourhood of the Muia River, and the Manchurian Plateau — especially the latter — are not regions good for reindeer breeding, and the reindeer is gradually dying out. Thus the Tungus cannot live in these regions without periodically renewing their reindeer stock by purchase from the regions properly adapted for reindeer breeding.

As compared with reindeer breeding in other regions, it may be pointed out that the reindeer of Transbaikalia and Manchuria is a domesticated animal, and not a tamed one. The Tungus use no lassoo, and the general behaviour of the reindeer is that of an animal domesticated for many centuries. The whole complex of reindeer breeding is closely bound to that of Tungus culture, which varies as soon as the Tungus lose their reindeer, e. g., when they migrate into the regions unfavourable for reindeer breeding. The Tungus do not mention traditions about their living without reindeer. As a matter of fact, in these regions they could not live without this animal.

As far as may be seen from the recent works of several authors,[2] the discussion concerning the origin of reindeer breeding is far from being closed by a definite solution of this problem. In fact, as is now observed, there may be different sources of the reindeer-breeding complex: (1) the adaptation of dog-breeding experience applied to reindeer breeding, which may be supposed from the use of the harness; (2) the experience in cattle and horse breeding, which may be seen perhaps in milking, riding, etc.; (3) the gradual domestication of the reindeer by the aborigines who have dealt with this animal for generations, which does not exclude, of course, the borrowing of the experience acquired by dog, horse, and cattle breeders. The experience of reindeer breeders might also be known to cattle and horse breeders. Yet the original centres of domestication and the taming of the reindeer might have been different from those which we nowadays observe, because of

[1] Unfortunately I could not get these plants, owing to the late season.

[2] Cf. U. T. Sirelieus, "Uber die Art and Zeit der Zamung den Renntiers"; B. Laufer, "The Reindeer and Its Domestication." G. Hutt has given his criticism of this paper. Cf. also my remarks in "N. T. M.," Suppl., Note IV. At the moment of writing this note, G. Hutt's paper, "Notes on Reindeer Nomadism," was not at hand. K. B. Wiklund, "On Renskotselns Uppkomst." This work is known to me from G. Hutt's note. Also an earlier work of W. Jochelson, "The Koryak," and W. Bogoras, "The Chukchee."

changes in climate during thousands of years since the discovery of reindeer breeding was first made; for this reason regions now unfavourable for the reindeer might have been excellent in former periods. Yet it is perhaps most hazardous to connect reindeer breeding with various ethnical groups now existing, for some of them, e. g., the Northern Tungus, are perhaps more recent in their arrival in Siberia than was the origin of reindeer breeding.

The period when reindeer breeding first began is still under discussion. The mention made of reindeer breeding, in A. D. 499 by Chinese chronicles, as has been emphasized by B. Laufer, is, of course, a datum (the earliest found by B. Laufer) establishing the time when the Chinese knew of reindeer breeding. After the publication of U. T. Sirelius, who has shown that reindeer breeding, at least in Finland, perhaps, ought to be referred to as belonging to the Neolithic period, i. e., much earlier than this datum, the date of the first reindeer breeding ought to be sought for at an earlier period. When the Tungus first knew of reindeer breeding is a question that remains open for discussion. But what is important for us, is that the Tungus have a very complex form of reindeer breeding and their language possesses a well-developed terminology for it. Of course, the terminology might have been borrowed by the Tungus, together with their reindeer complex, from the aborigines of Siberia.[1] To this problem I shall return in a study dealing with the material culture of the Tungus.

Breeding of Other Domesticated Animals and Other Forms of Economic Activity. Horse and cattle breeding, in the territories now occupied by the Northern Tungus, antedate the Tungus of these regions. Among the Reindeer Tungus, horse breeding has no great economic importance, except on the Manchurian Plateau where, as a rule, the Tungus largely use the horse. In Transbaikalia most of the horses have remained from the time of the great reindeer epidemic at the end of the nineties. In the Bystraia River region no horse breeding is carried on, but horses are bought from the Russians living on the banks of the Argun. It is evident that in the *taiga* the horse is not in so favourable use, as it is in a steppe region. The Tungus are not accustomed to lay in a stock of hay for the winter season. Yet even during the summer season, in certain districts,—the Vitimkan and Muia regions, for instance,—the horse cannot find good food for itself, and feeds on shrubs and the new twigs of trees. The horse, with its rather poor protection of short hair, also suffers more than the reindeer from gad-flies and cannot properly graze during this season, except during the night hours. Thus the best season for food is lost to the horse that is used during the hot weather and cannot be left for grazing at night-time. In fact, these horses become exhausted by winter-time. The Reindeer Tungus do not know this animal and do not care for it, as they do for the reindeer. The methods of saddling, loading, and riding, also the care of it, are borrowed by the Tungus, from the Mongols and the Buriats directly, or indirectly through the Nomad Tungus and the Russians.

[1] Cf. V. Bogoraz, "Les anciennes migrations, etc." (1927). It is hardly probable that reindeer breeding has originated in a region like the Saian Mountains, for it is not favourable for reindeer breeding and in many respects is like that of Transbaikalia and Manchuria. Indeed, the present centres of reindeer breeding are far away from the Saian, Vitim, and Manchuria regions.

Horse breeding reaches its greatest importance among the Tungus living in regions where reindeer breeding is impossible. Among the Tungus, formerly reindeer breeders and now settled in villages, two kinds of horses are distinguished: summer and winter horses. The horses used during the summer are not used in winter, for in the autumn they are already exhausted from under-nourishment and from over-work during summer hunting in regions not adapted for horse breeding or for its food. The horses reserved for winter hunting are not used during the summer and they feed themselves at night. At the beginning of autumn they are strong enough to live for some time on shrubs. After a few weeks of hunting they become absolutely exhausted, however, and during certain periods must be fed with hay. Afterwards, they may be used again for a short time. The care of the horse is the man's duty, though the women help to mow.[1] The average number of horses per family does not exceed five or six.

Horse breeding in the transitory belt of Transbaikalia is borrowed from the Buriats and together with cattle breeding form the basis of the economical system of the Nomad Tungus. In the mountainous regions of Manchuria (1, 3, and 4), and also in the Lesser Khingan regions (1, 2, and 4), horse breeding is of the same importance as reindeer breeding is in other regions. These regions, however, are not adapted at all for regular horse breeding, and the horse suffers from the same lack of food during the winter and sometimes even in the summer season. In regions 3 and 4 of Manchuria and 1 and 2 of the Lesser Khingan Mountains, the Tungus practise feeding horses with meat. First, little by little, the horse becomes accustomed to dried meat with salt, and later it becomes accustomed to raw meat. The horses that survive this diet become very strong, and may be used for hunting in any season. According to the Tungus, the horses accustomed to a meat diet attain the age of twenty-five years, and are much better in every way than horses which are fed with hay: they are stronger in general and may better endure the difficulties of a hunting season. The average number of horses per family is usually too small for that needed for regular nomadism. Owing to this lack of a sufficient number of horses the Tungus of these regions use canoes very largely and sometimes hunt on foot. In the region of Hulun Buir (1) and the Lesser Khingan (1) some families possess large numbers of horses.

In these two regions the care of the horse constitutes one of the woman's duties. Horses are accustomed to salt and to human urine, just as the reindeer are accustomed to these. The terminology applied to the use of the horse, including such words as "saddle," etc., are borrowed from the Dahurs, the Manchus, and the Mongols. As compared with the Reindeer Tungus, the horse is much better known to these Tungus, who themselves are also better adapted to the use of it. It is curious that the horse does not play any important part in the Tungus shamanism and folk-lore, except, of course, in cases of direct borrowings, though some horses are also reserved for carrying the "placings" for spirits, and some horses are reserved for the spirits themselves; these customs are also borrowed from non-Tungus

[1] The mowing of hay has been borrowed by the Tungus from the Russians. The laying in of a stock of hay is now also practised by the Buriats, while the Mongols leave their horses to feed on what they can find in the steppes.

groups. In some regions, e. g., Hulun Buir and the Lesser Khingan (1), horses are sometimes left in the herd without any shepherd, as the Mongols do. Though the horses do not suffer from the wolves to such a degree as the reindeer do, yet wolves' attacks are frequent. Ear marking is also practised in these regions. Some of the marks are similar to those observed among the Reindeer Tungus of the Aian region.

Horse breeding implies a very essential change in the Tungus organization, namely, that horse breeders must have certain definite places for their winter and summer stations, these places to be where hay is kept in stock. Owing to this change in organization, horse breeders usually have regular nomadic intervals, viz., in summer-time they travel along the upper courses of the rivers and during winter they move along the lower courses. In certain regions, e. g., in the Nerchinsk *taiga*, horse breeding has also implied settlement in villages, for the horse cannot stand the rigours of the *taiga*, even during the summer season.

Thus, in regions inhabited by the Tungus, horse breeding is not of primary importance. The climatic and other conditions of these regions are not favourable for horse breeding, the horse being merely adapted to functions formerly performed by the reindeer. It becomes of real importance only in regions adapted for this animal, as in the steppes and partly in the regions of the transitory belt.

Among the Tungus, cattle breeding is of even less importance than horse breeding. Cattle were introduced from the steppe regions into the Nerchinsk *taiga* by the Buriats and the Nomad Tungus. Recently, in the valley of the Akima, a small right tributary of the Nercha, a few families, formerly reindeer breeders, started cattle breeding. Owing to physical conditions, cattle breeding, however, can reach no great importance — though there are some families which possess from two to eight cows. In the Lesser Khingan regions cattle breeding is confined to a limited number of families living in the settled villages.[1] It may be noted that in these regions the cow is used for riding bareback and for carrying loads, just as the early population of Manchuria used it, and which the Koreans still practise. Cattle are not naturally numerous, as a few cows suffice to satisfy the needs of agriculture and to give a supplementary food supply. All terms concerning cattle breeding are partly borrowed from the Manchus and the Dahurs (Mongols). Cattle breeding thus has a yet more limited geographical distribution than horse breeding. It implies, of course, in the *taiga* and semi-*taiga* conditions, a settled form of life.

Dog breeding in the life of the Tungus groups has a certain importance. The dog is used for the protection of man against attacks of wolves. Dogs are used, also, for hunting the elk, the wild reindeer, and the maral by "stopping" the animal. A still different kind of dog is used for squirrel hunting: the dog finds out the trees that the squirrel is sitting in.[2] There are also dogs trained for hunting the sable: these dogs are rare. No special care of dogs is practised: they live just as they can. In the camps they play the part of scavengers:

[1] The milking of the cow is borrowed by these Tungus, either from the Mongols and the Russians, or from reindeer breeders, for the Manchus do not milk their cows.

[2] There are some men who know how to recognize such trees at once: such men are considered "lucky."

they also lick small children instead of their having to use toilet paper.[1] The Tungus do not give fresh meat to their dogs unless it is abundant in the summer season, but the dogs have certain rights over bones, skin, and meat thrown away. The squirrel-hunting season is the happiest time for dogs, for the Tungus do not use the meat unless they are near starvation, but usually give it to the dogs. This is not so, however, among groups which are neighbours of the Tungus, who use dogs as draught animals, and where they are very carefully looked after. In spite of this, the Tungus who live near dog breeders do not borrow these methods unless they have changed their whole complex.[2]

Pig breeding is little known in the transitory belt of Transbaikalia, and in the Lesser Khingan regions, 1 and 2. The reason pig breeding is not maintained is due to the fact that, according to the Tungus, dogs usually kill the small pigs. The same may be stated in reference to sheep breeding. Naturally, pig breeding would be practised only among groups living in a more or less settled state.

Agriculture is known in the transitory belt of Transbaikalia, where the local Tungus population has already lost its original complex, and is in a state of becoming Russianized, and has mixed and crossed with non-Tungus groups. The climatic conditions of Manchuria make agriculture of little practicable value in the regions peopled by the Tungus. Attempts at starting agricultural colonies in regions 3 and 4 have failed, not only because of the Tungus conservatism, but mostly owing to the climatic conditions of these regions. Agriculture is known only in the Lesser Khingan regions, regions 1 and, I think, 2, where it is carried on by a few families. In these families, however, the work is done by hired workmen, mostly Chinese. It is evident that agriculture implies settlement in villages or at least on farms.

Among other professions known in regions peopled by the Tungus I must mention the mowing of hay. It is largely practised in Transbaikalia, the Barguzin *taiga*, where the non-Tungus population needs hay for their horses. Since hunting is not always successful, and reindeer breeding does not suffice to cover their needs, the Tungus are compelled by their creditors to mow hay and sell it at a fixed price in order to cover their debts.[3] In some families the income from hay forms the most important item. This work occupies a period of at least two months, at a time which is good for hunting. Some Tungus have already transferred their activity to gold-mining camps, where they obtain occasional work, some hunting and hay stacking. Gold mining, however, does not greatly attract the Tungus.

[1] I happened once to meet a young man, a student of a certain university, who was charged by his professor to investigate the problem of hygienic methods practised among the Tungus (it was in a village, ten miles or so from the Siberian Railway). The young man was very much shocked by this practice—the only hygienic practice known among the Tungus. (Cf. *infra*, Chap. VI.)

[2] Such is the case among the Goldi and the Udehe. Cf. "N. T. M."

[3] It is interesting that the price is always fixed in advance, but the weight of the hay is defined approximately, and, naturally, is the point of bargain between the Tungus and their creditors. The idea of weighing the hay with a balance does not naturally suit the creditors. Sometimes according to the creditor's estimate the haystack weighs two poods (about thirty-two kilogrammes), but after a bargain is reached it is supposed to weigh four poods (about sixty-four kilogrammes).

The manufacture of various baskets of birch bark and the making of skins, gloves, moccasins, and other skin and fur goods have already reached a place of importance in the regular income. This new industry sometimes deprives the Tungus of their usual material for clothing, and they then buy tissue of foreign origin for their own use — that is, from Russians in Transbaikalia, and from Chinese in Manchuria. The unimportant industry of collecting berries, mushrooms, and nuts, mostly in early autumn, also forms part of the Tungus income.

All these industries develop to a certain extent in regions where the Tungus have already entered into direct contact with alien groups. Though they do not form the principal occupations of the Tungus they cannot now be suppressed or reduced, for they have already gained a recognized place in the Tungus economic system.

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3. Adaptation of the Tungus to Animal Environment

Animals as Competitors of the Tungus. The account concerning the adaptation of the Tungus to their primary environment[1] will not be complete without some remarks as to the peculiar relations created between man and other animals, when the latter appear as competitors. As shown above, wolves sometimes compel the Tungus to change their locality. Bears in some regions are so numerous and dangerous to man, that the Tungus migrate elsewhere. For instance, in the valley of the Lumbur, the right tributary of the Gan, bears form groups of six or more animals, and because of their attacks compel the Tungus to leave at once for other places. In the region of the Bystraia River, the year before my visit to this region, two bears killed two men in a valley of a small tributary of this river; and since that time this valley was deserted by the Tungus. Except in the regions of the Lesser Khingan, I have not, however, investigated this problem in an extended manner. According to the Tungus, there are three competing groups: man, tigers, and large bears.[2] If a tiger occupies a certain small valley, no bear or no man may come and disturb it. If a man camps in such a place, the tiger kills the horses, approaches the wigwam, frightens the women and children, but rarely kills them. If the man moves to another neighbouring valley, the tiger does not follow him, and leaves his family and horses alone. Neither does the tiger go to the valleys occupied by the large bear. The places belonging to the bear may easily be recognized by special marks on the trees surrounding his haunt.[3] The trees at a certain radius from the haunt are slightly bitten by him. It is not well, it is thought, for a man to live in a valley which is occupied by the large bear. When a man moves into his locality the bear does the same thing that the tiger does. On the other hand, the bear does not go to places occupied by

[1] Primary environment is that which is not created by ethnical units as distinct from secondary environment, which is created by man (e. g., domesticated animals, social culture, material culture, etc.), and ethnical environment, formed by other ethnical units. Cf. "Ethnical Unit and Milieu."

[2] In this part of Manchuria three distinct species of bear are known: the large bear, the brown bear, and the small Tibetan bear.

[3] The large bear usually has his haunt in the same place, where he returns every year to hibernate. By the marks on the trees the Tungus find out his haunt when hunting the bear.

man, by the tiger, or by other bears. This animal lives with its mother until it is sometimes one or two years old. When the bear is alone, he has to find out a free place to live. It happens rather often that there are two claimants for the same place — a tiger and a bear. According to their practice, the bear puts his mark on a tree by biting it as high as he can. If the tiger can scratch the same tree above the mark left by the bear, he does so, and the bear has to choose whether to go away or to persist in his right to stay in the given place. If he wants to stay he comes next spring, and if he can bite the tree above the tiger's mark he does it, but if he cannot succeed in doing so he goes away. Under similar circumstances the tiger acts similarly. If the tiger puts his mark again above that of the bear, the settlement of the problem is postponed till the next spring. The third year, about the same day, the competitors repeat the experiment, and if neither of them wants to leave the place they fight. If the first tiger's attack succeeds and the bear falls down, the tiger masters his foe and kills him; if not, the bear slowly, but surely, conquers the tiger and kills him. By this duel the problem of the desired territory is solved for ever.[1]

It is not so, however, with the brown bear. This animal usually occupies regions just left by the large bear. This bear never fights for his rights, with the large bear, with man, or with the tiger. The leopard does not recognize any regulations and has no fixed territory. Other animals also sometimes compel man to leave his position. So, for instance, snakes very often cause migrations of the Tungus. A perfect knowledge of these relations and a faithful following of them is the most important condition of a peaceful existence for man, for it is practically impossible to fight all tigers and all bears. These regulations are also observed by the animals too, as otherwise life for them would also be impossible. The meetings of man with bear and tiger are common, but they fight one another very rarely. When the man is unarmed and meets these animals they usually leave him alone.[2] Often, while the bear is eating berries, the Tungus women collect them side by side with him.[3] The relations between man and the two other species of bear are not regulated.

These relations in *taiga* life compel the Tungus, first of all, to know every valley thoroughly, and also to know which animals inhabit it. He must know where he may travel without annoying other animals, just as he does in reference to other ethnical groups. Incidents as have been related of the Bystraia River region (see page 42) are due to the fact that these Tungus who were new-comers to this region did not know it very well, as do, for instance, the Tungus of the Lesser Khingan regions. But this does not mean, of course, that cases of tigers' and bears' attacks are unknown, even in neutral valleys. These animals, of course, are frightened at man, who is well armed, but then they are sometimes

[1] I have given this account as I have heard it from several Tungus. Upon this peculiar mode of disputing for territory a special form of hunting is based. If the Tungus find a tree with two marks on it, they come the next year, again and again, till they find the bear and the tiger fighting. It always happens, I think, in the second half of April, on a certain day known to the Tungus. The two animals are usually killed by the hunters.

[2] V. K. Arseniev ("Through the Ussuriland," in Russian) has observed that his guide, a Goldi, puts away his gun before "speaking" to a tiger. The "speaking" to the tigers for a city inhabitant and inexperienced hunter sounds like a fairy story, but it is practised and it has probably certain reasons, for otherwise the local population would not do so.

[3] In one case, I know of a bear that, probably not being sure of his safety, approached a woman, spat in her face, but went away without doing any harm.

in a starving condition. In the same way that man violates regulations by killing these animals, the latter also sometimes violate regulations and kill man. Such animals are called by the Tungus "crazy" and "fool." According to the Tungus, the bear recognizes at once a man who has been once touched by a bear, or who is using arms previously used against bears. The Tungus language possesses special terms for these phenomena. In such cases, the bear always attacks the man. Therefore persons who have been once attacked by a large bear never go to those regions where this bear may be met with. The large bear is also very susceptible as regards iron. He smells it from afar off, and dislikes arms, like guns, spears, and others. If he happens to find or to take from a man such arms, he destroys them at once. The tiger, according to the Tungus, is not so intelligent as the bear.

Another form of relation is that of co-operation and commensalism. Examples of organized and fixed relations between man and domesticated animals have already been reviewed. Among other instances, the most typical one is that of the relation between man and the raven. The raven knows very well whether a man is going hunting or not. It remains indifferent if the man goes out without his gun. But if the man has his gun with him, the raven makes peculiar sounds with his voice, and flies in a certain direction. If the man believes that this bird is a good omen, he follows it and later meets game, shoots it, and gives a part of the meat, and bowels, to the raven, who descends and receives his share of the hunting, expressing his enjoyment by a particular cry—"laughing," as the Tungus say. The Tungus do not understand the nature of this phenomenon, and believe that this bird is just a good omen. There may be no doubt, however, that this bird, from its elevated position, sees game much better than the man and leads him directly to it. Moreover, the raven does not always show the way to the hunter. There are "lucky hunters" who have this omen, and there are "unlucky hunters" who have no such omen, who do not believe in it, and do not follow the raven. It is thus natural that the raven does not co-operate with men who do not follow its directions.

These accounts of Tungus ideas as to the habits and peculiarities of animals do not exhaust the problem and the material at my disposal, but they suffice to show indubitably that between man and other animals certain relations are established in exactly the same way as the Tungus establish their relations with other ethnical groups. Such relations may also exist only on the condition of a very sparse population, as is observed in Manchuria, for a numerous population would establish different relations with animals. But the same conditions would happen if the Russian and the Chinese population should grow and should deprive the Tungus of their rights in hunting by the limitation of hunting territory, for as long as the alien population were not numerous, it would have to acknowledge the Tungus rights to their hunting regions. The same thing would occur, I think, in case the bear and the tiger grew tremendously in numbers, and passed a certain limit. They would surely push out their competitors, as often happens in some regions. The Lumbur River bears form such an example. The equilibrium established in the Lesser Khingan hunting regions is a particular one, perhaps due to the peculiar combination of elements not long in force. The introduction of Chinese hunters into this region will change the existing

equilibrium between animals and the Tungus, for the Chinese do not know of the existing regulations, and they occupy the hunting territory belonging to animals and that of the Tungus without recognizing the rights of either the animals or the Tungus. The animals will not trust new-comers, will fight them, and will later migrate. This is an instance when over-population of territory has taken place and where a certain equilibrium has been maintained for a long time.

Hunting. Another peculiar feature of the Tungus adaptation to their environment is that of hunting of other animals. As previously stated, the Tungus take great care to preserve the forest, giving food and shelter to themselves, and to the animals that they live on. As a rule, the Tungus never kill more than they need. Hunting as practised among ethnical groups for which it forms a sport or just a custom[1] is unknown among the Tungus. Except when necessary, the Tungus have no pleasure in killing animals. For this reason their hunting is regulated by customs tending to preserve the continuity of the animal species except those, of course, which are the natural foes of man. It is not, indeed, from sentimental motive that they act thus. Long experience in hunting has convinced the Tungus of the necessity of adopting the policy of protection. There may be no doubt that the conclusions as to the necessity of such a policy has required long centuries of observation for making deductions and moulding them into the form of customs, sometimes explained in the system of naturalistic phenomena, sometimes in the system of "religious" phenomena, so called by European ethnographers.

Intercourse with other ethnical groups, and especially changes in the economical system resulting partly from the natural increase of needs, and especially from the decrease of territories, occupied by alien ethnical groups (mostly Russians and Chinese), has already compelled the Tungus to transgress regulations as to the preservation of the animal species and territories. Hunting for the market has revolutionized Tungus life as they began to hunt without thinking of their own future. The adoption of fire-arms had the greatest influence on the changes which have occurred. It is interesting to note that these changes constitute one of the topics of discussion between the younger generation of the Tungus imbued with modern ideas, and the old-fashioned people who wish to preserve their old customs. These discussions usually take veiled forms, for the practical, essential part of the customs assuring the existence of the Tungus and their primary environment very often remains beyond concrete understanding. The reason "our forefathers fared better than we do, for they lived by old customs" is not convincing for young men, owing to its too general formulation. Animals, and with them the hunting Tungus groups, are becoming extinct. This was long ago realized, for instance, by the Russian government, and certain measures, palliative indeed, were proposed. The practical solution, the measures to be taken, and, generally speaking, the possibility of such a regulation of this process does not concern the main subject of the present study, so I shall leave this question to be discussed in my other studies on the Tungus.

[1] To this class of hunting, the Manchu imperial hunting, sportmen's hunting in Europe, etc., ought to belong.

These facts suffice to show that the life of the Tungus, in the process of establishing relations with their primary environment, take various forms — sometimes absolutely consciously understood, sometimes only unconsciously formed. These customs are not, naturally, customs only, but they also influence the behaviour of the Tungus, their character, and their mentality as they have resulted from the interaction of various elements.

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4. Classification of the Regions

The account concerning different regions shows that the primary *milieu* of the territories, where the Tungus live, varies. The climate, the flora, and the fauna, if we compare, for instance, the Northern Transbaikalian region (1) with the region of the Nonni River, are entirely different. In the first region the population may live by hunting, but it cannot live by agriculture; while in the latter the population cannot live by hunting only, but by agriculture and cattle breeding. Different types of the primary environment may be distinguished: (1) the regions good for reindeer breeding — regions where the reindeer find food, — lichens, etc.; (2) regions satisfactory for limited reindeer breeding, but abundant in game and fur animals; (3) regions good for hunting, but insufficient for cattle and horse breeding: (4) regions good for horse and cattle breeding, but insufficient for life supported by hunting; (5) regions good for horse and cattle breeding; (6) regions good for agriculture combined with hunting; (7) regions good for agriculture and some horse and cattle breeding; (8) regions good only for the support of life by agriculture. In this rough classification the term "good" ought to be understood, not in an absolute sense of this word, but from the point of view of the Northern Tungus, who are accustomed to live by hunting and reindeer breeding. We must also consider the density of the population. So, for instance, in the Kulun region (the Lesser Khingan) the Tungus might live by agriculture and hunting; but as soon as the population increases, this region becomes good for agriculture only. The regions of the transitory belt in Transbaikalia are good for hunting, combined with agriculture or cattle breeding; but it is not so for the Russians who wish to live by agriculture only, or for the Buriats who wish to live solely by cattle breeding. Therefore regions in which life is supported by different occupations I have included in brackets, e. g., on reindeer breeding exclusively [Muia], on agriculture exclusively [Kulun].

The Kalar region is best adapted for reindeer breeding, so that the Tungus in this region do not need to base their existence upon hunting; horse breeding is, however, impossible, owing to the lack of good pasturage. The Tungus here naturally live by reindeer breeding. The Muia region is an intermediary one in reference to reindeer breeding only. Regions of reindeer breeding and hunting permit of reindeer breeding to a limited extent, so that the Tungus who live mostly by hunting have the reindeer as a food reserve in case of starvation. The Bystraia region is not properly adapted, either for reindeer breeding or for horse breeding.

The regions of hunting and poor horse breeding permit the Tungus to live only by hunting, the horse being used merely for riding and as a beast of burden. There are,

	Transbaikalia		Manchuria		
	The Barguzin *Taiga*	The Nerchinsk *Taiga*	Western The Great Khingan	Eastern The Lesser Khingan	Beyond the *Taiga*
Reindeer Breeding	Kalar [Muia (4)]				
Reindeer Breeding and Hunting	Muia (4) Vitimkan (1) Baunt (2)	Olokma (5) Nerchukan (3) Karenga (2)	Bystraia (2)		
Hunting (and Poor Horse Breeding)	Amalat (3) Žilinda (5)	Konda (1) Yumarchen (4) [Nerchukan (3)] [Karenga (2)]	Hulun Buir (1) Kumara (3) Upper Nonni (4)	Northern (1) Taun (2) Eastern (4)	Northern Part of Eastern Transbaikalia
Cattle Breeding and Hunting	[Amalat (3)] [Žilinda (5)]		[Nonni]		Transitory Belt Transbaikalia
Cattle Breeding	Barguzin Valley		[Nonni]		Southern Transbaikalia Southern Kulun Buir
Agriculture and Hunting			[Nonni]	[Northern (1)] Kulun (3)	Transitory Belt Transbaikalia
Agriculture and Cattle Breeding	Barguzin Valley		[Nonni]		Nercha (Lower Course), Transitory Belt Transbaikalia
Agriculture				[Kulun]	Nercha (Lower Course), Shilka, Nonni (Middle Course)

however, certain variations as to the character of these regions. The Amalat and Žilinda regions may suffice for cattle breeding, but being included in the *taiga* area, they are used mostly as hunting regions. The Taun region is not properly adapted for horse breeding and there, to balance the poor hunting, fishing plays an important part.

Cattle-breeding and hunting regions are mostly found beyond the area of the Northern Tungus, except the afore-mentioned Amalat region used by the Tungus for hunting.

Cattle-breeding regions also vary as to their character, the South Transbaikalian regions being on the highlands, while the Nonni region lies in the lowlands, the latter being less adapted for cattle breeding than the former.

The regions that may be used for agriculture also vary in character, which is shown in the subdivision of these regions into three groups.

The particular character of the regions and the forms of economical activity implied by the general conditions of regions have resulted in the formation of distinct ethnographical complexes, which are naturally composed of various elements, partly created by the Tungus themselves, and partly borrowed from their neighbours. The reindeer complex implies, for instance, nomadic phases. In a country with flora characteristics of reindeer-breeding regions, the conical wigwam covered with birch bark for the rainy season and with skin for the winter season is the only possible form of shelter. The skins used for the covers vary according to the animals found in the region. So, for instance, the reindeer, when abundant, provides the skins for the wigwam covers, while, when lacking, other animals' skins are used — the maral deer and elk skins. This does not imply a change in the form of cover; roe-deer skins do not imply such a change either. In the regions where birch bark is lacking, during the summer season the Tungus use cloth for their covers. The reindeer also supplies the material for clothing, which naturally is shaped and ornamented according to the material used. This complex also implies the formation of small unit-families and the seasonal formation of bigger units for procreation.

Hunting, combined with poor possibilities for horse breeding, implies periodical travel tending towards permanence in summer and winter stations. As horse breeding does not supply the Tungus with skins, horse breeders have to change the material used for wigwam covers, and clothing, according to the animals found in the neighbouring districts. For instance, animal skins used for summer clothing, particularly those of the roe-deer, are abundant in the Manchurian regions (3 and 4), so that the groups living there make large use of them, and for this reason they are called by the Manchu "roe-deer." But the Hulun Buir region is rather poor in roe-deer, and the Tungus who live there have to find another source of maintaining their existence. Owing to this, in the Hulun Buir region, the wigwam covers and clothing are made of manufactured material bought from neighbours. Here, together with the material, the shape of the clothing has also been borrowed from the Mongols; from the same source also the terminology concerning horse breeding has been borrowed.

The local variations of the flora and the fauna imply the creation of the locally adapted elements forming the complex of combined hunting and horse breeding. So, for instance, the conical wigwam is not sometimes used in the Taun region (2) and in the Kulun region (3), owing to the lack of suitable trees, and because of the possibility of erecting semi-spherical wigwams made of willow, erected in ground which is not frozen, as is observed in regions lying north from the line of the ever-frozen ground. This kind of semi-spherical shelter is characteristic of the region of the lowlands in the lower course of the Amur and its tributaries. Horse breeding tends towards the establishment of a permanent camp; it also permits the construction of dwellings of a more stable and permanent character. In these regions, therefore, one meets with another adaptation of the conical wigwam that is made of wood and covered with earth.[1] The lack of birch bark implies the

[1] This kind of dwelling is met with in the reindeer-breeding regions too, and especially in South Ussuriland among the Udehe).

use of other material for utensils, canoes, and other commodities, which change of material also changes their outer forms. In the Taun region, fishing forms an important part of the economical activites of the local population: it also supplies a new material — fish skin.

Cattle breeding implies a new form of nomadism, usually a regular change of winter and summer stations. It provides new material for clothing, tents, etc.; it also implies the change of the food régime. In the transitory belt of Transbaikalia, cattle breeding permits the construction of permanent dwellings; while in the steppe regions, where cattle breeding is the basis of the prevailing economical system, the semi-spherical tent of Mongolian type, made of a carcass covered with felt, is the only practicable form of shelter.

Agriculture implies living in settled villages. Thus dwellings are naturally of a permanent character, borrowed from various ethnical groups, e. g., Chinese, Russians, and Gilaks; other forms, as semi-spherical and conical wigwams, are preserved for special purposes or seasons. This complex is sometimes adopted by hunters who live with agriculturists — the Northern (1) and the Kulun (3) regions of the Lesser Khingan.

The existence of these ethnographical complexes and their variations, as shown, depend, first of all, upon the primary *milieu* (environment), and second, upon the ethnical units, that adopt and reject the ethnographical complexes, and the elements constituting them, when these units are compelled to change their original complex, in most cases owing to migrations (change of primary environment) and variation of the density of population.

The geographical distribution of the ethnographical complexes, therefore, do not exactly correspond to the geographical regions. In fact, the ethnographical complexes are carried with and by the ethnical units. But the latter adopt new ethnographical elements not immediately after the change of the primary *milieu*, but sometimes borrow or invent before leaving the region. Moreover, the ethnical units sometimes, by inertia, also preserve, during certain periods, elements that are not always practical and necessary. On the other hand, as will be shown later, ethnographical complexes do not exactly correspond to the ethnical units at present in existence. It is thus evident that the process of variations of the ethnographical complexes, as such, and the process of their variations within the ethnical units, sometimes operate conjointly.

Thus the Tungus living in these regions show a great variability as to their ethnographical complexes, some elements being common to all these groups, while some others are absolutely distinct and peculiar to one group only. Some elements which do not produce any harmful effects sometimes persist in spite of their practical uselessness, while others become harmful and are usually changed. Therefore, the elements constituting the complexes are of different age, and many of them are borrowed from other ethnical groups. The only regulating factor is the tendency towards preserving the equilibrium of the complex in the given primary *milieu*, with the given psychology and mentality of the unit, and in the given interethnical *milieu*.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS GROUPS, AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS

1. Names of Tungus Groups. 2. The Geographical Distribution of the Northern Tungus. 3. Neighbours of the Northern Tungus: Goldi, Udehe, Dahurs, Manchus, Russians, Chinese, Koreans, and Yakuts. 4. Interethnical Relations: Relations Between the Northern Tungus Groups and Other Ethnical Groups; Relations Between the Northern Tungus Groups. 5. Administrative Organization of the Northern Tungus Groups. 6. Some Statistical Data as to Population.

1. Names of Tungus Groups

If one wants to form an idea of the geographical distribution of the Tungus, one needs, first of all, a definition of the term "Tungus." The name "Tungus" originated from the Yakut name *toŋus*, by which the Yakuts called, and still call, the people living in the Yakutsk Government, who speak the language that we now classify as the Northern Tungus dialects. This name was first adopted by the Russian settlers in Siberia and brought to Europe. Afterwards it was adopted as a term of scientific classification. With the extension of our knowledge as to the ethnical groups living in eastern Siberia, and the Amur River regions, this name as a classificatory term has come to cover a wider field. Hence it is now applied to all groups speaking dialects that have an established kinship with the Northern Tungus language. Thus "Tungus" covers not only the *toŋus* of the Yakutsk Government, but also small tribes living in the regions of the Amur River, Transbaikalia, and Manchuria, also the Manchus and their kinsmen.

This term received strong support from Chinese records, where tribes living in the present Manchuria were called Tung-hu (東胡), i. e., the Eastern Barbarians. The Tung-hu were mentioned in Chinese records long before the Yakuts came from northern Mongolia to the present Yakutsk Government and met the people they later called the *toŋus*. But it ought to be remembered that the Chinese used the term "Tung-hu" to designate all groups of barbarians living in Manchuria, some of which were not, of course, Tungus groups, i. e., speaking Tungus languages, but Palæasiatics, particularly ancestors of the Koreans, and other groups which are not yet defined; so that this term referred simply to the population of a certain region without any pretence at distinguishing the linguistic or ethnical characters of the various groups. The *toŋus* of the Yakut language, however, may be connected with the Turkic root which means "pig" (J. Klaproth). On the other hand, long before the Christian era the Eastern Barbarians of Chinese records were known as swine breeders. Whether this Chinese term was known to the ancestors of the Yakuts, before they migrated

to Siberia, or not, we cannot tell. Again, we do not know whether this Chinese term was connected in the Turkic mind with the idea of swine breeding. Perhaps *toŋus* was a Turkic designation for pig-breeding Tung-hu, and the ancestors of the Yakuts in the Northern Tungus recognized people who were akin to the Southern Tungus. In other words, it is possible that these terms have originated absolutely independently, showing, however, a strange coincidence.[1] The fact is, that we are indebted to the Chinese chronicles which have helped European scholars, rightly or wrongly, to group together the early population of Manchuria, among whom certain Tungus groups probably, if not certainly, lived, with the Northern Tungus of Siberia, and "Tungus" as a term of classification covered all groups speaking Tungus languages. Thus the term "Tungus" is now understood as a linguistic term.

This term "Tungus," however, is absolutely unknown among the Tungus, who see in it an alien, Yakut and Russian, designation for themselves. But some Tungus groups now use it in reference to certain Tungus groups they had not met before. So, for instance, the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, who migrated to their present region, only two or three generations ago, use this term with reference to the Tungus of the Yakutsk Government. Yet in conversation with the Russians, the Tungus very often use this term in reference to themselves or to other Tungus groups. In the case of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria these Tungus use a Yakut term, while in conversation with Russians they adopt a Russian term (*tungus* as used by the Russians). The reason why they use these terms will be shown later. This term has also been introduced into the Chinese language,—通古斯,—being borrowed from European sources, from which perhaps a whole migratory circle of this term has been completed.

With reference to the language, two main Tungus groups may be distinguished, namely, the Northern and the Southern Tungus. In the first group we may include all Tungus groups which call themselves, or are called by other Tungus groups, *eveŋki* (*ŏvŏŋki*, *ewenki*, *eveŋki*, *ävänki*, *evenki*, *avan'ki*, etc., of different authors and dialects)[2] and that speak, or that spoke, within recent times, dialects which are closely enough related to one another to be regarded as dialects which originated in recent times from a pro-language more or less known to all *eveŋki*. From the ethnical point of view all Tungus groups, which may be regarded historically as belonging to the Northern Tungus, ought to be included in this unit. Such is the case, for instance, in the Mongolized Tungus of Transbaikalia, who live near the Chita district, or near the frontier of Mongolia. Though they do not now speak Tungus, and have adopted the Mongol (Buriat) ethnographical complex, yet within the last century they spoke a Tungus dialect, and possessed many

[1] Cf. E. Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–119. He admits that the Chinese may have called their eastern neighbours Tung-hu because the Hiung-nu called them *Tungus*. B. Laufer ("R. D.") following J. Klaproth and some travellers, e. g., Maack, does not agree with the identification of *toŋus* and Tung-hu from a phonetic point of view. It is evident that the names like *donki* [introduced by the early travellers and maintained by J. Klaproth ("T. H.," p. 83) and A. Rémusat ("R. L. T.," Vol. II, p. 12) even lately by J. Deny ("L. M.") (cf. my "N. T. M.," footnote 94)], *bojo* (Georgi), etc., are mere misunderstandings. So I shall not enumerate here all the theories as to the names by which the Tungus style themselves, for they are merely of historic interest.

[2] In the forthcoming account dealing with the Tungus groups, I shall give details concerning their names in their own languages, and concerning those of their neighbours.

more Tungus ethnographical elements than they now do. The southern group includes the Manchus, and some other groups, as, for instance, the Goldi and the Olča. They speak the Southern Tungus dialects, best studied and represented in the Manchu language. Some of these dialects should be regarded, perhaps, as Northern Tungus dialects, influenced by Southern Tungus (Manchu). Such is perhaps the case in the Udehe language,[1] so that the difference between the Northern and Southern Tungus dialects is not so sharply defined as it is in the big subdivisions of the Indo-European languages. The Southern Tungus call themselves by different names, e. g., *mandžu* (Manchus), *xoǯen*, *xeďen*, etc. (Goldi); they do not, at least at the present time, seem to know the name *eveŋki*. It is not a simple coincidence that most of the Northern Tungus dialects contain this name.[2] But it shows that it has a certain intimate relation with the Northern Tungus linguistic and ethnographical complex. Since some Northern Tungus groups live in the midst of the Southern Tungus, I am rather inclined to call the Northern Tungus by their own name: *eveŋki*. Nevertheless, I do not insist on the recognition of this name as a term of classification, for its pronunciation in different Tungus dialects varies, and it does not sound familiar to the European ear. The meaning of this name is not clear at all, and perhaps, in its entirety, it cannot be established. The root is *eve* (*ovo*, *ōvō*, *ewe*, *eve*,*ä vä*, etc.), for *-ŋki* is possibly a suffix, for *nomen agendi*, as in many other instances.[3] In fact, in Tungus "to speak Tungus" is *evedèt* (RTM)[4] and "the Tungus woman" *evemgu* (RTM);[5] so it is beyond any doubt that the root is *eve*, and the form *eveŋki* seems to be that of a *nomen agendi* from *eve*. As to the etymology of this name I leave the question open.[6] Some Tungus groups have already lost the original understanding of this name and sometimes use it with the suffix *-čen*, agglutinated to the names of rivers and localities, for rendering the meaning of "the inhabitant of." So, for instance, the Tungus of the Lesser Khingan regions use *evenkičen* instead of *eveŋki*.[7] The meaning of this name is thus in the process of being forgotten. This name has also been recorded by Castrén as having been found to be among the Tungus of Urulga, in the Chita District, of Transbaikalia, who do not now speak any

1 Cf. my "N. T. M.," especially Suppl., Note III.

2 Most of these groups call themselves *eveŋki*, but as will be shown there are some exceptions. Some groups call themselves by other names, e. g., *oročen*, etc., which will later be explained. Some groups do not even know this name, e. g., the Negidals (cf. P. P. Schmidt, "L. N."). I shall not be surprised, however, if this name is some day found in their language. It may also be that the Negidals living in close vicinity to the Southern Tungus have already forgotten this name, as have the Mongolized Tungus of Transbaikalia.

I. I. Gapanovič lately visited the Negidals. He has orally informed me that the Negidals call themselves *eveŋki*. His account as to this group has already been handed over for publishing, but unfortunately it has not yet been published.

3 E. g., *uliŋki* (Neg. *Sch.*) the rudder, etc., from *uli*—to direct, to row; *uŋkuŋki* (Kum.)—a ladle, from *uŋku*—to pour in and out; etc. Generally with this suffix one may form, from any root, a *nomen agendi* which may be used for the designation of an action, being, etc. The Tumynxyn Tungus, however, call themselves *ewen*; the Andyr Tungus, *ewun* (Maydell-Schiefner). Cf. the next footnote.

4 Analogous *lučadèt* (to speak Russian, from *luča* — Russian), *mongoldèt* (to speak Mongol, from *mongol*) (RTM). In the dialect of the Tungus of the Yakutsk Government, Tumynxyn, — *eudača*, which is the same root, *eu*=*eve*. The Enissy Government Tungus (Tur.) has *avadiš*.

5 Analogous — *lučamgu* (a Russian woman, from *luča*, a Russian).

6 In my Tungus dictionary I find a word of similar root, *eve* — to raise up, etc. Whether it is the same root or not, I do not venture to suggest.

7 By analogy with *Gančen*, *Kumarčen*, etc. This suffix, however, seems to have already appropriated a definite meaning, namely that for the designation of ethnical units, e. g., *murčen* (Barg.) from *murin* — the horse, i. e., horse-possessing (people); *oročen* (Barg.) from *oron* — the reindeer, i. e., reindeer-possessing (people) [this name is perhaps of a non-Northern Tungus origin] (cf. also *oroči*, etc.). See *infra*, p. 54, *et seq.*

Tungus, and also by R. Maack as a Manchu name for a Tungus group in Manchuria in the form of *avan'ki*. I think, however, R. Maack was not right in ascribing this name to the Manchus for the following reasons: it has the sound of a foreign name in Manchu, it is unknown in Manchu Lit., and I did not find it in Manchu Sp. Moreover, this name is known only among the Northern Tungus.[1]

The establishment of a name by which the people call themselves is not always an easy task, especially if the people recognize its political inferiority, and particularly if their language is not known to neighbours with whom they come in contact. For instance, if one asks a Tungus, in a non-Tungus language, what the name of a people is, he always makes his reply in the language in which he has been asked. Hence it is almost impossible to get a correct answer, if one does not speak Tungus. Moreover, there is a peculiarity in the Tungus mentality, which introduces a new source of misunderstanding. The Tungus who call themselves *eveŋki* naturally form several groups, each speaking its own dialect, and each possessing its own ethnographical complexes, which depend upon the neighbouring influences and also as shown upon the primary *milieu*. These groups, for instance, are the Reindeer Tungus, the horse-breeding Tungus, and so forth. The groups have been formed from one and the same stock, but at different periods, and in different regions, so that when they meet they do not recognize one another as genuine *eveŋki*, and reserve this name for their own group. So, for instance, in the eyes of a Reindeer Tungus of Barguzin, the Nomad Tungus of the lower course of the Barguzin when they first met them were not, of course, the same people as they themselves were. They felt a sort of surprise and disappointment in knowing that these nomad Tungus called themselves *eveŋki*, i. e., by a name that was used by the Reindeer Tungus for themselves. For the practical purpose of the distinction of groups they now call these nomad Tungus *murčen*, i. e., the horse-possessing (people), in opposition to themselves, *oročen*, i. e., reindeer-possessing (people); the name *eveŋki*, being already used by the first group, has been preserved among the first and lost among the second group. In this way, the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria who call themselves *eveŋki* term their neighbours in Manchuria *ilčaričі* (or *ulčaričil*), which means the people possessing dressed hair (in a Manchu manner, plaited),[2] i. e., Manchu subjects; while they style the Reindeer Tungus of the Yakutsk Government and the Amur Government *joko*, i. e., the Yakut, because the latter differ from them in some ways and have come from the Yakutsk Government. One more instance: The Tungus living in the Hulun Buir region call themselves *oročen*; for their neighbours the Solons, who are politically superior to them, have styled themselves *eveŋki* and call the Hulun Buir Tungus by the Manchu name or its derivative *oročen*.[3] So the Hulun Buir Tungus had to adopt this name, though they are still called *eveŋki* by the other Northern Tungus of Manchuria (except, naturally, the

1 It is interesting to note, however, that when the Manchus and the Dahurs speak Tungus they use the term *eveŋki* in the same sense as the Tungus do.

2 P. P. Schmidt agrees with my supposition that the name *olča* originated from the Northern Tungus (cf. "L. O."). *Ilčaričil*, *ulčaričil*, is *ilčari*+*či*+*l*, i. e., *ilča*, *ulča* — the idea of dressing hair, *ri* — suff. part. pres., *či* — suff. which may be rendered as "possessing," and *l* — suff. of plur.

3 As a derivative from *oron*, the reindeer, it is absolutely meaningless, for these Tungus long ago lost their reindeer, and do not associate this name with the reindeer, as, for instance, the Reindeer Tungus of Barguzin do.

Reindeer Tungus). The Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government call themselves *evenki*, but they call the Tungus of Manchuria *oročen*. The latter call themselves *evenki*, but call the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria *teγa* or *teγačen*, which means "non-incorporated into the Manchu military organization," or "common people." As a general rule, the name *evenki* is never applied by a group to other groups, if the difference in customs and dialect attains a certain degree, and unless it is lost as their own name, as in the case of the Reindeer Tungus of Barguzin and the Hulun Buir Tungus, who refer it to the Barguzin Nomad Tungus and the Solons, respectively. In spite of this, the Tungus recognize the common origin of all groups who speak the Northern Tungus dialects, and allow certain rights of their kinsmen to the name *evenki*, but naturally it requires a certain mental effort. On the other hand, numerous groups know themselves to be *evenki*, but between them they do not use this term, for among themselves they distinguish social units, i. e., clans, and use *evenki* only in reference to themselves as compared with other ethnical groups, distinct in the Tungus mind from themselves. For these reasons, the name *evenki* is used only when the Northern Tungus groups enter into contact with other ethnical and distinct groups. For practica purposes, anyhow, they need certain names for their kinsmen. These names naturally must be distinct from their own. They do not invent these names if the latter may be borrowed from those used by their neighbours, or they use mere nicknames. Moreover, if there is even a slight difference, either in custom or dialect, of two Northern Tungus groups, they do not call each other *evenki*, but use some other names, e. g., geographical names, and names borrowed from their neighbours belonging to other ethnical groups. It is not surprising that the names of various groups recorded by travellers and officials, both Russian and Chinese, are so numerous and different that they confuse the relations of the Northern Tungus groups in an extraordinary manner. Moreover, superficial investigators have introduced all these names into their Tungus classifications, and because of this confusion this question, very simple let us add, has been raised to the importance of a problem. Even at present, one finds in recent writings the most erratic theories and classifications.[1]

Among the names adopted by the Tungus themselves and occasionally used by them, the most frequently heard is *oročon, oročen, oronču, oronču̇n, oroči*, also perhaps *oroki*, etc. These names are applied by the Tungus themselves, Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, and Russians to the Northern Tungus, *evenki*, living in different regions. It is curious that in this case, in spite of the likeness of these names, they have sometimes originated perhaps from different sources. So, for instance, *oročen*[2] (Nerč. Barg.) means in their dialects "the reindeer-possessing (people)," which perhaps has originated from, or was stimulated by, the Manchu term *oronču, oronču̇n* (Manchu Sp.), while *oronču* (Mongol, Bargut)[3] is used only in the sense of the name of a people.[4] The meaning of this name is "the Tungus living in Hulun Buir," derived from the root *oron, ojo(n)*, — the top, the tops of the mountains, —

[1] I give some instances in my "N. T. M." Cf. further description of various groups.

[2] In the Manchu mind this name is sometimes connected with the name of the animal *oron, oron buku*, — the reindeer. It is, however, also possible that this name is of secondary origin.

[3] According to the Tungus living in Hulun Buir the Mongols use the expressions *oronči* and *murinči* in the sense of travelling by reindeer and horse-back.

[4] Yet in Bargut *oročengut* means "the territory occupied by some people" (according to the translation of this term by a Tungus, speaking the Bargut dialect perfectly). A. Rudnev gives *orčonut* (*Udumčin* dialect) for the name of the people (Tungus).

where these Tungus live. It ought to be remembered, however, that this group has forgotten everything about its former reindeer breeding. In Manchu this name — *oronču̇n*[1] — has a slightly ironic meaning: *oronču̇n* is not a genuine man, but something inferior, derived from an animal, so they do not use *oronču̇n n'alma* (*n'alma* — the man; analogous to *mandžu n'alma, n'ikan n'alma*, etc.) as they commonly use it with the names of people, but simply *oronču̇n*. The name *oroči*, however, in dialects using the word *oro* — seat, place, territory, (common in Manchu, Mongol, Yakut, etc.), means "having residence," "having a seat," etc., i. e., "local." In fact, Bir. say: *bi èri buγadu oroči bisim;* i. e., I, in this locality "having residence," am.[2] So this term may easily change into *orocèn*, as *evenki* has changed into *evenkičen* (Bir.). A Tungus asked who he is may reply: I am local, aboriginal (*oroči*) opposing himself to some other new-comers, as is possible in the case of the Goldi,[2] who are interrogated by travellers who persist in trying to find out their original name. It is thus perfectly evident that the name *oročen*, etc., varies in its meaning, and may be applied to almost all Tungus groups. Possibly it originated from the word *oron*, — the reindeer, of the Northern Tungus and Manchus, — although it may also have originated from *oro* — a seat, (also reindeer), later explained as a derivative from *oron*.[3] It is natural that these terms are known only in regions where the Northern Tungus are reindeer and horse breeders, and those in settled villages as well, who come into contact with the Manchus and the Mongols. In fact, these terms are unknown in the Yakutsk and the Enissy Government.[4]

[1] This name among the Manchus is nowadays obsolete. They prefer the Chinese name for Tungus: *kilin* and *cilin;* also a late derivative, *čiliki*. Cf. *infra*, p. 73.

[2] The name *nani, nanai*, for the Goldi in their own language seems to be of this origin (cf. my "N. T. M.," pp. 123 and 159). In this case, however, the conditions are different, for the Goldi as well as the Manchus have no name for themselves in their own language. (Cf. my "S. O. M.," p. 169 ff.) But it is interesting to note that V. P. Margaritov (*op. cit.*, p. 3) has found that the Oroči of the Imperial Port distinguish *oroč* (I think *oroči*) from *oročon*, who, according to them, are a different group living near the Amur. In their dialects (also S. Leontovič) the reindeer is *oro*, so "reindeer possessing" will be *oroči*. It is also possible that they understand it in the same sense as the Birarčen, viz. "local." According to I. A. Lopatin, who visited them in 1924, they call themselves *oroči* and *oročen*, when speaking to Russians. In this new publication, I. A. Lopatin has preserved his naïve treatment of ethnography. As compared with V. P. Margaritov's investigation, the results of his visit gave only few new facts.

[3] I hesitate to give my final conclusions as to the origin of this name, for the following reasons: The Manchu language has borrowed this term in the form of *oron*, probably from the Northern Tungus who came from the North, with this animal; but as it was not quite clear, they increased it by *buxu*, the latter being a name for all cervines (corr. to *buγu* of Northern Tungus, who now confine it to the maral deer). The suffix *-čun* has a definite meaning (cf. Zaxarov, "G. M. L.," p. 73) and cannot be used for a people derived from the name of an animal (*oron*). The suffix *-čo* is not used. This shows that the name *oronco, oronču̇n*, has been borrowed in this form or another, but in a very close form to that of a different language. Such a language might be either Northern Tungus or Mongol. In the Tungus language we have to expect the forms *oronči* (*orončin, orončen*) as a derivative from *oron* in some dialects — "reindeer" and "place," etc., and *oroči* (*oročen, oročin*) as a derivative from *oro*. Although the Manchu language possesses the root *oro* (a place, region, etc.) (also *orombi* — to settle, to live permanently in a place, locality, or region), in the Manchu mind *oroči*, etc., could not be understood. On the other hand, the Mongol language, with its *oročengut* and *orčonut*, might also be the source of the Manchu adaptation. The name *oroči*, etc., and not *oronči*, seems to have passed into the Mongol language from the Tungus. It is also possible that the word *oro* and all its derivatives, like *oročengut, orčonut*, have been borrowed by the Northern Tungus from the Mongols (and Manchus) and adapted by them to their own language.

[4] The question as to how this term might have migrated as far as the Upper Angara River basin (as far as may be seen from E. I. Titov's work) and the Barguzin *taiga* is answered by the history of these groups (see Chap. III, *infra*) and the need to have some name distinct from that of the groups who had previously migrated to Transbaikalia, i. e., *evenki*. The name *oročen*, however, seems to be explained by them as a derivative from *oron*, but it is much more likely that it originated from *oroči* and migrated with some groups from Manchuria. The name *murčen* has been formed by either analogy with the supposed root *oron* of *oročen*, from *murin*, the horse, or has been merely borrowed from the Buriats. In any case, the name *oročen* could not originate in the Tungus mind without comparison with the terms of other groups who do not possess reindeer. E. I. Titov says that he visited "the reindeer and settled Tungus (*oročen* and *evonki*) of three regions: the Lena-Kirensk, the Baikal, and the Vitim-Nerchinsk ("T. R. D.," p. v). It is evident that he wants to connect the name *evenki* with the settled Tungus

Besides the names above analyzed and given to the Tungus, there are some others, but they have no general importance, as have *toŋus*, *eveŋki*, and *oročen*. In the forthcoming description of the Tungus groups, I shall give them with necessary remarks.

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2. The Geographical Distribution of the Northern Tungus

The Northern Tungus of Transbaikalia form two main groups: the Reindeer Tungus, who live in the regions of the Barguzin and the Nerchinsk *taiga*, and who are partly settled in the transitory belt, among the Buriats and the Russians; and the Nomad Tungus, who live amongst the Buriat groups, and Russians, in the transitory belt and in the steppe regions. A third group, also, may be distinguished; namely, the settled Tungus, who live by agriculture. The agriculturist group, as a Tungus group, is in a state of decline; this is due largely to its having been Russianized to such a degree that the Tungus ethnographical and even the anthropological features as a *Tungus* group are found only in traces; therefore I shall not deal with it.

In the first group, as shown on Map I, several regional sub-groups may be distinguished, viz., the Barguzin Tungus living in regions 1, 2, 3, and 4; the Tungus of the Upper Angara region; the Tungus of the Lake Baikal region; the Tungus of the Kalar region; the Nerchinsk Tungus living in region 3 of the Barguzin *taiga* and in all five regions of the Nerchinsk *taiga*. In the second group the following sub-groups may be distinguished: the Tungus of Mankova, with Borzia and Urulga, and the Akša Tungus in south-eastern Transbaikalia; west from the Yablonov Mountains, the Nomad Barguzin Tungus (with the Žilinda Tungus); the Iroi Tungus in south-western Transbaikalia; and some other very small groups scattered among the Buriats.

The territory of the **Barguzin Tungus** is confined within the following limits: it comprises the source of the Cipa, regions lying east of the Ikat Mountains, the Marekta, and the Karga south of the basin of the Vitimkan and omitting the basin of the Žilinda, but including that of the Kaivoda, it descends south-east to the Vitim. The Vitim forms the eastern frontier of the Barguzin Tungus. The northern frontier passes along the Ikat and Muia ranges, afterwards along the watershed between the upper Angara and the Vitim basins, and excluding the Kalar River basin, it reaches the Vitim, so that the lower course of the Cipa is beyond the territory of these Tungus. A part of the Amalat region is occupied by the Nerchinsk Tungus, yet the Kaivoda and the Amalat have (1913) been colonized also by the Buriat. Without mentioning several mining centres, populated by Russians and Chinese and also by all kinds of people working in the gold-fields, there are some parts which are not visited by the Tungus; e. g., the lower course of the Vitim (within the limits of the Barguzin Tungus). So their neighbours are the Upper Angara River Tungus, the Buriats, and the Nomad Tungus along the western and southern frontiers, and the Nerchinsk Tungus along the eastern frontier. In the north-east they are neighbours of the Kalar River Tungus, who do not allow the Barguzin Tungus to enter their territory, owing to epidemics which appear among the Barguzin reindeer. I did not visit the Kalar region Tungus, who, according to the Tungus of the Barguzin and the Nerchinsk *taiga*, are different from them.[1] In the northern confines of the Barguzin Tungus, the latter meet with the Yakuts, who in recent years lived, for instance, in the basin of the Parama, from which they have been driven out by the Russian settlers. They also went, at one time, to the yearly markets held at the mouth of the Karenga. Among the Barguzin Tungus one may also distinguish some small subdivisions; e. g., the Muia region group, the Vitimkan region group, and the Baunt region group. In fact, the first group use the reindeer sledge, and the Baunt group live partly by fishing. As will be shown, the clans are also partly distributed according to these small subdivisions.

From time to time the Tungus living near Lake Baikal visit the Barguzin Tungus on business, and perhaps for marriage purposes.[2] As stated, the latter have already penetrated the Barguzin Tungus territory.

They speak a Northern Tungus dialect, which is closely related to that of the Nerchinsk dialect, and call themselves *oročen* (plur., *oročer* and *oročesal*). The name *eveŋki* is also known among them, but it is used in reference to the Nomad Tungus, who call them *oročen*. The Russians call them *tungus* (plur., *tungusy*); as far as I could establish, the Yakuts called them *toŋus* and the Buriats called them *xamnayan*. Since the seventeenth century they have been organized into an administrative unit headed by *Bauntovskaja Inorodnaja Uprava*, i. e., the (Lake) Baunt non-Russian Administration Bureau. Their number in 1913 was about eight hundred.[3] They live by hunting, fishing, and reindeer breeding, and also have some minor occupations. As shown, their reindeer are not numerous, because some regions are

and that of *oročen* with the Reindeer Tungus. I cannot agree with this new, and, I believe, unintentional attempt at confusing the Tungus classifications. First, not all Reindeer Tungus know the name *oročen*; far from it. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria of the Yakutsk, Enissy, and Amur governments call themselves *eveŋki*, while some of them call their neighbours, the horse-breeding Tungus, *oročen*. On the other hand, some settled Tungus groups and horse-breeding Tungus call themselves *oročen*; e. g., the Nerchinsk Tungus (settled in the *taiga* or in the vicinity of the *taiga*), the Tungus of Hulun Buir, etc. It is thus evident that in the case of the Tungus visited by E. I. Titov, it is a mere coincidence that the *eveŋki* are settled, and the *oročen* (though not all) are reindeer breeders. Unfortunately, this author did not include these names in his dictionary, so that it is impossible to find out which groups visited by him use the name *eveŋki* and which of them use *oročen*. There is no historic, no linguistic, and no ethnographic reason to classify the Tungus visited by him as *two* distinct groups. The settled and nomadic groups include very often the same clans. So they may be distinguished from this point of view only for economical and political purposes. These, however, have nothing to do with a scientific classification. A. K. Kuznecov, who has written the preface to this dictionary, does not even distinguish them at all, and call all of them *oročen* (*oročón*, in Russian). On the other hand, among these Tungus, as will be shown in this study, one must distinguish several groups of different origin, mode of life, and ethnographical complex. The name *oročón*, it should be observed, is very deeply rooted in the local Russian terminology. It has also been transferred to the Amur and Maritime governments, where the Russians style all nomadic Tungus *oročón* or *oročón'išk'i*, though these people do not know these names. But such a conservatism of local population cannot be considered as a reason for maintaining a wrong classification. In fact, this classification, which is perhaps quite good for the local Transbaikalian Tungus groups, cannot be held as good for all Tungus groups.

[1] E. I. Titov's specimens of this dialect support this Tungus statement with reference to the language. The dialect has certain peculiarities which are not observed among the Burguzin and Nerchinsk *taiga* Tungus, but approach those of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria: yet this dialect also is close to that of the Lena-Kirensk region, according to E. I. Titov.

[2] In 1913 I met some of them in the Vitimkan region, visiting the Barguzin Tungus.

[3] Cf. *infra*, section 6.

not good for reindeer breeding. From time to time, epidemics ravage the herds, so that the Tungus sometimes find themselves without any reindeer at all. Then they get horses from the Nomad Tungus and reindeer from their neighbours, for regions 1, 2, and 3 are not good for horse breeding. Hunting for fur animals constitutes their principal trade with the Russians, who supply these Tungus with arms, powder, food, and material for clothing. Big game, partly reindeer, form the basis of diet, which is supplemented, as previously shown, by flour, sugar, and butter from Russian sources. From the anthropological point of view they seem to include mostly the type *gamma*, also some *delta* and perhaps some *beta*,[1] which points to a long process of intercourse with other ethnical groups, which include these types as fundamental ones.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the Russians found the Barguzin *taiga* occupied by the Reindeer Tungus. The Barguzin Tungus believe themselves to be the aborigines of their present territory. According to their tradition, before the Russians came they fought at times with a people they call *mamug'ir*, or *mamuγir*, who lived north of them, i. e., somewhere in the present Yakutsk Government. The war was a continuous and difficult one, till the Mamugir were pushed out from the territory of the Barguzin Tungus, and went toward "a big river, like the Lena, where the sun sets" — beyond any doubt, the Enissy. In all probability, these people were one of the Tungus clans. In the eighteenth century, in fact, among the Tungus of the Kirensk district of the Irkutsk Government, a clan called by the Russians *mamagatsk'iĭ* was spoken of.[2] This tradition has for its support the tradition of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria.[3] This clan name has also been recorded among the "Sobatschi Tungus" as *maimogir* by J. von Strahlenberg.[4] It may also have been discovered by the Russians in 1701 in the lower course of the Vilui, a tributary of the Lena,[5] under the name *imugaty*. The Barguzin Tungus, as will be shown, include several clans which have at different periods entered these regions to form this group, so that previous to its formation it passed through a long history of intercourse with other Tungus and perhaps non-Tungus groups.

The data given above as to this group were gathered before the post-war cataclysm which occurred in Siberia. Since then several important changes have occurred.[6]

[1] Cf. my "A. N. C." and "A. E. C.," where I give certain conclusions as to the anthropological components of this group.

[2] *Mamagatsk'iĭ* of the Russians is *mamagat*, or, perhaps, *mamugit*, which is, to be sure, *mamagir*, altered under Buriat influence, as has also happened with clan names among the Mankova Tungus, where the suffix *-gir* is now used as *-gil* and *-gat*.

[3] Cf. *infra*, p. 71.

[4] J. von Strahlenberg, p. 423 (German ed.), pp. 450, 451 (English ed.). Sobatschi Tungus — from the Russian adjective *sobačiĭ*, derived from *sobaka* — the dog. These Tungus lived in eastern Siberia.

[5] Cf. S. K. Patkanov, Vol. I, 2, p. 8. This clan has been recorded as living by the side of the *šalagony* (of the Russians), which is perhaps the clan *solογοn* (see *infra*, Chap. III, p. 71) of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria whose tradition also mentions these people *mamugir* with whom they fought.

[6] From the preface to the dictionary published by E. I. Titov, it is not quite clear whether this group still exists in its former regions, or whether it does not. He did not mention it, though he has mentioned the Nerchinsk Tungus who live in the Amalat region, and he mentions that territory of the Tungus who used to live near Lake Baikal and states that all these Tungus perished during the years 1919–1920 and that afterwards this region was occupied by the Tungus belonging to *kindigir* and *čilčagir* clans, which are known among the Upper Angara and Barguzin Tungus. It cannot be seen to which group these two clans belong. It is not clear whether, owing to the complete extinction of the Barguzin Tungus, or owing to a simple omission on the part of this investigator, the Barguzin *taiga* Tungus have not been mentioned by him. The clans known among these groups are not mentioned

Regarding the **Tungus of the Upper Angara** region my information is secondhand — from the Barguzin Tungus and from scarce information published. They include some clans met with among the Barguzin Tungus; their dialect seems to be closely related to that of the Barguzin Tungus. Their number in 1913 was about the same as that of the Barguzin Tungus. They live by hunting, reindeer breeding, and fishing. Reindeer are much more numerous among them than among the Barguzin Tungus. They are divided into two distinct administrative units: *Verxn'e-Angarskoje Rodovoje Upravlen'ije*, i. e., the Upper Angara (River) Tribal Administration, wrongly identified as the *čilčagir* clan; and the *Nižn'e-Angarskoje Rodovoje Upravlen'ije*, i. e., the Lower Angara (River) Tribal Administration, wrongly identified as the *kindigir* clan.[1] The territory of these groups is confined to the basin of the Upper Angara River, and the upper courses of some other small rivers belonging to the Lena River basin.

The **Tungus living near Lake Baikal** were[2] organized into an administrative unit called *Šemag'irskoje Rodovoje Upravlen'ije*, i. e., the Samagir Clan Administration, from the name of the clan *šamagir* (or *šamagir*, mutilated by the Russians into *šemagir*), well known among various Tungus groups. Their principal occupation, according to the Barguzin Tungus and regional police reports, is fishing. Their dialect, as far I could judge from the two or three men to whom I spoke, is slightly distinct from that of the Barguzin Tungus, being yet more developed along the line that separates the Barguzin dialect from that of the Nerchinsk Tungus.

The **Nerchinsk Tungus** occupy the territory lying east of the Vitim. Their southern boundary passes along the watershed, dividing the Yumarchen and the Konda, includes the upper course of the Chita, and reaches the Nercha at the mouth of the Uldurga Afterwards it passes along the Nercha, crosses it above Keker village, and including the basin of the Nerchukan, goes north. There it comprises the sources of the Olokma, passes north from the sources of the Nercha, and reaches the Vitim at the mouth of the Karenga. A group of the Nerchinsk Tungus lives in the region of Amalat. In the west, the Nerchinsk Tungus are neighbours of the Barguzin Tungus; in the south, they are neighbours of the Buriats, who occupy the Chita, the Konda, and the Uldurga. In the region of the Nercha they are neighbours of the Russianized Tungus and of the Russians. Along the eastern boundary, the Nerchinsk Tungus are in touch with the Russians. In the north, they meet the Tungus of the Kalar region, those of the Yakutsk Government, and the Yakuts. In the north-eastern section of their territory they also meet the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria.

at all. From a geographical point of view the "Vitim-Nerchinsk region" is, of course, a mere misconception; as a new administrative unit it perhaps suits the new form of policy of Tungus ethnical disintegration. However, E. I. Titov's categoric assertion that the only road good for transport leading from "Northern Buriatland and Southern Yakutland" to the Vitim River basin is that from the Nercha River shows that the author has not paid attention to another important road, i. e., the Barguzin River road leading directly to the Vitim region, which, beyond any doubt, still exists. In former days it was much more important than the Nercha road. Both of them have been investigated by specialists and I myself have used both during my investigations in Transbaikalia. Yet there are some other ways to penetrate these regions (see *infra*). They were long ago discovered and described by travellers and officials. These descriptions may be found in the reports of the local Bureau of the Colonization Department and others.

[1] The reasons why I say "wrongly identified" will be shown later.

[2] According to E. I. Titov's account, this group became extinct during 1919 to 1920, and its territory was occupied by another group.

The Nerchinsk Tungus call themselves *oročen* (plur., *oročer*), but they know the name *evenki*, referring it to the Reindeer Tungus of the Yakutsk Government and to the Nomad Tungus, who also call themselves by this name. They are known to the Barguzin Tungus as *nerčugan*, which shows that these two groups consider themselves to be distinct. The Russians call them *oročon*. The Nerchinsk Tungus call the Buriats *boren*, the Nomad Tungus — *murčin* (plur., *murčir*), and the Yakuts — *joko*.

Their mode of life is in many respects similar to that of the Barguzin Tungus. The Nerchinsk Tungus, during the last reindeer epidemics, lost their reindeer in such numbers that many of them gave up reindeer breeding and settled among the Buriats and the Russians. Yet several families settled in the *taiga*, where they formed small villages — in the valley of the Akima, where there are two small settlements, *Tèksèr* and *Uts'ina*, and in the valley of the Yumarchen, where there are two or three small settlements.[1] In these villages they have horses and cattle. The main mass of them, however, live in the *taiga* by huntingand reindeer breeding. They were formerly organized not as an independent unit, but together with other small villages of the Shilka region.

This group, as will be shown, has been formed little by little from various clans which at different periods have joined it. So, for instance, they include some groups which migrated from the Barguzin *taiga*, from Lake Baikal, also from Manchuria. The group of the Olokma region have lately joined them, but it still preserves its relations with the Tungus of the Yakutsk Government.[2]

The **Nomad Tungus** of Transbaikalia may be divided into two groups; namely, (1) those who still speak the Tungus language and call themselves *evenki*, and (2) those who have forgotten Tungus and at present speak dialects borrowed from the Buriats and call themselves *xamnagan*. In the first group there are three small units: (1) the Mankova Tungus, who live in the portion formed by the Argun River, and the railway line, the basins of the Upper Gazimur being their centre; sometimes they are met with in the steppes of the Hulun Buir region;[3] (2) the Borzia Tungus, living in the same portion, but in the basin of the Borzia;[4] and (3) the group of the Žilinda, in the Barguzin region, connected with the Nomad Tungus — a small group in the valley of the Barguzin.

Their dialects are slightly different, but all of them are similar to the dialect of the Urulga Tungus, first investigated by M. A. Castrén, and which is now extinct. It ought to be classified as belonging to the Northern Tungus language. The Borzia dialect is better preserved than that of the Mankova group. They are called by the Russians *Tungus*; by the Reindeer Tungus *murčen*, *murčin*, and sometimes *evenki* (the Žilinda region group); by

[1] After my visit to this group, as far as may be seen from E. I. Titov's account, a settlement was formed in the valley of the Karenga, on the left tributary — *Talači*.

[2] During post-war times, this group passed through a period of great difficulty, which may be seen from the fact of their decrease, and their leaving of some regions formerly used for hunting and reindeer breeding. To this question I shall later return.

[3] Since the last political trouble in Transbaikalia, most of them left for Mongolia, where they have formed independent groups, still preserving their language.

[4] Pallas (Vol. VI, p. 18) gave two names to the Tungus of Dauria (Eastern Transbaikalia), including the above-mentioned two groups, namely, *donkï* and *ouvoenki*. The first one seems to be a misspelling of the second one, which is no doubt *èvönki*. Previous to him Strahlenberg mentioned this name in the form of *vonki*, which was refuted by Gmelin. Cf. also *supra*, p. 51, footnote 1.

the Buriats *xamnayan*, which name is also adopted by these Tungus when they speak Mongol (Buriat) and in the form of *kamnagan* as adopted by the Reindeer Tungus.

These groups are not numerous; their number is no more than a few thousand people.[1] They were organized once as independent units, called in Russian the Uprava. They were classified as nomads, which status was also connected with certain privileges as to land tenure, various obligations, and self-government. A part of them was already included in the Cossack self-government and political organization. Their principal occupation is cattle and horse breeding, which they have borrowed from the Buriats, together with their mode of life, clothing, tents, and the whole ethnographical complex. Their language has naturally been enriched by the borrowing of Mongol words. In spite of this they still preserve certain characteristics typical of the Northern Tungus. From the anthropological point of view they are composed of the types *delta* and *gamma*, the latter type not being so numerous as it is among the Reindeer Tungus.

To this group one may also add a little group of the Nomad Tungus living in a small region of the transitory belt between the rivers Shilka, Nercha, and Uldurga; the valleys of these rivers are, however, occupied by the Buriats, Russianized Tungus, and Russians. They form eight small groups who periodically nomadize from summer to winter stations, located on the tributaries of the Uldurga (e. g., the Elemer, that was not long ago occupied by them)[2] and small tributaries of the Shilka and the Ingoda. They once belonged to the Tungus of Urulga, investigated by M. A. Castrén.[3] They are organized into a small unit, the *Buluk Urulg'insk'ix Koč'evyx Tungusov*, in the territory reserved for and controlled by the Tungus of Urulga. Their number does not reach more than seven hundred. They live by cattle and horse breeding and are Mongolized to such a degree that their Tungus language is at present entirely forgotten. They intermarry with the Buriats, whom they consider a superior group. Besides this group there are some other small Nomad Tungus groups scattered amongst the Buriats in southern Transbaikalia and in the transitory belt. Among the Nomad Tungus, still preserving the Buriat language, and living by cattle and horse breeding, some groups preserve their independence, having been organized into administrative units of their own. Such a group still lives in the Barguzin River valley in the Ulus Tazo.[4] Their administrative centre is near Barguzin-City (in Bodon). This group in 1913 was in a state of transition to an agriculture complex.[5] Two more groups, namely, in Aksha and in the basin of the Iroi River,[6] are known, but distinguishable from the Buriats only by their tradition and still-preserved anthropological characters, betraying their affinity with the Tungus.

[1] See the above footnote.

[2] S. K. Patkanov by a mistake considered them an independent group.

[3] I found only one old man who remembered some Tungus words.

[4] Ulus is a Mongol (Buriat) word adopted by the Russian official language to designate small administrative and territorial units among the nomadic groups living in certain territory under their own administration. The dialect of this group has lately been recorded by N. N. Poppe from a man who happened to be in St. Petersburg (Leningrad).

[5] The above-mentioned group of Žilinda Tungus belongs to the same group, but they have preserved their nomadic complex.

[6] The Iroi group has been investigated from an anthropological point of view by Talko-Hryncewicz.

All these enumerated groups call themselves by a Buriat term, *xamnagan*. They are called by the Russians *tungus*, or *koč'evyje tungusy*, i. e., the Nomad Tungus as people distinct from the *oročon*, and *brod'ač'ije tungusy*, i. e., wandering Tungus. These Tungus do not recognize any blood relationship with the Reindeer Tungus, although they recognize their kinship with the Nomad Tungus who still speak the Tungus language and style themselves *evenki*, as the Mankova and other groups do. Naturally their sympathy with the Buriat groups is much stronger than with any other ethnical group, for the reason that their mode of life, language, Lamaism, and in a certain degree their psychology, are much better adapted to the Mongol (Buriat) complex. In spite of this, they are considered by the Buriats as an inferior people, and in the Buriat eyes they are still *xamnayan*, a foreign group.

According to their tradition, they came in the seventeenth century, with their chief Gantimur from Manchuria.[1] The family of Gantimur seems to be of Dahur extraction. He was granted the title of prince by the emperor of Russia. The descendants of this family may still be found in the Chita district.

Besides these few thousands of Nomad Tungus, there are several small settlements, villages, and communities of the Tungus, who are partly Russianized, mixed and crossed with the Russians, who live as semi-agriculturists, or semi-nomadic groups, near the Russian villages. Some of them, in 1912, were already included in the status of "peasant" and have lost their privileges as to autonomy and land tenure. There are also groups who are in a state of transition towards complete assimilation with the Russians. Some of them in pre-war times were already included in the Cossack communities. From an ethnographical point of view, as Tungus groups, they are not interesting, nor characteristic, but they are exceptionally good material for the study of the process of assimilation and transition from one enthnographical complex to another.

The **Northern Tungus of Manchuria** present a great diversity of groups in different degrees, influenced by their direct neighbours — the Mongols, the Manchus, the Dahurs, and the Chinese, and also the Russians, the Yakuts, and the Palæasiatics, with whom they are or formerly were in touch.

In the southern regions of Manchuria and Hulun Buir, we are concerned only with a small Northern Tungus group of **Solons** who may be regarded as a group akin to the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia. The Solons live in the valley of the Nonni, especially in the Butha region, and in small groups in almost all the important towns of Manchuria and Mongolia (Hulun Buir). They carry out their nomadic journeys at the end of the summer season in the region of southern Hulun Buir,[2] as far as the left tributaries of the lower

[1] For details, see J. F. Baddley's work; also in S. K. Patkanov's *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 2.

[2] The southern Hulun Buir, as an instance of the diversity of ethnical groups, is of special interest. Besides the Chinese, who penetrate, without any exaggeration, any spot where they find any population, one meets in the northern part of Hulun Buir some Russian settlers, — in the valley of the Marekta (the northern boundary of Hulun Buir), some five or six families in the valley of the Kuli, a tributary of the Gan, — and the nomadic cattle breeders — the Mongols, Tungus, etc. — with their herds who are grouped in the region formed by the Argun and the Hailar. This region is periodically visited by the Nomad Tungus of Mankova and Borzia, and the Buriats of the Aga Steppe, who roam through the valley of the Argun as far as the Gan. It is also visited by the Mongols (Barguts)

course of the Gan. It may here be noted that they travel in this part of Mongolia as a group of inferior position. They always descend from the mountains with their cattle and horses after the Mongols (Barguts) go south and leave the pasturage for them.

The Solons speak a Northern Tungus dialect enriched by numerous borrowings from the Dahur language.[1] Their total number does not exceed a few thousand.[2] It may be supposed from certain evidence that they migrated with the first Northern Tungus wave before the tenth century of this era. In former days, they played an important rôle in the political events of Manchuria.[3] They have always been connected with the Dahurs and seem to have been, at least during the last few centuries, satellites of the Dahurs.[4] Physically, they look rather like them, which is not, of course, surprising, for they intermarry with them and have always been in a minority as compared with their protectors — the Dahurs. Their likeness to the Dahurs is so distinct that the Manchus, the Chinese, and the Tungus very often consider them as a part of the Dahurs and call them Dahurs; or, vice versa, they call the Dahurs Solons. Such a mixing up of the Solons with the Dahurs probably happened long ago, for the Manchu folk-lore of the Ming dynasty does not separate them. They may be supposed to be first mentioned by Chinese chronicles under the name of the wild Nui-chen.[5] Considering the fact of their closeness to the Dahurs, it may be supposed that they had been involved in the political affairs of the Dahurs during the Great Liao dynasty, i. e., during the period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries of this era.

The Solons live by cattle and horse breeding, hunting and agriculture, in dependence on the primary *milieu*. Ethnographically speaking, they are influenced by the Mongols, the Manchus, and the Chinese, preserving in a certain degree their Northern Tungus characters. They live in small farm-houses, in Mongol tents, and in wigwams. They call

coming from the south, and the Solons coming from the east. The Mergel, and especially the locality called Karaxoitui, also the Hailar, the Kuldur, and the upper course of the Argun during winter-time, are usually occupied by the Mongols, while the upper course of the Hailar during the hot season is occupied by the Solons. When the Mongols leave their pasturage to go south, the Solons descend from the steppes in the vicinity of the Gan, which they never cross. The Barguts sometimes cross the Argun with their herds and visit Transbaikalia. The Emin, which flows into the Hailar from the south-east, is peopled by a distinct Mongol group of Oluts who also do not cross this river. Since the post-war catastrophe in Transbaikalia, some important changes have occurred in this part of Mongolia, namely, Russians and Tungus, and also the Buriats have migrated with their herds. As far as I know, several Russian groups have settled as agriculturists. The instance of the Hulun Buir region is a very curious evidence of the establishment of relations between ethnical groups, on the principle of equilibrium and recognition of respective rights of territory. The relations between all these groups are regulated by customs, and they are very rarely disturbed by conflicts. Peaceful relations are disturbed mostly by the Tungus who live in the mountains, and who, from time to time, steal horses.

[1] Cf. A. Ivanovskiĭ, *op. cit.* In this vocabulary three or even four groups are represented. The Solon, properly speaking, are called by this author *Butxa Solon*.

[2] R. V. Grebenščikov (*op. cit.*, p. 8) gives, according to Japanese data, 30,000, which seems to be, as compared with the Dahurs (cf. *supra*, p. 83), too high an estimate. Perhaps it would be better to refer a part of them to the Dahurs.

[3] Cf. my "N. T. M." and "S. O. M."

[4] A part of them in the eighteenth century (1763) were sent, together with the Dahurs, to the Ili region (Sinkiang province). Some other Tungus of Manchuria at the same time and later were also sent. They have been called, in an abbreviated manner by F. V. Muromskiĭ, *oŋkor* (i. e., wild, in Dahur). Most of the Solons and the *oŋkor-solon* perished during the wars; the remainder of them are nearly assimilated by the Manchus and the Dahurs.

[5] Cf. my "N. T. M." and *supra*, Chap. III.

themselves *evenki*, but among different groups their names are subject to variations. The name *solon* originated possibly from the Mongol *solonǫ, sololī, solonxo* — Korea,[1] for they came from the east, and the region east of Mongolia, before the Manchus and their ancestors took it under their control, so they might naturally be considered as belonging to Korea.[2] In fact, it sounds in Tungus like a foreign name. All attempts at finding this name in Tungus etymology are unsatisfactory.[3] It also sounds like the transcription of a foreign name in Chinese — 索倫 (some Manchus write it 鎖倫). The Dahurs in their Mongol dialect call them *solon* as a group distinct from the *xoŋkor-solon*,[4] i. e., the wild Solon — other Northern Tungus living in the mountains. Their Northern Tungus relatives deny their rights to the name *evenki* and call them *solon*, or by territorial names like *jalčen* (from the Yal River), etc., and consider them as an inferior kind of Dahur. The Manchus call them *solon*, which seems to have been borrowed from the Mongols.[5] According to Tungus tradition the Solons in the seventeenth century lived in the upper courses of the Amur and the lower courses of the Albazixa and the Argun. The names of the rivers in region 2 (Bystraia, etc.), as *s'ilamakan, tiďamakan, n'ur*, etc., have been given by them. All names which sound like Tungus names, but do not belong to the present dialects of Manchuria, are supposed to be of such origin. According to the Tungus, living there at present, at a remote time region 2 was occupied by a Reindeer Tungus group, *ŋyuyal* or *ŋuyal*, which left several tombs and camps. I connect this name with the *gogul* of the early Russian travellers and Solons:[6] a part of the *gogul* at that time might have been a reindeer-breeding group. After their migration from the south, caused by the Mongol pressure of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Solons were found in the upper course of the Amur and neighbouring regions. The Russian invasion of the Amur River valley in the seventeenth century compelled them to leave this place and re-migrate to the basin of the Nonni, under Manchu protection. Thus the Solons, before settling in their present area, passed through a period of continuous migration. First they migrated from north to south; afterwards, from east to west; later on, from south to north, and then back to south and west.[7] The Manchus, furthermore, carried them to China as bannermen, so they may be met with as far as Sinkiang province (the Ili region); and previous to that, together with the Khitans, they probably visited central Asia.

The Tungus of the Khingan Mountains, whom for abbreviation I shall call the **Khingan Tungus,** live in the vicinity of the Solons. Except in the lower courses this group occupies the Gan, Derbul, Haul, and Hailar rivers. They also occupy the upper course of the Numin, which flows from the eastern slope of the Great Khingan Mountains. They do not go west

[1] Cf. A. Rudnev, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
[2] This derivation was first given by Palladius, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 176.
[3] E. g., *solon* from *solo*—the upper course of a river, etc., given by A. Ivanovskiĭ after L. von Schrenck.
[4] Cf. also *supra*, p. 63, footnote 4.
[5] In Manchu Korea is *solxo*.
[6] Cf. "S. O. M." p. 177, and "N. T. M."
[7] It is very likely that a part of them migrated to Transbaĭkalia, to the Shilka River valley, where, according to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, they have been assimilated by the Russians.

of the Aiken River (the right tributary of the Gan) basin, which is their western boundary. They also, occasionally, visit the Chinese Gan, descend the Gan River as far as the Kuli, where they collect a certain tribute from the Russian farmers; they also visit the Marekta and the lower course of the Derbul and the Haul for the same purpose. They have, in the winter season, three centres of attraction: the Aiken River mouth; the *taiga* margin in the steppes of the Derbul; and the Numin River,—all of which are good for the feeding of horses. Their excursions out of their own area spread far into the steppes. Their reindeer were long ago lost, and they have been compelled to adopt horse breeding, which is not very successful in their mountainous region. They live by hunting and partly horse breeding. Another important branch of their income is horse stealing. Their particular inclination to this profession has been noted by all travellers.[1] It is due, I think, to their peculiar position among other ethnical groups, and the relatively poor hunting to be had in this region. In fact, on the north they are surrounded by the Reindeer Tungus and the Tungus of the Nonni and the Chinese Gan; on the east they are closed in by the Solons and the Dahurs; while on the west and the south they are surrounded by the Mongols, the Solons, and the Russians. This peculiar trade, some twenty-five years ago, compelled the Reindeer Tungus to leave the Marekta River basin,[2] which at present (1915) is occupied by a few Russian settlers and hunters who form a kind of protective wall for the Reindeer Tungus of this region (region 2). Horse stealing has made the Khingan Tungus great foes to all other neighbouring ethnical groups, so that from time to time, when they are taken *in flagrante delicto*, the Mongols behead them and within the limits of their wanderings exhibit their heads for "educational" purposes.

They are not numerous: their number may be approximated as two hundred twenty or may be two hundred sixty-seven families (wigwams) — less than a thousand in all. They speak a Northern Tungus dialect closely related to that of the other Northern Tungus of Manchuria, and especially with that of those who live in the north — the Kumara and Lesser Khingan regions. They call themselves *oročen*, but the name *evenki*, as far as I could discover, is used in reference to the Solons only. Their neighbours, the Reindeer Tungus, recognize them as a group akin to themselves, but do not regard them as genuine *evenki*, and call them, as the Russians do, *oročon*, or *gančen*, derived from the name of the Gan. The Dahurs call them *xoŋkor-solon* and the Manchus call them *orončo, oronču̇n*. The Tungus of the Kumara region and those of the Lesser Khingan regions call them *gančen*, recognize their close relationship, and consider them genuine *evenki*, though slightly influenced by the Mongols. The Reindeer Tungus sometimes call them *man'agir* and assert that the Khingan Tungus do not differ very much from the Tungus of the Kumara region, whom they also sometimes call *man'agir*, which name is borrowed by them from the Russians. They extend it to other groups, akin to the Tungus of the Kumara region.

[1] E. g., P. Kropotkin, Strelbickiĭ, and others.
[2] As far as I could establish, the Reindeer Tungus were advised by the Cossack chief of the Olochi district (*stanica*) to leave the Marekta River after they had killed a Khingan Tungus for robbery.

As to their administrative organization, they form two companies (*niru*) of the Manchu military organization, with a chief and with head-quarters in Hailar.

According to their traditions, they first lived in the vicinity of the Amur and later in the basin of the Nonni, probably in the upper course of the latter. They were on very bad terms with the Dahurs, owing to the fact that they left the Amur for the Nonni. In the Nonni River region they had great trouble with the *joko*, i. e., the Reindeer Tungus, who compelled them to leave for their present territory. This tradition does not seem to be quite correct, for their difficulties with the Reindeer Tungus are of quite recent date, and in the sixties they were already known in their present area. In their traditions there is also a remembrance of their early fighting with the *joko*, when the clan *dulugir* fought alone against all *joko*. They do not remember being reindeer breeders, and some of them pretend to be descended from a common stock with the *xamnagan* and Solons, which, as will be shown, does not seem to be quite correct. It ought, however, to be pointed out that some of them might belong to the early Tungus groups of Manchuria, which perhaps joined them. Moreover, their traditions say that Gantimur, who belonged to the *bajagir* clan, a clan well known among these Tungus, lived in the basin of the Nonni. After Gantimur left for Transbaikalia, the Khingan Tungus occupied his territory, in the basin of the Nonni: this seems to be quite possible. According to these Tungus all remains of earthen walls, and walled camps, were left by Gantimur, senior, all along the right bank of the Argun, while the remains along the left bank of the same river, were left by his son. Gantimur travelled along the right bank of the river, while his son moved along the left. The famous shaman Mukteokan, whose name is also familiar to other Tungus of Manchuria, and who belonged to the clan *kaltagir*, left for Transbaikalia together with Gantimur. He knew how to produce thunder and lightning, and also snow that would remain without thawing for three days during the summer season. As we know the story of Gantimur's leaving the Nonni River for Transbaikalia in the seventeenth century, we may suppose that the Khingan Tungus migrated to the Nonni at that time. These contentions are corrobo rated by tradition and historic data.

Their neighbours on the eastern slopes of the Great Khingan and Ilhuri Mountains, i. e., in region 4, form several small groups; e. g., *naunčen*, from the name of the Nonni, and *gäncen*, from the name of the Gän (Chinese). Their language belongs to the Northern Tungus dialects, being closely related to that of the Tungus of the Kumara and Lesser Khingan regions. Their number is very small, about a hundred families (wigwams), so that they form only two companies (*niru*) with their centre in Mergen: thus they may be called the **Mergen Tungus.** From time to time they visit the upper course of the Bystraia, where they meet the Reindeer Tungus;[1] they also travel to the Kumara region, but they naturally avoid meeting the Khingan Tungus. They do not go so far south as the basin of the Gän, so that their area may be defined as follows: east from the Great Khingan and

[1] I have seen the "placings" for spirits on the banks of the Bystraia, and the framework of wigwams left by these Tungus.

south from the Ilhuri Mountains, west from the Nonni River, and north from the Dahur and Solon area. They call themselves *evenki*,[1] and they are called by their neighbours by names used for other Northern Tungus groups of Manchuria, i. e., *orončo*, *orončun*, *oročen*, *oŋkor-solon*, etc. About twenty-five years ago (the fact was recorded in 1915), the Chinese government made an attempt at settling these Tungus near Mergen. Living houses, a school, and a building for an office, had been erected, and the Tungus were invited to come. As in other numerous instances of this kind, i. e., among the Tungus of the Kumara region, and others, this attempt failed altogether. Some of the families which had settled near Mergen perished, and others went away.[2] Let us remark that the colonization of this part of Manchuria by the local wandering groups has always been unsuccessful, the main reason for which is that they are not accustomed to a settled life, and without a specially long training in farming they cannot change their living from hunting. In spite of this, it is a policy that has been systematically followed by local authorities, and as far as I can judge it has not been a cheap one.

The early migrations, anthropological characters, and technical culture, of this group are the same as those of the other Tungus groups of Manchuria. Their late migration seems to have been affected by the aggressive Chinese who penetrated their region.

Region 2—the Bystraia region—is occupied by a group, the **Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria,** which is different from the groups just described. They are reindeer breeders, use this animal for riding and carrying burdens, and are generally a typical reindeer group. They occupy the whole basin of the Bystraia, the upper course of the Albazixa as far as the Dulin, and also the sources of the Kumara, and they sometimes visit the Gän (Chinese); and, some time ago, they visited the upper course of the Marekta. Thus their western boundary is the right bank of the Argun; their southern boundary runs along the watershed of the Marekta and Bystraia river basins; and their eastern boundary lies along the Great Khingan Mountains and covers partly the sources of the Kumara. Their northern boundary is not definite, for the same territory is used by them and their neighbours, the Tungus of the Kumara region. They occasionally spread over the territory lying north of the Amur. Thus their neighbours are the Russians along the western boundary, and along that of the Marekta; and they are in touch with the Khingan Tungus near the sources of the Gan. They meet with the Mergen Tungus in territories used in common, i. e., in that of the Gän. They are neighbours of the Tungus of the Kumara region, in the basin of the upper Kumara, and in the basin of the Albazixa. On the banks of the Amur they meet with Russians, other Reindeer Tungus coming from the western part of the Amur Government, and also from the Yakutsk Government. Being Russian subjects, their administrative centre is on the banks of the Amur, in the Russian village of Reinovo, where they meet from time to time and pay certain tribute, but they tend rather to favour another village, Pokrovka, where they marry in the Orthodox Church, baptize their children, keep records,

[1] According to other Tungus, for I saw some representatives of this group for a short time only.

[2] A. O. Ivanovskiĭ mentioned this case (p. III). I am in possession of a very interesting document in Manchu, *orunčun saīsa n'alma kesi baĭxa bitxe*, prepared by these Tungus as their petition to the government, where this case is discussed.

and trade. From the anthropological point of view they are closely allied to the Tungus of the Nerchinsk *taiga*, whom they meet from time to time in the territory of the Yakutsk Government Tungus. Their number is very small — about forty families in the Bystraia River basin, and an unknown number in the other parts of their area. The number is not high, of course: I think that it must be under one hundred wigwams.[1]

The region where they live is not properly adapted to reindeer breeding, so from time to time they lose all their reindeer, and their stock has to be replenished by buying reindeer from the Tungus living in the Amur and the Yakutsk Government. Some twenty-five years ago, for instance, they lost all their reindeer and took to horses, but in 1915 they possessed a sufficient number of reindeer for travel and hunting,[2] sometimes attaining several tens of reindeer per family.

They speak a Northern Tungus dialect which is related to that of the Nerchinsk Tungus and especially to that of the Tungus of the Kalar region.[3] Their dialect is, however, influenced by the Yakut language, so that one finds a lot of borrowed words for non-Tungus complex and a certain number of Yakut words which have been substituted for Tungus terms. They call themselves *evenki*. The Russians call them *jakut* (plur., *jakuty*), i. e., Yakuts, for they have come from the Yakutsk Government where they once lived side by side with the genuine Yakuts, and Yakutized Tungus. Under the same name of *joko* they are known among the Manchus, the Khingan, and the Kumara Tungus. This name *joko* for them is a translation of the Russian *jakut*.[4] I think it was given to them by the Russians who did not distinguish them from the Reindeer Yakuts, and styled all of them *jakuty*. This name was also adopted by the neighbours of this group, as a name distinct from that of other groups in their vicinity. These Tungus are also called *kindigir* by the Russians and their other neighbours, which is one of the clans of these Tungus. Among the Manchus and the Dahurs and also the Chinese, this group is practically unknown.

According to their tradition, they migrated from the Yakutsk Government to their present area in 1835, or somewhat earlier.[5] Their migration may be supposed to be due to pressure on the part of the Yakuts, who, under Russian rule in Siberia, had grown numerically and, needing new territories for themselves, naturally spread over Tungus territory in the Yakutsk Government.[6] First the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria spread over a region much more spacious than it is now; so they occupied the Marekta and Derbul River regions and left several families on the banks of the Argun, which have been assimilated by the local Russian population. At the time of their migration to this region they met with the Tungus, at present living in the Kumara region. These Tungus left several traces of their presence, i. e., fences for reindeer, and camps. The Kumara region

[1] According to Chinese records, eighty-three families in 1913.
[2] See Chap. I, pp. 36 *seq.*
[3] As far as may be seen from the material published by E. I. Titov.
[4] It has, I think, no ethnical meaning, but a territorial one, though it was originally used as an ethnical term.
[5] According to Orlov (quoted by E. G. Ravenstein, p. 344) they migrated in 1825. He mentioned only *Sologon* (clan) including 72 individuals with 82 reindeer.
[6] This process is still going on, which may be seen from the fact of a further spread of the Reindeer Tungus from the Yakutsk Government south to the Amur Government.

Tungus sold their reindeer to the new-comers, thus giving up this industry.[1] The reindeer were not numerous, but only the remains of the formerly rich herds, for this region is not properly adapted for reindeer breeding. In fact, the Manchurian Plateau does not provide reindeer with good pasturage, or a cool temperature in summer, which are essentials for this animal. Some parts of this region, however, in many respects, are similar to good reindeer-breeding regions of the Yakutsk Government and Transbaikalia; but, as a matter of fact, the area is too limited. The experience in reindeer breeding in this region, which the Tungus of the Kumara region had for about one hundred fifty years, was quite enough to convince them of the necessity of giving up this industry. So these Tungus have left this region altogether, because it was not suitable also for horse breeding. As shown previously, food for the horse in this region is poor, even during the summer season. Yet, even for a hunting group, a supply of hay in the winter season is hardly possible, for the period of good grass coincides with the period of very important hunting of the maral reindeer. Moreover, during the winter season, hunters need to leave their camps for long journeys. As previously mentioned, the process of gradual loss of reindeer, extending through several decades, finally led the Tungus of the Kumara region to become horse-breeding hunters. This gradual process in the loss of reindeer was similar to that which has been observed in Transbaikalia, and is at present going on among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. It may be pointed out here that the Tungus of this region will probably lose their reindeer very soon, for they are already tired of their struggle to continue in this industry; and without a regular supply of reindeer from the northern regions they will be unable to maintain it. Generally speaking, the regions of the Nerchinsk and partly of the Barguzin *taiga*, and also the Manchurian highlands under present climatic conditions, may be regarded as regions where reindeer breeding cannot be maintained as a complex. Naturally, reindeer breeders who lose their reindeer, either leave with the remainder of them or adopt another complex, as, for instance, the combined hunting and horse-breeding complex which is suitable for local conditions.

The migration of the *ŋuɣal* westward, which occurred in the seventeenth and perhaps partly the eighteenth century, may also be regarded as due to this same cause—a gradual loss of their reindeer. The Manchurian highlands, as we learn from tradition, were not occupied by the Kumara region Tungus at once and by force, but they took it over from the *ŋuɣal*, who themselves had left for Transbaikalia, just as the Tungus of the Kumara region, a century later, left it to be taken over by the present Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. The *ŋuɣal* went westward, namely, to the Kuenga and Shilka basins, where a part of them have been absorbed by the local population, and another part joined the other Reindeer Tungus

[1] Reindeer breeding by the Tungus of the Kumara region is also confirmed in fact by the old people among the Manchus who remember their fathers' talking about the Kumara region Tungus, who at that time possessed this animal. So, according to the Manchus, the reindeer was known among these Tungus a hundred years ago. This testimony is confirmed by the Kumara region Tungus, who assert that reindeer breeding was gradually given up, a process which lasted through several decades. Some of the old people (in 1915) dimly remembered reindeer breeding by their parents in the region of the upper course of the Kumara.

in Transbaikalia. It is interesting to note that the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria still call the Barguzin Tungus the *ŋuγal;* and the Barguzin Tungus, according to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, still practise burying in coffins put on trees and high piles,[1] wearing a plait, and other customs which are typical, according to them, of the *ŋuγal*, and generally of the Reindeer Tungus, who have fallen under the influence of the Manchus and their kinsmen. This is quite right, as the Barguzin Tungus still sometimes practise the old method of burying, and some of them wear the plait, which is not, of course, characteristic of the *ŋuγal* only. Among the Barguzin Tungus certain physical characters point to their crossing with the Dahurs, who, if we agree with the tradition given above, might have been close neighbours of the *ŋuγal* during their stay in Manchuria.

As to the previous migrations of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria they mention a Tungus group called *mamugir*, with whom they fought in the regions now included in the Yakutsk Government.[2] Afterwards, they migrated and met another group in the Yakutsk Government or even perhaps in the region of the upper Amur—*čaŋgit*.[3] At that time they used to protect themselves with a kind of helmet and armour made of small wooden and bone sheets.[4] At one time, they were almost annihilated by their foes when one of their number, who happily escaped death by jumping with his ski from a rock, went down the frozen river, and brought the Russians. Since that time the Russians have protected the *eveŋki*, — the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, — who under this protection again multiplied. This event might naturally have taken place about the time of the seventeenth century. According to another tradition, the *čaŋgit* lived in the far north and possessed a special kind of very powerful arrow. These people pushed out the *eveŋki* from their former territory, so that the Tungus of the Kumara region migrated first, and the *eveŋki* followed them. If it were so, then the *čaŋgit*'s territory must lie north of that of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and that of the Kumara region Tungus, when they lived in the present Yakutsk Government. Then, under the name of *čaŋgit*, one may suspect either the Yakuts or some Tungus clan. It is also possible, if the first tradition is correct, that the *čaŋgit* were the Dahurs and the Solons, who lived in the upper course of the Amur.

Yet among other great foes of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria tradition also mentions the people *samagir*. There is no doubt that the *samagir* is merely a well-known Northern Tungus clan. The Reindeer Tungus used to capture reindeer belonging to the *samagir;* this fighting is said to have taken place in the eighteenth century. Their migration

[1] An old woman among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria remembers very well that, when she was a child, she used to collect metallic buttons and various ornaments from the old tombs left by the *ŋuγal*. The buttons and the ornaments were used for her *derboki* (a kind of dress covering the forehead). She believed these things to be of Yakut origin.

[2] I have already mentioned these people in previous sections. Cf. p. 58. If the tradition as to the *ŋuγal* is right, and if the Barguzin Tungus still embody remains of the *ŋuγal*, it is quite possible that the tradition as to *mamugir* was carried into Transbaikalia by the *nuγal*, who probably did meet the *mamugir* before their migration to Manchuria.

[3] Perhaps this name is not the name of a people, but merely means "wild," "savage," "living in an unorganized state," etc.

[4] Such armour is well known among many Far Eastern ethnical groups, i. e., various Palæasiatics, the Chinese, the Japanese, and others.

to Manchuria, according to their tradition, was sanctioned by the famous Governor-General Muraviev-Amurskiĭ, certainly some time after their actual migration to Manchuria.[1]

According to another tradition, the migration of the Northern Tungus from the present Yakutsk Government was started by the clan *samagir*, who went south, probably to Transbaikalia. Their territory in the Yakutsk Government had been occupied by the *laksikagir* clan, which also migrated southward at a later time, and left the territory for the *kindigir* clan, who form the bulk of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. The latter were pushed out of their territory by the *mamugir*, who were thus the last Tungus group that migrated south. A series of wars with bow and arrow resulted from the *mamugir* aggressive movements. A part of the *mamugir*, according to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, was pushed back, and still lives on the banks of the Lena. Owing to epidemics among their reindeer they are not numerous. They live mostly by fishing, but also possess some reindeer. A part of the *mamugir*, tradition says, fought with the Barguzin Tungus, who reached their present territory before the *mamugir*.

If we remember the tradition of the Barguzin Tungus, and some facts, previously mentioned, concerning the *mamugir*, it may be seen that traditions tell us about the same people, who were pushed westward by the Barguzin Tungus, and northward by the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. According to both traditions, the struggle took place in the present Yakutsk Government, before the Russian invasion of this part of Siberia, which happened, as we know, during the first half of the seventeenth century. These wars thus took place previous to that time. In the eighteenth century, probably the same clan was found in the Irkutsk Government, and probably in 1701 was mentioned as the neighbouring *šologon*, which are also included among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. So, in that case, the *mamugir* tradition is not a myth, but a historic fact — a Tungus group which pushed out other Tungus groups, to be sure, under strong pressure from a further group, either Tungus or more likely Yakut. So the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria are the last Northern Tungus group that migrated to Manchuria.

The eastern neighbours of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria are the **Tungus of the Kumara** region, whom I shall call *kumarčen*, by which name they style themselves, and are so named by other groups. Indeed, this name is quite conventional, for their area spreads much farther than the basin of the Kumara River. The **Kumarčen Tungus** occupy the whole basin of the Kumara, except perhaps the sources of this river. They occupy the lower courses of the Panga and the Albazixa. Between the Amur and the continuation of the Ilhuri Mountains they reach the Sun, the upper course of which is also occupied by them. The most remote group has already reached the Taun region (2) of the Lesser Khingan. A group of them is still (1915) found nomadizing within the Amur Government. The principal area of the Kumarčen in the Amur Government lies in the basin of the Urkan, or more exactly the Orbi, not very far from the Zeia; while, before the Amur

[1] Muraviev-Amurskiĭ is considered by these Tungus as the greatest of Russians. The protection of this Tungus group and the sanction for their occupation of the territory of China was a quite natural act on the part of Muraviev-Amurskiĭ, who had great foresight. As a matter of fact, this small group of Russian subjects might be used as a good pretext for intervention.

Railway was constructed, they used to roam through the basin of the Tygda. They leave their area for the Russian settlements for fur trade. At one time, within recent years, permission was given them to reside permanently in these settlements, and as a result two or three houses were built for them. Before the Boxer movement, the Kumarčen used to travel on both sides of the Amur, but since that time only a few families periodically cross the river near the Russian village of Olgina.[1] By the side of them, some Tungus of the Lesser Khingan region also live. North of them live the Reindeer Tungus, so that the Urkan River may be considered as the northern boundary of the Kumarčen area. Yet, according to the Russians, in about 1910, the Kumarčen wandered along the basin of the Selimdi, but after having murdered one of their number, fearing Russian authority they migrated to Chinese territory. During the winter season they show a tendency to gather in the lower courses of the big rivers, where there is hay prepared for their horses — near the mouth of the Kumara, in the locality called Orodon, and near the mouth of the Warakan River; also in the middle course of the Sun (region 1 of the Lesser Khingan); and along the lower courses of the Panga and Albazixa rivers; and others. During the summer season they visit the remotest parts of their area; e. g., the sources of the Kumara and the Kamala, and the upper course of the Taga. About 1915, a new attempt at settling the Kumarčen was made by the Chinese authorities. Near the mouth of the Kumara River several houses of Chinese type, a school, and an office were built. But this attempt was not successful.[2] The cause of the failure is the same as in the case of the Mergen Tungus. The Kumarčen are thus neighbours of the Reindeer Tungus in the east, and in the Amur Government, where they also meet Russians and perhaps Yakuts. In the south they are neighbours of the Mergen Tungus in the east and with the Tungus of the Lesser Khingans and even the Goldi, in the Taun region. They are also in touch with the Manchus and the Dahurs, who extend into the territory of the Kumarčen for fur trade. A few families of the Dahurs and the Manchus live among the Kumarčen. A great number of Chinese trappers, fur traders, and gold-mining adventurers penetrate their territory from all directions, but principally from the Amur, and by the road leading from the Mergen region. Some Chinese have settled among the Kumarčen, have married the Kumarčen girls, whom they usually take for their fathers' debts, and have introduced agriculture to the Kumarčen. The Chinese are specially attracted by the high benefits of their commerce with the Kumarčen and by the gold-fields in the Elgakan, Odjankur, Taga, and other rivers, and also by the hunting of the maral-reindeer, sable, and other animals.

The Kumarčen live mostly by hunting. Horse breeding has developed within the needs of hunting.[3] This region is not favourable for horse breeding, so that the Kumarčen have to use canoes or sometimes hunt on foot.

[1] At the time of R. Maack's visit, the Kumarčen were numerous on the left bank of the Amur and were slightly different from the Kumarčen who lived in Manchuria. The Nevir was the frontier between the Kumarčen and the Reindeer Tungus (cf. Maack, p. 68).

[2] See *supra*, p. 67.

[3] Cf. *supra*, Chap. I.

The Kumarčen are the most numerous group of all the Northern Tungus of Manchuria. In the territory of Manchuria, in 1915, there were about four hundred twenty-six families. They formed eight companies (*niru*) of bannermen with a chief. Their head office is located near the mouth of the Kumara.

They call themselves *evenki*. This name, however, is used mostly by the old people, and is more or less an intimate term. It is also referred by them to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. Another name is *oročen*, just as it is among the Khingan Tungus. The Manchus call them *orončo* and *oronču*n, also *kilin* and *čilin*. Their neighbours, the Reindeer Tungus, the Tungus of the Lesser Khingans, and the Mergen Tungus, call them *kumarčen*, while the Khingan Tungus use the name *kumarar*. Among the Chinese they are known as *kilin* and *cilin*, a name given to all Northern Tungus by the Chinese, who probably first met the Northern Tungus in Kirin province. The Manchu *kilin*, *čilin*, *čiliki*, have originated from the Chinese.[1] Among the Russians, the Kumarčen are known under the name of *man'egry*, which has originated from the name of one of their clans — *man'agir*. Under this name they appeared in the records of R. Maack, L. von Schrenck, and many other travellers.[2]

The Kumarčen speak a Northern Tungus dialect which is very similar to the dialect of the Tungus of the Lesser Khingan regions. Moreover, it may be regarded as a sub-dialect of the latter group. Words borrowed from the Manchus and the Dahurs are numerous also.

The history of this group is closely connected with that of the other Northern Tungus of Manchuria. According to their tradition they came to the Amur intending to cross it and penetrate Manchuria. They were travelling in small groups, one after the other. The Kumarčen were the first to go across the river, and when they had crossed, according to Tungus practice, they left a sign — a pole with an arrow showing the direction — on the bank of the river. The wind, however, turned the arrow and showed a wrong direction, so the Khingan Tungus who followed it went to the Gan; since then the Khingan and the Kumarčen Tungus have formed two distinct groups. Such a tradition is known also to have occurred among other Tungus groups. But, as has been shown, the language of the Khingan Tungus is but slightly different from that of the Kumarčen, and thus a historic fact is evident: that they came together, and naturally a group of them occupied a certain region, probably in a south-easterly direction, while another, the Khingan Tungus, occupied a region lying farther south. From this it may be inferred that the upper courses of the rivers descending from the Manchurian highlands were not very densely peopled. It is probable that they met with the Reindeer *nuγal*, for tradition about them has been

[1] This name has been introduced into Tungus classification as the name of a Goldi group by L. von Schrenck Since then, this name has persisted even in recent publications. See some details in my "N. T. M." and "S. O. M." *Vide* Supp. Note I.

[2] Th. W. Atkinson wrongly transcribed this name as Manyarg and the latter has been introduced into English writings on this region. So the misunderstanding with this name has led de Lacouperie to a further step: to connect it with the Turkic language. Cf. details in my "N. T. M.," footnote 25. E. G. Ravenstein maintained this wrong transcription, but he corrected some other mistakes of his predecessors including "Tuzemtz"—"native" in Russian—understood as a name of a people (p. 465).

transmitted to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria by the Kumarčen. A part of the latter group, together with the Tungus re-migrating from the south, intermingling with another group descending from the north, have formed the group of the Northern Tungus of the Lesser Khingan regions. The Mergen Tungus, in all probability, have come together with the other two groups. This migration took place before all the *ɲuɣal* left the Manchurian highlands, i. e., in the seventeenth century. It is very likely that this event was connected with the depopulation of the upper and middle courses of the Amur as ordered (in 1639) by the Manchus, who, by this measure, intended to stop Russian invasion. As soon as the region of the Amur River was free of its population, a mass of Reindeer Tungus rushed from the Amur Government across the river to Manchuria, which by that time was probably already cleared of its Tungus population. The fighting of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria with the *čaŋgit* possibly took place before the migration of the Kumarčen and their kinsmen. Moreover, the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria[1] must have come from the north-west, while the Kumarčen descended, I think, directly from the Amur Government. These two groups thus belonged, in all probability, to two different migratory waves.

The regions of the Lesser Khingan Mountains, apart from the Kumarčen mentioned, is occupied by one and the same Northern Tungus group, which for abbreviation I shall call **Birarčen.** These Tungus occupy the territory of the northern region (1), except on the banks of the Amur River, which are peopled by the Manchus, the Dahurs, and the Chinese, both recent colonizers and early colonizers, who were included in the Manchu military organization. Some Koreans, mostly gold-mining adventurers, have also appeared on the banks of the Amur River. A short strip along the Amur River bank, near the mouth of the Kurpin and Sun, about a hundred miles from Aigun-City, is occupied by the Birarčen. Sporadic groups of the Birarčen also visit the Chinese villages located near and in the gorges of the Sungari, and they also travel up the Amur River as far as the mouth of the Kun. The Birarčen also occupy the Taun region (2), where there are about twenty-five families living together with the Kumarčen and the Goldi. In the Kulun region (3) there are also a very small number of Birarčen in the upper course of the river living together with the Goldi. Region 4 was formerly occupied by the Birarčen too, but at present they only visit it occasionally. The western boundary of their territory passes along the watershed between the Nonni and that verging upon the Amur. The southern boundary passes near the Chinese Eastern Railway. The small rivers become gradually occupied by Chinese settlers; e. g., the basin of the Kulun is now occupied by Chinese and the latter penetrate the hunting territory of the Birarčen. In 1915 there were about three thousand Chinese hunters with fifteen or twenty thousand workmen. In the regions south of the Lesser Khingan Mountains, and along the Sungari, and, also, in region 4, the Chinese appeared in great numbers only about forty years ago. Ten years later their number had considerably increased. A few families of Birarčen live in the territory lying north of the Amur, namely,

[1] As far as I know, one finds an indication of reindeer breeding in Manchuria in a Manchu book, *guruŋ ulara bitxe*, which asserts that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Tungus of Manchuria possessed reindeer and a very few horses. My information concerning this book was communicated to me by the Tungus, and confirmed by the Manchus; unfortunately, I did not succeed in finding this book.

in the basin of the Zeia. After the Boxer movement, however, these Birarčen were completely dissevered from their kinsmen in the territory south of the Amur. The Birarčen living in the *taiga* dwell in wigwams and also in houses of a Chinese type forming small villages. The principal village is *Četu* (in Manchu), which means "a storehouse for grain"[1]—*Čet* (in Tungus), or *sem' domov*, i. e., seven houses (in Russian). This village, with ten Birarčen houses, some Chinese shops, a school for the Tungus, and an office building, is the administrative centre of the Birarčen, who in former days had four companies (*niru*) of bannermen. Their number in 1915 was about two hundred and sixty families. The *Četu* settlement had already been known for about ten generations; it was started, I think, as a storehouse by the Manchus when they returned to the banks of the Amur after the Russian invasion of the seventeenth century. In addition to this village, there is another one about five miles from the mouth of the Sun and ten miles from the *Četu*, having about fifteen houses on the banks of the Kurpin. Another village of Kumarčen and Birarčen, with ten houses or more, is found on the banks of the Sun; about thirty miles from the Dahur village of Fulardi, on the bank of the Amur, a few houses are also located. The Eiur, a tributary of the Sun, is occupied by Kumarčen and Birarčen, who have a few houses there. After the Boxer movement, and especially after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in China, generally speaking, the Birarčen and the Kumarčen became interallied: the latter, doubtless, spread over the Birarčen territory. It ought to be pointed out, however, that even before that time there was no great distinction between these two groups, and some Birarčen always lived among the Kumarčen, and vice versa; intermarriage between these two groups was always practised. As compared with the previous geographical distribution of the Birarčen, as far as may be seen from R. Maack's account, several changes have occurred in the general tendency, one of which is the reduction of the original territory. The Birarčen have been gradually pushed out from the periphery of their area, to the basin of the Sun. In the middle of the last century a clan of Birarčen, namely, the clan *dunānkān*, lived or at least hunted in the South Ussuri region, on the banks of Lake Hanka. Thus, in this region, they were in direct contact with the Udehe. Yet region 4, now occupied by the Chinese, was at that time occupied by the Birarčen and the Ussuri Goldi. The Birarčen were also numerous in the basin of the Zeia and they roamed and hunted in the basin of the Bureia, which in its upper course is now occupied by the Reindeer Tungus who have come from the Yakutsk Government. According to their tradition the Birarčen settlements and camps were numerous along the banks of the Amur, beyond the gorges of the Lesser Khingan Mountains, and even lately they met the Goldi in Futin, which is located on the bank of the Amur about fifty miles from the mouth of the Sungari. It is difficult to state whether all of them lived in such a remote region or only a part of them, but the fact of their living in the Bureia River region is confirmed by several traditions of the Reindeer Tungus and also by the testimony of travellers who visited this region during the last century. The process of thrusting out the Birarčen is quite a natural phenomenon, due to

[1] In Manchu it is also known as *birar jamun* — the Birarčen Administration Bureau.

pressure on the part of two powerful ethnical units—the Russians and the Chinese. At the present time, this process is helped by the policy adopted by the Chinese government, in accordance with its idea of settling all nomadic and wandering groups, and of their elaborating a scheme for settling the Birarčen into four villages, so that those now living, for instance, in the Taun region (2) have to come to the Amur River banks. Indeed, among the Birarčen, who are exclusively a hunting people, possessing only a few horses, not a family can settle without the risk of perishing altogether in the next cold season. Neither does settled life suit their psychology. So, for instance, in *Četu*, which has existed for over two centuries, there are only a few acres of cultivated land. Moreover, the Birarčen have to produce over fifty per cent of the total expenses for the building of their houses, and like constructions; the rest of it is provided by the authorities, who have also to provide the Birarčen with all necessary utensils, machinery, and cattle, for starting their farms. The Birarčen, first of all, do not care to spend their own money on this experiment, as the building of houses is rather useless for their principal occupation, and they require the Chinese government to cover all expenses connected with their settling, and to credit them with certain capital to start them in agriculture. It is, of course, obvious that if this capital is advanced by the government, without the Birarčen having necessary knowledge of agriculture, the scheme will be absolutely of no use. The government has several times tried to settle them in villages, and the Birarčen more than once have left their settlements and gone back to the mountains. In spite of these unfortunate experiences, the Chinese government still continues this policy of forced settlement.

The Birarčen language comprises two dialects, or sub-dialects, one of which is nearly the same as that of the Kumarčen, while another one has probably been influenced by their former living in the vicinity of the Goldi.

They call themselves *eveŋki*, and are sometimes called by various names given to them by their neighbours, and also *birarčen*. The Manchus call them *orončo*, *oronču̇n*, also *kilin*, *čilin*, *čiliki*. The Chinese call them *kilin*, *cilin*. The Russians call them *birary* (plur.). The other Tungus call them *birar* (Bir. Kum. Khin.) [and *birarčen* (Bir. Kum.)]. The latter name includes a derivative from it, in the form of *Byraly* of the Russians, which has also been introduced into the Tungus classification by various travellers. It originated from the name of their administrative unit, called in Manchu *birar jamun*, which was given to their unit, according to them, when this group lived on the banks of the Bureia (*bereja* and *n'uman*, in Tungus) and the Amur. According to the Birarčen it meant merely something like "the inhabitants of rivers" or "the inhabitants of a certain river," for *bira*, *bera*, etc., means river.[1] This is quite natural, for the Birarčen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lived in the basin of the Bureia, and only a part of them roamed through Manchuria, south of the Amur. According to the Birarčen, the name *birar* and *birarčen* may be referred to any people living on the banks of a big river, so that *kumarčen* (from the Kumara River), *ǯ'ičen* (from the Zeia or *ǯ'i* River), *taunčen* (from the Taun River), may

[1] In Manchu, however, a big river like the Amur River is called *ula* (*wula*—Manchu sp.) and smaller rivers are called *bira*.

also be called *birarčen*, as distinct from the Tungus living in the mountains, and distinct also from the Reindeer Tungus. In their minds, this name has thus no ethnical meaning. Under the Manchu influence, however, it was indiscriminately given to all groups controlled by the Birar Yamen of the Manchu military organization of the bannermen. But the problem is more complex than it seems to be to the Birarčen. I shall return once more to this question.

The various groups of the Birarčen are named according to the regions occupied by them, i. e., the *taunčen*, the *ǯ'ičen*, the *sunčen*, and the *kulunčen* as we have already seen among other Tungus groups of Manchuria.

The Birarčen ought not to be regarded as a group entirely distinct from the Kumarčen. These names, as that of classificatory units, have no right to their existence. These two groups, together with the Mergen Tungus and perhaps the Khingan Tungus, may be, it is true, opposed to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria on the one hand, and to the Solons on the other, under the general name of the **Northern Tungus of Manchuria.** As we have already seen, all of them belong to the same migratory wave; they speak a language which may be regarded as that of a unit. The distinctions among these groups are due mostly to the administrative subdivisions and very slight differentiating influences of the primary and the ethnical *milieu* in which they lived.

The history of the Birarčen is the same as that of the other Northern tungus of Manchuria, except during the last period, when they first extended over this huge territory, as far as Lake Hanka, and perhaps down the Amur, to the mouth of the Sungari; later they returned to the Amur. The Birarčen tradition says that they formerly lived in the present Amur Government and spread north as far as the Yablonov Mountains, which they call *d'idin*.[1] They have preserved a remembrance of a region with a very cold climate. Afterwards they met with the Reindeer Tungus—*taγa*, *taγačen*—and owing to that meeting, they migrated southward. A part of them reached the Amur between the gorges and the mouth of the Sungari; a group of Goldi joined them, and were adopted by the Birarčen clan *malakul*. This clan migrated, together with another Goldi group. The first clan left a sign—a pole with an arrow. The wind turned the arrow in the wrong direction and the second group following the first one took the wrong direction; and thus they reached the Birarčen territory.[2] During the last century the Birarčen continued their migration to Manchuria. This process was especially intensive, when the Russians occupied the left bank of the Amur, according to the Aigun Treaty (1856), but they have also been hard-pressed by the Reindeer Tungus. One of them, for instance in 1906, migrated from the present Amur Government with his wife and children, who was a *taγa* woman, i. e., a Reindeer Tungus woman. Their relations with the Russians had not been happy. So, for instance, according to the tradition, Muraviev-Amurskiĭ was accompanied by two Birarčen officials—a *boško*

[1] In Tungus, all big watersheds, like the Great and Lesser Khingans, or the Yablonov Mountains, are called *d'idin*.

[2] This tradition is absolutely similar to that we have already learnt from the history of the migration of the Kumarčen and the Khingan Tungus.

(sub-officer's grade) from *Čelu*, and another one from a camp situated farther down the Amur. Both officials received splendid gifts from the Russian general. The Manchu authorities looked upon this matter seriously. Both of them were called upon by the authorities, and the *bošk*o from *Čelu* told the true condition that prevailed and he was sentenced for deportation to Sinkiang province.[1] Another *bošk*o related how he had been taken against his will by the Russian general, who treated him very badly, so he escaped the misfortune of the first *bošk*o. During the Boxer movement, the Birarčen lost four men: two of them were killed in battle, and two were punished with death by the Russians for refusing to leave *Čelu* village when it had been occupied by the Russian troops. The village was burnt out by the Russians, who accused the Tungus of shooting against them. At that time the Birarčen, together with other Tungus of Manchuria, served in the light cavalry, but after the first battle the major part of the Tungus who had been enrolled in this cavalry left for the mountains. So, for instance, the Kumarčen, according to their version, fought only for twenty days.

According to Birarčen tradition, before the Russian invasion in the seventeenth century, the Amur was occupied by a people different from them. These people were organized under the command of their chief Daurkan, who was married and had a son. Once it happened that he must cross the Amur with his army. He sent one of his generals to see whether the river might be crossed on foot or not. The general was very much surprised, because it was in the hot summer season, and the river could not be ice-bound. In spite of his doubts he went to the river, and seeing it full of running water, came back and reported. The general was ordered to be punished by death. Then Daurkan sent another general, whose end was similar to that of the first one. The third general being afraid, when he returned told his master that the river might be crossed on foot. The army, with Daurkan, went to the Amur, and to the great surprise of all, they saw big turtles, which formed a bridge of themselves across the river. Daurkan, with his army, crossed the river by this bridge, and when they were on the opposite side of the river, Daurkan asked his general whether everybody had crossed. The general replied positively, without looking at the river, and then he looked at it and saw the turtle-bridge slowly submerging into the water, and together with it Daurkan's son, who was drowned. Daurkan's son's wife remained on the other side of the river. She gathered an army and started a war against her father-in-law. The Dahurs have originated from her army. Daurkan built walled cities, and his camps, even when only in use for a few days, were always surrounded by earthen walls. So all the remains of fortifications and walled towns found on the banks of the Amur are believed by the Birarčen to be built by Daurkan. Another people were at the same time headed by their chief Dučer. The name Daurkan, which is merely *Daur*, i. e., Dahur, and *kan*, i. e., the khan, — the khan of the Dahurs, —

[1] According to the Birarčen, many of their people live in Sinkiang province (Ili province), together with other Tungus of Manchuria. In fact, it is known that a group of people called the *oŋkor solon* are living with the Manchus and the Dahurs in this province. It is very probable that these *oŋkor solon* are a mixture of different Tungus groups of Manchuria. (Cf. *supra*, p. 63.)

ought to be directly connected with the Dahurs who had lived in the upper course of the Amur before the Russians came. The origin of the Dahurs came from the intermixing of the *xarcin* with other people; this we know from the tradition of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. Indeed, Daurkan was the chief of another group against which the Dahurs, who originated from Daurkan's daughter-in-law's army, fought. Yet the Dučer, under the name of *dučery*, are known from the reports of the early Russians of the seventeenth century.[1] The Birarčen tradition also mentions a people who were called *maŋi*, who were the heroes of the Northern Tungus, and who constructed several bars across the Amur, which later on were partly removed by the Russian Conservancy Board of the Amur River. This tradition is, of course, a mere explanatory myth.

Let us now return to the origin of the name *birarčen*. Their own interpretation of this name seems to be an explanation of a name which has lost its original meaning. First, both Birarčen and Kumarčen live on the banks of rivers and hunt in the mountains. Thus both Birarčen and Kumarčen may be called *birarčen* in the sense of "inhabitants of the rivers," if the Birarčen's etymology is correct. But it is not so: the Birarčen are *birarčen* and the Kumarčen are *kumarčen*. Second, in the Birarčen dialect the Bureia River is known under the name of *n'uman* and not *beraja* or *bureja*. Third, the suffix *-čen* is agglutinated to the names of rivers, localities, etc., and only lately to the names of peoples; as, for instance, *eveŋkičen*.[2] Fourth, as shown, a part of the Birarčen in olden days lived in the vicinity of the Goldi, in a region lying south from their present area, and east from the Lesser Khingan Mountains within the present Amur Government. The only possible logical conclusion from the facts given above is that their original name was *birar*, as they are still called by some of their neighbours, which has originated from the name of a river called *bira*, viz., analogous to *kumarar*, from *kumar(a)*. The only river of this name is found in the lower course of the Amur — the left tributary of the Amur falling into the latter, not very far from the confluent of the Sungari and Amur rivers, and flowing from the eastern slopes of the Lesser Khingan Mountains within the limits of the Amur Government. The basin of another left tributary, the Kur, Urmi, and Tunguska rivers, is separated from that of the Bira by a lowland, and is still peopled by the remainder of the Northern Tungus, intermingled with the Goldi. These Tungus are called by the Russian officials *kili rod* (*kili* clan) of the Goldi.[3] It is not, however, a Goldi clan, but a Goldified Northern Tungus group. The clan *malakul* was one of the Birarčen clans that lived by the side of the Goldi, and a small group of the Goldi was also adopted by this clan. The Northern Tungus group that lived in the basin of the Bira and probably Kur rivers in olden days was numerous, and besides the clan *malakul*, also included at least two clans: the *kargir* and the *maakagir*.

[1] The name of this chief may be connected with the name of people found by the Russians on the banks of the Amur River in the seventeenth century — *-dučer* (plur., *dučery*). This name seems to be a Tungus pronunciation of *ǯurǯen* (plur., in Tungus, *ǯurǯer*), which I have connected (cf. "S. O. M.," Suppl., Note X, pp. 173–177) with the Solons and other Northern Tungus of previous migratory waves (see further, Chap. III).

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 76.

[3] Cf. L. von Schrenck, *op. cit.*; I. A. Lopatin, Goldi; also my "N. T. M.," p. 138.

The first of them migrated to Lake Hanka.[1] In the fifties, L. von Schrenck in this region discovered a numerous group of people slightly different from the Goldi, whom he called *kiler*. As shown, *kiler* is Northern Tungus plural from *kilen* and *kilin*; *cilin* and *kilin* is the name by which the Chinese and Manchus call all Northern Tungus groups. The same name is also adopted by the Goldi for the Northern Tungus. At present, in its lower course, the Bira River is occupied by the Russian colonizers, and is occasionally visited by the Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government in its upper course.

Let us now reconstruct what has happened with the early population of this region. Before the Russian invasion of the Amur valley, at least three Northern Tungus clans, namely, the *maakagir*, the *kargir*, and the *malakul*, had already lived a long time in this region, and were in contact with the Goldi, and possibly the Manchus. They were organized into an administrative unit by the Manchus, which was called after the name of the inhabitants of the river (as the Manchus usually did) Bira, whence originated the name of the people, *birar*, and that of their administrative unit, *birar jamun*. Their first migration from this region occurred probably in the seventeenth century, when the Russian invasion of the Amur valley compelled the Manchu government to order the removal of the Tungus controlled by the Manchus from the regions exposed to the Russian attacks. After their wandering in Manchuria, a part of them did not return to the old places but settled near Aigun-City, where a storehouse was built by the Manchus—*Četu*. In their new settlement they preserved their old administrative unit, *birar jamun*. Later, another part of them, which did not follow the first around in its wanderings in Manchuria in the seventeenth century, joined the settlement in the Aigun district after L. von Schrenck's visit to the "kiler's" region. The whole group of the Bira-Kur region was called by the Goldi *kiler*, by the Chinese and Manchus *kilin*, *cilin*, but they called themselves *evenki*, as still now do the clans *maakagir*, *kargir*, and *malakul*.

This explains to us the fact of the existence of two sub-dialects among the Birarčen, their traditions as to the migrations from the south, and a mysterious disappearance of L. von Schrenck's "kiler" from their former area, also their names — *birar* in former days and *birarčen* at present. In fact, the name *birar* has lost its original meaning, so they now want some explanation, even though by means of a doubtful etymology — "the inhabitants of rivers," in general. Yet this gives a support to my opinion as to the misunderstanding that has occurred with the name *kiler*, *kilin*, *kili*, etc.

The territory lying north from the Amur River, except the last mentioned small spots of the Kumarčen and the Birarčen, is occupied by the **Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government,** who came from the Yakutsk Government when the present Manchurian Tungus left these territories. They speak a Northern Tungus dialect slightly influenced by the Yakut language, and in many respects they may be considered as belonging to the same group as the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. They form at least two distinct regional groups — one in the basin of the Zeia and another in the basin of the Bureia. Behind them

[1] See *infra*, Chap. III.

the Yakuts moved south, at first as merchants. These Tungus call themselves *evenki*. They are called by the Russians *tungusy* and the Yakuts call them *tonus*. The Tungus of Manchuria call them *taya*, *täyačen*, *teya*, which, in opposition to bannermen, means "people." Naturally the Manchus call them by the name common to all Tungus — *orončo*, etc. I do not know what the Chinese call them, but in all probability it is *kilin*, *cilin*, also perhaps sometimes *solun žen* — the polite form used for the designation of the Tungus of Manchuria. The fact of their migration south is still preserved in the memory of the old people and the Bureia Tungus connect themselves with the Tungus still living in the Yakutsk Government. A few years ago a part of them migrated to Sakhalin Island, which is better adapted for reindeer breeding than the Bureia River region.

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3. Neighbours of the Northern Tungus

Two groups, the Goldi and the Udehe, should be included, perhaps, in the former section, for they have, I think, originated from the Northern Tungus groups partly assimilated by their neighbours. The origin of these groups, however, is not yet completely established, so I shall make some remarks in this section, which deal with non-Northern Tungus groups.

The Goldi. The Goldi live east of the Birarčen area. They are intermingled with the Birarčen in regions 2 and 3, and also perhaps 4. The Goldi live mostly by hunting and fishing, except a few groups who show a tendency towards the adoption of agriculture as the principal means of existence, along the valley of the Sungari. As stated, some Goldi have joined the Birarčen clan *malakul*.[1] They form three regional groups, i. e., the Sungari, Ussuri, and Amur river groups, of which the latter includes at least two distinct dialects of the same Goldi language. The Birarčen used to meet with all three groups. The Birarčen call them *xedĕen*, from the name the Goldi use for designating themselves: *xodĕen*, *xoʒen*. The Manchus call them by the same name: *xedĕen*. The Birarčen also use the term *g'ilāmi* with reference to the Goldi of the Ussuri and Amur rivers. The Chinese call them, together with some other Tungus groups, 魚皮韃子, *ju-p'i-ta-ze*, i. e., Fish-Skin Barbarians. Some other names are also known, but I shall not repeat here what has already been recently discussed.[2] The Goldi have passed

[1] A very interesting instance of a reverse process. The Goldi, according to my hypothesis, originally belonged to the Northern Tungus. Afterwards they were influenced by the Palæasiatics and the Manchus. At last they returned again to the Northern Tungus and were, of course, as part of them, included in a Northern Tungus group.

[2] Cf. "N. T. M.," devoted to the problem of the Goldi origin; also "S. O. M.," p. 169 ff. In the first, some bibliography is given. The most detailed data as to the geographical distribution of the Goldi of the Maritime Government is given by I. A. Lopatin.

Among different names of this Tungus group (quoted and partly analysed in my "N. T. M.," footnote 1) the most common and the most used by the Goldi, as their own name, is that of *xodĕen* (*xoʒen*), (*xedĕen*). P. P. Schmidt's etymology of this name from "low" (*xŏd'ilŏ*—below, beneath, in the vocabulary of Olcha) as opposed to *solon* from *soli* (*soli* of the vocabulary of Olcha is "up-stream," cf. *supra*, p. 64); "up-stream" does not seem to be quite convincing. First, in Tungus the word opposite in its meaning to "up-stream" has been derived from the root *aja*, *eje*, well known in Northern Tungus and in Manchu; while *xŏd'ilŏ*, connected by P. P. Schmidt

through a series of outside influences and they now form distinct regional groups. The original Northern Tungus layer is covered with layers of the Palæasiatic, Southern Tungus (Manchu), Chinese, and Russian influences. The group of the Sungari has now come under a strong Chinese influence. These Goldi were incorporated as bannermen and were styled by the Manchus *ičе manǎu*, i. e., the Modern (new, recent) Manchus, which does not mean, of course, that they are of the same origin as the Manchus, for the term *manǎu*[1] means a political and partly cultural belonging and not an ethnical affinity.

The Udehe. The Udehe is another group with which the Birarčen were in contact, perhaps during the last century. The Udehe also seem to belong to the Northern Tungus, but have been influenced by the same ethnical groups as the Goldi. This group has from long ago lived in South Ussuri-land and perhaps farther south. Lately it has fallen under Chinese influence and in part has been infiltrated with Chinese ideas and complex. The influence of this group over the Birarčen may not be considered as a very strong one, for they lived side by side during rather a limited period and along a short line of contact only.[2]

Together with the Udehe, another Northern Tungus group—the **Oroči** — ought to be mentioned. In the Maritime Government, in the basin of the Tumnin, the Hadi, and the Kopi, along the sea-coast as far as De Kastri, a small group of Tungus of some five hundred people live by hunting.[3] Their dialect is one of the Northern Tungus, strongly influenced by Manchu, Goldi, and other dialects.[4] They call themselves *oroči*. Formerly, they had reindeer, which were lost during the nineteenth century.[5] Their present cultural complex is similar to that of the Udehe, but it has more strongly preserved the Northern Tungus

with Manchu *feǎile*, means "down, below" (cf. my Northern Tungus terms). Second, *xoǎen* and especially *xödžö* (P. P. Schmidt) has no suffix at all; thus it is supposed to be in its original form of *xo* (with the suffix *-žo*), which, of course, cannot be used as a name of people. Third, *xǎden, xoǎen, xöǎö*, are living in the *upper* and lower courses of the Ussuri and the *middle* course of the Sungari. This name seems to be of a non-Tungus origin, perhaps Chinese, i. e., as to the origin, similar to the name *manǎu*.

1 Cf. my "S. O. M.," pp. 9–11.

2 For details concerning this group, see my "N. T. M.," Suppl., Note III; also *infra*, Chap. III.

3 This group has been visited by several travellers: P. P. Margaritov, S. Leontovič, L. J. Sternberg, and last, I. A. Lopatin. The most detailed description of them is given by P. P. Margaritov, yet S. Leontovič has published a short dictionary. But all these descriptions suffer from want of a desirable completeness. I. A. Lopatin's last publication is produced in the same naïve way as his previous publication about the Goldi. However, he has added a few new facts.

4 P. P. Schmidt asserts that the Oroči, from a linguistic point of view, belong to the same group as the Negidals. The linguistic material we have, namely, S. Leontovič's dictionary, a short list of words given by P. P. Margaritov, also a few texts, permit one to conclude that this dialect is a Northern Tungus dialect influenced by the Manchus, the Goldi, etc. Some admixture of the Palæasiatic element is very probable. I. A. Lopatin, however, asserts that their dialect belongs to the Southern branch (Manchu) because the Oroči understood the Manchu expressions written down for I. A. Lopatin by A. V. Grebenščikov. Yet, according to I. A. Lopatin, the Oroči understand the Oročen and the Goldi. Indeed, I have not seen the list of Manchu expressions which might be understood by the Oroči; but it is not surprising, for they spoke Manchu in former days. As to the Goldi dialect, it is absolutely natural that the Oroči understand it, for they are a neighbouring group and speak the Goldi dialect. The same ought to be supposed in reference to the dialect of the Oročen, which is, of course, closely allied to the Oroči dialect. From the material published (including that of I. A. Lopatin), the Oroči dialect is not a Manchu or a Goldi language, but a typical Northern Tungus dialect.

5 The former reindeer breeding of the Oroči has been supposed by E. G. Ravenstein (from their name, p. 339), also by L. J. Sternberg (I quote S. Brailovskiĭ). I. A. Lopatin has found some new indications on it in the Oroči folk-lore. Cf. also my "N. T. M.," p. 160.

features. From the anthropological point of view, they are a mixture of the type *gamma* and probably the type *beta*, common among the Palæasiatics, the Koreans, and the Chinese of the sea-coast.[1] It is evident that this small group has passed through a period in which they have lost their original Northern Tungus complex. This group was perhaps joined by the Northern Tungus who had lost their reindeer, as happened not long ago to two families which are now living among the Oroči and who preserve their dialect and still call themselves *evenki*.[2]

The Dahurs. The Dahurs, who have already been mentioned several times, live in close proximity to the Birarčen and other Northern Tungus of Manchuria and speak a Mongol dialect with certain affinities to the Mongol language spoken in the thirteenth century.[3] They live on the banks of the Amur and inland not far from this river.[4] They are also scattered along the villages of the Sun, the Fa (Fa-bira), the Kumara, though rarely down the Amur, on the right bank, and as far as opposite the Russian village of Konstantinovka. Their villages are numerous in the region of *Butxan'*, and also generally in the valley of the Nonni and particularly along the Yal, the Ar, and the Numin. Some Dahur families are met with as far away as Hailar-City and its neighbourhood. They live mostly by agriculture of the Sino-Manchu system, cattle and horse breeding being of secondary importance. They formerly preferred various official positions, as representative of Manchu power, also commercial business, principally with the Northern Tungus, with whom long ago they were very well acquainted. Their settlements in the valley of the Argun River and generally in Transbaikalia, dating centuries back, have left traces of agriculture. Their number is not large,—about fifteen thousand,[5]—of whom about three hundred families live in the Aigun district. During the Manchu dynasty in China, they served as bannermen. The Republican government, however, took steps to include them in the local Chinese communities. The Butxan administrative unit, however, still exists (1915). The name of the Dahurs is more or less stable. The Birarčen and the Kumarčen call them *dahur* or *daur*, while the Khingan Tungus call them *davur*, *dawur*, and *daur*. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria call them *dahuhal* (*hal*=*sal*, suff. of plur.). The Manchus call them *daxuri* and the Chinese give a phonetic approximation, *da-hu-er* (達虎兒).[6] The Mankova Tungus, however, call them *uwur*. Yet among the Yakuts the name is known as *doγur*. The meaning of this name is not understood.[7] It may here also be noted that the name of the eastern Transbaikalia

1 Cf. my "A. E. C.," p. 119, footnote.

2 P. P. Schmidt suggests that they are Palæasiatics influenced by the Northern Tungus. It does not change my hypothesis. Some Northern Tungus might have come and influenced this group before it had been cut off from the Negidals. *Vide* Supp. Note III.

3 Cf. W. L. Kotwicz, "Les Khitais, etc."; also "N. T. M.," p. 164 ff.

4 In the following villages: *Xolmoǎin, Kaitukan, Xurgur, Fularǎi, Kon-bira*, and three small villages between *Xurgur* and *Fularǎi*; i. e., their southern boundary lies some forty miles from Aigun-City down the Amur River.

5 See A. V. Grebenščikov, *op. cit.*, p. 9, and footnote; cf. *supra*, p. 63, and *infra*, section 6.

6 According to some Manchus the Chinese used the name "Solon" to designate the Dahurs also. Afterwards, they adopted *dahuli* (大呼力) and *dahur* (達斡爾) to distinguish the Dahurs from the Solons. A. O. Ivanovskiĭ gives 打虎兒 and 達呼爾 as transcriptions of *dahur*, and 打狐狸 as another approximation—*dahuli*. The characters used for the first transcription mean "hunting the tiger," while the second has no meaning at all, and seems to be mere phonetic transcription. The third one means "hunting the fox" (according to A. O. Ivanovskiĭ). Such a diversity of Chinese transcriptions seems to show that this name is of non-Chinese origin.

7 Some Tungus make allusion to *daku* (Nerč.) [Manchu—*daxu*]—a kind of fur coat used by the Dahurs. But this etymology is indeed doubtful.

Daurija originated from the same source. The Dahurs had some relations with the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia.[1] The Tungus and other groups of Manchuria very often include the Solons into the Dahur group, and consider them to be Dahurs. So in this case they say that there are two different languages, one of which is like Mongol and the other like a Tungus language, but a little different. Such a confusion of groups has often been a source of misleading information about the Dahurs.[2]

According to Tungus tradition, the Dahurs, before the first onset of the Russians, lived in the upper course of the Amur, near the mouth of the Zeia, and farther south along the valley of the Amur, which is quite correct. Under Manchu rule the Tungus were always connected with the Dahurs. Some Tungus (Birarčen), however, believe that the Dahurs are also *evenki*, who have forgotten their language. But it is also stated by the Tungus and the Dahur traditions that the Dahurs occupied the Amur River region and intermixed with another group called the *xarčin*, who also lived on the upper course of the Amur near *Butxan'*. The Dahurs once spoke a language different from that of the *xarčin*, but they had intermixed with the *xarčin* and the present Dahur language was formed from these two different languages. According to Dahur tradition they are a Mongol group, which, during the time of the Khitans, occupied the Argun and Shilka river region, and also the upper course of the Amur. The Great Liao was formed of two groups, those living in the north and called *kitan*, with whom, as we know from another tradition, the Dahurs were connected, and those living in the south, who started this political organization. The *kitan* joined the Great Liao. At that time a small Northern Tungus (*oŋkor-solon*) power existed in the region of Mukden, and was of course destroyed by the Great Liao. According to this tradition the Dahurs never had their own dynasty. Under the Nuichen, during the Kin dynasty, they came to Manchuria from the west, i. e., from the Argun and Shilka river region, and partly from the present Heilungkiang province. At the beginning of the Manchu dynasty they lived along the Amur in an independent state, together with the Solons, who were probably the *dučer* of the Russians. The Russian invasion indirectly caused their moving south, for they were compelled to migrate, owing to Manchu pressure. They were also incorporated as bannermen, went south to China, and there were partly assimilated by the Manchus and the Chinese. Since that time their number has been considerably reduced.

It should be noted that *xarčin*, *xorčin*, or *xaračin* are still known in Mongolia as a Mongol group near Barin;[3] on the other hand, the Dahur include some clan names doubtless of Northern Tungus origin. It may be inferred that the Dahurs, at least a part of them, originally were not a Mongol group, but perhaps a Tungus group taken under control by the *xarčin*, who were of Mongol origin. The Tungus group was Mongolized by direct

[1] It may be supposed that the Dahurs were for a long time in control of the Northern Tungus and their leadership of the Nomad Tungus in Transbaikalia was only one of many small events historically recorded.

[2] Cf. also *supra*, pp. 78, 79, and *vide* Supp. Note II.

[3] This fact is of great importance, for the Dahurs pretend to be direct descendants of the Great Liao Khitans. The capital of Great Liao was located in Barin.

crossing and cultural assimilation, just as is now happening with the Solons. Yet from the anthropological point of view at present the Dahurs do not seem to be akin to the Northern Tungus.[1] It is, however, very likely that the Dahurs played a certain part in the political life of the Khitans, who were already a mixed group, for the Solons, at that time a Tungus-speaking group, as they now are, pretend to have played a certain, although secondary, rôle under the Great Liao; the Dahurs pretend to be the direct descendants of the Khitans. It may also be possible to consider them as were some other groups of Manchuria, which, being mixed with the Northern Tungus, joined those who from its very beginning started the Manchu political enterprise, and were after considered to be genuine Manchus. But this does not mean, however, that the Khitans were Tungus, or that the Dahurs ever have been Tungus, for even if they formerly were Tungus, the substitution of physical type, language, and ethnographical complex was already complete at the moment of their participation in the Khitans' political organization. The only hint as to the Tungus origin of some of their groups is in the names of clans, and a somewhat confused tradition. If we agree with the tradition which points to the Northern Tungus origin of certain Dahur groups, then it must be inferred that, previous to the first Northern Tungus migration, which brought the Solons with it, another one had taken place before that time, and a part of those earlier Northern Tungus had entered the group we now call Dahurs. This seems to be quite possible, for the Dahurs believe that, before the very beginning of the Great Liao, a small Northern Tungus group (*oŋkor-solon*) used to have its own political organization in Manchuria. Such a conclusion infers another logical deduction, namely, that the first Northern Tungus migration had occurred long before the Khitans came into power, according to my previous hypothesis, somewhere about the third century of this era. Yet some authors have suggested the Khitans to be a Southern Tungus group. If this hypothesis is supported by linguistic and archæological evidence,[2] it will not even then solve the problem as to the origin of the Dahurs' inclusion in the Khitans' political organization.

The Manchus. The Manchus, who played a very important political and cultural part in this region, still preserve their former influence as a culturally superior group. Details concerning them, their origin, and their name may be found in my other work dealing with the Manchu social organization. Being a Southern Tungus group, with their own language and customs, also an ethnographical complex of their own, they lived in regions good for agriculture. Their colonies, in the regions occupied by the Northern Tungus, are not numerous, as they are confined to the banks of the Amur River, the country adjoining it, and also the valley of the Nonni south of the region occupied by the Dahurs. The bulk of the Manchu population lives in the Tsitsihar (*Čičixar*) district, and in Kirin province, south of the Goldi territory. Anthropologically they are composed of three types: *gamma*, which is also common among the Northern Tungus; *delta*; and *beta*.[3] Being compared with the Koreans, the Mongols, the Chinese, and the Northern Tungus, they show a mixed character.

[1] Cf. my "A. N. C."

[2] See my "N. T. M.," footnote 87.

[3] Cf. my "A. N. C." and "A. E. O."

The Manchus entered into contact with the Northern Tungus, probably after the first Northern Tungus migration to Manchuria. Since we still have no documents which would allow us to reconstruct the ethnographical complex or the language of the early Southern Tungus from which the Manchus originated, it is rather difficult to venture a statement as to the discovery of early southern influences over the Northern Tungus groups. So when we speak of the influence of the Manchus, we understand the influence of the complex that began its existence, together with the name of the political and ethnographical complex known as Manchu. Their predecessors of the same origin, the Nuichen, had previously influenced some Northern Tungus, — according to my hypothesis the Solons, the Goldi, the Udehe, and their neighbours, — and left some traces in the Northern Tungus ethnographical complex.[1] The beginning of the Manchus dates only from the end of the sixteenth century. Then the Northern Tungus, living in Manchuria and the neighbouring regions, were involved in the political by-play of the Manchus, whom they did not leave till the last moment of the Manchu government of China. Some Northern Tungus groups were incorporated as bannermen into the Manchu military organization, although as people of secondary rank, and the Manchu influence was introduced from the top down, by direct influence of government and also through contact with the Manchu population. After the Manchu settlement in the Aigun district, they started their trade with the Northern Tungus. Quite naturally, the Manchus proved themselves to be of superior authority in all matters. The Manchu language became indispensable to the Northern Tungus, because the Manchus did not speak the Northern Tungus dialects. Manchu books, Manchu fashions, and Manchu ideas became the standards for the Northern Tungus. In 1915, the Kumarčen and the Birarčen of over twenty years almost all knew the Manchu language, and many of them read and wrote Manchu as well. More than this, the impregnation of the Manchu mind with Chinese ideas during the nineteenth century was so intense that the Manchu language became extinct in Kirin, Mukden, and also partly in Heilungkiang, but it was preserved among the Tungus and the Dahurs. Yet the Manchu spoken in the Aigun district altered considerably, while the Tungus and the Dahur bannermen used the Manchu literary language. Thus, it is not surprising that the Manchu ethnographical complex constitutes the most important source for the Tungus borrowings. The understanding of the Tungus complex, without a knowledge of the Manchu complex, is impossible. It is almost sure that, in spite of the fact that the Northern Tungus always desired to preserve their ethnographical complex and language, they would have lost it, if the Manchu rule had been maintained somewhat longer. If it were so, then the Northern Tungus of Manchuria would become the *iče mandžu*, as has happened with some other groups, e. g., the Sungari River Tungus (the Goldi).

The Manchus are called *mandžu* by all Northern Tungus groups except the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, who call them *bogdo*.[2] This name is of recent origin, of about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Russians called them, during their early relations,

[1] E. g., Shamanism, I have suggested, spread either through the Nuichen or perhaps through their direct descendants in Manchuria, under the Ming dynasty of China. Cf. my part in "Sr. Sh."

[2] See *infra*, p. 93.

bogdoïcy. This term also partly covered the Chinese. The Chinese, the Dahurs, the Goldi, and the Mongols call the Manchu *mandžu*. This term, however, among the Negidals covers not only the Manchus, but also the Chinese.

The **Mongol,** including the **Buriat,** influence over the Northern Tungus, especially in regions of direct contact, is very strong: it could not be otherwise. In the first place, it should be pointed out that the Tungus met the Mongols as a group much better adapted to local geographical conditions than they themselves were at the time. The reindeer complex, as shown, could not be maintained any longer, since their relations going south were unable to supply them with new reindeer stock. Naturally, the Northern Tungus going south gave up their old system and gradually adopted an ethnographical complex suitable to the local conditions, but preserving from the old complex what could be preserved without harmful results for the existence of the units. With the adoption of this new complex the language was also affected, first by introduction of new terms concerning material culture, and later, under the influence of this contact, terms of a general character, phonetics, and the morphological elements as well. Along with the penetration of the Mongol culture into the body of the Northern Tungus complex, the intercourse between the Tungus and the Mongols grew, so that they intermixed and crossed. Naturally the anthropological elements, characteristic of Mongol ethnical groups — the type *delta* — have also penetrated these Northern Tungus to such an extent that some former Northern Tungus groups have become entirely modified in their original physical features. This is quite natural, for the Mongols, as compared with the Tungus numerically, have always been superior. By this method, a complete Mongolization of the Tungus has been and still is in operation. We now find all degrees of Mongolization, from a complete substitution of the original ethnical character, to a slight penetration of Mongol elements, linguistic and ethnographical, through the direct borrowing from neighbours and through the intermediary assistance of Mongolized Tungus groups. It may be supposed that certain groups, like a part of the Dahurs, have absolutely lost their former complex. The process of absorption of the advanced Northern Tungus groups by the Mongols, with reference to the language during the last century, has misled distinguished linguists, who denied the existence of the Tungus as an independent unit. Still this Mongol influence, in the Tungus language, serves as the backbone for a theory that recognizes the common origin of the so-called Altaic languages, including Tungus. Mongol influence on Tungus groups took place after the first of them entered into contact with the Mongols. It may thus be supposed that such was the case of the Tungus who later entered into the ethnical body of the Dahurs and the Solons. With the establishment of Mongol control over southern Transbaikalia, especially during the Yuan dynasty, Mongol influence over the Tungus was enormously reinforced by political pressure. This influence, even after the downfall of the Yuan dynasty, continued this Mongolization, for Chinese and Manchu cultural control over this territory could not be established. Russian influence over the Northern Tungus of Transbaikalia, also, could not compete against Mongol influence, and even since the establishment of Russian control several Tungus groups have been Mongolized, as the Nomad Tungus of Urulga, some of the

Mankova, and others. Mongol influence, however, in some instances has been overwhelmed by Russian, so that some Mongolized Tungus groups have later been Russianized. Among the Northern Tungus, Mongol influence ought thus to be counted as one of the most important agents in the formation of their ethnical features.

The Mongols are called by the Tungus *moŋgo* (plur. *moŋgol*), (Bir. RTM Khin. Kum.), *moŋo* (Ur. *Cast.*), *uwur* (Mank. — Mongol and Dahur together), also *bogdokan* (Mank.).[1] The Buriats are called *boren* (Nerč. Barg. Mank.), *borel* (Khin.), *bur'ät* (Ur. *Cast.*), being borrowed from the Buriat language. In the Tungus mind *moŋgo* and *boren* are similar groups, but belonging to different political units. Their present geographical distribution is confined to those regions good for cattle and horse breeding — the steppe country of the Hulun Buir and Transbaikalia. Yet the Buriats also spread over the transitory belt in Transbaikalia; this is due to pressure from the Russians and the increase of population among the Buriats, who ought to be considered as a growing ethnical unit. They gradually penetrated Tungus territory, so that the regions good for cattle and horse breeding even in the *taiga* are now occupied by them, e. g., a part of the Amalat region, region 4 in the Nerchinsk *taiga*.

The Russians. The Russians are met with everywhere in the territory of the Northern Tungus. The Russians settle in regions good for agriculture, but they also penetrate into the mountains, where they are attracted by the gold-fields, lumber industry, and sometimes hunting. Their penetration into Mongolia is still going on — the Cossacks occupy, for instance, the steppes for the cattle and horse breeding in Hulun Buir,[2] and sometimes farms. The Gan, Derbul, Haul, and Marekta rivers are territories preferred by the Russians. Russian hunters penetrate region 2 of the Manchurian Plateau. In a small number they also visit region 3 and region 1 of the Lesser Khingan;[3] Russian penetration beyond Russian territory is greatly facilitated by good relations with the Tungus and the Mongols, whose languages the Russians very often know. Yet the Russian population of the Argun River is partly mixed and crossed with the Tungus and the Buriats, which likens it to groups living in Mongolia. Generally speaking, the Russians of Transbaikalia, except a group known as *semeĭskije*, the early Russian settlers, belonging to a sect of the Old Orthodox Church, intermix and intermarry with the local population. The Russianized Tungus are very often considered as "peasants" and in all respects are equal to genuine Russians. The same is true of the Cossacks, whose communities are partly composed of Russians. The same habits and attidudes are characteristic of the Russians in the Amur Government and in small colonies in Mongolia and Manchuria.

1 Cf. *bogdo* (RTM) — the Manchu—*kan* is the khan. It is evident that in their mind *bogdokan* means a subject of the Chinese emperor.

2 As shown, Russians, since the political unrest in their country, have penetrated together with the Tungus and the Buriats in a great number, into this region.

3 The Russian penetration of these regions long ago attracted the attention of the Chinese government. The policy of peopling these regions with Chinese and forming settlements of the wandering Tungus groups, the administrative organization of these regions, improvement of means of communication, telegraph lines, etc., in many instances have given positive results for the Chinese policy in general. It is very interesting, from an ethnographical point of view, that this policy has found great support from the Russians who by development of the means of communication — steamers and railway — have facilitated the colonization of the remotest regions of Heilungkiang and Kirin.

Direct Russian influence over the Northern Tungus dates only from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Russians first met the Tungus in the present Enissy Government and Transbaikalia. Though the Mongols had been acquainted with the Russians since the thirteenth century and Russians had visited them several times in Mongolia, penetration of Siberia by the Russians began only a century after the failure of the Yuan dynasty. After the seventeenth century, the Russians systematically spread eastward over the Tungus territory, gaining, by their direct influence, the Tungus of Manchuria after the concession of the Amur River by China. This influence is, naturally, much stronger in Russian territory than in Manchuria, where the Northern Tungus, except the Reindeer Tungus, are now Chinese subjects; previous to that, having been bannermen under Manchu rule, they had had to fight Russians as their foes. Tungus traditions as to the Russians in these regions are rather confused. As shown, the traditions of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria are close to historic facts, while the Kumarčen and the Birarčen now believe that the Amur, since the earliest time, was occupied by the Russians, who later left it under Manchu pressure; for some while, these regions remained unoccupied, and later they were taken over by the Dahurs. After the seventeenth century the Russians gradually organized the Tungus of Transbaikalia into administrative units, for collecting tributes in furs. The common law of these groups was first preserved in its integrity, but contact with the Russians, who were interested in a regular tribute and the maintenance of peace among these new subjects of the *bagdarin kan* (the white khan), influenced, in the sense of desintegration, the old Tungus system. This became especially effective, with the penetration by Orthodox missionaries, whose propaganda little by little ruined the religious and ideological background of the Tungus social system. The first Russians did not know very much about the social organization of the Tungus and applied to them an administrative system which was in some ways contradictory to their social system. After that the Tungus had two distinct organizations — one of their own, and another introduced among them by the Russians. Anyhow, except for a few cases of Christianization and Russianization by force, the process of Russian penetration went on rather smoothly, and during my investigations in Transbaikalia I could see that it was absolutely obvious that the original Tungus culture was doomed to perish.[1] The Tungus, who came from the Yakutsk Government, during the last two or three centuries had been in touch with the Russians and already had been organized according to the Russian system. They have naturally preserved much less of their own traditions than those who lived in Transbaikalia before the coming of the Russians. It is natural that the penetration of Russian colonizers into remote regions, for fur trade, hunting, and gold mining, has brought with it a strong Russian influence which has little by little involved the Tungus in the circle of the Russian political and economical system. Since then the Russian authorities have adopted a protective policy in order to preserve these people as the best adapted under given

1 As far as may be seen from data, recently published, the process of the Tungus desintegration has been especially intensified by the changes of their administrative organization implied by the new policy adopted by the present authorities.

conditions for the exploitation of the remote regions. This policy has not been understood in an equal degree by all representatives of the government, and the Tungus sometimes suffered from this.[1]

The Russians are called by all Northern Tungus and Manchus by the same name which is derived from the same source, e. g., *łuča* (Kum. Nerc. RTM) (Tur.), *lūča* (Ur. *Castr.*) (Enis.), *łōčan* (Bir. from Manchu Sp. *ločaŋ*), *łoča* (Mank.), *łota* (Khin.), *luča* (Or. *Sch.*), *loča* (Gol. *Sch.*), *n'učа* (Lam.), *n'učі* (Tum.); *nučča*, *lučča*, *učča* (Yakut. *Pek.*); *lūča* (Buriat, *Cast.*), *lōsy* (Mongol, Gorlos. *Rud.*); *ločaŋ* (Manchu Sp.) and *ło-sa* (羅刹) (Chinese).[2] Besides these names, there are some others, e. g., *orot*, *oros* (Buriat, *Podg.*), *oros* (Mongol, *Rud.*), whence *oroso* (Manchu Lit.), *o-lo-ssu*, etc. (俄羅斯, 烏魯思, 斡羅思) (Chinese). All these names have directly and indirectly been derived from *rus*, *russkiĭ*. The names of the first group are adaptations of the spoken languages, while the second group comprises the names derived from the Mongol literary language, which also has borrowed it from other Asiatic languages. Besides these names, the Buriats use *mangat*.

Chinese influence over the Northern Tungus has been of different kinds. First, this influence was long ago introduced among them second-hand, i. e., by the Manchus and the Mongols; second, direct Chinese influence has met with opposition from the Tungus at a time when they were deprived of the political and social system organized by the Manchus, who themselves were considered by the Tungus as a people akin to them; third, to be counted as such, Chinese influence is much younger than any other; fourth, Chinese influence over the Tungus living in Transbaikalia and generally in the territories formerly belonging to Russia was outweighed by Russian influence.

The Chinese have been kept far away from the Northern Tungus by the Southern Tungus and the Mongols. As we know from historic records, the first Chinese influence spread through the population of Manchuria during the Chou dynasty or even earlier. The Chinese came in contact with the aborigines and looked on them as inferior people. Chinese influence became very intense during the Han dynasty, and later culminated under the political power of the Bohai. Afterwards, Chinese influence annexed the Khitans, who were perhaps of Mongol extraction, and the Nuichen, who were a Southern Tungus group. Those of the local Northern Tungus groups, who were connected with the Khitans and the Nuichen, naturally fell together with their masters under Chinese influence. But in these two instances, Chinese influence was exercised upon groups that had always maintained their ethnical independence, and as such they formed themselves into a kind of protective wall

[1] The history of Tungus administration, and the Russian policy towards the Tungus, should constitute an interesting study in the interethnical relations. The material for such a study has been partly published by local authorities, colonization department local bureaux, travellers' reports, and may be found especially in local archives. Indeed, such a study must constitute a separate investigation, which would be of great scientific value.

[2] This name was introduced into Chinese in reference to the Russians by Emperor K'ang Hsi. *Ločaŋ* is used in the local Tungus and Manchu dialects; it has nothing to do with the name of the spirits, as I. Zaxarov supposed, *loča* from *rakča* (Sanskrit), probably basing himself on the meaning of the above-quoted Chinese characters. It might merely be a coincidence, well shown during the war. In Manchu *ločaŋ* also means "ugly face," etc., which also seems to be borrowed from the Chinese secondary meaning of the same characters. The names *loča*, *luča*, etc., have not been created, I think, on Tungus soil. So I have supposed it to have come through the Chinese language previous to the seventeenth century.

against direct Chinese penetration of the Northern Tungus area. Direct Chinese influence began only with Chinese colonization, in the second half of the nineteenth century. As has been stated, the Chinese nowadays penetrate remote regions formerly occupied exclusively by the Northern Tungus. The Chinese movement is naturally progressing along the valleys of the rivers, and more often along the paths left by the Tungus. They are proceeding with their trade and introducing their own goods in exchange for furs. Hunters, lumber and gold-mining workmen, also all kinds of industrious people and adventurers, follow the first explorers, and then farmers appear. For instance, the Chinese penetrate north-western Manchuria by moving in the following directions. From the railway at Manchuria station, they go along the Argun on small boats, or on foot along tiny roads at a certain distance, sometimes over ten miles, from the river. They then go either to the gold-fields in the basin of this river or continue their way north, where two roads lead them further — one to the territory of Transbaikalia, and the other to the mining region of the upper Amur. The road, which runs at a certain distance from the river, gives off small side roads in the direction of the banks of the Argun and eastward by which certain regions of the *taiga*, attractive for their natural wealth, may be reached. Along the main road and the right bank of the Argun, Chinese shops and inns are located at various distances. To this main road a smaller road leads the Chinese directly from Hailar. This branch road joins the main road near the Russian village of Staro-Curuxaĭtuĭ. From this village a road of historic importance leads directly across the Great Khingan Mountains to Tsitsihar and Mergen. This road was used by Ysebrants Ides; it has been described by Prince P. P. Kropotkin and other travellers. It was also used by cattle merchants and the migrating waves of the different ethnical groups. With the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway, it lost its former importance, although it is still used by cattle dealers when taking their cattle to Aigun. Naturally the Chinese do not use this road, for it does not lie in line with their principal direction. They are not, however, quite safe in their migrations, for it happens very often that they themselves become very attractive game for Russian settlers and on rare occasions for Tungus aborigines; the Russians are sometimes of specific extraction — the posterity of former deported criminals. The hunting down and murdering of the Chinese, who usually carried gold with them, was for some time a very important branch of local trade.

Another road of great importance is that which runs between Tsitsihar and Aigun, via Mergen. This road, being strong enough for heavy Chinese carriages, is of great commercial importance, and is the shortest way from the railway to the Amur, where numerous Chinese colonies are located. From Aigun, two roads run north to Heihe (*Saxalan*) and further northward and southward along the Amur. From Heihe the Chinese cross the Amur, and go through the Amur Government *taiga* to the gold-mining regions. The road from Tsitsihar to Aigun is largely used by the Chinese. It has several small lateral branches also leading into the valleys of the rivers which descend from the eastern slopes of the Great Khingan Mountains. From Mergen to the Kumara and farther on to the Amur, across the Ilhuri Mountains, the Kumara, the Panga, and the Albazixa, a new road has been constructed by the Chinese government.

A third road of importance is that leading from the Nonni River and the railway, from Harbin along the Kulun (Hulun) River, to the Lesser Khingan regions, where Chinese have spread in great numbers. The Chinese cross the Lesser Khingan and also occupy the northern region (1).

The Sungari and the Amur are also very important directions for Chinese migrations. They may be used only during a limited period, i. e., practically speaking, from the middle of May to the middle of October. Chinese junks, various kinds of small boats, and especially steamers, are used by the Chinese. In the spring season all steamers are full of Chinese workmen going to the gold-mining regions, and they number tens of thousands. From the Sungari and the Amur several small roads lead to the interior — such as, for instance, the road along the Taun River; a road north from the gorges of the Amur, and a road crossing region 4 from the Sungari to the Ussuri. A regular system of roads is used by the Chinese travelling into the Maritime Government. A discussion of this, however, cannot be included in the present study.[1]

As soon as a good place for trade, hunting, or settlement is found the Chinese immediately occupy it. If it is good for agriculture, farmers soon appear. When the Chinese population attains a certain number, the authorities organize them into small communities, which also implies regular relations with China and binds the new territory to the central, or at least provincial, government, through the local authorities usually appointed and sent from administrative centers. By this slow, but at the same time very sure, process of penetration into new territory the Chinese have explored almost the whole of Manchuria, and have gradually disseminated the seeds of Chinese ideas and culture among the local population, including the Manchus. It is easy to understand that this process of Chinese penetration into territory which was formerly Tungus produces opposition of a certain kind from a part of the Tungus groups, which is not, of course, effective, owing to their very small number and the lack of ethnical consciousness on the part of the Manchus, who at certain periods have been able to stop Chinese migration. The political changes which have occurred since the downfall of the Manchu dynasty in China have greatly helped this process, leaving the Northern Tungus absolutely helpless before the coming flood of new colonizers. It is very significant that the process of Chinese penetration into Transbaikalia, and the Amur and the Maritime Government follows the same methods exactly. The only difference is that gold mines organized by the Russians attract many more Chinese than are observed in Manchuria. The methods of Chinese penetration into Ussuriland are the same as those used in the colonization of Manchuria, except in the establishment of Chinese authorities, who do not function officially, but exist as an institution recognized by the Chinese colonizers in the remotest regions of the Maritime Government.[2] In Russian territory, Chinese traders meet with Russian competitors, who, of course, are in a more favorable position, as they are protected by the authorities. The Chinese population in

1 Cf. V. K. Arseniev, "The Chinese in the Ussuri Region."
2 Cf. *ibid.*

certain regions of Tungus territory, without counting farmers, might sometimes reach tens of thousands. The number increases very quickly till game and fur-producing animals, owing to unregulated Chinese industry, become partly extinct. If the region devastated by hunters cannot be used for other purposes, it is very often left alone by the Chinese, but if it may be used by farmers, after a few years it is again densely populated.

The economical pressure of the Chinese over the Tungus is one of the most important weapons against those Tungus who are supposed to have rights over certain territory. These methods have been described by all travellers who visited the regions included in the spheres under Chinese influence. Incidents of the taking of Tungus women for debts have been recorded everywhere. Yet the Chinese very often enter Tungus families, first as workmen, later as creditors and husbands of their masters' daughters, and become adopted sons of their former masters. In this way the Chinese penetrate the very body of the Northern Tungus. In spite of Tungus opposition, the Chinese ethnographical complex penetrates very deeply into the Tungus complex, and gradually obliterates the Tungus elements until a complete change takes places, as has happened with certain groups of the Udehe and the Goldi of Ussuriland. Chinese influence thus must be taken into consideration when one is dealing with the ethnical problems of the Tungus.

The names given to the Chinese by the Tungus show great variation. The Nerchinsk and the Barguzin Tungus (together with the extinct Ur. dialect) call them *k'itat*, which ought to be connected with the Mongol and Buriat *xit(at)*, *xetat* (Mongol, *Rud.*), *k'itat* (Buriat, *Cast.*), *xatat* (Buriat, *Podg.*). The Mankova Tungus call them *k'itaĭ*, which is perhaps of recent Russian influence (*K'itaĭ* — China, in Russian). The Biraršen and the Kumaršen distinguish the Chinese bannermen *n'ikan*[1] [borrowed from *nikan* of the Manchus and Mongols, *nixan* (*Rud.*) of the Mongols], and the rest of the Chinese — *irgèn* [from *irgen* — the common people — of the Manchus; *irgen* — a Chinese, — of the Mongols (Rud.)], also *poutun*, *poutul* (Bir.), *pouktul* (Kum.) (borrowed from the Chinese and altered) — understood as a gold-mining workman, a wanderer, a bandit, etc. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria call them *bogdo*, which means a Chinese subject, a man wearing a plait, as was a distinct Chinese fashion once,[2] which is from the Mongol *bogdo* (Mongol Lit. *boγda*) (*Rud.*), which was originally the title of the Manchu emperor.[3] The Negidals and the Oročí (*Sch.*) have extended the name *mandžu* over the Chinese.

Since the political trouble started in Korea during the Great War a great number of Koreans have migrated into Russian territory. Some of them reached the middle course of the Amur, while others remained with their own people in South Ussuriland. A certain number of them was met with in 1915 on the banks of the Amur as far as Aigun-City. They are not known to the Tungus, and in general they have not directly influenced the Northern

1 This name has been derived from *jan-xan* of the Bohai period, i. e., *xan-žən* (汉人). Cf. also Zaxarov's "Dict."
2 The Northern Tungus, according to their tradition, never wear a plait, but have long hair bound with a leather strip (cf. *infra*, and "N. T. M.").
3 This name is used, of course, as a name of the people; *bogdodèt* — to speak Chinese. It ought to be pointed out, however, that *bodgo* as the name of a people has always been associated with the bannermen, only some of whom were Chinese.

Tungus of Manchuria. In the previous period, up to the Manchu rising, they played a certain political rôle in the Far East. They were also perhaps responsible for the existence of the Bohai (from the seventh to ninth centuries). Moreover, they played a certain part perhaps in the formation of the political organization of the Southern Tungus, i. e., the Nuichen. This political organization was perhaps started under Korean influence, at least by the emigrants from Korea. It may also be supposed that the Koreans, as close neighbours of the Udehe, might have influenced them. The name of the Tungus in Mongol perhaps originated from the name "Korea."[1] It is very likely that Korean influence was exercised upon the Tungus of the first migratory wave. Among the Tungus, as among the Mongols, the Koreans are known under the Chinese name of *Gaoli* (高麗). The Manchus call them *solxo* and by their Chinese name. The Tungus of Mankova have adopted the Russian name *kar'eĭca* (from the Russian *kor'ejec-*).

In order to complete the discussion of neighbouring influences over the Northern Tungus, I must mention the **Yakuts.** The influence of the Yakuts over some Tungus groups has been very strong. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria have been in contact with the Yakuts for a long time. The Tungus of the Amur Government, those of the Sakhalin Island, and also the Negidals, are in close contact with the Yakuts: the Barguzin and Nerchinsk Tungus also meet the Yakuts from time to time. The Tungus of the Kalar region are yet in closer relations with the Yakuts than those of the south. Without a careful investigation, it is difficult to give precisely the southern boundary of the Yakuts.[2] As to their penetration, the Yakuts are in some ways similar to the Russians and the Chinese. So the Yakut outposts in the Amur Government first appeared within the last decades, and as fur traders they had already gone, together with the Reindeer Tungus, to Sakhalin Island. In the Tungus territory they live of the Northern Tungus, and with them, but the mass of the Yakuts is slowly moving south from their former area in the limited region of the middle course of the Lena.[3] Let us remember that the Yakuts, owing to the political events in Asia, came from regions lying north of Mongolia. First they spread through the region of the middle course of the Lena and later occupied the whole of the Yakutsk Government, pushing out some other ethnical groups to do so — the very first to go being the Tungus. Their spreading over these territories was implied by the growth of population, which soon exceeded that of the Tungus.[4] During the nineteenth century they spread beyond the

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 64.

[2] Among the Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government and Manchuria, some Yakuts have already been adopted by the Tungus clans, so that an admixture of Yakut blood is sometimes absolutely evident, and may be related as a fact. According to E. I. Titov the Tungus of the Kalar region originated from the Yakuts. It does not mean, however, that they are all of Yakut extraction. The Tungus of Transbaikalia very often style their northern neighbours *joko* because of the ethnographical and administrative connexion between the Yakuts and some Tungus groups. The etymology of the name *katčincy* of the Russians, derived by E. I. Titov from a Yakut expression, is perhaps incorrect, for this name originated from a Northern Tungus clan. Moveover, the Tungus language possesses a large number of words from which this name may have been derived.

[3] The process of Yakut penetration and final assimilation of the Tungus by the Yakuts seems to have been recently facilitated by the increase of the Yakut political influence as a result of the decreased Russian influence. The Yakuts received a form of self-government at the beginning of the disintegration of Russian influence within the boundaries of the former Russian possessions.

[4] The Yakut pre-war population was approximately 250,000 (cf. E. Pekarskiĭ, *op. cit.*, VI, Introduction by A. Samoĭlovič). Cf. Patkanov, S. K., "I. N. P. S.," pp. 48–59. About the nineteenth century the Yakut population doubled itself.

Yakutsk Government — the Amur, Irkutsk, and Enissy governments. The influence of the Yakuts over the Tungus is very strong, especially over the Tungus groups living in close proximity to them. Some Tungus groups have already been Yakutized, e. g., a group known under the name of *dolgan'e*. The Yakut influence affects the language, the ethnographical complex, and even the anthropological characters of the Tungus. As to the methods of gaining control over territory, the Yakuts remind one of the Mongols, and considering the persistence of their methods they may be compared with those of the Russians and the Chinese, so that they seem to be better adapted than any other group for successful trade with the Tungus. It is not surprising that they compete very successfully against any other influence they meet during their penetration.

The Tungus call the Yakuts *joko* (Bir. RTM) (Or. Gol. *Sch.*), *jako* (Bir. Nerč. Barg.), *joxo* (Neg. *Sch.*), *n'oka* (Tum.), which have all originated from *saxa* of the Yakuts. The Lam. Tungus, however, call them *čilga*.[1]

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4. Interethnical Relations: Relations Between the Northern Tungus and Other Ethnical Groups

As may be seen from the last section, the ethnical groups that enter into contact with the Northern Tungus are indeed numerous. Omitting early Palæasiatic and insignificant Korean influences, five distinct influences may be spoken of, i. e., the Southern Tungus, the Mongol (including the Buriat and the Dahur), the Yakut, the Russian, and the Chinese, — all these come into contact with the Northern Tungus, who are forced to discover an effective method of holding their position among all these groups. In spite of their relatively small number, these Northern Tungus have for centuries preserved their ethnical independence. They realize that without their language and their own customs they are unable to maintain their ethnical existence any longer; but, at the same time, under interethnical pressure, they adopt all kinds of innovations, and change their original ethnographical complex, preserving, as far as possible, its equilibrium. They have shown extraordinary ability in finding out forms of relations with other groups which are suitable for maintaining their own existence. This elasticity of Tungus mentality and psychology, combined with a profound love for their own complex, is a very interesting instance of methods used by ethnical units for self-preservation. The interethnical pressure has been sometimes so intensive that the Tungus groups entering into direct contact with their neighbours have been absorbed by the latter. Such is the case of the Ta-ze of the Maritime Government who have been Sinofied; some Nomad Tungus groups in Transbaikalia, called *xamnagan*, who have been Mongolized; the Goldi who have been Manchufied, and lastly some groups in Transbaikalia who have been Russianized. I do not quote other incidents of Yakutizing, Yukagirizing, etc., beyond the limits of the territories with which we are concerned in the present study. Yet even within these territories we do not know how many small Tungus groups, like that of the

[1] The origin of this name I do not know.

oŋkor-solon, who once had their own small political unit, have been swallowed up by other ethnical groups.

Without going into details in the study of the reaction of the Northern Tungus on alien ethnographical complexes and pressure, which may constitute a special investigation, I shall here give some historic facts, and my observations and impressions concerning Tungus reactions and concerning the process as a whole. The Northern Tungus, when they first met the Russians, opposed them, which resulted in wars and the partial destruction of some Tungus groups. They realized, however, that they could not stop this Russian movement, and suddenly changed their policy by adopting Russian control and even helping the Russians to penetrate the neighbouring regions. They also had Russian protection against other ethnical groups, e. g., the Buriats, the Yakuts, and possibly the Dahurs, who were pressing them. From the very beginning, Russian influence was based upon religious propaganda among the Tungus, whom the Russians wished to make Christian, but this pressure was not very intensive. Moreover, the Tungus took upon themselves, or more probably were forced by the Russian authorities, to pay certain tribute, which scheme they never opposed in principle, but they have opposed the actions of minor officials, who have attempted to "squeeze" something for themselves. High officials, on being informed of these facts, took the Tungus under their protection, as almost always has happened when they needed economical or other assistance from the Russian government. So the Tungus mind has gradually become accustomed to the idea that high Russian officials are their great protection against the petty annoyances of inferior government officers and private Russian people, whom the Tungus dislike for their business methods. At the same time, they have formed certain ideas about the Russian traders who visited the Tungus for the exchange of goods. Although this trade has sometimes been in the nature of robbery, the Tungus have realized that without it, they could not exist. As has been stated, fire-arms, powder, lead, flour, manufactured goods, and also Russian wine (*vodka*), have become essential elements of the Tungus economical system; so that the Tungus have accepted the situation as it has been created for them. It cannot, however, be stated that the Tungus felt a great esteem for these traders. The Russians who used to hunt in Tungus territory and knew very well that they must be on good terms with the Tungus, also knew how to manage them. They were allowed to hunt and very often were adopted into Tungus hunting companies. A new Russian element was then introduced with the development of gold mining and other industries. These new people also needed the Tungus for their trade as guides and food suppliers, principally of the meat of big game. The missionaries[1] did not greatly oppress those Tungus who had adopted Christianity, and wished from time to time to have orthodox priests for their religious needs. In incidents of evident injustice (Tungus complex) on the part of traders and other people to the Tungus, the Tungus asked

[1] It may here be noted that the priests, being appointed and paid by the government, did not, except in rare cases, exploit the Tungus. Moreover, the business spirit among them was not strong, so that they usually did not mix religious duties with business, as certain missionaries do. Many of them were idealistic and wished to serve the Tungus, whom they looked on as mistaken pagans, and to give them the true light of their own religion.

the assistance of the high authorities. On the other hand, the Russian attitude towards the Tungus was not at all offensive. A kind of superior, but good-natured irony towards the aborigines is characteristic of Russian settlers in Siberia, yet they do not wish to destroy the Tungus.[1] Moreover, the Russians did not deny in principle the Tungus right to certain territory, and paid a due esteem to them. Also, as shown, in cases of intermarriage between Russians and Tungus, which is not exclusively rare, the Tungus have been convinced by certain facts, viz., that the Russians treat them almost as equals. Especially during the last decades the activity of the government that showed a desire to organize and protect the Tungus by regulations as to the direct exchange of furs, through governmental agents, has attracted the Tungus towards the Russians. The Russianization of the Tungus has been proceeding for some time, though very smoothly. Many of them go to church, speak Russian, and educate their children in schools. Special schools for the Tungus have also been organized, as, for instance, in the Amur Government. These forms of interethnical pressure are perhaps much more effective than any other forces, for the Tungus, without noticing anything harmful, have gradually lost their ethnical independence.[2] As, for instance, the majority of the Nomad Tungus in Transbaikalia have already lost their ethnical independence by adopting the Russian complex in full and becoming "Russian peasants." The Tungus themselves have welcomed Russian influence, which has been attractive and useful for those of their number who knew how to find the positive sides of settled mode of life.[3]

As we have seen, the reaction of the Tungus of Manchuria is not the same as the reaction we have just discussed. These Tungus groups, having been organized as bannermen, considered the Russians once as the foes of their masters, the Manchus. In spite of this, owing to their previous acquaintance with the Russians (some groups who lived in Russian territory) they have no repulsive reaction. Moreover, they have realized the practical necessity of living on good terms with the Russians. The former good relations, even after the Boxer movement, when these Tungus suffered from the Russians, were soon re-established. Among the Birarčen, these feelings of sympathy sometimes take a concrete form — e. g., some of them desire to educate their children with the Russians.[4] The Russians living along the Argun do not like the Khingan Tungus, for their practice of horse stealing;

[1] I have, however, met among the officials of the Colonization Department some persons who believed in the necessity of the Russianization of aborigines as soon as possible, in order to develop agriculture and modern industry in the regions occupied by these "backward" groups.

[2] As far as I know, since the establishment of the present government in the former Russian territories, some new attempts at the reorganization of the fur trade have been made. This has been required mostly by the need under this government of having fur goods for international trade. The theoretical side of the problem of the relations between the "natives" and this government, has been carefully investigated and adapted to the practical needs as laid down in the system of the denationalization of all groups. Indeed, instead of the former orthodox religion, the Tungus have had to adopt a new ideology underlying the business activity of this government, but it is too soon to judge whether it has been sufficiently successful already, and whether success will follow. This new policy by its business activity has called a number of practical "official" ethnographers. So a great number of ethnographers of name are now employed by the present government for this practical need. As a new form of interethnical pressure this experiment is of great scientific interest.

[3] The Tungus good will towards the maintenance of business relations with the Russians may be seen, for instance, by the fact that most of them know Russian. I know even a case of a Tungus (Barguzin) who learnt Yiddish from some Jews who had been employed in gold mining, and traded with the Tungus.

[4] The mother must then go with her son and live with him in a Russian village during his study at school.

after a few cases of lynching by the Russians, these Tungus did not dare to approach Russian settlers.[1] According to these Tungus the Russians are not a good people, many of them being inclined towards stealing, lying, and other vices. The Kumarčen, who do not visit the Russian villages, are rather inclined to avoid any contact with them. They still (in 1915) very vividly remember their experience during the Boxer movement.

Intercourse between the Russians and the Mongols, along the frontiers, and with the Buriats in Transbaikalia, is not very friendly, though the necessity of certain relations compel both Russians and Mongols to certain concessions which make intercourse practicable. In Transbaikalia the Buriats have agreed with the Russians as with powerful conquerors. The dissatisfaction of the Mongols with the Russians is mostly due to the dishonest methods in business rather common among the local Russians and the great number of criminals who have escaped from Russian territory and from time to time disturb the peaceful life of the wandering groups.[2]

The Russian attitude towards the Chinese when they meet as equals is rather good. They allow the Chinese to trade in the small villages, and visit them in Chinese territory. Moreover, thousands of Chinese, working in the gold fields, have accustomed themselves to the Russians. These relations resulted in the creation of a peculiar language well known to all Far Eastern groups. This language is also used by the Russians when they deal with the Manchus and the Tungus of Manchuria.

The relations of the Tungus groups that did not adopt the nomadic mode of life with the Mongols (and the Buriats) are not so closely interwoven as that between the Tungus and the Russians. As shown, in Transbaikalia, the Buriats penetrated, little by little, the territory of the Barguzin and the Nerchinsk Tungus. Since the Tungus have little or no trade with the Buriats, they do not feel any practical necessity towards a close relationship with them. Moreover, the Buriats in their commerce with the Tungus "squeeze" much more than the Russians do. So at the present time the Tungus attitude towards the Buriats is defined only by competition in using the same territory. The Tungus are always partly dissatisfied with the Buriats. Previous to the Russian invasion of Transbaikalia, the Tungus had very close relations with the Buriats, and certain cultural influences of the Buriats was not rejected by them. The Nomad Tungus have been, however, in an entirely different position. Having adopted the Buriat ethnographical complex they have always looked at the Buriats as a superior group, worthy of imitation and friendship. In the seventeenth century the Tungus and the Buriats were not always friendly towards each other, though under the Russian control of Transbaikalia they both lived very peacefully and, if the occasion warranted such, they intermarried without any limitations, on the part of the Nomad Tungus, at least. In Mongolia, namely in Hulun Buir, the Solons recognized

[1] I have met, however, a group of three Tungus families which used to live in the proximity of the Cossack settlers in the valley of the Gan (the Kuli). These Tungus have been living as parasites on the Russians, who, in order to avoid troubling them by horse stealing, supplied these Tungus with food, horses, etc.

[2] Lately, these relations have greatly improved (1915), owing to the change of the afore-mentioned methods employed by Russian traders, and the combined efforts of the local and Russian authorities, to exterminate the criminal element.

the superiority of the Mongols (the Barguts and others) and their rights as to the occupation of the best territories. The Dahurs naturally have always been considered as a friendly but somewhat superior group. The imitation of the Dahurs by the Solons is thus quite understood, for the Dahurs are agriculturists and at the same time the cultural teachers of the Tungus. As in Transbaikalia, Mongolia, and Manchuria, the Mongols have elaborated such a system of relations that the Tungus are never actually offended by the Mongol feeling of superiority, and sometimes arrogant attitude. Generally speaking, the Northern Tungus, except those living far away from the Mongols, consider the latter as a consanguineous group. This feeling is due, I think, to a common opposition to Chinese penetration of Mongolia and the Mongol protection of the Tungus as bannermen.[1]

The feelings of the Tungus of Manchuria towards the Manchus are generally good. The Tungus recognize the Manchu political superiority and look upon them as their natural protectors against alien groups, such as the Chinese and the Russians. This feeling has increased since the downfall of the Manchus, when the new Chinese authorities abolished the privileges of the bannermen. The Manchus, enrolling the Northern Tungus living in Manchuria and Mongolia into their own military organizations, created among the Tungus a privileged class, so that the Tungus have always considered themselves to be somewhat akin to the Manchus. The Manchus, however, did not hide their haughty attitude towards the Tungus, whom they used to consider a consanguineous but absolutely inferior people.[2] The Tungus, on their part, also feel a certain thankfulness to the Manchus because they gave them not only privileges but also a certain knowledge of Chinese civilization, mostly through the study of the Manchu language and literature. The Tungus, however, dislike certain traits of the Manchu character. The Tungus, for instance, assert that the Manchus have lost their former ideas about the meaning of gifts. So at this time if a Manchu presents a gift, he always expects to get something back. These ideas have also been lately introduced among the Birarčen through the Manchus and the Chinese. With reference to this particular trait, the Tungus, I think, are quite right, for the Reindeer Tungus and, generally, those who are not in direct contact with the Manchus, the Dahurs, and the Chinese still present gifts without expecting any equivalent compensation. The Tungus who were not incorporated into the organization of bannermen, for instance, the Goldi of the Ussuri River, were, according to some travellers,[3] dissatisfied with the Manchus, whom they accused of being inclined to illegal "squeeze," and exploitation. The Manchus dislike the Tungus for their rough manners, especially when they get drunk. According to the Manchus the Tungus, e. g., the Birarčen, use knives in fighting and commit such crimes as murder. Yet with a burning piece of wood a Manchu is able to defend himself against a crowd of drunken

[1] The relations between the Khingan Tungus and the Mongols are not so friendly as they are in the case of the Solons. In spite of this, the Khingan Tungus, being connected with the Mongols by their administrative organization, look on them as a superior people, and worthy of imitation.

[2] According to the Manchus, at least some of them, the *kilin's* soul (i. e., the Northern Tungus') after death becomes that of a roe-deer and the roe-deer's soul becomes that of a *kilin*. The name *orončo, oronču̇n*, is nowadays understood to mean "beast-like." *Oron* is understood as the elk, the reindeer, and other big cervines, the meaning of "domesticated reindeer" having been forgotten.

[3] E. g., cf. Veniukov, *op. cit.*

Tungus, for the Tungus have great fear of fire, and are not courageous enough to stand up against this weapon. The Manchus, who trade with the Tungus (Kumarčen), recognize in them a very high mentality, superior to their own. The Tungus are especially appreciated for their perfect knowledge of the country, their ability at orientation, the ability of studying languages, and their assiduity in hunting and travelling. On the other hand, the Manchus blame the Tungus for heavy drinking and the useless spending of money.

The respective feelings of the Manchus and the Russians living in close proximity along the Amur are based upon historic competition and the intercourse resulting from their living together after the occupation of the left bank of the Amur by the Russians. It is, beyond any doubt, a dissatisfaction to the Manchus with the fact that the Russians occupied this region has always been a great impediment in the establishing of friendly relations. Moreover, the Boxer movement, and the local war resulting from it, involving the expulsion of the Manchus and the Dahurs from the villages located on the Russian bank of the Amur River[1] destroyed the friendly relations established on the basis of personal sympathy and business. Business relations, however, were rather peculiar. First the Manchus, and the Russians as well, lived by agriculture, so that no regular trade could originate between them. Second, the goods sold by the Manchus and those by the Russians were of rather secondary importance and little known to both of them. The Manchus were inclined to sell at foolishly high prices the goods that the Russians did not know; the Russians did the same with their goods. So both sides were greatly dissatisfied with each other. When they lived together, the Manchus and the Russians had no difficulties, so little by little, as time passed, their friendship became stronger and stronger. The Manchu bannermen and the Russian settlers, mostly Cossacks, owing to their, as they believed, important functions, had a certain respect towards each other. The Russians, however, considered the Manchus as an inferior and pagan people, while the Manchus disliked the Russians for their ugly faces, red beards, rough, rude manners, especially when they were drunk. Since the downfall of the Manchu dynasty in China, the relations between the Manchus and the Russians have essentially improved. The haughty Manchu manner, not justified by their political influence, has entirely changed, and the Russians have adopted a protective attitude towards them.[2]

The Manchus naturally always disliked the Chinese who were non-incorporated into their military organization. This Manchu attitude is well known from several descriptions by other authors. Yet the Manchus did not care very much for the Dahurs and the Mongols, whom they considered as people, although closely allied to themselves, as different in many respects. The Manchus assert that the Dahur women get old very soon, at the age of twenty-five or thirty years, while the Manchu women preserve their features for a greater length of time. The Manchus also dislike the Dahur women for their high

1 The expulsion of these people resulted, above all, in the drowning of several hundreds of people, mostly Manchus and Dahurs, in the Amur. These people, however, had nothing to do with the Boxers.

2 It is very interesting how the Manchu and Russian relations have changed since the downfall of the Russian government in 1917.

cheek bones. Indeed, the Manchus always felt a great superiority over other groups. This feeling they did not care to conceal. The incorporated Goldi of the Sungari are considered by the Manchus to be similar to themselves, but also slightly different, for these people, the Manchus say, are sometimes like the Dahurs and the Mongols. The Goldi are also regarded as an *ičе manǎu* group. The Tungus feelings towards the Goldi are rather suspicious. The Tungus (Birarčen) used to abstain from intermarriage with them, though, to be sure, for a long time, they lived together, and a part of the Goldi, as shown, has been included in the group of Birarčen: however, rare cases of intermarriage were known.

The Chinese position in Northern Tungus territory is entirely different. First, the Chinese were for a long time Manchu subjects, the Northern Tungus being of a kind of privileged group. Moreover, the Chinese appeared in this territory, not long before the Manchu downfall. The Chinese element that went to these regions was not always of the best. For a long time Manchuria was a place for the deportation of criminals. Later on, Manchuria adopted all kinds of people who wanted to escape punishment for crimes committed in China, and the regions of Manchuria became densely populated. Moreover, since Manchuria was open for free colonization, all kinds of adventurers, lovers of easy life and big benefits, rushed to Manchuria from northern China. It is not surprising that the northern Manchuria *taiga* is still a region where a considerable portion of the Chinese population live by irregular earnings in legal and illegal professions. The Northern Tungus first met with the Chinese hunters, who gradually pushed them out; traders who wanted to make large profits did not hesitate to cheat when carrying out trading transactions; gold miners penetrated into the remote regions, so the big game had to leave their former area; lastly, new colonizers, who appeared first as workmen in the newly open fields and later as creditors and traders, put the Tungus into a position of real slavery. Old patriarchal trade, practised by the Manchus and the Dahurs, gave place to the new Chinese commerce. The Manchu government was rather favourable to the Chinese settlers, and did not object to their spreading over the Tungus territory. Such enslaving happened to many of the Tungus of Manchuria, the Goldi, and the Udehe.[1] Simultaneously, the process of the denationalization of the Tungus was proceeding at a great pace, — many of them became Chinese in their habits, language, and ideas. The downfall of the Manchus brought a new misfortune to the Tungus: they became second-class citizens and the new Chinese authorities started a systematic settling of the Tungus in villages. The differences between the Tungus and the Chinese with reference to customs, language, and general attitude were so great that the Tungus have always refused any contact with them. For instance, many Tungus, as in *Četu* village, did not allow the Chinese to enter their houses. The lodging of the Chinese in Tungus dwellings was prohibited by a special order issued by the Tungus authorities. Moreover, those Tungus who had fallen under Chinese influence have naturally borrowed what could be borrowed from the Chinese settlers and adventurers, and in some

1 Slave relations have been described by several authors who investigated these groups. Cf. Veniukov, Nadarov, Pel-Gorskiĭ, Brailovskiĭ, Arseniev, Lopatin, and others.

instances these Tungus have been expelled from their own communities. Some facts concerning the Chinese and the Tungus differences and also the changes that occurred in the Tungus attitude are of interest. A Chinese trapper murdered his friend, who was the first Chinese to appear in this region, and accused a Tungus Birarčen, who was rather a rich man, of this murder. The Tungus was arrested and brought to Aigun as a murderer. He was, however, liberated for the sum of a thousand dollars (roubles) paid to some small official.

During the Boxer movement many Chinese traders ran away with money belonging to the Birarčen who had lent this money to them. Since that time the Birarčen keep their money "under big stones in the *taiga*."

A Chinese who lived in a Tungus village cultivated a small kitchen garden, but he failed to protect it with a fence; a Tungus horse got into the garden, and ate some plants. According to his idea he wanted to protect his garden, so he shot the horse with an arrow provided with a point made of a nail and wounded it. This act was regarded by all Tungus as a great outrage to the owner of the horse, for, according to the Tungus idea, animals are not responsible for their acts, and the owners of animals are not responsible for the damage caused by their animals.

Owing to the difference in fundamental ideas and customs, the Tungus did not agree with the Chinese ways of business. In spite of this, the Tungus have now begun to adopt Chinese practices. So, for instance, the Tungus do not now tell the truth about the prices they get or pay when they sell or buy something. But still they cannot understand why a skin bought by a Chinese from a Tungus is sold to another Tungus for double the price. The Tungus also have a feeling of revolt against Chinese creditors, who do not allow the Tungus to sell the product of their hunting to any other person but the creditor. Cases of the murder of Tungus by Chinese hunters and trappers are recorded in all regions of Manchuria; murder among the Chinese themselves is also very common. The murder of government agents, sent out to collect gold in the northern regions, is quite common too, so that the local authorities sometimes use the Tungus as a bodyguard for these collectors. In 1915 the local authorities in the Kumara region ordered the Tungus to kill any Chinese found with arms and without any document to establish his official position. The Tungus are naturally afraid of the Chinese settlers, especially those who are not married, — living without women, — for, according to the Tungus, an unmarried man must always be considered as a malevolent and dangerous person. The Tungus, therefore, always avoid meeting the Chinese on the paths and the roads used by the latter, — as they say: these are bad roads. The main point of the Tungus dislike for the Chinese, in the Lesser Khingan regions, is that the Chinese hunters employ such methods that animals soon become extinct. In the Kulun region, however, under pressure of local conditions, the Birarčen have established rather good relations with the Chinese from whom they have borrowed their

methods of agriculture, clothing, certain ideas, — but they still preserve their own language. Yet they have also begun to change their language, for in the presence of the Chinese, the Tungus are very often ashamed to speak their own language, or follow their own customs, and wish to show a high standard of Chinese education. They sometimes avoid speaking Tungus so that the Chinese cannot laugh at them. Yet the Chinese authorities do not follow the common law of the Tungus, but break it very often, which produces a very bad impression on the Tungus, who always believe that the authorities must be "just" and cannot wrongly punish them or protect "bad people." In spite of this, the Tungus, being accustomed to follow the orders of their authorities, recognize any order issued by the Chinese as an obligatory one.

Owing to these differences in their attitude, the Tungus who enter into contact with the Chinese do not allow them any shifts or deceptions, but adopt the principle that nothing be done for a Chinese without payment or other compensation.

The Chinese of the present time consider the local population as an inferior one and ironically call them *s'omiza* (a kind of local millet), for they themselves use another kind of millet, — *gaolan*, — which is supposed to be better.

It is interesting to note that the Tungus living in the Russian territory behave towards the Chinese much better than they do in the regions of Manchuria. It depends, I think, on the Chinese themselves, who do not dare to apply the same methods in business as they use in Chinese territory, for the Tungus are protected by the Russian authorities. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria are very hostile towards the Chinese. In 1900 they did not help the Chinese troops on their way from the upper Amur to Mergen through the Manchurian Plateau. Only about eighteen men out of eight hundred were able to reach Mergen; the rest of them perished in Manchuria, while the Reindeer Tungus were travelling parallel to them along the mountain ranges which form the valleys of the rivers. After the passing of the troops, the Tungus gathered good booty, in arms, horses, and provisions.

Relations Between the Northern Tungus Groups

The relations between the Tungus groups, and their reactions, are most complex. First, almost all Tungus groups believe themselves to be genuine Tungus (usually *evenki*), while they consider their neighbours as deviations from this genuine Tungus type. Second, the genuine type is supposed to be the best one.[1] It ought to be pointed out that the Tungus

[1] This psychology is naturally the primary condition of the self-preservation of any ethnical group, and is not characteristic of the Tungus only. Yet, among great nations, the regional subdivisions sometimes play the rôle of sub-units. But this behaviour is naturally characteristic of those ethnical units which are in the process of growth or which have not yet realized the fact of their decline or degeneration. Some units preserve such behaviour up to the last moment of their existence, but some of them lose it before the appearance of signs typical of the process of decline and ethnical death. In such case, if the analogy may be allowed, the brain of the ethnical unit is affected first. Science is one of the most powerful factors which destroy this self protective behaviour of ethnical units. It should be noted, however, that among ethnical units which realize the danger of self-analysis, the direct destroying influence of science on the bulk of the ethnical unit is neutralized by so-called applied science, e. g., anthropology, sociology, etc., which in accordance with the ethnical behaviour and general education (knowledge) naturally takes various forms. Applied sciences in their various forms are largely used among modern ethnical units as a powerful weapon in the interethnical struggle.

feel any difference they observe very sharply. If folk-lore does not preserve the tradition of common origin, and among two groups if their differences are more strongly emphasized than their similarities, each of them deny the genuine Tungus origin of the other.[1] It is natural that under such conditions of great complexity of ethnical influences and a very confusing process in migration, some groups have completely forgotten their origin; some of them, already in a state of decline, have realized that they will be assimilated, and will perish under the pressure of their neighbours, though some of them still believe in their own brilliant future. These three distinct attitudes have the greatest influence upon their feelings towards their Tungus neighbours. Let us take some illustrations.

The Barguzin Tungus, as we have seen, call their neighbours, the Nomad Tungus of Žilinda, *evenki*, hence it is obvious that these Tungus recognize the Tungus origin of their neighbours, but at the same time they consider themselves to be a genuine Tungus group, while they consider the Nomad Tungus to be a group fallen under a strong Buriat influence. They call, in fact, all Nomad Tungus *murčér*, and among these they distinguish two groups, viz., the group that has been Mongolized — *kamnayan* (from Mongol *xamnayan*) — and another one — *evenki* — who still speak Tungus. There is thus the curious instance of Barguzin Tungus who have been compelled by their neighbours to change their original name. The Barguzin Tungus dislike the Nomad Tungus for two traits in their character, viz., slyness and avarice. Intermarriage with them is not practised for that reason, and because the Nomad Tungus women sometimes run away, which is, let us remark, quite natural, for these women are accustomed to good felt tents and sometimes houses of a simplified Russian type, while among the Reindeer Tungus they must live for the whole year in a wigwam. Yet the Nomad Tungus who speak Tungus consider themselves to be genuine *evenki*, while the Reindeer Tungus are considered by them to be merely a "savage people wandering in the forest like beasts." The Barguzin Tungus maintain their relations with other Reindeer Tungus groups, and have a special esteem for the Tungus of Kalar and the Upper Angara regions, who are relatively rich in reindeer. Intermarriage is free, but the relations with the Kalar Tungus are restricted, owing to the epidemics among the Barguzin Reindeer. With the Nerchinsk Tungus, among whom some Barguzin Tungus live, and who occupy some territory of the Barguzin Tungus, the relations are fairly good. Although the Barguzin Tungus consider them to be a consanguineous group, they dislike them slightly for their character and for their lack of love for the old customs, which is the usual accusation among two neighbouring groups. Some customs which have been recently borrowed from other ethnical groups are sometimes considered as very old ones.

[1] European science, especially applied science, when the origin of various groups is discussed, has been and still is very often imbued with the same spirit.

[2] We may perhaps better understand this attitude if we agree with the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, who think that at least a part of the Barguzin Tungus have come from Manchuria as the *yuɣal*. It is quite natural, then, that when the *yuɣal* first appeared in Transbaikalia they met the Nomad Tungus, and also those of Zilinda, who pretended to be *evenki*. Being newcomers, perhaps refugees, they did not dare to deny the rights of the Nomad Tungus to this name, and agreed to use the new name they received — *oročen*. Cf., further, the case of the Khingan Tungus.

The Nerchinsk Tungus recognize their close relationship with the Barguzin Tungus, but they pretend to be better versed in Russian and Buriat affairs; hence they feel themselves to be somewhat superior to their neighbours who practise reindeer breeding. The Nerchinsk Tungus, especially those living in the depths of the *taiga*, also pretend to be the most genuine of the Tungus people. They consider the Amur and the Yakutsk Government Tungus to be closely related to them, though somewhat "wild." The Nomad Tungus in their mind are not, however, genuine Tungus, but have been influenced by and mixed with the Buriats, and have become almost like them. They do not intermarry with the Nomad Tungus, except when their reindeer are lost, and when they adopt a settled mode of life. The Nomad Tungus consider them in the same way as they consider the Barguzin Tungus. Both Barguzin and Nerchinsk Tungus believe (1912–1913) in their good future with the strong assistance of the "white khan." So they look at things from the point of view of further achievement — further increase of Tungus people, and a spread over new free territories, if such exist.

The Nomad Tungus of Mankova consider themselves as genuine *evenki* and regard the Reindeer Tungus in general as backward relatives. They connect themselves with the Nomad Tungus, who, according to them, have fallen under Buriat influence. They distinguish themselves from the Borzia Tungus, who call themselves *evenki* (as did the Urulga Tungus, according to Castrén), and believe themselves to be superior and more civilized than the Borzia Tungus. They have a slightly ironic attitude towards them, because they still use old-fashioned words and expressions,[1] also "old-fashioned" customs. Two centuries of separation from the Solon have created a great diversity in customs and ideas, so the Mankova Tungus consider the Solons as an alien group, though formerly connected with them. The Solons, according to these Tungus, have fallen under Chinese influence (i. e., Manchu influence). The Mankova Tungus have been readily and willingly assimilated by their powerful neighbours, — the Buriats and the Russians, — whom they imitate in all possible ways.

The Solons believe themselves to be genuine *evenki*, but "civilized" and superior to any other Tungus group, which point of view they have naturally borrowed from their neighbours and masters — the Manchus and the Dahurs. They do not intermarry[2] with other Tungus of Manchuria, and deny their rights to the name of *evenki*. They intermarry with the Dahurs and the Manchus. Moreover, they do not oppose the process of their assimilation, being proud to be mistaken either for Manchus or for Dahurs.

The Khingan Tungus have entirely forgotten or are in the way of forgetting their origin and connexion with other Tungus groups. They do not use their former name *evenki* but *oročen*, which is applied to them perhaps by the Solons, who have monopolized the name *evenki*. Living partly by horse stealing, they have created many foes among other ethnical groups. Intermarriage with these groups is thus impossible, and they very often suffer from the lack of women. They regard themselves, compared with the Reindeer Tungus of

[1] E. g., *bira* (Tungus) instead of *gol* (Mongol), etc.

[2] I never have heard of any case of intermarriage.

Manchuria, and the Tungus Russian subjects non-incorporated into the Manchu military organization, as a superior class of people, though they recognize their inferiority as compared with the Solons. They do not trust the Reindeer Tungus, for they had at one time great difficulties with them when they lived side by side in the basin of the Marekta. According to them, when the Reindeer Tungus meet them, they shoot at them at once if numerous, or run away if few in number. This is, I think, somewhat exaggerated, for the Khingan and the Reindeer Tungus from time to time meet in neutral territories and do not fight. Towards the Mergen Tungus, they behave somewhat better than they do towards the Kumarčen, from whom they steal on any possible occasion. As far as I could see, they live just from day to day, without any hope of improving their own position. This calls to my mind, among the so-called civilized ethnical groups, the psychology of "unlucky" people, who have no success in their business, who are hated, persecuted, and laughed at by the others, who hopelessly take up their affairs, who do not believe anything good can be forthcoming, and just live from day to day.

The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria feel themselves to be genuine *evenki*, though they do not deny the fact of the admixture of Yakut blood, in at least some of them. This is considered as a kind of superiority, as compared with other groups, which never intermarry with the Yakuts. They dislike the Khingan Tungus, whom they consider as non-*evenki*, but *ovočen*, — an absolutely inferior people and call them by various names: *gančen*, and others. They naturally dislike them mostly for their practice of horse stealing and their "wild manners." These Tungus, however, like the Kumarčen and intermarry with them, recognizing their own superiority, for they are free from any duties and military obligations to the Russians, while the Kumarčen must serve the Manchus, as they are "Chinese." They naturally dislike, in their neighbours, "Chinese" clothing, certain customs they do not use themselves, and sometimes conflicts originate between them about territory.[1] At the time of my visit to these Tungus they believed in a successful future.

The Kumarčen, the Birarčen, and the Mergen Tungus, in spite of dialectal differences, which, let us add, do not correspond to the regional nor administrative subdivisions, consider themselves as a unit, of genuine *evenki* (the Khingan Tungus are included in these groups, although they are regarded as "poor cousins" who have chosen a wrong way, and of whom they are somewhat ashamed). They oppose themselves to the Solons, who, according to them, are not a genuine Tungus group, but a Mongolized one, and to various *taya*, *tayačen*, — like the Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government and Manchuria, — common people, non-incorporated into the Manchu military organization. They regard themselves as the aristocracy among the *evenki*. They realize that this exclusive position of their own is due to the Manchus, who in some ways are a consanguineous group. They naturally want to imitate their superior relatives, in any possible way; they all recognize their close relations with the Reindeer Tungus. In the olden days, when they lived in

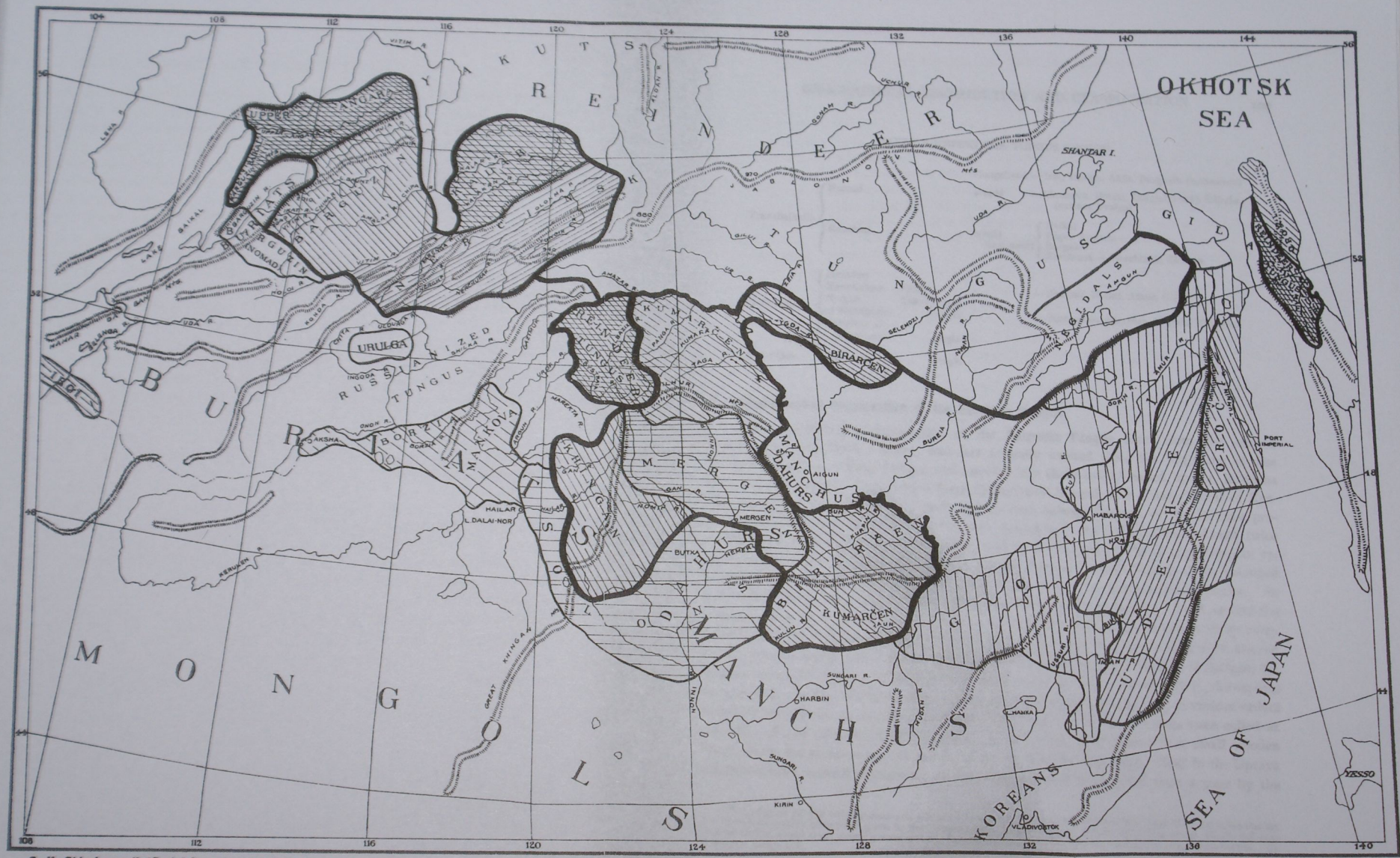
1 It happened, once, that the Kumarčen burnt down storehouses belonging to these Tungus (in the basin of the Dulin). It is also quite possible that these Tungus had been just pettifogging, for the Kumarčen have spread over a territory which is supposed to belong to the Reindeer Tungus.

contact with the Reindeer Tungus, they quarrelled with them about territory. They had competitive meetings for hunting, bow and arrow shooting: their shamans also fought. The Kumarčen shamans, according to them, were always superior to the *taya* shamans.

All these three Manchurian groups intermarry between themselves, and also with the Reindeer Tungus. On the other hand, they distinguish among themselves some non-Tungus influences affecting some regional groups; e. g., the Mergen Tungus are suspected to be too much under Solon influence, while the Birarcen are reproached for imitating the Goldi. Towards the latter group the Tungus of Manchuria behave just as they do towards the Solons: they are somewhat superior to themselves, but inferior to the Manchus. According to the Tungus tradition, in former days different groups fought among themselves. These small distinctions (small in the ethnographer's eyes and from the point of view of the Tungus ethnographical complex in general) grow so much sometimes in Tungus eyes that they impede peaceful intercourse between the groups. In former days, when two men belonging to different groups met each other, they used, as a kind of introduction, a competitive wrestling, in order to know which of them was the stronger: the competition frequently ended in the death of one of them.

Such was the state of affairs before the Manchu downfall: indeed, the Manchus have also influenced the Tungus ideas as to their brilliant future. With the change of the reindeer complex, they desired to attain the highest degree of political influence, and with this view they wished to learn Manchu and Chinese, and to adopt the whole alien complex. After the Manchu downfall they changed their attitude towards the Manchus, whom they sometimes accuse, with certain reasons, of giving up the Tungus cause for their own personal interests.

If we summarize the facts already mentioned we may formulate them, on the one hand: (1) all groups who recognize themselves to be genuine Tungus groups oppose themselves to other ethnical groups; (2) all of them believe themselves to be the most genuine representatives of the Northern Tungus, if not in ethnographical complex, then as defenders of genuine Tungus interests; (3) the difference in the time of settlement or migration, or the association to different migratory waves, underly the differentiation of the Northern Tungus; (4) the degree of influence of various ethnical groups on the Tungus groups is one of the fundamental factors of the formation of the Tungus subdivisions; (5) political protection both by Russia and China reinforce the feeling of difference between various groups; (6) most of them, except the Mankova and the Khingan Tungus, believe (or not long ago believed) in their brilliant future, every one according to his own idea. We may formulate, on the other hand: (1) groups which need women enter much more easily into contact with neighbours, whence they consider them to be a closely related group and thus they intermarry; (2) all groups intermarry with those which are considered to be superior; (3) political influences form a positive factor of the aggregation of the Tungus groups; (4) similarity of culture (genetically, or by borrowing) results in the idea of the common origin of groups and binds them one to the other. The relations between the Tungus groups and the superimposition of alien influences are shown in the Tables.



S. M. Shirokogoroff "Social Organization of the Northern Tungus."

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TUNGUS GROUPS

MAP I

TABLE SHOWING THE TUNGUS GROUPS

Transbaikalia	Nomad		Mongolized	— Iroï, Urulga, Akša, Barguzin (*xamnaγan*)
			evenki	— Mankova, Borzia, Barguzin with Žilinda, (extinct Urulga)
	Reindeer		*evenki* (not used)	Baikal; Upper Angara; Barguzin; Nerchinsk — Nerchinsk, Olokma
Manchuria	Manchus			
	Manchufied	Goldi		— Sungari, Ussuri, Amur, Olča
	Nomad	Solon *evenki*		
	of Manchuria	*evenki*		— Kumarčen, Birarčen, Mergen, Khingan
	Reindeer of Manchuria	*evenki*		
Amur Gov.	Reindeer	*evenki*		

5. Administrative Organization of the Northern Tungus

The administrative organization of the **Barguzin Tungus** dates from the second half of the seventeenth century, and has formally existed since the beginning of the eighteenth century. These Tungus were divided into three units,[1] called by the Russians *rod*, i. e., clan, namely, *Čilčag'irak'iï* First, *Čilčag'irsk'iï* Second, and *K'indyg'irsk'iï* of Russian pronunciation. Every clan (*rod*) had its own *šulaŋga* (*šulenga* of the Russian pronunciation) (borrowed from the Buriats), who, according to the Imperial Ukaz of 1726, twice confirmed in the sixties of the same century and by the Imperial Ukaz of 1845, October 17, were provided with the rights of a judge. The territory that these Tungus used, belonged to the government, and, as such, it was given to the Tungus for living and exploitation. So they were able to collect small taxes for fishing, hay, and trees from the Russians and the Buriats living in their territory. These taxes, together with a certain rate paid by every hunter, formed a definite amount for their clan budget. Once a year, in December, the *rod* had its general meeting for the settlement of all fiscal questions, the election of *šulaŋga*, the payment of tribute (*jasak*), the distribution of duties among the *rod* members (e. g., the experts for checking the tax collectors, etc.), assistance of poor clansmen, reading of various orders issued by the district authorities, marriages, and baptisms. These meetings were called at the office of the *Uprava* (of the Russians), located near Lake Baunt in a small wooden house, where the archives and all documents of the Uprava were kept. Next to the Uprava offices was built a small picturesque wooden church, which was visited once a year by the

[1] The reasons of the subdivisions are not clear, for these Tungus at that time had more than two clan names. The same clan names have been given to the Tungus of the Upper Angara River. How far these names did correspond to the actual clans existing among these Tungus without an adequate investigation cannot be stated. Cf. also *infra*, Chap. III.

Orthodox priest. Some thirty years ago (in the nineties) a new organization of the Tungus was carried out by the government. Since then all juridical functions have been referred to the regular juridical authorities; the Tungus have to elect three *rodovoi starosta* (Russian) — the *rod* head, senior; and a *golova* (Russian), the head, or elected chief, is appointed by the local Russian authorities. A Russian *pisar'* (Russian), the clerk, is also appointed by the same authorities and paid by the Tungus (in 1913, his salary was 950 roubles a year). The functions of this clerk are far beyond the modest meaning of his title, for he has to collect taxes, and personal tribute, to look after the interests of the government, and that of the Tungus. Since this clerk has to deal with the Tungus, the government and local Russians, especially the owners of gold-mining enterprises, small and big, and also the Buriat settlers, his position is rather difficult and sometimes he naturally cannot resist the offer of bribery by those who have to pay something to the Tungus.[1] The *golova*, three *starosta*, and the clerk form the Uprava, which is charged with all necessary transactions. From time to time, the Uprava is visited by the local district chief.

During the period from 1763 to 1793 these Tungus had to pay 272.48 roubles of *jasak* yearly. In 1797 and 1804 it was raised to 447.44 roubles, and in 1831 to 614.20 roubles, which was not, of course, difficult, as the Tungus were allowed to pay in furs or cash received from the sale of furs in the annual market (*jarmarka* of the Russians). The prices for furs were fixed by the Russian authorities. In 1912 these Tungus paid 460 roubles equally divided between 173 men (able hunters) which made 2.66 roubles per hunter. During the last century the government provided the Tungus with powder and lead, for which they had to pay at a very low rate, and they also gave them some elementary medical assistance (for vaccination, etc.).

The income from the privileges, viz., the tax for fishing, hay, and trees, could be, if properly collected, very high, for a population of several tens of thousands of Russians and Buriats use very large quantities of hay, wood, and fish. Though the tax on hay was very low indeed — .005 rouble per pood (16 kilogrammes) — the Tungus might easily collect a large sum for their needs. In 1891, for instance, owners of gold mines paid only 329 roubles (from 495 roubles as recognized by them to be paid), but a change of clerk resulted in raising this income to 1,600 roubles. The fishing privileges produce only about 400 roubles a year. The total income of the Uprava in 1913 was about 2,500 roubles, which was distributed as follows:

The Salary for the Members of the Uprava	200 roubles
The Salary of the Clerk	950
Medical Assistance	155
Post Duty	65
Assistance of Poor Clansmen	300
Experts' Assistance	100
Jasak	460
Sundries	25
TOTAL	2,255 roubles

[1] Once the mere change of such a clerk trebled the income of the Uprava.

These few data give an idea of what has been done for the regulation of Tungus life. The average income of a hunter in 1913 was much more than a thousand roubles, and the privileges could have produced several thousands more. In spite of the economical utility of the Tungus as fur hunters, they were not properly organized and very often fell into the hands of local Russian business men. Even big gold-mining enterprises often failed to pay their taxes. Yet the local authorities sometimes could not find the debtors, although during the years they visited these authorities for their own needs.[1] The neglect of Tungus interests was very common, so that Tungus needs, also legal pretentions, were usually considered with a smile, as childish and not worthy of attention. This condition was in startling contradiction to the policy which the central government wished to carry out.[2]

The **Nerchinsk Tungus** have a simplified organization. They have no Uprava of their own, and with their three clan seniors, called *daruya* (old Mongol term), they are included into the neighbouring Uprava of the settled Tungus. They have no privileges, and have to pay their *jasak*. The Upper Angara Tungus have two administrative subdivisions and the Lake Baikal Tungus — one,[2] with their three *starosta;* they also have no special privileges. Regarding these two groups I have no particular personal information. The organization of the Amur Government Tungus is on main lines the same as that of the Nerchinsk Tungus.[3]

The general meetings of *rod* deal with various problems: conflicts between members of a family; conflicts between different groups, matrimonial cases, divorces, etc. The functions of the clan and of the newly created administrative units, *rod* by the Russian authorities, are mixed; in some cases they function as clan meetings, which produces great confusion in the Tungus mind. I shall return to this problem when clan organization is discussed.

The **Nomad Tungus** are organized as all nomad groups of Transbaikalia are: they have their elected chiefs, their meetings, their Uprava, etc. Generally speaking, they are less protected than the Reindeer Tungus, though at the same time they are more free than the latter. The competence of their self-government during the nineteenth century was systematically limited, so that they could soon be granted an administrative system of common Russian type.[4] Some of them had already been included in Cossack organizations and some others had been included in "peasants'" communities.

[1] During my investigations I met one of these debtors, who for long hours expounded to me all kinds of defects of the local authorities. In the archives of the Uprava I found, however, a bundle of papers regarding his systematic indebtedness to the Tungus. The papers being sent to his office (he was at one time one of the richest gold-mining owners) he could not be found, as he was in his other office in the town of Barguzin; when the papers were sent to his Barguzin office he was out, in another office, and so on for three years. With the Buriats the thing was worse than that — they simply refused to pay. The same was true of the Russian settlers and workmen, who also refused to pay under the pretext of poverty.

[2] As far as may be been from the account of E. I. Titov (cf. *supra*, p. 58, footnote) this organization does not exist any more, the Tungus being granted "sovetization, regionization, lands, and co-operation."

[3] In pre-war time, some steps were taken to organize a regular supply for these Tungus, of all that they needed for hunting and reasonable exchange of products of hunting. A school and a storehouse controlled by the Tungus were organized at the expense of the government.

[4] After the downfall of the Russian government in 1917, the new authorities undertook a series of reforms, the general idea of which was the involving of the Nomad Tungus into the process of social experiment. The principal method used for this purpose was the organization of all small ethnical units into independent groups protected by the central government. The idea and the methods are not, of course, new ones. The aggressive movement of the Buriats who had become masters of the territories belonging to the Nomad Tungus facilitated the process of denationalization of the Nomad Tungus. From the ethnological point of view this experiment is extremely interesting, indeed. As stated, however, a great number of the Nomad Tungus have now migrated to Mongolia.

The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria are, however, in an entirely different position. As a matter of fact, they have no obligations towards the Russian government and only a small tribute (*jasak*) of three roubles or thereabouts to pay. They have two chiefs — *starosta* — who visit, with their people, the banks of the Amur for trade, payment of tribute, marriage, baptisms, the buying of reindeer from other Tungus groups, and the settling of juridical cases beyond the competence of the clan authorities, and those which have originated from their intercourse with other Tungus groups in the territory of Manchuria. In such cases, the Russian authorities come into touch with the Tungus authorities or Chinese officials, as in the case mentioned of the Kumarčen, who burnt down some storehouses.

The Tungus of Manchuria. The organization of the Tungus of Manchuria is entirely different from what we have seen in Transbaikalia. These Tungus, before being organized as they now are, had to pay a certain tribute in their best sable skins: the Birarčen, for instance, had to pay two hundred skins. Later they were organized: the administrative organization dates from their enrolment into the Manchu military organization, i. e., soon after the first Manchu emperor proclaimed his independence. According to their tradition, the Tungus then elected two men of the clan *čakčir* whose parents had died before that time, so that they did not need to look after their old people, gave them all necessary arms, four dogs, and some sable skins. Then they went to Mukden. These men did not want to give their bows and arrows or dogs to the emperor, so the latter ordered them to stay in Mukden. Being very glad to have good sables as presents, the emperor promoted them to the grade of *siraku ǯ'aŋg'in* (*siraku ǯangin* of the Manchu Lit., i. e., the hereditary *ǯangin*, which is a first officer's grade); after that this clan had this privilege.[1] At the beginning of these relations, the Tungus sent a sable skin per man to the emperor and received from the government an annual allowance of twenty-four lang, i. e., about thirty dollars Mex., for their service as bannermen. Just before the Manchu downfall, the sable got so rare that the tribute was reduced to three or five roubles, about four or six dollars Mex.[2]

At the time of the Manchu downfall, they were organized into five groups; namely, (1) the Kumar yamen, consisting of eight companies (*niru*) with eight *ǯaŋgin* (*suma n'iru ǯaŋgin*, i. e., a first-grade officer by appointment) and thirty-two *boš](#)ko* (sub-officer's grade)[3] and headed by a *guseīda* (*gusaï da* of the Manchus, i. e., the head of a *gusa*); (2) the Birar yamen, consisting of four companies with six *n'iru ǯaŋgin* (two of them hereditary) and eight *boško* headed by a *guseīda*; (3) the Khailar yamen, consisting of two companies with two *n'iru ǯaŋgin* and four *boško*, and headed by a *guseīda*; (4) and (5) the Butxa and the Mergen yamen, each of them consisting of a company with a *n'iru ǯaŋgin* and two *boško* headed, both of them, by a *guseīda*. All these sixteen

[1] About 1900 the line of inheritance became extinct altogether, and the hereditary grade of *ǯangin* passed to some other clans.

[2] During my investigations in Manchuria the rouble was the currency among the Tungus and the Manchus, so all calculations were made in roubles.

[3] I think sixteen *boško* is right. It is, however, possible that their number was not fixed, and this grade sometimes was given as an honorary one.

companies were headed by a chief *iligda* (*ilxida* of the Manchus), residing in Mergen or Tsitsikar, and formed a unit separate from those of the Manchus and the Dahurs. Previous to this scheme, they were organized a little differently. First the Birarčen and other bannermen were organized into several companies headed by companies' commanders[1] of their own people. The chiefs of the bigger units — *guseīda* and *iligda* — were appointed from the Dahurs. The latter, however, abused their influence and used to "squeeze" on furs, etc. Then the Tungus presented a request to the high Manchu authorities to change the Dahurs. Afterwards the *guseīda* were appointed sometimes from the Tungus, and *ilxida* were appointed only from the Manchu, and the Chinese (*n'ikan*) bannermen. The teaching of Manchu was introduced among these Tungus as a system of education.

With the establishment of Chinese control, this organization suffered, though it has been preserved. In internal affairs the Tungus were absolutely independent, and we shall see that their clans always functioned independently of the military organization. The government was, however, well informed about all important events occurring among the Tungus. Generally speaking, the Tungus were more independent than the Manchus.[2] With the political changes, some new duties of a purely administrative character were given to this organization. By this way the cultural Chinese influence spread over the former bannermen. Yet the system of organization has also been changed, e. g., *boško* are now elected instead of being appointed. As I have had rather a long time to observe the life of one of these yamen I shall give some details which are also typical, according to the Tungus, of other similar yamen. The Birar yamen is now headed by a Manchu residing in Aigun. He spends his time mostly in maintaining good relations with the new authorities, and naturally is very busy with dinners and other receptions. Besides his usual budget he has a certain amount to spend on buildings, schools, etc., which he is allowed to apportion without any actual control. So, for instance, the money credited to him by the government for buying oxen for the Tungus is spent in covering the yamen's debts. The money allowed for the *boško* and ten soldiers does not always reach its destination, so that ten soldiers cannot always be kept. Practically speaking, the yamen consists of a *boško* who is very often absent, a boy of sixteen, and a Chinese cook. But as the yamen, since it is the local police station, cannot be empty, the yamen chief has to keep a hired man. Such a man is an undersized Tungus, who, owing to his unfitness, is unable to live by hunting. In the yamen one may see twelve guns and uniforms of modern Chinese style, used for the police. From time to time, adult Tungus come to the yamen to stay there for a few days, though it is supposed that for negligence of service they may be punished by thrashing. But as the authority of the *guseīda* has decreased, no punishment can be applied. Formerly the Birarčen had to produce two hundred soldiers, but this *guseīda* reduced their number to forty men, ten of whom must always stay at the yamen. The *boško*, a Manchu, found new ways of keeping

[1] This grade was hereditary — the *čakčir* clan among the Birarčen, the *učathan* clan among the Kumarčen, and, I think, the *bajagir* clan among the Khingan Tungus. I do not know the clans with the hereditary *ǯaŋgin* among the Mergen Tungus.

[2] Cf. my "S. O. M."

his yamen. As he needed money, he started, in the yamen, a gambling house for Chinese trappers, traders, and other people; gambling is prohibited by police regulations, but being under his own protection he was able to collect some five or six dollars an evening. The *guseïda* did not look at the thing as a violation of the regulations, but only wished to avoid any possible fighting between the gamblers in the yamen. Naturally, the yamen is always credited by Chinese shopkeepers, who in this way get some particular privileges when they are in sympathy with the *bošku*. The *bošku* and his subalterns know very little about Chinese laws and regulations, so they are very often in great conflict with governmental policy. From time to time, the yamen functions. So more than once I happened to see the *guseïda* and the *bošku* administrating punishment to the Tungus. For instance, three Tungus were once hired by a Chinese to cut wood. They did not work properly, so the Chinese came to the yamen with a request that they be punished. The Tungus were arrested (one of them had run away into the mountains) and were ordered to receive fifty strokes. The first one could not stand up after the punishment, so his friend received less than fifty strokes. Thus the Tungus like to stay as far away from the yamen as possible. For instance, the Tungus of region 2 (the Taun River) were ordered to settle near the Amur. This order, however, was opposed by them, and after a meeting led by their "wise men" they refused to move. The *guseïda* many a time sent his *ǎaŋgin*, who could not succeed in convincing these people that they should obey others. The Birarčen from other regions have twice been gathered for settlement. All of them came on horseback and in canoes, stayed a few days, and then went back to their mountains, after having paid certain tribute to the *guseïda*. As a matter of fact, there is no power which can force the Tungus to move from the far regions, if they do not want to.

This policy of the forced settlement of the Tungus has enormously increased the activity of the yamen. The *guseïda* had carefully elaborated a plan for the village, with his yamen and a school, but as the streets, according to his project, ought to be at least fifty feet wide, some Tungus houses had to be demolished. The Tungus naturally opposed his intentions (in 1900, all the houses had already been destroyed by the Russians) and the project was abandoned. So the Tungus houses, the Chinese shops, the yamen building, the school, etc., are now scattered without any system over the territory allowed for settlement. The government allows seven thousand dollars a year for the school, the teacher's salary being fifty taels a month. The number of pupils (full board) is fixed at thirty-three, but hardly fifteen pupils are found in school, which is located in a pitiful-looking house. The Manchu language, before the downfall of the Manchu dynasty, and the Chinese language are supposed to be taught, but the pupils do not succeed very well in their studies.

According to the general project, the government has to build ten villages for the Tungus. Some of them have already been started, but very soon they have been left by them. So the whole policy, according to the Tungus, is absolutely fantastic; for the Tungus cannot succeed in farming.

The Tungus villages which now exist have an elected or appointed *kasinda* (*gašan da*— in Manchu), who is responsible only for general order. In all difficult cases he has to consult the yamen.

Properly speaking, these Tungus at present have no obligations towards the Chinese government, except that of service in the yamen.

With reference to other Tungus groups of Manchuria, affairs are nearly the same as those before described. So, for instance, the *guseïda* of the Kumar yamen (he was a Chinese) told me that the Tungus of his yamen were absolutely hopeless and were unable to settle in the villages, as they had been ordered. So their administrative organization is similar to that of the Birarčen. The same state of things is also observed in the Butxa-Mergen yamen. But it is different in the Hailar yamen, where the Mongols have taken control of the Tungus. First of all, their chief is (1915) the Hailar amban's son, who resides in Hailar and very often visits his Tungus in the *taiga* (he has there a kind of horse farm). The Tungus have to come to Hailar, from time to time, for military exercise, and their children are required to stay in Hailar during their studies in school, so that the connexion between the Tungus and their chief is always maintained. But at the same time these Tungus are left absolutely free to live in their own manner — principally by hunting and partly by horse stealing. So the old system is better preserved among this group than among the groups living in Manchuria proper.

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6. Some Statistical Data Regarding the Northern Tungus

It is rather difficult to establish the correct approximation regarding the Tungus population of the regions under discussion. The difficulty consists in the lack of reliable records. S. K. Patkanov has worked out with all possible accuracy, proper statistical material being at his disposal, both old records, and statistical material resulting from the general census of 1897. His material, however, does not cover the regions of Manchuria and Hulun Buir. Moreover, owing to the confused character of the official classification of the Tungus groups, and their subdivisions, several errors could not be avoided. During my own investigations in Transbaikalia I found some statistical data in the archives of the Barguzin Tungus. The result of these researches is shown in this table:

Clans*	1840	1850–60	1869	1892	1897†	1908	1912	
Čï'čag'ïrsk'iï I	—	—	423	494	532	483	398	
Čilčag'ïrsk'iï II	—	—	253	197	204	202	?	
K'indyg'ïrsk'iï	—	—	62	79	68	80	?	
TOTAL	806	774	789	770	804	765	687(?)	
RATE OF WOMEN	?	?	84	?	87	85	?	

* Clans officially recorded (cf. *supra*, p. 109, and *infra*, p. 125).
† According to S. K. Patkanov.

These data ought to be considered only as approximate ones. The number 687 for the year 1912 is wrongly shown by the clerk, for from 1908 to 1912 there were no epidemics and no important migrations. I have calculated from the family records of the same year and found the total number to be seven hundred and eighty-eight males and females. If one compares these data in different periods, recorded, one may see that no important change occurred in the movement of the Barguzin Tungus population; the greatest deviations were eight hundred and six as a maximum and seven hundred and sixty-five as a minimum. The decrease in population from 1897 to 1908 ought to be explained as a result of a smallpox epidemic, when a whole clan (in the Cipikan River basin) perished. Yet the decrease of population, as compared in 1840 and 1859–60, may be explained as the result of an important migration of these Tungus eastward. In fact, this group of emigrants during certain times was mentioned in the reports of the Barguzin Tungus office as debtors for *jasak*. This group thus cannot be regarded as having diminished or degenerated, as is often shown as a generalization in reference to "primitive groups." Yet it is beyond doubt that some groups of these Tungus during the period 1840 to 1912 left for other regions and mixed with other groups, and as the "Barguzin Tungus" they have been lost altogether. As to the variations of the number in the clans (*rod*) given above, it is of no importance, since the Tungus themselves do not know to which official clan (*rod*) they belong. In the same archives some other curious documents were found. So, for instance, in 1762 only one hundred and seventy-three families were recorded. Yet in 1825 *jasak* was paid by three hundred and ninety-nine men (able hunters) of whom a hundred and fifteen men belonged to the *K'indyg'irsk'iĭ rod*, which is in contradiction to the datum of 1762, when only eighteen families were recorded as belonging to this clan. After 1825, a numerous clan *laksikagir*, officially recorded as belonging to the *K'indyg'irsk'iĭ rod*, left for the Nerchinsk *taiga*.

The number of the population of Lake Baikal and Upper Angara regions is given according to the Barguzin police records for 1912 and according to S. K. Patkanov for 1897. From this table one cannot conclude that these Tungus are decreasing. Yet the birth-rate of the women seems to be more favourable for increase than that which was observed in the previous group.

Groups	1897	1912
Čilčag'irskoje upravlen'ije	397	426
K'indyg'irskoje upravlen'ije	252	244
Semag'irskoje upravlen'ije	65	63
Together	714	733
Birth Rate of Women	92	96

According to the official records, there are five hundred and thirty people — eighty-seven women to a hundred men among the Nerchinsk Tungus, and ninety-nine (only men) in the northern part of the Nerchinsk *taiga* (namely, *Gorb'ičskoje S'elskoje Obščestvo* — the Gorbica River village community) — probably the Tungus group living in the Olokma River region. S. K. Patkanov, however, gives a number much higher, — namely, nine hundred and forty-two people. He thinks that some Tungus from the Yakutsk government have been included by mistake in this number. It is also quite possible that some Barguzin Tungus have been included in this total, for among the rivers mentioned as occupied by the

Nerchinsk Tungus some rivers are located in the territory of the Barguzin Tungus, as the Cipikan, the Cipa, and the Amalat, near Lake Baunt.[1] Taking into consideration the number of members attending the general meetings, — namely, about a hundred among the Nerchinsk Tungus, and two hundred among the Barguzin Tungus, — it may be inferred that the number given by me, five hundred and thirty, is closer to the truth than the total given by S. K. Patkanov. I have no data regarding the movement of the Nerchinsk Tungus population. Summarizing the data given above, one may see the result in the accompanying table.

Groups	
Barguzin Tungus	788
Angara Tungus, together with Lake Baikal Tungus	733
Nerchinsk Tungus, with the Olokma Tungus	718†
Kalar Tungus*	114
Together	2,353
Rate of Women (approximately)	90

* According to S. K. Patkanov. This number seems to be below the actual one, — as far as I know from the Barguzin and Nerchinsk Tungus.

† The group of Olokma Region; the women are included according to the rate of ninety females to a hundred males.

All these data show the number during the years of my investigations, i. e., 1912–1913. Since that time several changes have occurred.[2]

The number of the Nomad Tungus is much higher than that of the Reindeer Tungus. So, for instance, in the Barguzin district, about a thousand Nomad Tungus live by the side of thirteen thousand or so of the Buriats. The Nomad Tungus of the Žilinda region number about a hundred and twenty. The Urulga Nomad Tungus — the settled group is naturally excluded — number about seven hundred persons; the Mankova Tungus number over a thousand.

[1] Into this group the *katčick'iĭ rod* has also been included. However, they wander through the Kalar River region and must be regarded as a group by themselves. The Barguzin police in 1913 were in search of a *rod vokre* lost amongst the Reindeer Tungus, and recorded as a Reindeer Tungus *rod*. This clan name is not that of the Reindeer Tungus, but of the Nomad Tungus of the Žilinda region. This region is located in the territory of the Barguzin Tungus, which perhaps was the source of the mistake on the part of the local police bureau.

[2] Some statistical material is found in E. I. Titov's account. He supposes the number of the Tungus of the Upper Angara to be, for the late *Kindyg'irskoje upravlenije*, a hundred and ninety-four in 1925, and six hundred for the late *Čilčag'irskoje Upravlen'ije*—seven hundred and ninety-four for both. This, I think, ought to be reduced, for the six hundred of the second group is calculated approximately, while they have only a hundred and twenty hunters. According to the average rate of the hunters, usually below twenty-five per hundred, it ought to be inferred that this group includes about four hundred and eighty people, or somewhat less than that. According to E. I. Titov, a part of the *Čilčag'irsk'iĭ* and the *K'indyg'irsk'iĭ rod* have migrated to the territory of the Lake Baikal Tungus, who were extinct in 1919–1920. In this region E. I. Titov gives a hundred and six as the number. The total of these regions will thus be (with my correction as to the *Čilčag'irsk'iĭ rod*) seven hundred and eighty people. It is, however, likely that the Tungus of the *Čilčag'irsk'iĭ* and the *K'indig'irsk'iĭ rod* have come, not from the Upper Angara Region, but from the Barguzin *taiga*, where no Tungus is recorded by E. I. Titov. This region now seems to be occupied by the Nerchinsk Tungus. If this supposition is right, then the number of the Angara Tungus has slightly changed since 1912, which is much more probable, considering the fact of the extinction of their neighbours, owing to economical collapse. In the regions of the Nerchinsk *taiga* he has recorded (the Kalar region and also the regions of the Barguzin *taiga* as occupied by the Nerchinsk Tungus) one hundred and twenty-eight families, and has not recorded certain families belonging to clans now extinct. The families are not numerous. According to this author, the average family may be supposed to be about 5.3 persons, which is rather high, and which gives a total of six hundred and seventy-eight persons. Together with the Upper Angara and Lake Baikal Tungus, there are about one thousand four hundred and fifty-eight people. Moreover, some new clans have appeared in this region, e. g., *kokogir*, which have migrated from the Yakutsk Government to the Olokma River region, which formerly was occupied by the *laksikagir* clan. Yet the clans *godigir* and *nanyagir* are not mentioned at all. Their territory seems to be occupied by the *laksikagir* clan. Without giving precisely the number of Tungus in all regions they may be supposed not to have decreased in absolute value, as might be expected. It is due to the migration of the Tungus from the Yakutsk Government, which always supplies the southern regions with a new Tungus population. This is so in this case, because the Northern Tungus are now pressed by the Yakuts more strongly than they were in previous periods. All these catastrophic changes have naturally implied a complete re-organization of the Tungus as announced by the new authorities: the former territorial units have different components at present, and some of the former territorial units are absolutely extinct.

The groups of the Borzia River, the Akša region, and the Iroĭ do not exceed a few thousand, all taken together. The data of the 1897 census are not reliable, for they include the Nomad Tungus among the settled groups and vice versa, according to their official standing. In the following chapter, I shall show how fantastic are the official records of the Tungus clans, according to the method under which they have been classified. The total number of the Tungus, including settled groups, by S. K. Patkanov, is shown as thirty-four thousand. Among this number, however, some Tungus groups, not speaking any Tungus at all, are included, while the Tungus still speaking their own language, but included in the Cossack organization, were excluded. It is impossible, therefore, to establish their correct number.

The Tungus population of the Amur Government is estimated by S. K. Patkanov as one thousand one hundred and four, the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, about four hundred, being included in this number.

When one crosses the frontier, reliable data are absolutely lacking. I have gathered the data shown here from various sources, viz., my own records of the camps visited, the official records of the yamen, and the data given by the Tungus themselves. Thus the actual number of people could not be established, so I have given only the data regarding the number of families. According to my observations, the average family consists of over four persons — more exactly, 4.3 persons. I give my estimate of the Tungus population according to this calculation. The data shown in the accompanying table are mere approximations.

Groups	Families	Souls
Reindeer Tungus	100	430
Khingan "	221	950
Mergen "	100	430
Kumarčen "	426	1,832
Birarčen "	216	899
Total	1,063	4,541

This number is close to that officially recorded by the local Chinese authorities, but it is below the estimate of the Japanese General Staff.[1] According to the latter, the number of Solons is thirty thousand and that of the Goldi (*varka?*) twenty thousand,[2] and that of the Dahurs five thousand.[3] I have estimated the Manchu population of the Aigun district and other neighbouring northern districts of the Tungus as twenty-five or thirty thousand.

As shown, the Chinese are much more numerous; the Mongols and the Russians as well, but they usually occupy the parts of the Tungus regions which are not suitable for Tungus, and live by hunting, except in the regions of the Lesser Khingan, where the Chinese are pushing out the Tungus by their increasing population.

[1] Cf. A. V. Grebenščikov, *op. cit.*, p. 8, for the *oročon* gives ten thousand and for the "manegry" eight thousand, i. e., eighteen thousand together. We know, however, that the "manegry" and the "oročun" are the same people. The former are included in the group of Kumarčen. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria being Russian subjects have not probably been included in this. The Birarčen, Khingan, and Mergen groups give a total, according to my data, of two thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, so I think that the "manegry" have been counted twice: once as an independent group, and once as part of the *oročun*; in both cases their number is, of course, exaggerated.

[2] Cf. I. A. Lopatin, *op. cit.*, p. 36. This author evidently identifies *varka* only with the Goldi of the Sungari region, but he did not include in the Goldi two other groups — namely, the *fiaka* (five thousand) and the *mangun* (two thousand). These groups are sometimes regarded by the Manchus as *iče* Manchus, but not Manchus, properly speaking, so it is possible that they are Goldi. According to S. K. Patkanov, their number is less: from eight to ten thousand. N. Mat'unin (quoted by S. K. Patkanov) gives a total of twenty-five thousand, which is close to the number of all *varka*, *fiaka*, and *mangun* taken together (twenty-seven thousand). As a matter of fact, their number is unknown and their classification is very confused.

[3] This number seems to be less than the actual number. Cf. *supra*, pp. 63 and 83.

S. K. Patkanov has twice[1] formulated that the Tungus who have changed their economical and cultural complex have shown a certain increase in population, while the Tungus living by hunting, as a whole, decreased. Yet he has formulated that this process is principally due to economical conditions, subject to variations, for the birth-rate among the Tungus is quite satisfactory. He also points out that one of the most important causes of economical changes lies in the occupation of Tungus territory by other ethnical groups and by temporary influences — different infectious maladies brought in by the Russians. The Tungus, according to him, do not show such degeneration as some Palæasiatics do, — the Enissy River Ostiaks, the Jukagirs, and others, — for the Tungus are a healthy people. It ought also to be taken into consideration that some groups lose their culture and language and become Yakuts, Samoyeds, etc. The Tungus of Transbaikalia and Manchuria are responsible for a number of facts supporting these conclusions. The Tungus of Transbaikalia, at least before the cataclysm, did not show such a decrease in population as other Tungus did. Unfortunately, comparative material regarding the number of population in previous periods among the Nerchinsk and the Manchurian Tungus is lacking. It is, however, beyond any doubt that the Northern Tungus, generally speaking, cede their territory to other ethnical groups; without changing their ethnographical complex, they cannot, of course, maintain their former number, and from this point of view their numerical decrease has nothing to do with the degeneration suspected by some travellers impressed by phenomena of local importance. From the ethnographical point of view the Tungus are slowly decreasing, losing, as we have seen, their original complex. So attempts at preserving the Tungus as a distinct physical group among other ethnical groups means, at the same time, their absorption. This we have seen in the case of Urulga Tungus, perhaps the Solons, and, may be, a part of the Dahurs. It is, moreover, absolutely evident, for as soon as a Tungus changes his language and ethnographical complex, under the given conditions of this part of the world, he demolishes the protecting wall and enters into crossings with other ethnical groups, e. g., the Yakuts, the Mongols, the Chinese, and the Russians. The new supply of Tungus blood not being provided by them, the Tungus as a physical type dissolve little by little to a point of being absolutely absorbed, just as has happened with the Russian prisoners of war taken by the Manchus in the seventeenth century, who cannot now be distinguished from the population of the north-eastern corner of Peking, or as it has happened with twenty-seven European criminals who in 1804 setted among the Fiji aborigines and during a century were absorbed altogether.

The preservation of the Tungus as an ethnical unit is possible only on condition that they do not cross with any alien groups, and that they preserve their ethnographical complex and language in its purity. But, as far as may be guessed from the process of ethnical movements, the territory occupied by the Tungus, some day, sooner or later, will be taken by their neighbours, and this process cannot be stopped by any means. The process of Tungus extinction lies far from purely economical, anti-hygienic, and other conditions, and also natality and mortality, which are mere functions of ethnical movements, and outer forms of the process of the retrogression of an ethnos, or a group of ethnoses, under the pressure of neighbouring ethnoses.

[1] In his works: "Increase, etc.," and "Essay, etc."

CHAPTER III

THE TUNGUS CLANS AND NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE TUNGUS

1. General Definition of the Tungus Clan. 2. Description of the Clans Among Tungus Groups: Barguzin; Nerchinsk; Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria; Khingan; Mergen; Kumarčen; Birarčen; Mankova; Some Parallels and Meaning of Clan Names; Lists of Clans. 3. Notes on the Early History of the Northern Tungus. 4. Northern Tungus Migrations: General Remarks; First, Second, Third, and Fourth Migratory Waves. 5. Conclusions Regarding the History of the Northern Tungus and Their Future.

1. General Definition of the Tungus Clan

Within their ethnical units, the Northern and the Southern Tungus have large subdivisions, which I designate as "clans." Omitting a discussion of the mechanism in the formation of new clans, and their functions, which will be dealt with in the next chapter, I give here a broad definition of the word "clan" as it will be understood in this study. The Northern Tungus clan is *a group of persons which is united by a consciousness of common origin from a male ancestor, or ancestors; it is also united by a recognition of blood relationship, common appellation, and the recognition of a series of prohibitions, the principal of which is that of marriage between the members of the same clan, — exogamy.*[1] A clan is a social form without which the Tungus ethnical unit, preserving its Tungus complex, could not exist, for it forms the basis of the whole social organization of the Tungus, implied by the biological needs of self-reproduction and self-preservation.

In the Northern Tungus dialects, the term "clan" is rendered by various words borrowed from various groups.[2] From the Manchu term *xala* have originated the following terms: *xała* (Khin.), *xala* (Neg. *Sch.*) (also Oroči, Goldi), *kala* (Bir. Kum.), *kāla* (RTM);[1] (2) from the Manchu term *mokun* have originated *mukun*, *mokun* (Bir.);[2] (3) from the Mongol term *omok* (*omoγ*, Lit.) (*Rud.*)[3] in recent times have originated *omoγ* (Nerč. Barg.), *omok* (Mank.), and *ewen-omuk* (Tum.);[4] (4) from the Mongol term *jas* (*jasun*, Lit.) — a generation, tribe, bone (in the sense of the genetic unit), etc. — has formed *jasan* (Mank.) — "the name of a clan";[5] (5) a Yakut term is used by the Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government. Such a variability of terms, borrowed from different ethnical groups, which were sometimes misused, point to their relatively recent origin in Tungus soil. According to my hypothesis the Northern Tungus has no term of their own. To this problem I shall return later.[6]

Every clan has its own history, sometimes short, sometimes long, and in a certain fashion clans exist independent of the ethnical unit whose formation mostly depends upon interethnical *milieu* (pressure) and spontaneous historic movement. Thus we know that some clan names, recorded among different ethnical units, show that at certain periods in the past, the Tungus, at present forming different ethnical units, lived together and formed one and the same unit. As we shall see, not all clans, however, have such a long history,

[1] This definition of a clan, if we include, after the words "blood relationship," "having common clan spirits," corresponds exactly to what I have said of the Manchu clan (cf. "S. O. M.," p. 16). I exclude from the present formula any mention of spirits, for some Tungus groups which are in a state of decline, caused by alien influence, have already given up their former ideology, which formulates and supports this social institution. So that the formula given for the Manchu clan defines in full the Northern Tungus clan as it was before alien influences produced their destructive effects. It shows that the social system may exist, for some while at least, by inertia, after it has been deprived of its former ideological basis. Moreover, as compared with the formula given for the Manchu clan I have here introduced "common appellation," for every Tungus clan must have its own name, the reason for which will be shown later. The Manchu clans sometimes have no special names, but use those of old units.

[2] Georgi gives the term *tagaun* for the clan. Unfortunately, I have not the original at hand, so I quote S. K. Patkanov, Vol. I, 2, p. 91. The existence of such a word has not been supported by evidences from other travellers. This word perhaps may be connected with *tvan* (Nerč.), which means, my "relatives of male descent," agnates: it is used very rarely — I have only heard it once. The Goldi term *tuwa*, designating "progeny of sisters," and connected by N. Karguer (*op. cit.*, p. 33) with Gilak *tuvn* — "the progeny of my father and his brothers" (cf. L. Sternberg, *op. cit.*, p. 22), — perhaps may be connected with *tvan* (in fact, *tuwá+n→tuvan →tvan→tavan→taγan→taγa* is possible in Tungus soil). However, *tagaun* of Georgi might have a different origin. Namely, *taga*, *tāga*, etc. (Bir. Nerč. Ur. *Castr.*), means "people," which may be referred to any clan as an accumulation of people. As will be shown, the idea of *tvan*, if such a word really exists, as "agnates" might appear to be of recent date, when clans already existed. Neither *tagaun* nor *tvan* sound as a name which may mean "a clan."

[1] Cf. my "S. O. M.," p. 16 ff. Though in this study I have supposed this word to originate in non-Tungus soil, I did not know its origin at that time. It seems to me that I now find the source from which it might have been borrowed. Perhaps this term is of the same origin as that used among the Buriats. According to B. E. Petri, *op. cit.*, p. 5, the Buriats, referring to groups (formerly exogamic units) with which the Buriats are not allowed to intermarry, used the term *xalu*, *xałun*, which means, according to B. E. Petri, *teplyi*, *svoī* (in Russian) warm, belonging to one's group, relative. A. D. Rudnev gives the meaning to the Mongol *xałun*, *xałon*‖ *kałaγun* (Mong. Lit.), hot. Yet *xałun*, according to I. A. Podgorbunskiī, in all Buriat dialects is "hot," but "warm" *is dulan*, *dołaγan*‖ *dułaγakan*, Mon. Lit. (*Rud.*). It may also be noted that the word *xałaγun* of the Mongols was borrowed by the Southern Tungus (by the Nuichens or even earlier), *hah-lu-wen* (Grube)—*xałxun* (Manchu Lit.)—*xałγon* (Manchu Sp.). It seems to me that there are two different words, namely, *xałun*, "hot," but not "warm," and *xalu*, the exogamic unit. The etymology of the term *xalu*, *xałun*, "the exogamic unit," is not, of course, understood among the Buriats, so they have taken "warm" ∫ "hot" ∫ as the word phonetically nearest. The process of variation of "clan" among the Buriats (and the Mongols?), as will be shown, is the same as that which we now observe among the Manchus and the Northern Tungus. The clan is always preserved as an exogamic unit, but the terms used for this social unit are always changing. So, for instance, the Mongols of the present time call their exogamic unit (at least the groups genetically bound by agnatic relationship) *jas* [*jasun*, Lit.] (*jaxsan* of Buriats, *Podg.*), also adopted by the Buriats, which is rather descriptive, for this word originally meant "bone." Yet various terms for "clan," met with among the Buriats, show that the former unit is in the process of decline. It is now obvious that the term used by the Buriats (among themselves) for the exogamic unit has escaped Podgorbunskiī's attention. The Buriats quoted by B. E. Petri naturally use their own term, which, for any stage of clan variation, may be used in the sense of an "exogamic unit," *xalu*. Such a term has not been invented by the Tungus, but at certain times, I think, they, or probably the Manchus' ancestors, borrowed the term *xalu* from a Mongol group when the Tungus were in the process of changing their social system. So the old Tungus suffix (cf. *infra*, p. 122) *-gir*, etc., used for the designation of the exogamic unit based upon the matrilineal system, known perhaps among the pro-Tungus, has been forgotten; it has nearly vanished among the Goldi. I do not think this term was borrowed by the Buriats from the Manchus who have supplied this term to the Northern Tungus because (1) the Mongols, culturally, were superior (more complex system) to the Manchus and (2) this term has a limited geographical distribution among the Tungus who are in direct contact with the Manchus.

[2] Cf. "S. O. M.," p. 16 ff. This term in Manchu is a new one. It is very likely that the term *xala* was originally used by the Manchus before their attainment of power in the seventeenth century. Perhaps it took the place of an older term *aiman*, which is still used among the Yakuts as *aimax* — the clan — and it is also of a non-Tungus origin. Later on, with the Manchu spread, the term *xala*, being too comprehensive, could not be used any longer, so the Manchus invented a new term: *gargan*, "a branch" (supposed of a *xala*) (in Yakut *kārgān* — the family, *Pek.*), which corresponds exactly to the Mongol "bone." Afterwards, the Manchus introduced the term *mokun*, the former term *gargan* being also too comprehensive.

[3] Also *owok* (*obоγ*, Lit.) (*Rud.*, pp. 111, 122), according to the alteration *b ~ w ~ m*.

[4] Perhaps *ewen* merely means *evenki*. Cf. *supra*, p. 52. Whether *mokun* and *omok* may be connected or not I can give no definite opinion.

[5] E. K. Pekarskiī for the "family name" (*familija*) gives, in Yakut, *aimah* (cf. Mongol, Manchu), *kārgān* (cf. Manchu *gargan*, a branch, clan, family), and *ija usa*; for the term "clan": *aimah*, *tōrūt*, and *us* (a part of it *ijē usa*). I. A. Podgorbunskiī for the "family name" in Buriat gives *omok* (Tunkin. Bur.) and *solo* (Tunkin. and Balagan); for the term "clan": *uk izagur*, *obok izagur*, *jaxsan* (Mongol Xalxa) [cf. *jas*, *jasun*], *uksa*.

[6] Cf. *infra*, p. 122 *seq.*

for some of them migrated after the formation of the ethnical units at present in existence. Naturally, such clans have no branches in the other Tungus ethnical units, so every one of their names is confined to one ethnical unit. As will be shown, the coincidence of names in different Tungus ethnical units is also possible, when the Tungus form new units and give them the names that may have originated from certain common ideas, e. g., "living up the river," "living down the river." Such names, being a mere convergence, do not indicate any historic connexion between the clans. Through the formation of several clans with their own names, which came from the same original unit, some clans change their names with their migrations. Yet the interethnical alien *milieu* is also sometimes responsible for a change of name. The clan names, as historic evidence, may thus be used only with great caution.

Among the Tungus clan names I shall distinguish the old clan names and the new. The old ones may be formally recognized by the suffix *-gir* (*-gir, -yir, -jir*), which under alien influence sometimes changed into *-git* (*-git, -gat*, etc.), and sometimes disappeared altogether. This suffix is characteristic of the Northern Tungus only, being, at least at present, unknown among the Southern Tungus. Yet it seems to be very old, for the same clan names, with this suffix, are met with everywhere among the Tungus who are now living. This fact shows that clans with names ending in *-gir* had used them at or about the beginning of the first millennium of this era, before the Northern Tungus migrations had started southward.

As we have seen, the Northern Tungus have now no special term for "clan"; and all terms used for designating this institution are borrowed, perhaps simultaneously with their new social system, from various neighbours. The suffix *-gir* seems to be the plural of the suffix *-gin*, which in certain dialects, e. g., Nerč., is now agglutinated to the names of ethnical groups for rendering the meaning of "woman," for the plural, *-gir*, e. g., *luča+mni+gin* (plur., *lučamnigir*); while in Birarčen, it disappears and becomes *lučamni*. In another dialect (RTM), *-mnigin* is reduced to *-mγu, -mγo*, also *-mgo, -mgu*, e. g., *luča+m+γu, bogdo+m+γu, evä+m+γu* (or *evämγo*). It is interesting to see that this suffix disappears altogether in the Mankova dialect, where it is superseded by *atirkan*,[1] which does not mean "woman," "female," but "old, honourable woman," — now used as a polite form in reference to all married women, — and approaches the meaning of the French "madame." In this dialect the suffix *-gir* of the clan names has changed into *-git* by analogy with the Buriat plural for the names of ethnical groups, and has lost its original meaning altogether. Thus we see that this suffix is in a state of disappearance, and it is obvious that a certain period its original meaning was "woman" for *gin* and "women" for *gir*.[2] The name of clans ending in *-gir* may be rendered as "the women of," e. g., *čilča, kindi, sama*, etc., as the Tungus now use *luča, manďu*, etc. Naturally, between themselves and opposing themselves to other ethnical groups as *evenki*, they distinguished various groups by different names, which were absolutely indispensable, in order to create the possibility of practising

[1] S. K. Patkanov's interpretation of the meaning of this word, as in most of his etymological rambles into Tungus names and terms, is wrong ("E. G. S. T.").

[2] According to an oral communication made to me (1917) by Mr. Grochowsky, who lived for a long time among the Tungus of the Okhotsk region, among the Tungus of this region *gir* is used as a term for "clan." I doubt whether they use it as a suffix or a noun. *Vide* Supp. Note IV.

exogamy. It may be added that among the Tungus exogamy is a fundamental condition of marriage, ergo the propagation and continuation of the species. Their social organization at a remote time was based upon the matrilineal system of kinship, the survival of which, in a limited number, we find shown by their customs. Naturally the Tungus did not need any special term for "clan," as the idea of a clan as a unit was not yet differentiated from the name. So between themselves, being all *evenki*, they did not use any special term for "clan." On the question "Who are you?" they replied with the name of the group to which they belonged; while when in close contact with other ethnical groups, they had to reply to two questions: "Who are you?" as compared with the questioner, and "To which *evenki* group do you belong?" (within your ethnical unit). To reply to the latter question the *evenki* needed a general term for the groups (units) they had within their own people. The terms were thus easily found in the content of the question, and borrowed. It is also very likely that these terms were borrowed together with the social organization of the clan, which was based upon the patrilineai system of kinship. The transition from one system to another might have operated within the units existing at that time, which were also possibly territorial, and the suffix *-gir* might be a survival. Thus, it is natural that the clans, whose origin may now be traced, have, as a rule, no suffix *-gir*, since its original meaning would not have been understood by those Tungus who practised patrilineal descent, and, in order to show it, they used terms derived from *xata, omoγ*, etc. With the growth of the social importance of another unit—the family—the next change in the social organization which was undergone by the Tungus was the introduction, little by little, of new terms, e. g., *mokun* (Bir.), rarely used, and the Russian terms *rod* and *fam'ilija*, which are quite easy to understand; for, in spite of ethnographical differences, the Tungus, in their intercourse with other Tungus groups, very often found common clan names, though these groups did not know of any relationship between them. This process, as I have shown among the Manchus, passed through several stages at great speed; this speed was due to the intensity of the variations which occurred after the Manchus and their ancestors appeared and multiplied as a powerful political unit.

Among the Barguzin Tungus, I have recorded fifteen different clan names. Some of these clans are old ones, and some of them have recently originated from old ones, so that these Tungus still retain the tradition of a direct descent. In the case of the Barguzin Tungus for investigators, the system of clan names is somewhat confusing, owing to the introduction of Russian equivalents for certain clan names mentioned in the previous chapter. Though the origin of these officially recognized clans is not clear, it may, however, be understood. It may be supposed that the early Russians, who, on meeting the first Tungus, recognized the importance of clan organization and, intending to maintain it, took the names of the clans they knew from the Tungus. Indeed, this recording of the Tungus clans could not be careful and accurate enough, so many a clan has escaped attention. Moreover, it is possible that after official recognition, some clans migrated; but as the district authorities needed all Tungus to be included in some clan which was officially recognized, they required new-comers to join one of the formerly recorded clans. So the

officially recognized clans continued their existence independent of the actual social organization, as new administrative units: such is the case of the Barguzin Tungus. In other cases, where the recording of clan names and clans had not been carried out at all, or the Tungus had migrated to other regions, the local authorities organized the Tungus by analogy with their own system — they gave them Russian family names, as "clan" (*rod*) *Malcev* in Transbaikalia, or by analogy with the Yakut system in the Yakutsk Government and also by analogy with the Buriat system in Transbaikalia. When a Tungus is asked in Russian as to his clan (*rod*) he replies without any hesitation something like this: "Before the Russians came we lived like wild people, and did not know anything about the clan (*rod*) organization."[1] But if one asks him in Tungus (*omoγ* or *kala*), the reply is entirely different, something like this: "We always had our clans and we lived by clans, but nowadays clan organization is declining." Indeed, their genuine clan organization is entirely distinct from that known to the Russian provincial officials. It is curious that practically the same thing happened to the Northern Tungus, who lived in Manchuria, where at the present time the local authorities try to organize the Tungus "in a proper way." It is not surprising that in Siberia the Russian Census of 1897 disclosed over a hundred Tungus clan names, many of which were real Tungus names, while the greatest part of them were mere products of zealous activity by the Russian authorities.[2] The excellent and really painstaking work of S. K. Patkanov is the only work dealing in an exhaustive manner with the clans officially recognized by the Russian authorities, but of course it cannot be taken as the basis for a scientific analysis of the Tungus clan system, for as documentary evidence, S. K. Patkanov's material should be used with the greatest caution. The analysis of the Barguzin Tungus clan names will show the value of this work as a historic document for establishing the history of the Tungus clans.[3]

Together with the decline of the Tungus original ethnographical complex, some Tungus groups, as, for instance, that of the Amur Government, which migrated from the Yakutsk Government, have forgotten their old clan names and have adopted those given to them by the Russians, and have taken even the family names as well. Names like First, Second,

[1] Cf. K. Ryckov, *op. cit.*

[2] For instance, some of these names originated from the idea of the Russianization and Christianization of the Tungus, e. g., *Malcev* (in the Nerchinsk district) is a Russian name received by a Tungus converted to Christianity (Orthodox) from the name of the Russian who converted him. These Tungus are now Russianized: I do not know how they called themselves in their own language when it was spoken.

[3] S. K. Patkanov, who never visited the Tungus himself, believed (he died after the war) his data to be absolutely reliable for the study of the Tungus clan organization, and he has led many ethnographers to accept data as reliable. Though he gave a good general description of the formation of new clan names, in which he made distinction between those which had originated from genuine Tungus names and those which were of late origin, as, for instance, from the names of the neighbouring groups, from the Russians, and from geographical names, his greatest mistake was that he was dealing with *administrative* units organized and named by the Russians. These units, fixed and stabilized, could not correspond to the social units of the Tungus, which have always changed, especially during migrations. The administrative and the social organizations of the Tungus are thus two things absolutely different, but it has happened that some genuine Tungus clan names have been used by the Russians as the names of the Tungus *rod*, and S. K. Patkanov has mistaken them for the Tungus clans. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Kondogirskije* (from *kindigir*) Tungus of the Irkutsk Government had seven units, namely, *čečogir, očokoger, mongoli*, etc. — these were, to be sure, their own social units. So I. I. Mainov was probably right in asserting that all Tungus of the Yakutsk Government had such subdivisions. Hence this fundamental mistake of S. K. Patkanov has enabled him to present his material *concerning the administrative units* in a clear form without confounding it with the genuine units of the Tungus social organization.

and Third *Ežansk'ii* and *Beletsk'ii*, etc., are sure to be of such origin. From a historic point of view this cannot help us very much, for the only fact they may confirm is that some recent clans have continued their migrations, which we know quite well from other sources, e. g., from records in archives, traditions, etc.

Among the Barguzin Tungus, the three officially recognized clans include the following:

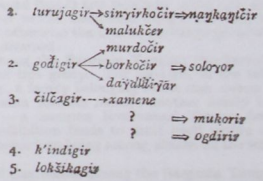
I. Čilčag'irsk'ii rod—godĭigir (with four new clans) and *turujagir* (with three new clans)
II. Čilčag'irsk'ii rod—čilčagir, muhorir, ogdirir
Kindyg'irsk'ii rod—kindigir, lokšikagir

Every one of these official units has certain territory reserved for it, but as a Tungus clan is always changing its territory, it also changes its formal inclusion in an official unit. Doubtless, as soon as these Tungus forget their language, or merely forget their original social units, they will preserve these official names only, and adopt some new family names.[1]

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2. Description of the Tungus Clans

The Barguzin Tungus. As tabulated below, the Barguzin Tungus clans are shown in their genetic relations. In the first column, the old clans are shown; in the second column, the clans that have originated from those clans which are shown in the first column, and which appear in folk-lore, are shown; in the third column, clans that have originated from the clans of the second column are shown; clans of doubtful relationship are shown by a broken line.



The clan *turujagir* still exists as an exogamous unit, but two clans, namely, the *sinγirkočir* and the *malukčer*, have already separate spirit systems, so on being questioned as to which *omoγ* they belong, they reply that either *sinγirkon*[2] or *maluk*[3] "are our ancestors."[4] Yet the clan *malukčer* has produced a new clan *naŋkaŋtčir* from its ancestor *naŋkaŋt:* the *naŋkaŋtčir* do not intermarry with the *malukčer*, but with the *sinγirkočir* and the *turujagir:* the *sinγirkočir* and the *malukčer* do not intermarry with the *turujagir*. The clan *turujagir* lived near Lake Baunt: some time ago a part of this clan was adopted by the clan *godĭigir*. Afterwards, another group of this clan migrated to the Nerchinsk Tungus territory where it was adopted by the clan *bultogir*.

[1] In the present condition of the Tungus this process may be accelerated by the re-organization mentioned in the previous chapter. Yet, it may be retarded, owing to the complete or partial extinction of the Tungus groups under the stress of economical conditions, and the new form of interethnical pressure exercised on them by the new policy of assimilation, as adopted by the present government.

[2] Sinγirkon, the founder of this clan, lived in the sixties of the last century.

[3] Maluk, the founder of this clan, lived in the forties of the last century.

[4] Suffix *-čin, -čen* (plur., *-čir, -čer*), may be translated as "he (or she) having" (ancestor or perhaps spirit of). This suffix, however, is becoming of wider general meaning than a mere possessive passive suffix — it may now be used as that of ethnical units, e. g., the the *oročen*, the *murčen*, etc. Cf. *supra*, p. 53.

The clan *goďigir* has three new clans: *murdočir*,[1] *borkočir*,[2] from their ancestors Murdon and Borko; and the clan *dayaldiyar*,[3] which do not intermarry between themselves or with the *goďigir*. The clan *soloγon*[4] was produced from the clan *borkočir* and does not intermarry with the latter, but intermarries with the *goďigir*, the *murdočir*, and the *dayaldiyar*. The territory of the clan *goďigir* was in the basin of the Vitimkan, the Čina, and the Cipikan. A part of this clan migrated to the territory of the Nerchinsk Tungus, where it preserved its name. Its subdivisions are there unknown, for it migrated before the new clans were formed. It may also be noted that the Nerchinsk Tungus belonging to this clan do not intermarry with the Barguzin Tungus, who trace their origin, directly or through the new clans, from the *goďigir* of the Barguzin Tungus. Thus, in the mind of the Nerchinsk Tungus, the formation of the new clans from the *goďigir* does not allow intermarriage between persons who by their origin belong to this clan.[5]

The clan *čilčagir* has produced a new clan *xamene*,[6] who pretend to be genuine *čilčagir*. Two clans, namely, the *mukorir* and the *ogdirir*, believe in their indirect origin from the clan *čilčagir;* but the links connecting them with the clan *čilčagir* are forgotten, and intermarriage between all these three clans is allowed. The territory of the clan *čilčagir* (with its offspring) is confined to the basin of the Muia, but a small group of them lives in the basin of the Ikat. This clan was formerly very numerous, and several traditions are connected with it: it is also recorded among the Nerchinsk Tungus.

Two clans, the *kindigir*, living in the vicinity of Lake Baunt, and the *lokšikagir*, living in the basin of the Muia River, have produced no new clans.

In this system of clans, the youngest ones are the *naykaγlčir* and the *soloγor*, which have existed only for two generations, and they feel that their kinship to the *malukčer* and the *borkočir* is very close. The clans *sinyirkočir* and *malukčer* recognize their blood relationship through a common ancestor — the *turujagir*. The separation between the *mukorir* and the *ogdirir* is yet greater than in the previous clans, for they do not remember the link that

[1] The founder of this clan—Murdon—lived in the forties of the last century.

[2] Borko, the founder of this clan, lived at the beginning of the last century in the basin of the Urulga.

[3] Perhaps from "living in the vicinity of." No such man's name has been recorded by me.

[4] From *soloγon* — living in the upper course of a river. Perhaps it is a man's name: this clan once occupied the upper course of the Chita. S. K. Patkanov has mistaken ("E. G. S. T.," Vol. I, 1, p. 4) regarding a clan of similar name recorded by Orlov in the Amur Government. It is very likely that a part of the clan *nikagir* roamed along the upper course of the Zeja and for that reason was called the *sologon*. If we agree with the above etymology of the clan *soloγon*, it will be quite clear why the names *šologonsk'iī*, *sologonsk'iī*, etc. (by the Russians), are so numerous among the Northern Tungus that they have been simply numbered by the Russian authorities. Indeed, every numerous clan may have certain parts (sometimes, also, an exogamous unit) living in the upper course of a river. In spite of this, as I have shown, the name *solon*, connected by L. von Schrenck with *sologon*, is of entirely different origin. In fact, the Solons occupied several and various regions, and at the same time they lived with the Dahurs, who still include several typical old clans in the lower courses of the rivers. Cf. *supra*, p. 62 *seq.*

[5] From this point of view the Nerchinsk Tungus are much more formalistic than the Barguzin Tungus. I have shown how this difficulty is overcome by the Manchus: yet, in China, intermarriage between persons who are bearers of the same name is also formally restricted, but it is allowed when the division occurred five generations ago (cf. D. H. Kulp, p. 166). The analogy with the Manchu and the Tungus is indeed perfect.

[6] In the number of six only, they are styled by the Russian authorities *kam'en'evy* (plur. from *kam'en'ev*), a very common Russian name. I think the name *xamene* is not a Tungus name, but Buriat(?). The sound *x* is not characteristic of this Tungus dialect, nor is the ending *e* as well.

connects them with the *čilčagir*.[1] These clans were formed a long time ago. It is obvious that the connexion in the form of prohibition will be maintained as long as their memory keeps alive a belief in their common origin, so from a general point of view the old clans that have produced new ones will inevitably disappear. In fact, we observe this phenomenon anong those Tungus groups that have entered into this process, and had contact with alien groups of long ago, as the settled Tungus of Transbaikalia, the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, etc.[2]

From the analysis given above it is evident that all clan names lacking the suffix *-gir* are new ones which have almost all originated so late that the memory of the present generation still retain some of their founders' names.

Barguzin Tungus tradition mentions, among the clans which fought against the *mumugir*, only those which end in *-gir*, viz., the *samagir*, the *čilčagir*, the *k'indigir*, the *goďigir*, the *lokšikagir*, and the *turujagir*. Though the clan *samagir* does not now exist, it is interesting that it is also mentioned among this group. These clans, according to their tradition, elected a military chief.

Clan names now recorded are of different ages: some of them may be as old as the first formation of the clan names; some of them are only in the process of formation; and others are in a stage when their direct ancestors are not completely forgotten.

As we have seen, the difference between the Manchu and the Tungus system is this: the new Manchu exogamic units do not take any new names, and use a very complex calculation, — *xala*, *gargan*, *mokun*, — while all new Northern Tungus clans adopt new names. The reason is simple: the Manchus have written records, and do not need to create new clan names.[3]

[1] As we know, this clan was very numerous. It may be supposed that it first produced some new clans, which later produced those now recorded, but the links either migrated to the Nerchinsk Tungus territory or perished during the epidemics. This hypothesis ought to be admitted, for otherwise the lack of marriage prohibition in the old clan *čilčagir* (with two exogamous subdivisions) cannot be understood.

[2] Cf. the list of clan names in S. K. Patkanov's work among the Barguzin Tungus: the formation of new clan names has also been simplified since the Christianization of this group. For instance, in the middle of the last century some new names (still family names) originated, e. g., a family belonging to the clan *soloγor* was called by the missionaries the *k'ir'ilovy* (plur. from *k'ir'ilov* — a common Russian name); another family belonging to the clan *borkočir* was called the *torgonovy* (plur. from *torgonov* — a common Russianized Tungus family name). Together with Christianization of these Tungus, the exogamic prohibition tends to limit itself within new families having names given by the Russians. This process has already come into being among almost all the settled Tungus of Transbaikalia.

[3] We may now realize how the list of the officially recognized clan names among the Barguzin Tungus might be different, if it were accurately recorded at the moment of the first attempt at organizing these Tungus. Yet it might also be different if it were recorded a hundred years ago, when the clans *murdočir*, *borkočir*, *sinyirkočir*, *malukčer*, *dayaldiyar*, and even perhaps the *xamene*, did not exist as exogamous units. I have recorded four more clans, which have just lately originated. It is possible that at certain given periods some family names had already passed into the stage of clan names. By this remark I do not intend to show that all family groups evolve into clans. On the contrary, the family organization (of non-Tungus type) destroys clan organization. In the transitory stage, however, some newly organized families may easily take the form of clans. The process of the formation of new clans is thus still in progress, and it may be supposed that it will go on till the complete disorganization of the old clan system takes place. We also find some indirect indication as to the formation of the officially recognized clans mentioned. At the beginning only two clans were recorded: the *čilčag'irsk'iī rod* and the *k'indyg'irsk'iī rod;* later on, when the Russians knew some new clans, they joined the *goďigir* and the *turujagir* to the *čilčag'irsk'iī rod*, and probably divided the latter into two separately numbered *rod* with the same name: the *čilčag'irsk'iī*. The *čilčag'irsk'iī rod II* is decreasing, and we have seen that the Tungus *čilčagir* clan lost some newly formed clans which have perhaps migrated. Tradition says so, and it may be supported by the following data:

in 1869 the *čilčag'irsk'iī rod I* had 423 persons;	the *čilčag'irsk'iī rod II* had 253 persons;	
in 1892 the *čilčag'irsk'iī rod I* had 494 persons;	the *čilčag'irsk'iī rod II* had 197 persons;	
the difference per cent is	+16.8	−22.1

From these facts one may see that the exogamic prohibitions are limited by the creation of new exogamous units within the old ones, just as has been shown in the Manchu system. The prohibition is annihilated in the second formation. This may be shown in the scheme

$$\text{Clan I} < \begin{matrix}\text{Clan II}_1 = \text{Clan III}_1 \\ \text{Clan II}_2 = \text{Clan III}_2\end{matrix}$$

where marriage is allowed between Clan I and Clan III_1 and Clan III_2 also between Clan II_1 and Clan III_2 and between Clan II_2 and Clan III_1 — *between clans of different names except direct ancestor-clans.* The reason is this: when prohibitions create difficulties for marriage the Tungus create new exogamous units in order to circumvent these regulations, but it requires a certain time.

The Nerchinsk Tungus. The Nerchinsk Tungus have eight old clans, — the *lakšikagir*, the *k'indigir*, the *bultogir*, the *turujagir*, the *ŋyaŋŋagir*, the *goďigir*, the *čilčagir*, and the *samagir*, — and also two new clans, — the *borkočir* and the *ogdirir*, — whose origin from the old clan has already been established, for they belonged, respectively, to the *goďigir* and the *čilčagir* — old clans. They seem to have originated from the Barguzin Tungus who migrated to the Nerchinsk Tungus territory, and were adopted by the latter.

The clan *bultogir* is unknown among the Barguzin Tungus. It occupies the Nercha and the Karenga. The clan *ŋyaŋŋagir*, which is unknown in the Barguzin Tungus group, is not numerous, and its main portion lives in the southern part of the Yakutsk Government (according to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria).[1] The clan *lakšikagir* occupied the Olekma region alone: the clan *samagir* lives in the basin of the Karenga; this clan is known among the Tungus of Lake Baikal (*šemag'irskoje rodovoje upravlen'ije*, cf. *supra*, p. 59). In the nineteenth century a part of these Tungus, belonging to the *samagir* clan, migrated to the Vitimkan, but after a smallpox epidemic in the nineties they left for the Nerchinsk Tungus territory. The migrations of the clans *lakšikagir* and *turujagir*, according to tradition, are connected with Russian colonization; the migration of the clan *čilčagir*, though, is connected with the occupation of the southern part of the Nerchinsk Tungus territory by the Buriats — in the Uldurga River — and the Russian colonization of the Nercha, the Ingoda, and the Shilka.[2]

1 Perhaps it may be connected with the clan *nenigan*, recorded in the Yakutsk Government by Georgi (Vol. I, p. 244). According to S. K. Patkanov this clan (*rod*) migrated through the Amur Government to Manchuria ("E. G. S. T.," Vol. I, 2, p. 123). However, such a clan is unknown among the Tungus of Manchuria, but it is known in the Yakutsk Government. It is quite possible that the Russian authorities lost it when it migrated south, where it was included in some other officially recorded clan, as has happened with the clan *kaltagir*. According to E. I. Titov (*op. cit.*, p. 107), the *ŋaŋagir* clan is now wandering in the Olokma basin.

2 I have already shown that according to E. I. Titov's account some important changes have occurred. It may now be noted that the clan *lakšikagir* occupies the western part of the former Nerchinsk Tungus area, and left its former region to a new-comer — the clan *kokogir*, which now also visits the Vitim. It is not, however, clear which *lakšikagir* group it is which now lives in this region, for the Barguzin Tungus also had this clan, and it may be that this group has migrated to the Nerchinsk Tungus western territory. If it be so, then the clan *lakšikagir*, which occupied the Olokma region, is either extinct or has left for the Amur Government or Manchuria. The latter supposition is feasible, for the clan *lakšikagir* has always been connected with the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. On the other hand, all groups were affected by economic collapse, so the supposition of the complete extinction of this clan in the Olokma region is also possible. The clans *goďigir* and *ŋyaŋŋagir*, recorded by me in the Nerchinsk *taiga* in the region now occupied by the clan *lakšikagir*, are not mentioned by E. I. Titov. They have been extinct perhaps for some years.

Among the Nerchinsk Tungus S. K. Patkanov has mentioned the *katčitsk'iĭ rod*, which seems to belong to the Kalar Tungus.[1] The Upper Angara Tungus, whom I have not investigated personally, had, according to police records (1913), besides the *čilčag'irsk'iĭ rod* and the *k'indig'irsk'iĭ rod*, known among other groups as derivations from the clan names *čilčagir* and *kindigir*, a clan of their own, namely, the *čuk'ikagir*. Among the Tungus of Lake Baikal only one clan is known to me — the *samagir*. It is, however, probable that among all these groups some other clans may be found, unless the exogamy is forgotten.[2]

The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, who are under Russian influence (they are all Christians) and who do not practise exogamy except within four generations of the same clan, now have the following old clans: the *kaltagir*, the *čakagir*, and the *k'indigir* clan; the new clans are: the *bulďuti*, the *soloγon*, the *kaptukar*, the *obdihal*, and the *ogdiril* clan; the clan *lakšikagir* is also known as one of their clans, but it lives in Transbaikalia.[3] The clan *kaltagir* is confined to the Albazixa River basin only and is not met with north of the Amur or the basin of the Bystraia. The clan *kaltagir* has produced two new clans: the *bulďuti* and the *soloγon*, but as a unit it does not exist, and intermarriage between these two clans is allowed. Some time ago exogamy was strictly followed. The origin of the *bulďuti*, however, is not clear. This clan had formerly another name (but without the suffix *-gir*); later, this name was given to it by the Russian authorities. The *kaltagir* clan was included in the *bulďuti*; so the clan *bulďuti* by analogy with other Tungus groups seems to be rather a new administrative unit created by the Russians. It may perhaps be connected with the *bultogir* of the Nerchinsk Tungus, or also the *beldetsk'iĭ* and the *beletsk'iĭ rod* (of the Russians) of the Yakutsk Government with several numbered subdivisions known since the eighteenth century.[4] These Tungus connect the name *bulďuti* with a man's name and recognize at the same time its recent origin (it has no suffix *-gir*). This is rather a guess, for they do not remember such a man's name. The clan *soloγon* is

1 It is very likely that E. I. Titov has recorded the same Tungus as the *katčincy* (cf. *supra*, p. 117). S. K. Patkanov, perhaps with good reasons, has connected this name with the clan *rod gutčitsk'iĭ*, numerous among the Nomad Tungus. Yet the clan *kučugir* is known among the Nomad Tungus of Žilinda, and a summer station of the Nomad Tungus of Urulga is also called *kučuγir*. The *gutčitsk'iĭ rod* is also recorded among the Buriats (?). But the main point is this, that we do not know of which Tungus clans the group of the Kalar Tungus consists, for the *katčinsk'iĭ rod* and the *katčincy* are not, of course, Tungus clans, but Russian administrative units.

2 Without this supposition the functions of marriage based upon exogamy are impossible. We have seen that the *čilčag'irsk'iĭ rod* of the Upper Angara region is much more numerous than the *k'indig'irsk'iĭ rod*, so that the former cannot find sufficient women for its young men. The same must be true of the Lake Baikal Tungus, who are not divided into two clans and thus cannot marry without either abolishing exogamy or forming some new clans. Since the latter group is now extinct, this will remain a mystery. The *kindigir* clan, according to a tradition recorded by E. I. Titov, *op. cit.*, p. 50, has migrated from the Patoma basin, i. e., from the north.

3 According to these Tungus the clan *lakšikagir* lives near Stretensk. This seems to be right, for it is the nearest Russian town to the Olokma River region. Ethnographically speaking, however, the *lakšikagir* clan, according to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, is different from them (e. g., in singing, etc.). The inclusion of this clan in the group of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria cannot be justified. It is, of course, possible that formerly this clan was in close relation to these Tungus.

4 Cf. Georgi, "Bem.," Vol. I, p. 244, and S. K. Patkanov, I, 2, pp. 53, 54. These names may have originated from the same *bVldV* by the increase of an alien suffix for the plural (*l*) and assimilation of *d* by *l*, and also the alteration of *d* ~ *t*: so we get *beletsk'iĭ*←*belletsk'iĭ*←*bellet*←*beldel*←*belde* ~ *boldo* ~ *buldu* ~ *buldo* ~ *bulto*. This clan name is also known among the Goldi as *beldai* and *beldy* (cf. I. A. Lopatin), Oroči (P. P. Schmidt's communication), among the Dahurs, as the *buldati*, and among the Sobatschi (i. e., dog) Tungus, as the *boldaši* (cf. J. von Strahlenberg).

also connected by these Tungus with a man's name, which is also, I think,[1] wrong. The origin of the *kaptukar* and the *obgihal* could not be established on the spot. Perhaps these clans are somewhat older than the new clans among the Barguzin Tungus, for their connexion with the old clans is entirely forgotten. The clan *ogdiril* is in all probability the same clan as the *ogdirir* among the Barguzin Tungus, for (1) *l* and *r* are both suffixes of plural, (2) the clan *ogdirir* is also recorded in the Nerchinsk *taiga* as immigrants from the Barguzin Tungus territory, where it is still connected with the clan *čilčagir;* the latter is also known in the Nerchinsk *taiga*.[2]

Generally speaking, among this Tungus group, the clan system is in a state of complete decline. This is due, as shown, to Russian influence exercised since the time the group lived in the Yakutsk Government: migrations do not favour the preservation of the old system. Moreover, these Tungus have been composed of the remainders of various other Tungus groups, so some clans have been intermixed and called by the Russian authorities by names which happened to be handy. Thus we can see that these authorities have not been interested in the preservation of the Tungus organization, but have merely labelled the Tungus for the purpose of collecting tribute, and like purposes.

The Khingan Tungus. The Khingan Tungus have four old clan names, namely, the *bultogir*, the *bajagir*, the *kaltagir* (sometimes *kuldugir* and *koldagir*), and the *dulugir*, and also perhaps a fifth one, the *čačagir*, and four new clans, namely, the *ďalančen*, the *čalbanka*, the *koŋg'ēda*, and the *dulivar*. Among these clans exogamy is maintained in full. The clan *bultogir* occupies the basin of the Numin; its name ought to be connected with that of the Nerchinsk Tungus and other similar names.[3] The clan *bajagir* occupies territory in the basin of the Tura, the middle course of the Gan and the Kuldur. This clan name is met with among the Mankova Tungus as *bajagil*, and among the Mergen Tungus as *bajagir*. S. K. Patkanov has recorded this name among the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia and in the Yakutsk Government. From the latter district they migrated as the *bajag'irsk'iĭ rod* to the Amur Government. The clan *kaltagir* occupies the upper course of the Gan and part of the Kuldur.[4] This name is already known from clan lists among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. The clan *dulugir* occupies the Gan and especially its tributary the Džodun. This clan name seems to be common among the Tungus of the Chita district.[5] The clan

[1] They do not connect it with the *solоγon*, who live on the upper course of a river, as do, for instance, the Barguzin Tungus; for, according to them, in their own dialect "living on the upper course of a river" is *soliγon*, which "is entirely different from *solоγon*." I think that this clan name originated from a Russian administrative subdivision in the Yakutsk Government, naturally borrowed from the Tungus. Such a clan name, or perhaps such a name of a group, was recorded by the Cossacks (in 1701 in the Vilui, on Remezov's map) together with the *mamugir*. It is possible that they lived in the upper course of this river. The dialectal difference between *soliγon* and *solоγon* does not permit these Tungus to recognize the common origin of these names. The clan *solоγon* has also produced a semi-detached new clan — the *kudr'in*, which is, of course, a typically Russian family name.

[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 126–128.

[3] Cf. *supra*, p. 129, footnote 4, also *infra*, p. 133.

[4] Whence the alteration of this name — *kuldugir:* as a matter of fact, this clan has nothing to do with the name of this river.

[5] Cf. S. K. Patanov's *dulassk'iĭ, duligatsk'iĭ, dulegatsk'iĭ rod*, where *-sk'iĭ* is the Russian suffix and *-gat* is the Mongolized *-gir*.

čačagir has been mentioned to me only once, but no details could be gathered. The new clan *dulivar* is not probably a clan by itself, but a phonetic alteration of *dulugir*.[1] The new clan *ďalančen* has been derived from the clan *bajagir*, I think, but I am not sure. The origin of the two new clans, namely, the *koŋg'ēda* and the *čalbanka*, has not been established.

The Mongols have created an administrative unit from the *bultogir* and *bajagir* clans. The clans *kaltagir* and *dulugir* form two other administrative units, or perhaps only one. It is worthy of note that this Tungus group refers the term *xala* only to clans ending in *-gir*. According to the official (Manchu-Mongol) classification, these Tungus have three clans, as we have seen among the Barguzin Tungus.

The Mergen Tungus. The Mergen Tungus have six clan names, or perhaps more, namely, the *bajagir*, the *samagir*, the *igačagir*, the *gagdair* (probably the *gagdagir*) in the basin of the Gän River, the *ačikačagir* and perhaps the *kaltagir:* their geographical distribution during my field work could not be correctly established. The clans *bajagir* and *samagir* are already known: the first among the Khingan Tungus and other groups, and the second among the Tungus of Transbaikalia. The clan *bajagir*, which is supposed by the Kumarčen to be a Dahur clan, occupies the Gan and the Dapkur — both tributaries of the Nonni. The clans *igačagir* and *ačikačagir* are known only among this group. The clan *kaltagir*, which is known among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and the Khingan Tungus, occupies the Gän. The *gagdair* clan looks like the old clan *gagdagir*.

The Kumarčen Tungus. The Kumarčen Tungus have three old clans (namely, the *man'agir*, the *uilagir*, and the *gagdagir*), and three new clans (namely, the *učatkan*, the *govair*, and the *gurair*). These clans are irregularly scattered over the territory occupied by these Tungus, but the upper course of the Kumara is occupied by the *man'agir* clan. The clans *gagdagir* and *gurair* live exclusively in Chinese territory. The clan *man'agir* has produced the clan *učatkan;* the clan *uilagir*, the *govair;* and the clan *gagdagir*, the *gurair*. Tradition says that there were two brothers Man'agir and Učatkan, of whom Učatkan was the junior. Therefore marriage is prohibited between the *man'agir* and the *učatkan*, and also between the *uilagir* and the *govair*. All these clans, except the *gagdagir*, are confined to the Kumarčen. The clans *učatkan* and *govair* do not intermarry with the clans which have produced them, as their first offshoots. These clans sometimes roam along the sources of the Nonni (*naun*), whence they are also called *naunčen:* in spite of this, they belong to the Kumar yamen.

The Birarčen Tungus. The Birarčen Tungus have the following old clans, namely, the *maakagir*, the *mōkogir*, the *kargir*, and perhaps the *dunaγir;* and the new clans, namely, the *malakul* (also the *malukur* and the *malukčen*), the *čakčir*, also perhaps the *dunair* (or the *dunānkān*, which is, maybe, equivalent to *dunaγir*). The clans *maakagir* not long ago separated and formed a new exogamic unit — the *malakul*. The clan *maakagir* lived on the banks of the Zeia River, and for this reason they are sometimes called the *ďičen* (*ďi* is the Tungus name for the Zeia); there seem still to be some few of them left. After

[1] In this dialect, *g*, *γ*, *w*, *v*, alternate very commonly, e. g., *davur* instead of *daγur*, *dahur*, etc.; *-gir*, and *-gar* (*-gat*) is not certainly understood in its original meaning.

their migration to Manchuria they occupied the Taun and Sun rivers and adopted small groups of (1) the clan *kaltagir*, which fact they do not care to remember, though for what reason I do not know, but it is known that the *kaltagir* clan before they were adopted by the *maakagir* were Christians and Russian subjects; (2) the clan *igičagir*, who also were Christians and came from the north — from the Yakutsk Government — and were sometimes called the *iiča*, which may be understood as "converted" (a joke: *iiča—igiča*); and (3) a group of the Goldi, which had been adopted by the clan *malakul*, forming at that time, together with the *maakagir*, an exogamous unit. The clan *malakul* came together with the *maakagir* from a more southerly region down the Amur, where they once lived. As soon as the clan *malakul*, after its adoption by the *maakagir* clan, had grown, it separated from it. For this reason, the *malakul* clan has three groups of spirits, three clan shamans, and also three *mokun*, who, however, do not intermarry between themselves.

The clan *mōkogir* produced a new clan *čakčir* with which the *mōkogir* clan does not intermarry. The clan *kargir* were formerly very numerous, and produced, a long time ago, a new clan — the *dunānkān*.[1] Marriage between these two clans is not allowed. The clan *dunānkān* had its hunting territory near Lake Hanka in South Ussuriland; later, they migrated to the Taun River, and latterly to their present region, near the Amur. Perhaps this clan name may be connected with the Goldi clan *donka* and the Manchu *dung'a*.[2] From the Kumarčen I have learnt that their neighbours the Birarčen have two clans more, namely, the *čokčogir* and the *ačikačagir*, which fact was not confirmed by my investigations among the Birarčen. The latter, however, assert that these two clans are unknown among them, but the clan *ačikičagir* is a Mergen Tungus clan, while the clan *čokčogir* is absolutely unknown. It is very likely that the new Birarčen clan *čakčir* has been mistaken by the Kumarčen for the *čokčagir*. There is one more clan name to be mentioned. The clan *nirger* has some representatives among the Birarčen, but this clan originated among the Birarčen from a Dahur clan living in the Butxa region. Moreover, among the Dahurs this clan originated from a Chinese slave, who was adopted by a Dahur clan, migrated to the upper course of the Nonni, multiplied by intermarriage with the local Tungus, later diminished, and is now nearly extinct. A few families of them are met with in the vicinity of the village *Četu*.

Summarizing what has been stated regarding clan names among the Northern Tungus of Manchuria, we may say that here, as in Transbaikalia, especially among the Barguzin Tungus, the process of the formation of new clans from old ones ending in *-gir* is going on. The Tungus of Manchuria are in the stage of the formation of clans of the second degree, and are progressing towards a stage where intermarriage with the father-clans will soon be allowed. The adoption of small units is also practised, as we have seen in Transbaikalia.

[1] Sometimes *dunair* and *dunagir;* when it is written in Manchu. I do not know whether *dunagir* or *dunānkān* is correct. If we agree with *dunānkān*, then it must certainly have originated from the clan *kargir*, as tradition says; but if we agree with *dunagir*, then we have to suppose that this clan was adopted by the clan *kargir* and later separated, as happened with the clans *malakul* and *maakagir*. The latter hypothesis is not improbable. The Manchu spelling of this name is due, perhaps, to analogy with other clans ending in *-gir*, for this was possibly the first case of the formation of a new clan among the Tungus of this migratory wave.

[2] Cf. my "N. T. M.," footnote 39. I do not, however, insist on this derivation.

The Mankova Tungus. The Mankova Tungus clans are of certain interest for our conclusions as to the movement of the Tungus clans in general. I shall therefore give a list of names, though I have not thoroughly investigated this group. Among them there are at least two old clans, namely, the *samagil* and the *bajagil*, and also perhaps the *dulāgat*,[1] and four new clans, namely, the *konul*, the *sira-nam'et*, the *kara-nam'et*, and the *čipčinut*.[2] All of them, it may be noted, have the suffix *-l* for their plural, which has been borrowed from the Mongol (Buriat) language.[3] The clans *samagir*, *bajagir*, and *dulugir* (*dulāgat*) are already known among other groups, while the names of the new clans seem to be of non-Tungus origin; e. g., *sira-sira* and *kara-nam'et* are, beyond doubt, of Mongol origin.

The Nomad Tungus of Barguzin. The Nomad Tungus of Barguzin living north-east from the city of Barguzin, according to the information communicated by a Tungus of this group to N. N. Poppe, include the following old clans: *balikāgir*, *limāgir*, *čōlkōgir*, and *tepkāgir;* the two clans *galăōhir* and *asiwagat* are also, perhaps, old clans. The clan *balikāgir* has been recorded among the Nomad Tungus by S. K. Patkanov; the clan *limāgir* seems to be the same as *linagir* of S. K. Patkanov. The same is true with the clan *čōlkōgir*, which is met in S. K. Patkanov as *četkag'irsk'ii rod*, it is very possible that this is the same clan as *čilčagir*. The clan *tepkōgir* is met with only among these Tungus. The clan *galăōhir* was called in Russian *mungalsk'ii rod*, which point to its Mongol origin; as to the clan *asiwagat*, the suffix *-gat* is not a Northern Tungus, but probably Mongol, as I have already shown. So this clan is either an old Tungus clan *asiwagir*, or it is a Mongol (Buriat) clan name adopted by the Tungus.

The Dahurs. The Dahurs also have some clans of Northern Tungus origin. It is true that the old clans have already lost their former importance, so among the Dahurs the new units — the *mokun* — have undertaken the rôle of the old clans, just as happened among the Manchus; but the names of clans which were recorded in written form have been preserved. The present exogamic units (*mokun*) are called by geographical names, from the regions occupied by them. Among the Dahurs of Butxa there are four clans which seem to be old Northern Tungus clans, namely, the *kaltagir*, the *bajagir*, the *bulăagir* (probably from the *bultogir;* the Tungus, who did not know the *bultogir*, connected it without any hesitation with the *bulduti*), and the *nirgir* (which clan seems to be extinct among the Butxa Dahurs). A fifth clan, namely, the *ăaŋkir*, is also regarded by the Tungus as a Tungus clan proper.[4]

[1] It is also possible that this clan has nothing to do with the old clan names *duligat*, *dilegat*, which, as recorded among the settled Tungus groups, are common clan names.

[2] All of them are mentioned, usually with wrong (Russian) spelling, by S. K. Patkanov, in the list of clans recorded by the Census of 1897. Some of the clans recorded by this census, e. g., the *čelkag'irsk'ii*, the *ulatsk'ii*, the *dolutsk'ii rod*, could not be identified.

[3] Georgi was absolutely right when he recorded *t* at the end of some clan names and in some others *r*, or vice versa. S. K. Patkanov (Vol. I, 2, p. 147) is not right in his supposition as to a mistake on the part of certain authors.

[4] Besides the above-mentioned clans I have recorded the following clans among the Dahurs of the Butxa regions. All of them have been given in Manchu transcription, so they are not perhaps properly transcribed. The clan names are: the *dadul* (from a village of this name which is also known in Butxa), the *onon*, *vērē* (perhaps, better *vārā*), *bulamu*, *aula* (from *aul* — hill), *sudur*, *urat*, *togdol*, *dakulu*, *mèrdèn*, *nakta*, *nadei*, *gobut*, *sodor*, *gapka* (*gabka*). The notes in parentheses concerning the clans *dadul* and *aula* are given by the Dahurs; I do not venture to analyze these names.

The Goldi. Among the Goldi clan names I have suspected the names *donka*, *oďaď*, *beldai*, *diger*, and *samagir*, as being known or connected with the Northern Tungus. With reference to the clan *samagir* there is no little doubt.[1] I think that the thirteen *rod* names, as recorded by I. A. Lopatin, do not exhaust the list of Goldi clan names.

In the list of clan names among the **Negidal Tungus,** living in the basin of the Amgun, the last big left tributary of the Amur,[2] I find five old clan names, namely, the *čomoxojil*, the *n'asixajil*, the *moktajil*, the *čokčajil*, and the *xamajil*,[3] and six new clan names namely, the *tapkal*, the *ajunkan*, the *oldaxankan*, the *toromkan*, the *udan*, and the *xŏďŏ*. The clans *čomoxojil*, *n'asixajil*, *moktajil*, *čokčajil*, *ajumkan*, *toromkan*, *udan*, and *xŏďŏ* in a slightly modified form have been recorded by T. von Middendorff. It is interesting that the clans *xamajil* (*samagir*) and *xŏďŏ* have not been recorded by him. The first joined the Negidal group after the visit of this investigator; the second is perhaps of Goldi origin and means merely "Gold" from *zŏďŏ* ← *xozen*, which etymology has been proposed by P. P. Schmidt: the clan name *čokčajil* may be perhaps connected with names like *čukikagir*, *čačagir*, *čakagir*, etc.[4] Apart from the *samagir* and perhaps the *čokčogir* other clan names are met with only among the Negidal Tungus. New clan names are naturally very different from those observed among other Tungus groups. It is not surprising that in the Negidal language one finds four different dialects, and certain Yakut influence. This group, which lives in regions through which migrations of the Tungus to the south always took place, is also in close connexion with the Goldi, the Gilaks, and others.

Among the clans recorded by Krašeninnikov[5] near the territory of the Negidals and by von Strahlenberg among the Sobatchi Tungus[6] we find the following clan names, which are probably old ones: the *laligir*, the *odinkagir*, and the *kišigir* are mentioned by the first, and the *lakigir*, the *maimogir*, and perhaps the *jukairi* (*jukagir?*) by the second.

The **Manchu** clan names have no reliable parallels with Northern Tungus clan names.

The Meaning of the Northern Tungus Clan Names. As we have seen, some new clans trace their origin, by tradition and direct evidence, either to legendary or real ancestors. The name of the clan, then, is always connected with the personal name of the founder, but among the old clan names the meaning is not clear to the Tungus. Only once have I heard that *man'agir* and *uilagir* were persons. The Tungus mind, however, wishes to find out some explanation of their names and sometimes tries to do so by means of etymology. Some of them I give below, as material characteristic of the Tungus mentality.

bultogir, from *bolto* — the bear's heart (RTM)
lakšikagir, from *laksi* — to talk nonsense, without thinking (RTM)
čilčagir, from *čilča* — dishevelled hair (RTM)

[1] Cf. my "N. T. M.," where I give considerations regarding the Northern Tungus origin of some names.
[2] According to P. P. Schmidt. Cf. preface to "N. L."
[3] The suffix *-jil* corresponds to *-gir*, *-γir*, *-γ'il*, of course: the sound *s* alternates with *h* and *x*.
[4] The connexion of the name *čokčajil* with the name of the people Chukchi, as P. P. Schmidt suggests, also with the name of the people Koriak—*čauča*, as P. I. Gapanovič suggests, considering the fact of other similar clan names among different Tungus groups, and the history of the formation of the Negidals, does not seem right.
[5] Vol. I, p. 97.
[6] *Cf. supra*, p. 58.

turujagir, from *turu* — the sound produced by the woodpecker (RTM)
oďigir, from *oďigit* — from the underneath (RTM)
mukorir, from *mukčarir* — egg-like (RTM)
murdočir, from *murdo* — hunch-backed, stooping (RTM)
malukčer, from *malu* — the place in the wigwam just opposite the entrance (RTM)
bajagir, from *bajan* — good, quite, rich (Khin)
čačagir, from *čača* — the elk skin from the legs which covers a new-born child (Khin)
dulugir, from *dulu* — a cradle made of poplar wood (Khin)
kong'ĕda, from *kong'ĕ* — a vessel made of birch bark (Khin)
ďalančen, from *ďalo* — stone (Khin)

The meaning of these names is given in the dialects RTM and Khin. But the same names are differently explained, if the dialect does not give corresponding words. Such explanations of the meaning of clan names serve the Tungus for jokes. Sometimes, however, they are also selected for the creation of explanatory myths.[1] It is very attractive to discover the meanings of the clan names, but it is very difficult. As an instance, the explanation of the name *samagir* may be taken. This name may be understood as *sama* + *gir*, i. e., *shaman* + suffix. In fact, such etymology is maintained by the Nerchinsk Tungus, who say that this clan is famous for its shamans. But it is not so with this clan among the Mankova and Mergen Tungus. Moreover, the word *saman* is probably much younger than this clan. Another etymology seems to suit better, namely, from *sama* — to put a sign, to mark. But there might have been other dialects and other words when this clan name was created, so that the above-given hypothesis is doubtful, at least. S. K. Patkanov, in his work, made several mistakes in guessing the meaning of names; as, for instance, he gives the derivation of the name *čilčagir* from the name of the Shilka River,[2] which is certainly wrong, for the names of the Shilka and the Amur in Tungus is *šilkir*, *silkar*, *sirkal*, also *šilkir*. It does not mean "river" and refers to a part only of this river. Moreover, the Tungus, as shown, give the etymology of this name from *čilča*. This clan is numerous in the northern part of Transbaikalia, and there is no reason to suppose that it migrated from the Amur. For the time being, I think we do not need to discover the meaning of the clan names, for historic research. It is quite possible that the meaning of the greater part of the clan names cannot be established at all, for the old clan names were taken up by the Tungus long before any Yakut, Mongol, or other influences compelled the Tungus to change their original organization. Moreover, the migration of Tungus clans was so wide that it is, I think, almost hopeless to try to reconstruct their former areas, while it is very likely that some clan names have originated from geographical names now forgotten.

The Lists of Clans. The facts concerning the clans observed are shown in two tables—a table with the old clan names and another with the new ones. I have included, in the first, all data mentioned in the present section, and all old clans mentioned by S. K. Patkanov. A relatively small number of old clans selected from this work does not mean that all other old clans have disappeared, but it merely means that they have not

[1] As still sometimes happens with writers attempting to give explanations of names, especially without sufficient knowledge of the language, the history, and the ethnography of the groups treated. Such attempts are oftentimes new mere explanatory myths.
[2] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, 2, p. 167. *Vide* Suppl. Note V. Cf. also the case of *čukčagir*, p. 134, footnote 4.

TABLE I. LIST OF NORTHERN TUNGUS OLD CLAN NAMES

	Baikal and Up. Angara	Barguzin	Nerchinsk	Reindeer of Manchuria	Mankova and Žilinda	Khingan	Mergen	Kumarčen	Birarčen	Dahurs	Negidals	Goldi	Transbaik. Nomad, etc.	Udsk Region	Yakutsk G.	Enissy G.	Amur G.	Irkutsk G.	Sobatschi Tungus of Strahlenberg
čukikagir	⊕																		
goǯigir		+	+																
turujagir		+	+									+(?)							+(?)
čilčagir (čölkoĝir?)[6]	+	+	+										+						
kindigir	+	+	+	+															
lakšikagir		+	+																
bultogir			+	+(?)		+				+(?)		+(?)			+(?)				+(?)
kučigir					+								+(?)						
samagir	+		+		+		+				+	+							
ŋγaŋγagir			⊕																
kaltagir				+		+	+(?)			+			+						
čakagir				⊕					+(?)										
bajagir					+	+	+(?)			+			+						
dulugir					(?)	+							+						
čačagir						⊕													
igačagir							⊕		+(?)										
ačikačagir							⊕												
gagdagir							+	+											
man'agir								⊕											
uilagir								⊕											
maakagir									⊕										
mōkogir									⊕										
kargir									⊕										
nirgir									+	+									

TABLE I. LIST OF NORTHERN TUNGUS OLD CLAN NAMES

	Baikal and Up. Angara	Barguzin	Nerchinsk	Reindeer of Manchuria	Mankova* and Žilinda	Khingan	Mergen	Kumarčen	Birarčen	Dahurs	Negidals	Goldi	Transbaik. Nomad, etc.	Udsk Region	Yakutsk G.	Enissy G.	Amur G.	Irkutsk G.	Sobatschi Tungus of Strahlenberg
diger (1)												+							
čomokogir (2)											+								
n'asikagir (2)											+								
moktagir (2)											+								
čokčagir (2)														+					
ankagir (3)													+						
balikagir (3) (6)																+			
kurkugir (3)														+			+		
laligir (daligir?) (3)													+						
linagir (limāgir) (3) (6)														+					
[3]m'akagir (maakagir?) (3)																+			
čapogir (3)													+				+		
čimčagir (3)															+		+		
nikagir (ŋγaŋγagir?) (3)																+			
pankagir (3)														+					
kokogir (4)												+(?)		+					+
kišigir (4)																		+	+
odinkagir (4)																		+	
lakigir (5)																		+	
maimogir (mamugir?) (5)																			
čečogir (3)													+						
očokoger (3)																			
tepkōgir (6)																			

[1]Cf. I. A. Lopatin. [2]Cf. P. P. Schmidt. [3]Cf. S. K. Patkanov. [4]Cf. Krašeninnikov. [5]von Strahlenberg. [6]Cf. N. N. Poppe.

TABLE II. LIST OF NORTHERN TUNGUS NEW CLAN NAMES

Originated from	New Clans	Barguzin (Reindeer)	Nerchinsk	Reindeer of Manchuria	Khingan	Kumarčen	Birarčen	Mankova	Barguzin (Nomad)
goďigir	murdočir	+							
	borkočir	+	+						
	dayaldiγar	+							
	soloγor (II degree)	+		(?)					
turuajagir	siγγirkočir	+							
	malukčer	+							
	naŋkaŋtčir (II degree)	+							
čilčagir	xamene	+							
	mukorir (II degree)	+							
	ogdirir (II degree)	+	+	(?)					
kindigir	bulduti (cf. bultogir?)			+					
	sologon (soloγor)			+					
?	kaptukar			+					
?	obgihal			+					
?	ogdirił (cf. ogdirir)			+					
?	ďalančen				+				
?	čalbanka				+				
?	kong'ēda				+				
?	dulivar (cf. dulugir?)				+				
man'agir	učatkan					+			
	govair					+			
	gurair					+			
maakagir	malakul (*)						+		
mokogir	čakčir						+		
kargir	dunānkān (cf. dunair? dunagir?)						+		
?	dulāgāt							+	
from the Buriats	konut							+	
	sira nam'et							+	
	kara nam'et							+	
	čipčinut							+	
?	galdōhir (?)								+
?	asiwagat (?)								+

* Including the *igičagir*, *kaltagir*, and Goldi group.

been recorded by the Russian authorities. My list is far from being complete. The section including my own records is separated, because, except for the Žilinda Tungus, my observations cover, in all probability, most of the old clans.

The names of these clans are quite distinct, except in the group of clans which I have already unified as the *bultogir* and a group of clans, namely, the *čakagir*, the *čačagir*, the *ačikačagir*, the *čukikagir* [also the *čečogir*, the *čokačagir* (Schmidt), and the *očokoger* (Patkanov)] which seem to be derived from one and the same clan name. I have heard different pronunciations of the name *ačikačagir* which showed a tendency to abbreviate it into *čakagir* and the like. It is possible, however, that the *čukikagir*, or *čukagir*, was a clan; the *čačagir*, *čokčagir*, or *čečogir* was also probably another clan; the *ačikačagir*, or *očokoger*, as possibly a third. This does not greatly change the general picture, for all these clans seem to belong to one and the same migratory wave.

From a general examination into old clan names as given in the table, it is obvious that some clans are common to many groups, while others are confined to one or two groups only. So, for instance, the clan *samagir* is met with among the Transbaikalia Tungus, both Reindeer and Nomad, also among the Tungus of Manchuria, the Negidals, and the Goldi. The clan *bultogir* (with its modifications) is met with among the Reindeer and Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, among the Tungus of Manchuria, the Dahurs, etc. The clan *bajagir* is confined to non-Reindeer Tungus, the Dahurs, and the Tungus of the Yakutsk Government. The clans *maakagir*, *mōkogir*, and *kargir* are met with only among the Birarčen. The clans *man'agir* and *uilagir* are met with only among the Kumarčen. The clans *goďagir* and *turujagir* are confined to the Nerchinsk and the Barguzin Tungus. Three clans are met with exclusively among the Negidals, and several clans are known only among the Enissy River regions. The same may be stated in reference to the Yakutsk Government — some clans are not met with anywhere, except in this government. On the other hand, it is remarkable that some groups include a very limited number of clans, while others embody many — e. g., the Kumarčen, three; the Negidals, five; and the Nerchinsk, nine.

The new clan names as shown by the table give another grouping. The new clans, with a few exceptions, e. g., the *ogdirir* and the *borkočir*, are confined to certain Tungus groups, some of which have numerous new clans, while others have very limited numbers; e. g., the Barguzin Tungus have ten new clans, while the Kumarčen have only three clans. It is obvious that most of them have been formed or at least named after the migration of the old clans. So it may be inferred that the process of the formation of the new clans began between the second and third migratory waves, principally in the original motherland of the Northern Tungus; in the seventeenth century the Russians had already recorded the clan *sologon*, which was then new, in the Yakutsk Government. On the other hand, it is quite probable that the clans were growing quickly, and were consequently becoming dissevered much more intensively in the regions good for reindeer breeding. So, for instance, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Cossacks' records say that, in a region of the Enissy River, eighteen clans (*rod*) agreed to pay *jasak*. But we know that a clan as a unit

needs quite a large territory, which was not so in the instance recorded. Moreover, the number of old clans is limited. So it is likely that the eighteen clans recorded were not all old clans, but some of them which were recorded in the Yakutsk Government by the Cossacks were new. Yet, in the eighteenth century, the cleaving of the old clans and the adoption of new names was largely practised in the Yakutsk Government. It is thus natural to infer that the new clans which appear in territories treated in the present study did so probably as a result of the last migratory wave. The cleaving of the clans continued in the present territories of the groups. Some of these new clans had already migrated, e. g., the clans common among the Nerchinsk and the Barguzin Tungus, and also perhaps the *sologon*, which lived in the Yakutsk Government. It is interesting to see that this process of the formation of new clans in Manchuria and Transbaikalia coincides in time with a corresponding process in the northern regions of the Tungus area.

Presuming that the Northern Tungus had migrated to Transbaikalia, to the Amur Government, to Manchuria, and to the Maritime Government from a certain region lying to the north, all the facts given, concerning the present distribution of the old clans, may be understood if we admit that (1) these clans migrated and spread at different times; and (2) some of them continued their migrations. The facts concerning these migrations have been previously mentioned and shown to have the support of Tungus tradition. Let us now review the history of these migrations in the light of clan distribution, traditions, and recorded facts. But before we begin, let us try to recall, as far as possible, for our knowledge is limited, what we know and what may be supposed as to early ethnical relations in the Far East.

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3. Notes on the Early History of the Northern Tungus

Our information regarding the early population of Manchuria, Siberia, and eastern Mongolia is confined to Chinese sources. Owing to the peculiarities of Chinese writing, sometimes borrowed by local groups, e. g., the Bohai, the Khitans, etc., the reading of written documents left by both Chinese and local groups is very difficult. On the other hand, the Chinese did not go far into the details of ethnical relations, and classified non-Chinese groups in a haphazard manner. A few names of groups, however, have been recorded, and some brief descriptions of their customs and habits have also been given. This material is not sufficient when we need to trace the history of these groups. Several investigators, as Klaproth, Father Hyacinth (Bičurin), Wylie, Vasiliev, and later the Archimandrite Palladius, Saint-Deny, Parker, and many others, have translated this Chinese information and some of them have tried to interpret it for historic deductions; but all of them have failed in the classification of the early groups, so that for us the most important problem — that of the relations between the Tungus, the Mongols, and the Palæasiatics is still to be solved. After the beginning of the last millennium, Chinese

information becomes much more abundant than it was in previous periods, and it is supported by documents of non-Chinese origin. In spite of this, it still leaves more possibilities for guess-work than is required in a documental history of the ethnical groups of Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, which were territories peopled or at least visited by the Northern Tungus; the regions north of Manchuria and Mongolia are spoken of by the Russians in the seventeenth century only — a period which the present living Tungus generation remembers quite well. So unless new discoveries of unknown Chinese documents are made, it is almost hopeless to look for direct information from written documents as to the early Northern Tungus groups in the Far East. The only absolutely reliable data may be furnished by detailed excavations. But unfortunately such data are still very scarce. Some superficial excavations and descriptions of historic places, of a late period — mostly the Nuichen — in Tungus territory were found to be of little use for our purpose. Excavations of prehistoric stations, except in Torii's work in South Manchuria, my own on the banks of the middle course of the Amur, and that of Margaritov near Vladivostok, are absolutely unknown: incidental findings in these regions are, however, numerous. We are thus for the time being confined to conjectures, based mostly upon indirect information, and conclusions drawn from the general tendencies of the ethnical movements.

The distinction of the Northern Tungus from the Southern Tungus, as stated, is based principally upon the ethnographical and linguistic characters of these main groups. Ethnographically speaking, these groups present two opposite complexes, except those who long ago fell under alien influence: as the Nomad Tungus, etc.; the Northern Tungus are, or were, hunters and reindeer breeders, while the Southern Tungus, the Manchus being their living representatives, are agriculturists for whom hunting, fishing, and the breeding of domesticated animals are not of primary importance. On the other hand, linguistically speaking, all Northern Tungus dialects, in spite of great territorial distances, which separate them, are so closely related to one another that their common origin is recognized at once, while the Southern Tungus (the Manchu and Nuichen languages) form a group by themselves opposite to the Northern Tungus, but also indicative of common origin. Yet some dialects, like the Goldi and the Olča, which are classified as Southern Tungus dialects, show some Northern Tungus elements, which are due, as I have shown, not to the genetic transitory character of these dialects, but to the Manchufication of the Northern Tungus and perhaps Palæasiatic elements.[1] Thus, a sharp distinction separates these two main Tungus subdivisions. It is beyond doubt that these two groups formerly lived together, which is confirmed, also, not only by linguistic data, but also by certain early common ethnographical elements: alien influences have accentuated the differences. The Southern Tungus dialects have slightly different ways of developing their language, as contrasted with those of the Northern Tungus. The Southern Tungus have adapted certain elements of the local ethnographical complex, while the Northern Tungus have formed their present ethnographical complex from the different geographical and ethnical *milieu* of the Northern

[1] Cf. my "N. T. M." and Notes on Bil. and Asp., etc.

regions. There is no contradiction between authors, all of whom on this subject recognize that the northern regions did not form the Tungus cradle. Roughly speaking, there are two opinions, one of which is represented by all recent writers except P. P. Schmidt and J. D. Talko-Hryncewicz, and the other by these two authors. P. P. Schmidt[1] has given some evidence of historic and archæological character, which shows that Manchuria was originally occupied by the Palæasiatics and the Koreans, who, according to him, are also Palæasiatics. The Bohai and the people known as the Ilou were also of this origin. The anthropological evidence in this part of P. P. Schmidt's hypothesis seems to support his contention.[2] The first theory, recognizing the southern origin of the Tungus, including both Southern and Northern, has no uncertainty as to locality, and all authors have agreed that such is Manchuria. A critical analysis of this hypothesis in the light of some new facts has inclined to make me disagree with my predecessors and look for the original home of the pro-Tungus at some more southerly regions, i. e., China; the reasons are manifold. They also make me inclined to disagree with the hypothesis of P. P. Schmidt in the part where he proposes to look for the Tungus cradle somewhere in Northern Mongolia.

Northern Tungus ethnography points in many instances to the southern origin of the Northern Tungus. Tungus clothing is not properly adapted for the climate of Siberia: the famous Tungus open coat does not suffice for protection against the cold as other Palæasiatic clothing does; an apron, used within recent times by all Tungus, both male and female, protects the lower part of the breast and the abdomen. It is still used by the Chinese for their children and sometimes adults, especially in the south, and sometimes as the only clothing for children. This apron, however, does not sufficiently protect the body in the climate of Siberia. Short trousers, which do not cover even the upper part of the legs, have been supplemented by knee protectors, which are also well known in Northern China; moccasins, a typically Arctic footwear, have supplied the lack of protection in their original clothing. The adaptation of the Tungus to the Siberian environment has also resulted in their adopting or inventing eye protectors, which are absolutely necessary for people not accustomed to the spring sunlight so intensely reflected by the snow that the eyes are affected by a peculiar inflammation which sometimes lasts long after the season is over.[3] Another interesting indication as to the southern origin of the Northern Tungus may be seen in their psychic instability, and a predisposition for nervous and psychic troubles,

[1] I. A. Lopatin (*op. cit.*, pp. 19–21) quotes P. P. Schmidt's letter; also cf. Introduction in P. P. Schmidt's new publication "The Language of the Oroches" and J. D. Talko-Hryncewicz's "Material," etc., p. 4. *Vide* Suppl. Note VI.

[2] Cf. my "A. N. C." and "A. E. C."

[3] Cf. my "A. E. C.," pp. 52, 53. "The fact of the existence of eye protectors is very interesting as a method of ethnical adaptation to a new environment. It is evident that if an ethnical group is autochtonous and lives a very long time under certain conditions, it must be adapted from all standpoints to these conditions. I am therefore inclined to consider the eye protectors as a direct indication of a southern, or at least snowless, motherland of the Tungus, who partly by mutation have already adapted their eye to the new environment by approaching the eyelids, which now forms a narrow aperture protecting the sensible eye. The same phenomenon, but in a lesser degree, may now be observed among the early Russian colonizers of Siberia." The eye protector is also known among the Chukchi and some other ethnical groups of Siberia. Most of them, I think, migrated from the south.

which has been pointed out by E. Huntington.[1] Let us now remark that the Tungus, both Northern and Southern, do not seem to be familiar with the sea, which does not evidently attract them, and they seem to be a typically continental people, accustomed only to rivers: it is a fact that no Tungus group is known among the genuine mariners of the Far East.[2]

If we now look for such a southern region, I do not think that Manchuria, compared with Siberia, may be considered as such. The northern part of Manchuria, roughly speaking north of 45° north latitude, and the south-eastern region of southern Manchuria — the region of the Manchu cradle — cannot be considered a district where a southern ethnographical complex might originate, for the temperature in winter falls to −40° centigrade and further; snow abounds in springtime, etc., so a southern people could hardly flourish under such conditions. This climate is much more similar to the conditions of Siberia, especially the north-western part, than to any other type of climate. On the other hand, the southern part of Manchuria is a very small region, limited by sea and the Great Khingan Mountains, which form the eastern edge of the cold Mongolian Plateau. Its climate, though much milder than that of northern Manchuria, is still too cold to be regarded as a southern one. The only region with a mild climate which may be regarded as a territory sufficiently large for the formation of an ethnical unit, in itself, is that formed by regions of the lowlands and the highlands of northern and central China, i. e., on the middle and partly the lower courses of the Yellow and Yangtze rivers. This region as a geographical area-unit, in territory and climate, satisfies the requirements necessary for the formation of ethnical units living on land, by hunting. This supposition agreed upon, a number of problems find an easy solution.

The coastal region of China, Korea, and Manchuria, forming another geographical region in itself, long before the Chinese extension was occupied by a certain culturally uniform population, which lived in the stone age.[3] As far as we may see from evidences from the archæological treasury of Sakhalin Island, the lower and middle courses of the Amur, or, perhaps, even the whole basin of it, was occupied by people who constructed underground houses, manufactured various stone and bone implements, and who lived mostly by fishing. The Gilaks are the living remains of the early population of northern Manchuria. The early coastal population of China as a coastal group being possibly much more culturally advanced than the continental group, naturally closed egress by sea, to the population of the continent, which was pro-Tungus. At a certain time, when the Tungus

[1] "The Character of Races as Influenced by Physical Environment," etc. Though this work in many instances suffers from the point of view of method it still contains many new facts combined in an interesting manner. (Cf. my critical note in *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LVII, pp. 213-219.) With reference to the Tungus he points out that their psychic instability (based mostly upon an unpublished investigation by another author) is due to the lack of adaptation of the Tungus to the climate of Siberia. The success of Shamanism among the Tungus is due, according to my opinion (cf. Supp. Note VIII), to the Tungus susceptibility to nervous and mental disorders. I agree with E. Huntington that the climate may be responsible for it; interethnical pressure also reinforces the Tungus reaction.

[2] This fact taken alone cannot be convincing, for we know instances when maritime people have lost their canoes that they had used during their migrations, as it has happened to some groups in Oceania.

[3] Cf. Torii, p. 72, "Arch. of Manchuria."

were compelled to leave their territory, they did not go by sea to Korea and Japan, but were compelled to travel by the pass between the Mongolian Plateau and the sea-coast, which was occupied by some alien group, or groups. The Chinese who were responsible for this catastrophe spread, as is known, from north-western China into the valley of the Yellow River, where they found several aboriginal groups living in the conditions of the stone age. There is no doubt that among these aborigines there were also some pro-Tungus groups, which had remained where they were discovered by the Chinese. The process of sinofication of all these early groups took a long time, and some of them preserved their non-Chinese complex, and continued their migrations during certain historic periods. The remainder of the pro-Tungus and the Palæasiatics intermixed and were at last assimilated by the Chinese. Some of the Tungus went south, joining there some local aborigines who lived in an independent state, as late as the end of the Chou dynasty. This hypothesis explains the fact of the anthropological admixture of the type *gamma*, the commonest type among the Northern Tungus, which is also found among the northern and eastern Chinese. This type seems to be the leading one among the Northern Tungus, and its influence decreases in proportion as the distance from the Northern Tungus area increases. I do not certainly presume that the pro-Tungus in the territory of China were of an absolutely pure anthropological stock. Quite possibly, they had been already crossed with their neighbours. It is interesting to note that, according to the Manchus, the Northern Tungus living in Manchuria and the population of southern China have something in common. In fact, I have been impressed very often by seeing strikingly Tungus physiognomies among the southern Chinese and Annamites.[1]

The Chinese migration southward and eastward took a long time to drive all pro-Tungus groups away from China, and we may suppose that some of them reached Manchuria in a relatively late period. Soon after the Chinese extension from their first outposts in present north-western China, the beginning of this migration of all pro-Tungus groups took place from the upper course to the middle and the lower course of the Yellow River. This might have happened during the third millennium before Christ, or perhaps even earlier. In Manchuria the Tungus immigrants met with the local Palæasiatic population, which opposed their stay. So the Tungus groups, one by one, passed through Manchuria to Siberia, which was not so densely populated. The last detachments of this ethnical body remained in Manchuria. The local geographical and ethnical environment have done the rest, and two distinct groups of Tungus have appeared which for certain periods were disconnected altogether.

Chinese chronicles first mention the population of Manchuria during the Shang dynasty as a people called the Sushen (肅 愼), famous for their green stone arrows. The Sushen lived in the regions bounded by the Japan Sea, the Amur, and Chan-be-shan. They paid tribute to the Chinese emperor. The chronicles say that the Sushen were a powerful people,

[1]To this important problem I shall come again in my anthropological study on Southern China. The new material at my disposal (not yet worked out) and direct observations gathered after these lines had been written, seem to corroborate the supposition given above.

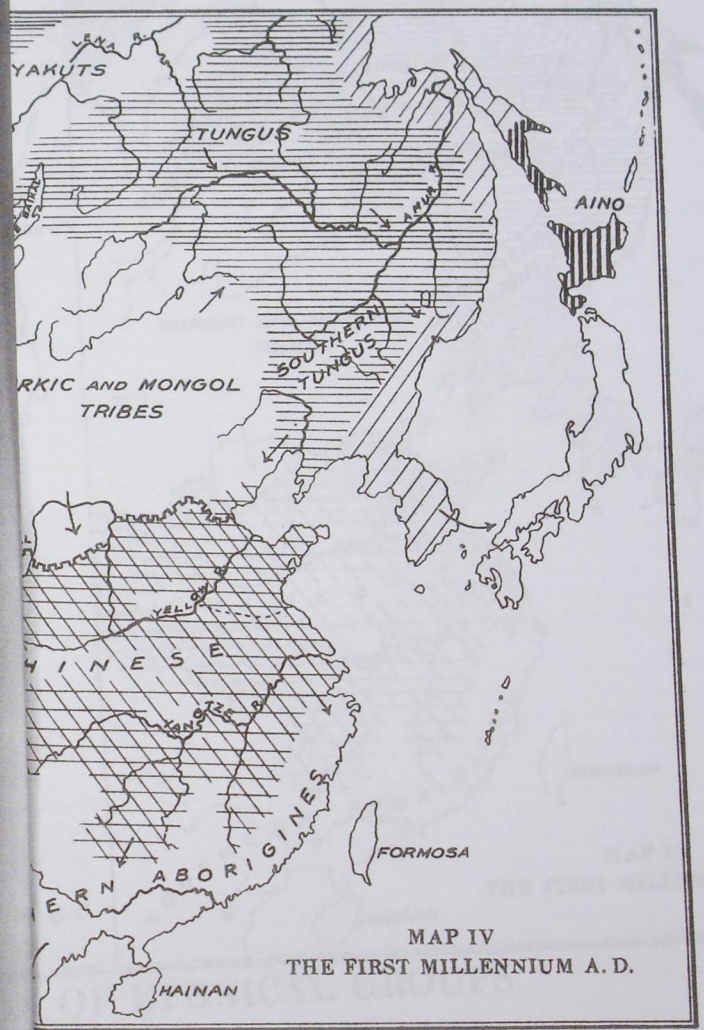
who used coloured cloth, hats, and knew religious customs, but towards the end of the Chou dynasty, they migrated north, formed several groups, and later vanished. This migration northward points to two things, namely, that (1) the Sushen were pressed either by some Palæasiatic of perhaps Southern Tungus group, and (2) migrations moved northward, and this was one of the latest that was recorded. Since that time records do not mention any important migrations in this direction. It is hardly possible to connect this movement with that of the direct ancestors of the Northern Tungus, for, during the next period, i. e., about the beginning of our era, they had already gone south to Manchuria. Some other groups, distinct from the Sushen, lived near them in present Korea and Liaotung. The name "Sushen" referred to a certain population occupying the region of the middle course of the Sungari basin, which during two millenniums was changed into the Y-lou (挹 婁), Wu-tsi (勿 吉), Muki (勿 吉), Moxo (靺 鞨), Nuichen, and Manchu; whether it is the same population or not, we do not know.[1] During the Chou dynasty and even later, the name of Mai (貉) and Ouei (濊), who first lived in Liaotung in a stage of the stone age culture, were frequently mentioned. Later their names changed several times. R. Tori, considers them to be the organizers of the northern Korean powers Fu-yu and Kao-ku-li and supposes them to be Tungus. If the Sushen are the direct ancestors of the Nuichen the former must be considered as Southern Tungus, who, not long ago, were separated from the common pro-Tungus stock. It ought to be remembered, however, that, as R. Torii has shown, before the Chinese migration, the people of Liaotung, Korea, Shantung, and Japan were similar from a cultural point of view. During the period of round mounds (cairns), belonging to the same common population, bronze was introduced among them. Though bronze implements were not numerous, they belong to a period much later than that when the pro-Tungus left China. The opposing of the Mai and the Ouei to the Sushen (息 愼 and 肅 愼 . and the formation of such political units as the Fu-yu and the Kao-ku-li by the first two groups, which were succeeded by the direct ancestors of the Koreans, point to the original ethnical distinction between the Southern Tungus (and the pro-Tungus) on the one hand, and other groups, whom I conventionally style Palæasiatics, on the other. The succession to the Sushen of the enumerated groups (the Y-lou, the Muki, the Moho, etc.) does not mean that these names were referred, in different historic periods, to one and the same ethnical group. The Sushen might be the southern representatives of the Palæasiatics living in the basin of the Amur, distinct from those who occupied southern Manchuria, Korea, etc., or even at that time the coastal regions of China and Japan. It is quite admissible that the Tungus, after their defeat in China, occupied for some time the mountainous regions of Manchuria, in close vicinity to the Sushen, if the latter were not Tungus themselves. But the fact is that the Southern Tungus grew up in the territory formerly occupied by the Sushen, and certain cultural phenomena characteristic of the Sushen have been successfully preserved up to the present time by the Southern Tungus.

[1]One must not forget that all these designations might be names of various political organizations including ethnically distinct groups. This point of view was a leading one for Deguignes, but it very often escapes the attention of writers. *Vide* Supp. Note VII.

R. Torii has made another important conclusion from his archæological investigations, i. e., that the Tung-hu are a group distinct from the Tungus. He is inclined to see in the former group a people, connected with western Asiatic cultural centres, by intercourse and common origin, and connected also with the Tungus (South Manchurian and Korean groups included), who are, according to R. Torii, the earliest emigrants from the region of common origin.[1] Without anthropological data, however, such a hypothesis ought to be confined to the diffusion of cultural complexes, and not of ethnical units, or even of languages. The facts shown by R. Torii point to an ethnographical distinction of the regions that, in as far as anthropological data permit one to see, seem to have been peopled by groups quite distinct, both ethnically and anthropologically, and with which the Tungus ought not to be confounded.

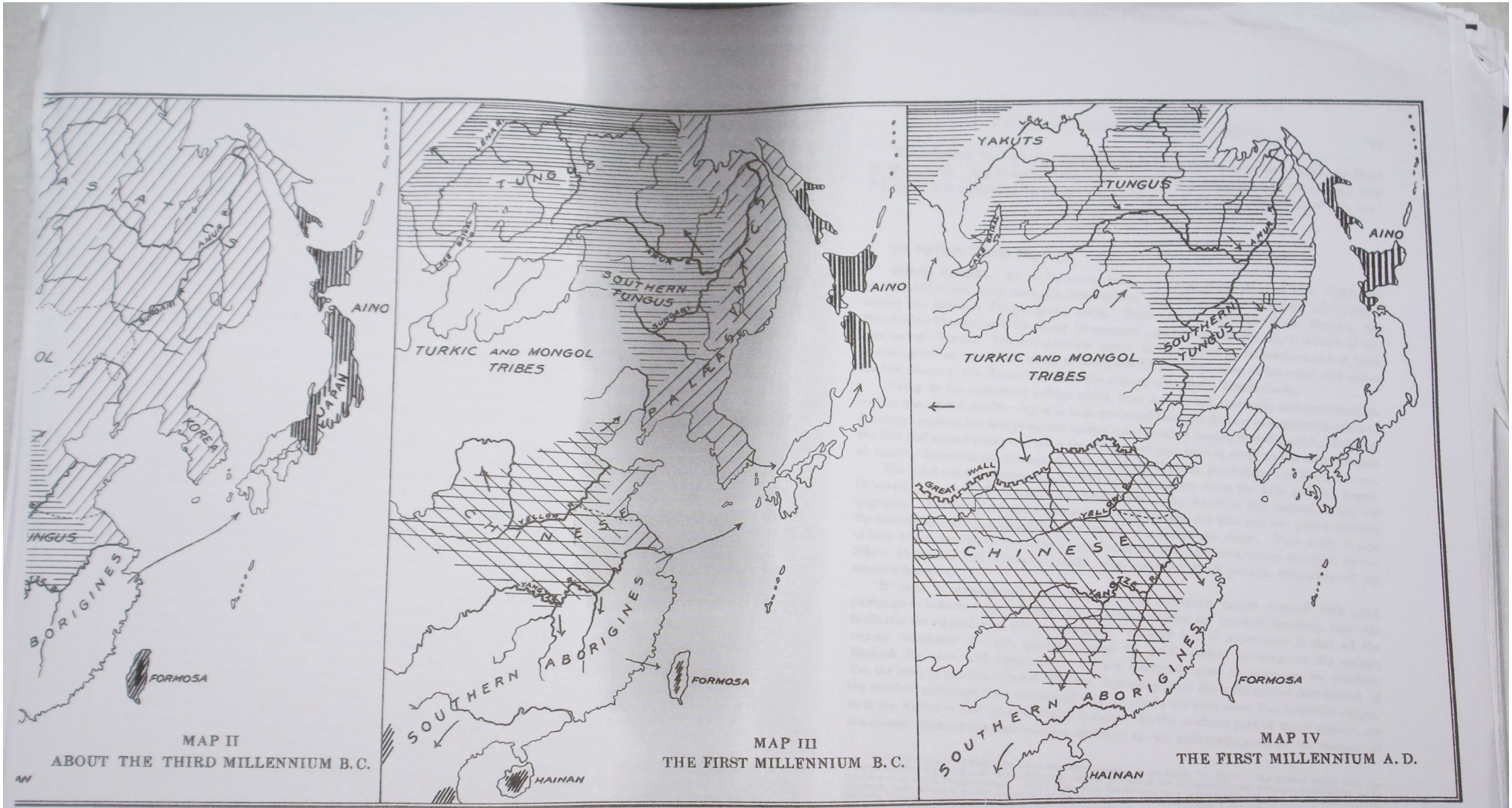
As stated, we have no historic documents showing their movements when the Southern and Northern Tungus were formed from a common pro-Tungus ancestry, but it may be supposed that the process of the formation of two different ethnographical complexes took a long time. Furthermore, the Sushen once were a hunting and a fishing group. Whether they were Palæasiatics or Southern Tungus is not important, for if we consider them Palæasiatics, the Southern Tungus of that time were much inferior to the settled groups living in the best available territories. The transition from this state to the agricultural-complex took a certain time, for it spread slowly from China by the intermediation of alien ethnical groups, which at that time occupied Liaotung and Korea. On the other hand, the adaptation of the Northern Tungus to their new environment, especially in physical changes, also required a long time. Their migration southward, which first started not later than the beginning of our era, might have resulted either from a very prosperous growth or from the pressure of other ethnical groups; but, anyhow, it was accomplished after the adaptation of the Northern Tungus to their new *milieu*; this, also, required a certain time. Tracing the Northern Tungus migration southward, one must not forget that the data we have do not permit us to go further back than the beginning of our era, but it is also possible that the first Tungus wave appeared much earlier than we now suppose. One of the essential characteristics of the Northern Tungus is reindeer breeding, but we do not know how long ago reindeer breeding was discovered, or borrowed, by the population of Siberia, and we do not know whether the Northern Tungus moving south were all reindeer breeders or not. Loss in reindeer occurred in regions unknown to the early Chinese: perhaps archæology will some day show us when the first reindeer breeders appeared in Manchuria. Linguistic facts seem to point to a long period of separation between the Southern and the Northern Tungus. For the time being, I shall postpone the discussion of linguistic and anthropological evidences. Let us now proceed to a review of the clan names as historic material in the light of historically established facts and Tungus traditions.

[1] In this I think R. Torii's conclusions are adapted to a hypothesis, sometimes fashionable, of the common origin of all ethnical groups speaking the so-called Uralo-Altaic languages, in which he also seems to include the Japanese language.



MAP IV
THE FIRST MILLENNIUM A. D.

ICAL GROUPS



MAP II
ABOUT THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

MAP III
THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.

MAP IV
THE FIRST MILLENNIUM A.D.

HYPOTHETIC EARLY GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICAL GROUPS

The scheme of the formation and migrations of two Tungus branches is shown in Maps II, III, and IV. Map II refers to the third or even fourth millennium before Christ ; Map III, to the first millennium before Christ ; and Map IV, to the first millennium of this era.[1]

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4. The Northern Tungus Migrations

General Remarks. As we have seen from the geographical point of view, within the area treated in this study there are three regions good for reindeer breeding, which might attract the Reindeer Tungus going south. These regions are : the Vitim Plateau, the Manchurian Plateau, and the Amur Government, particularly in the upper courses of the Zeia and the Bureia. The first reiendeer region, on the borders of the northern end of Lake Baikal, gives an exit south along the Barguzin River valley, down to the coast, and across the low passes of the Hamar Daban to the steppes of southern Transbaikalia.

Owing to the system of valleys which have a westward, eastward, and southward direction the second reindeer region is little protected from the descent of reindeer breeders to the steppe regions, but well protected against horse breeders coming from the south. Between the first and second reindeer regions there is a good pass leading south to the steppe region of eastern Transbaikalia through the valleys of the Olokma, Nerchukan, and Nercha rivers.

The third reindeer region has excellent communications along the Zeia and the Bureia (*N'uman*). Between the second and third regions, the Amur is the natural outlet for migration. Between the third reindeer region and the sea, the Uda and low passes through the mountains leave a road opening into the lower course of the Amur. Two small regions of little importance lie in the northern portion of the Maritime Government occupied by the Sihota Mountains and Sakhalin Island — the very end of all possible migrations of the reindeer breeders.

It must be remembered, too, that the high mountain ranges covered with good pasturage — lichens — for reindeer, are the best regions for reindeer breeding, and this facilitates the migration of reindeer breeders. Another fact of importance is that all the regions mentioned are not spacious enough for good reindeer breeding, as the valleys diminish the area, and these valleys are not sufficiently good in pasturage for reindeer. Yet the limit of possible reindeer breeding, depending upon the geographical distribution of the reindeer pasturage, does not extend very far south, not even along the mountain ranges, as in the Yablonov and Great Khingan systems. So the southern part of these regions are the natural limits of reindeer breeding, and they are not sufficiently good for the increase of

[1] This scheme as a working hypothesis was first published in my study "A. N. C." My further study into the Chinese anthropology and that of neighbouring regions permitted me to maintain my previous conclusions as to the formation of the Tungus groups. Still I think that this scheme may be worked out in a more detailed manner, especially with reference to the migrations of the Mongols and the Turks whom I did not distinguish in my maps and who did play a great rôle in the process of formation of various groups of Asia including the Tungus. The same may be stated in reference to the Palæasiatics.

reindeer herds. Owing to that, the reindeer have to seek pasturage in one direction only — that of the rear. It can easily be seen that these are the regions where the decline of the reindeer-breeding complex is advancing most intensively. Those of the Tungus groups which did not wish to discontinue their reindeer complex had to migrate, either back, or, if possible, along the southern limit of the reindeer-breeding area; and those who could not continue their former mode of life or could not migrate in any direction had to descend south into the steppe regions or the lower courses of the great rivers, such as the Amur. I shall abbreviate these directions in migration as follows:

To the Irkutsk and Enissy Government — the western direction, or west;
To the Vitim Plateau — the southwestern direction, or southwest;
Along the pass between the Vitim and Manchuria Plateaus — the Nercha direction;
To the Manchurian Plateau — the southern direction, or south;
Along the Amur — the Amur direction;
To the Amur Government — the southeastern direction, or southeast;
Along the Uda and passes — the eastern direction, or east.

These abbreviations do not mean that the centre from which the Tungus started is located at the cross point of all of these directions, for we do not know where the mass of the Tungus lived at the time of their first migration; directions of lesser importance or those not included in this study will be designated by conventional terms which may be understood from the scheme given above.

The first Tungus migration I shall call the northern — the first, or primary, migration. The Tungus migration south I shall call the southern — the second, or secondary, migration. The Tungus migration along the southern edge of the reindeer-breeding regions and back I shall call the third, or tertiary, migration. In the secondary movement I shall distinguish four waves. In the first wave are included all early migrations which for the time being cannot be itemized.

The **first wave** brought the Northern Tungus, probably reindeer breeders, to the reindeer regions as described, whence they migrated in different directions. The Tungus groups now living in the south of their present area may be supposed to be the oldest that have migrated. Let us now briefly review them. In Transbaikalia we find, as shown, different Tungus groups; i. e., the Mongolized and semi-Mongolized Tungus, which still speak Tungus dialects, live by cattle and horse breeding and partly by hunting; and we find also the Russianized Tungus, who in the seventeenth century were connected with the first groups. The semi-Mongolized Tungus consider themselves Northern Tungus, and call themselves *evenki*. The Mongolized Tungus have preserved their remembrance of belonging to the *evenki* groups, so there is no doubt about their common origin, although they have entirely forgotten even their original name. How long they lived in Transbaikalia we do not know, but a part of them at least, we know from historic records, migrated from the basin of the Nonni[1] under the leadership of Gantimur in the seventeenth century. Yet their former

[1] The fact, however, is not established whether these Tungus originally lived in Transbaikalia and left it under the pressure of the first Russian invasion or whether they migrated from Manchuria direct. Cf. J. Baddley, S. K. Patkanov (Vol. I, 2, p. 2), etc.

territory in the seventeenth century was much wider than it is now, for they have ceded some territory to the Buriats.[1] It may be supposed, however, that they lived for a long time in Transbaikalia, and were long ago Mongolized, probably by the Buriats[2] and perhaps by the Dahurs. Before the Russian occupation of Transbaikalia, their chiefs were Dahurs, who, as we have seen, during the Great Liao dynasty, lived in Transbaikalia and were agriculturists perhaps long before the Yuan dynasty.[3] So the Tungus in Transbaikalia met with two different complexes: cattle breeders — the Mongols (Buriats) — in the south; and agriculturists — the Dahurs — in the transitory belt. The Dahurs were much more culturally advanced (more complex system) than the Buriats, and influenced the Tungus. Not all Tungus, it may be supposed, fell under Dahur influence and control; but it is beyond doubt that with the Dahurs, and under the Dahur leadership, the Tungus probably moved more than once. A part of them perhaps was assimilated by the Dahurs; the Nomad Tungus are in many respects like the Solons.

The Solons, roughly speaking, belong to the same Tungus group: as we know, they call themselves *evenki*. Their own tradition, as well as that of other groups, points to their very early migration to Manchuria. They live with the Dahurs, but are cattle breeders; though at the same time, at least some groups of them, know of agriculture. Two different complexes are characteristic of them. As far as I know, they have not preserved any remembrance of their early migrations, but they recognize their Northern Tungus origin. It cannot be stated whether the small *oŋkor solon* power, east from the Great Liao, belonged to the Solons, or to some other Northern Tungus group who descended after the Solons had been living with the Dahurs (the Khitans). Certain Northern Tungus are included in the Dahur

[1] Cf. S. K. Patkanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–25. Russian colonization has caused several local re-migrations.

[2] Who originally were Buriats we do not know. The anthropological features of the Buriats point to their mixed character. The linguistic peculiarities of their dialects as compared with the Mongol dialects, also other ethnographical features, point to a complex origin of their culture. Admixture of a Palæasiatic element among the Buriats, or even Mongolization of certain early groups is almost beyond any doubt. Moreover, South Transbaikalia, a marginal region of Mongolian highlands, since prehistoric times was peopled by a mixed population (cf. Talko-Hryncewicz's studies). This problem is naturally connected with that of the former geographical distribution of the Northern Tungus (at least their language) which is an extremely difficult task. A new interesting attempt at the restoration of the former Tungus area has been lately made by V. B. Šostakovič ("Historico-Ethnographical Value of the Siberian River Names"), who had gathered and analysed the names of rivers in Siberia and came to some interesting conclusions. According to him, the Tungus territory formerly spread south of Lake Baikal into Mongolia. The basis of this scheme is purely linguistic. Unfortunately, owing to the lack of extended Tungus dictionaries and specialists in Irkutsk, V. B. Šostakovič has naturally fallen into several errors. In fact, in Tungus *kan* does not mean "a tributary," but it is a mere diminutive suffix, also known in Mongol. In Manchu *uda* and *bira* are used together with the names of rivers, but it is not so in Northern Tungus. Moreover, *ula* (*wula* — Man. Sp.) is lacking in Northern Tungus. *Okat, okit* — a river — is met with in some Northern Tungus dialects of the Yakutsk Government, but these words seem to be borrowed from a non-Tungus language. The suffixes *-kta, -ma,* and *-va* are common in Tungus as suffixes of nouns and adjectives in general, particularly in the names of rivers. The names of rivers, especially big ones, in the regions now occupied by the Tungus, are very often of a non-Tungus origin and most of them cannot be explained from the Tungus etymology. In my other studies into the Tungus ethnography and language I shall return to this interesting and important subject. Its complexity permits us to make unreliable conclusions without a detailed analysis of terms, names, and the whole system of geographic designations in Tungus.

[3] The archæological remains found in Transbaikalia seem to maintain the Dahur tradition.

ethnical body, but their age is unknown.[1] There are two groups more, namely, the Goldi and the Udehe, who, as I have shown,[2] seem to have been originally of Northern Tungus origin, but were Manchufied, Sinofied, etc., during their very long stay among the Manchus and Palæasiatics under Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese control. However, these groups, as far as investigation shows, did not preserve their original name; if it be so, there is no doubt they belonged to the first Northern Tungus advance.

Let us now look at the names of old clans we meet with among these groups.[3] The following old clan names are found among these groups: (1) the Mankova, the *dulugir*, the *samagir*, and the *bajagir*; (2) the Žilinda Tungus — the *kučigir*, which seems to be known among other groups: (3) the Dahurs — the *bultogir* (*buldăgir*), the *kaltagir*, the *bajagir*, and the *nirgir*; (4) the Nomad Tungus (after S. K. Patkanov and N. N. Poppe), the *bultogir*, the *dulugir*, the *bajagir*, the *kaltagir*, the *balikagir*, the *limagir*, and the *tèptogir*; (5) the Goldi — the *samagir*,[4] the *bultogir*, the *odinkagir*(?), and the *diger*(?). Thus, among these groups, only seven authentically old clan names are found among other ethnical groups, i. e., the *dulugir*, the *samagir*, the *bultogir*, the *kaltagir*, the *bajagir*, the *balikagir*, and the *kučigir*. The clan *bultogir* is also met with among the Nerchinsk Tungus, neighbours of the Nomad Tungus, and among the Khingan Tungus, and also the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. Its presence among the Nerchinsk Tungus is comprehensible, for this clan was not perhaps Mongolized at that time, and a part of it remained as reindeer breeders.[5] This clan name is also known among the Khingan Tungus who live in the proximity of the Nomad Tungus. It may be either of early origin and introduced by the Dahurs, or may be of the same origin as it is among the Reindeer Tungus. Yet this clan name among the Tungus of Manchuria and the Goldi is met with, if my supposition in right, in a modified form. It is possible that

[1] J. Klaproth, believing Khitans to be a Tungus group, did not distinguish them from Chy Goei, who lived north from the first. According to Chinese chronicles the Southern Chy Goei lived in the basin of the Nonni. All of them seem to have belonged to the same ethnographical complex. E. Parker pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 297 *seq.*) that the Khitans included at least two distinct groups, namely, the Chei, who gave in the sixth century a dynasty to North China, and the Cathayans. The complex character of the Khitans is also recognized by Dahur tradition. Indeed, we do not know who were the early Khitans, Khou-mou-hi, and Chy Goei (Ghei) (both of them were subdivided into several units: viz., seven in number in the fifth century and eight in number in the ninth century, according to J. Klaproth); both were distinct groups and before the consolidation of the Khitan power they fought between themselves (J. Klaproth, "T. H.," p. 87 *seq.*). On the other hand, we learn from the history of Kin that Su-mo (cf. Suppl. Note VI), who had been organized as a political body, had possessed some literature (Chinese), magistrates, laws, etc., and lived north-west from Mukden in the country called Puhoi, were included by the Khitans in their political organization. Another group, namely, the Hesoui (C. de Harlez transcription), lived east from the first, spreading to the coastal region, while Koreans formed their eastern frontier. The Hesoui were akin to the Su-mo. The Hesoui joined the Khitans after the Su-mo were included into the Khitans' power. So it is admissible that the Su-mo were the Northern Tungus mentioned by the Dahur tradition. It is possible that Hesoui were a Southern Tungus group. If we give credit to Dahur tradition, a part of them were Northern Tungus (*onkor-solon*) who may then be supposed to have descended south as early as the fourth century of our era, for they needed some centuries to have adapted themselves to a new ethnographical complex and to have multiplied. Indeed, it is not clear whether all Chy Goei were Northern Tungus or not. The fact of Grands Chy Goei, who did speak a different language as compared with other Chy Goei, points to the fact that, ethnically speaking, the name Chy Goei was not applied to one and the same people.

[2] Cf. my "N. T. M."

[3] As shown, I have not recorded the clan names among these groups except in an incomplete manner, and among the Žilinda and Mankova Tungus, Dahurs, and some others, the data are far from being complete.

[4] It is quite possible that this clan is of the tertiary migration. It is, however, a fact of importance that the Census of 1897, as S. K. Patkanov has pointed out, discovered certain groups among the Goldi speaking the "Samagir language." This, however, does not mean, of course, that this group was not a Goldi group. It is natural that the "Samagir" people spoke the "Samagir language," as the people of some other clans were speaking their language. By this remark I do not wish to say that this clan must belong to the Goldi original stock.

[5] In fact, this clan occupies the southern part of the region.

this clan was among the first groups, and of late origin, from the same clan which now lives far in the north (the Yakutsk district) which makes me inclined to think that only a part of it came with the first wave. The clan *dulugir* is also recorded among the Nerchinsk and Khingan Tungus only, and its presence among these Tungus may be explained in the same way as that of the *bultogir* (the first and other Dahurs). The clan *kaltagir* is also met with among the Khingan and the Reindeer Tungus. Its presence among the Khingan Tungus is of the same origin as that of the *bultogir*, for this clan name is still known in the district of Vilui, in the Yakutsk Government. The clan *čilčagir* is also known among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia. The clan *bajagir* is recorded among the clans of the Khingan Tungus. Its origin among the latter is not clear — as to whether it came later with the last movement of the third wave, or whether it originally left a part of itself in the north.[1] The clans *balikagir* and *kučigir* are met with only among the Nomad Tungus. The clan *samagir* is met with among several groups, but its origin is different; for, as shown, this clan also migrated in the tertiary migration, from west to east. The clan *tèpkōgir* is met with only among the Nomad Barguzin Tungus.

Let us now see when this migration might have taken place. As stated, it consisted, perhaps, of several partial movements, and the first appearance of the Northern Tungus in the territory of Manchuria is unknown. As will be shown, all big migrations in this part of Asia are connected with the movements of other ethnical groups, which is, of course, natural, for the Tungus in number and material culture, as might be expected of a wandering and hunting group, were always inferior to other ethnical groups. The expansion and the contraction of the latter were the most important factors in the Tungus migrations. From historic records we learn that the southern region, now occupied by the Northern Tungus, was several times occupied by various groups. So, for instance, the Palæasiatics, i. e., the descendants of the Mai and the Ouei, at the beginning of our era, were already organized into political units in the territory of present-day Korea, the northern part of which was, probably some time ago, visited by the Udehe. Afterwards, in the eighth century, in the territory of the present-day southern part of the Maritime Government, northern Korea, and eastern Manchuria, the Bohai power was organized. It already was at a stage of advanced sinofication and depended culturally upon China. Its beginning is closely bound to the political activity of the Koreans, who by that time were already a well-organized and culturally advanced group — Buddhism had already been introduced among them through Chinese influence and the written language had attained a certain degree of development. Their influence advanced to the north of the coastal regions of the present Maritime Government, though the eastern slopes of the Sihota Mountains were occupied by a mysterious people — the Thiou-mo-leou,[2] or Teou-mo-liu.[3] It is very likely that this group belonged to the Palæasiatics, and were perhaps akin to the Gilaks, the Koreans, etc.

[1] S. K. Patkanov wishes to connect this name with the *bujag'irsh'iī rod* of the Yakutsk Government.

[2] De Saint-Denys, *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 273.

[3] J. Klaproth, "T. Hist."

P. P. Schmidt supposes[1] that the Northern Tungus reached the coastal region not earlier than the tenth century. The downfall of the Bohai (in the tenth century) under the pressure of the Great Liao, i. e., the Khitans, who were not Palæasiatics, to be sure, left the territories free for the coming occupation of northern groups: the Khitans' authority did not spread north from the Amur in its middle course. These territories, lying far from the political centre of the Khitans, could not be carefully watched by them, but the political power of the Bohai was already annihilated. This was perhaps the moment when the first Tungus wave reached the coast of the Japan Sea, for at the next period we have quite definite information pointing to the fact that some Northern Tungus were already active in the formation of the Nuichen power. It is obvious that these groups appeared in central and southern Manchuria without any reindeer, which had probably been previously lost. This process took a certain time. So it may be supposed, with great probability, that the first Tungus wave reached Manchuria at a much earlier period. We find support for this hypothesis in an above-quoted Dahur tradition, which says that before the beginning of the Great Liao dynasty, i. e., in the tenth century, a Northern Tungus group descended as far south as the neighbourhood of Mukden, organized a political unit of their own, and was subjugated by the Khitans. It is obvious that the transition from a wandering and reindeer-hunting state to that of an organized political unit required considerable time; for the unit, first of all, must be numerous enough to maintain its independence on being surrounded by powerful neighbours, like the Bohai. We know, however, that a reindeer group hardly ever attains a number exceeding a few hundred persons, and the attainment of a population of several thousands requires at least two or three centuries in the best possible *milieu*. It might also be noted that transition from the reindeer-breeding to the horse-breeding complex, i. e., before the group might move south, to Mukden, was not quickly completed. As far as historic facts and present observations allow one to suppose, this preliminary process must also have taken two or three centuries. This Tungus group therefore reached Manchuria and perhaps Transbaikalia at least in the fourth century of our era, or even earlier.[2] Moreover, Dahur tradition says that, from the earliest time, some Northern Tungus were included in their ethnical body. The Tungus clans found among the Dahurs should be regarded, perhaps, as one of the proofs of their early connexion with the Tungus.[3] Before the decline

1 Cf. P. P. Schmidt, "L. N.," p. 4.

2 These conclusions support the suppositions (cf. *supra*, p. 150, footnote 1, and Suppl. Note VI) as to the ancestors of the Udehe, the Dahurs, etc. It seems to me that the first northern wave might have reached southern Ussuriland and the sea-coast earlier than is supposed by P. P. Schmidt. It is very likely that the Udehe and the Oročі were composed by several Northern Tungus waves. The Udehe, as S. Brailovskiĭ has shown, a long time ago (about the fourteenth century) became involved in the political life of South Ussuri. Their present state is rather that of an ethnical unit in a state of intensive decline. Before being involved in political affairs after their migration from the north, they must live side by side with their neighbours for at least several centuries. S. Brailovskiĭ's opinion, based upon the facts and conclusions of von Schrenck, Palladius, and others, does not exclude the possibility of the northern origin of the Udehe who first migrated from the north, and later, after a long stay in the south, were pushed back. Cf. my "N. T. M.," Suppl. Note III, and p. 166.

3 Indeed, these clans might also have been included in the Dahur ethnical body much later than I now suppose, the datum having been forgotten. On the other hand, owing to the fact that the Khitans kept written records and later the same people used the Mongol and Manchu alphabets, which permitted them to keep family (clan) records, it is much more probable that the Dahur tradition is absolutely correct. The same clan names are now found among the Nomad Tungus, who are, of course, one of the earliest groups of the Tungus immigrants from the north.

of the Khitans' power, we find Tungus among the groups that later formed the Nuichen political unit; the latter was controlled by the Southern Tungus. Before the twelfth century, some Tungus lived north from the Nuichen, in the region of the Sungari or perhaps the Amur. They possessed all kinds of domesticated animals, especially oxen, which they used for riding.[1] They also used birch-bark wigwams, had wooden instruments for challenging deer, etc.,[2] which without doubt indicates a transitory stage in this group. It is very likely that we have here the ancestors of the Goldi or the Solons, either one or both of them; but it is also obvious that these people borrowed several elements from the Southern Tungus complex. De Saint-Denys says[3] that *hoa* is not birch bark, but the bark of another resinous tree. At the present time, the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, who have migrated from Manchuria, still use larch bark for covering their huts.[4] The same group was mentioned in the Chinese chronicles as horse breeders who lived in the vicinity of the present Solon territory, just where the Solons and the Nomad Tungus are at present found. Besides the hut covered with larch bark, these Tungus also use the semi-spheric tent of Mongolian type, covered with felt,[5] which is probably of a relatively late origin. Another detail of interest is the use of animal skins for small and light canoes: this kind of canoe is mentioned in the present Northern Tungus folk-lore borrowed from the Solons and the Nomad Tungus.[6] It is very likely that they were at one time connected with the political organization of the Nuichen.[7] From these facts it may be inferred that this group of the Nuichen was a Northern Tungus group which had come into touch with the Southern Tungus, and their language was different from that of the Southern Tungus. De Saint-Denys, disagreeing with Ma-touan-lin's testimony, supposes them to have been kinsmen of the Khitans.[8] Du Halde supposes the Solon Tungus to have been Manchus or to have been their ancestors (Nuichen), who escaped from being destroyed by the Mongols by a retreat westward to the present Solon habitat at the end of the seventeenth century.[9] If this were so, then the Nuichen should be a purely Northern Tungus group, which is, as we know, incorrect. But it is beyond doubt that the Solons played some rôle in the Nuichen political organization. H. H. Howorth, has already emphasized the difference between the "wild" and "civilized" Nuichens and the process of their having been

1 Cf. the use of oxen for mounting among the Birarčen. See Chap. I.

2 J. Klaproth, "T. H.," p. 90.

3 De Saint-Denys, p. 439.

4 They are not of a conical form, but square, with a roof having an aperture for light and smoke.

5 The Nuichens seem to know this kind of tent. Cf. E. Chavannes, *op. cit.*

6 E. Ysebrant Ides (*op. cit.*, p. 48) used this kind of canoe when he crossed the Gan in the territory of the Solons and their kinsmen.

7 Cf. my "S. O. M.," Suppl. Note X, where I show that the name of *dučéry* (of the Russians) in all probability referred to the Solons.

8 De Saint-Denys, p. 345, footnote 73.

9 Du Halde, Vol. IV, p. 14. As we have seen, this is not correct, for the Solons were connected with the Khitans previous to the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century another group of them migrated westward.

FOREWORD

The present study is the outcome of the analysis of the material gathered by me during three expeditions into Transbaikalia in the years 1912 and 1913 and travels in Mongolia and Manchuria from 1915 to 1917; these were partly completed during the last years of my investigations in China and the neighbouring regions. The first two expeditions were carried out under the auspices of the Russian Committee for the Exploration of Middle and Eastern Asia; the third, under the name of the Manchurian Expedition, was directed and partly financed by the Imperial Academy of Science of St. Petersburg. In 1917 the Academy of Science placed me in charge of a mission to China, Mongolia, and the neighbouring regions of Siberia so that I might continue my investigations of the previous years. This last undertaking has not yet been completed, as it was interrupted several times by the unsettled conditions of the Far East in general, and of the regions of Siberia in particular. The character of the investigations has also changed; as regards the gathering of the new material, it is now confined mostly to anthropological problems of China.

The conception of these investigations was not originally my own but that of a group of Orientalists, linguists, and ethnographers, of St. Petersburg, who were at that time interested in gathering new material (linguistic, ethnographic, and anthropological) in Siberia and the neighbouring regions, which had not yet at that time been completely investigated, if at all. I am particularly indebted to the late V. V. Radloff, a Member of the Imperial Academy of Science and Director of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography at St. Petersburg, who has encouraged me in starting this work. Before setting forth on these investigations, I received very valuable advice in linguistic field work from W. L. Kotwicz, Professor of the Lwow University (Poland), at that time connected with the St. Petersburg University and Member of the Russian Committee for the Exploration of Middle and Eastern Asia. After my first expedition to Transbaikalia in 1912, I analysed the anthropological data under the direction of Y. W. Czekanowsky, Professor of the Lwow University, at that time the Curator of the above-mentioned Museum, who also gave me moral support to continue the gathering of anthropometric material. I feel indebted mostly to Madame Shirokogoroff, my wife, who, during all my expeditions, in spite of great difficulties in travel and living under the hardships incident to such expedition work, assisted me largely in gathering my material. As a matter of fact, her participation in these expeditions has permitted me not only to extend the material gathered, but has also facilitated the establishment of friendly relations with the Tungus and Manchus with whom we have stayed, as these people do not usually trust the most peaceful investigators who travel without their families. Moreover, to penetrate intimately into the life of a people without a woman's help is sometimes absolutely impossible. Above all, in many instances, the observation of facts, especially customs and rites performed simultaneously in different places, requires the co-operation of at least two field observers.

It would be impossible for me to enumerate all the persons to whom I am indebted for the success of my expeditions. The local Russian authorities, from the governors of Transbaikalia and the Amur Government to the small district officials, also the local bureaux of the Colonization Department, the Amur Conservancy Board, the Customs, some local research associations, and various local representatives of the Government, never refused me their assistance when I needed or asked it. The same holds good in reference to the Chinese authorities in Manchuria, where their good will and assistance permitted me to carry out my investigations.

I also want to point out that during my investigations I always had very valuable assistance from the local Russian population, and especially from two Cossacks whose names I feel I should mention. Ivan Peškov and Afanasiĭ Temnikov, natives of Staro-Curxaĭtuĭ, a village on the banks of the Argun River, followed me in 1915 in my explorations in north-western Manchuria from the beginning to the end of this very difficult undertaking.[1] Without their previous experience (both of them at that time were over forty years old), spirit of discipline, and personal courage the success of the expedition might have been doubtful. They well deserved to receive thanks from the Government, but, unfortunately, since the downfall of the old Russian régime in 1917 the succeeding governments have been absorbed by other, and from their point of view, more important, functions. Since that time the new local authorities did not assist me in my work, but on the contrary hindered me, so that after going through great difficulties in dealing with them I decided to return to St. Petersburg.

During these expeditions my attention was devoted chiefly to the Tungus in general, including the Manchus. These groups were visited one after another in a systematic manner. The third expedition, which ended in 1917, extended over two years and was supposed to have sufficed for the regions of Manchuria. The last part of this expedition, however, could not be carried out: the regions south of Hailar and north of Tsitsihar had not at that time been investigated, owing to the local political troubles, partly due to the afore-mentioned national catastrophe in Russia. After a short visit to St. Petersburg, I left again for China, so by the end of 1917 I arrived in Peking, where I extended my investigation of the Manchus. But since the spring of 1918, except for an incidental investigation of the Mankova Tungus dialect, short visits to Manchuria, and also the meeting of some Tungus, I have had no opportunity of visiting the Tungus nor Manchus in their regions; as to my ethnographical observations, they have been confined to the European and other non-Tungus ethnical groups which I met in Siberia during my two long visits there and generally in the Far East. Naturally, these observations have but a very remote relation to my previous ethnographic investigations among the Tungus, but they have influenced some of my fundamental ideas as to ethnical relations in general, and consequently those concerning the Tungus.

1 Three other Cossacks whom I employed during this exploration were not able to accompany me during the complete expedition and were at different times employed and dismissed by me. Besides these Cossacks I always had in my employ some Tungus belonging to the various groups which were being investigated.

During these investigations, from 1912 to 1918, my attention was devoted to (1) ethnographical observations, i. e., the cultural phenomena of the Tungus and other groups; (2) the study of the Tungus dialects and Manchu, principally in the Aigun District and in Peking; (3) anthropometric measurements of the Tungus and other groups; (4) preliminary archæological excavations carried out in 1916 in several historic places and prehistoric stations on the banks of the Amur River between Blagovyeshchensk (*Błagov'ešč'ensk*) and the gorges of the Amur River, where it breaks through the Lesser Khingan Mountains; in these excavations I was helped, in addition to my usual assistant, Madame Shirokogoroff, by Messrs. A. I. Gurov, M. K. Tolmačev, and A. Z. Fedorov,[1] who were largely responsible for the success of these excavations, which were carried out during the very short period left at our disposal by the severe climatic conditions; (5) geographical observations in the regions not yet explored (e. g., north-western Manchuria).

I shall later have an opportunity of giving a detailed account as to the material mentioned in (2), (3), and (4) in other publications. Some of these data have already been given in my previous publications (see the List of Works Mentioned in This Study). A short geographical account as to north-western Manchuria, with my calculations of the altitudes, has also been published by Madame Shirokogoroff (see the same list).[2]

The ethnographical material has been gathered principally from the Reindeer Tungus, partly from the Nomad Tungus, in Transbaikalia, the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, the Tungus of Manchuria, and also from the Manchus and partly from the Solons and the Dahurs. The photographs, the archæological and phonographic records, also the ethnographical collections, except those above sixteen kilogrammes, which could not be sent by parcel post, are now in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. The ethnographic material gathered in 1912–13 was presented in 1914 to the Academy of Science and received for publication in the form of a study (in Russian), "The Ethnography of the Orochon of Transbaikalia." It was not, however, published in due time, as it might have been. Since that time the material has been supplemented by a more detailed investigation of other groups. At present the ethnological investigation in which I am engaged in China and local conditions show no possibility for further extension of my ethnographical investigation among the Tungus; the Tungus ethnographic material is therefore confined to that which was previously gathered by me. Since anthropological investigation in China began to absorb most of my time, the question as to my ethnographic material arose. It is a well-known fact that the material gathered by investigators, often buried in private and other archives, sometimes remains unknown and new investigators very often begin and carry out the same work. On the other hand, I realized that the publication of the material gathered, owing to the conditions under which I carried out my work in China, was extremely difficult, if not impossible, when one intended to give a treatise satisfactory to

1 Unfortunately, Mr. A. Z. Fedorov, at that time connected with the South Ussuri Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society at Nikolsk-Ussuriĭsk (the Maritime Government), was unable to take his part in the second half of these excavations.

2 A more detailed account is desirable, but I do not believe it will ever be published.

those critics provided with good libraries. Indeed, the lack of a library, alone, is sufficient to deprive any author of the energy and desire of seeing his material published in a form easily accessible by critics. Another objection to publication was that my material must be published in English, which for me was a language neither native nor even sufficiently well studied to enable me to express myself with desirable clarity and in a style not offending the feeling of language among the English-speaking people. Indeed, I would be in a much more advantageous position if I could use my own language in this study. However, in 1923, through the kindness of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch, I was encouraged in publishing in English the first study of a series, namely, "Anthropology of Northern China," and in 1924 another study, "Social Organization of the Manchus. A Study of Manchu Clan Organization."

In my investigations, those of the Manchus did not occupy the principal place. I considered this material, therefore, as one of secondary importance, but useful for comparison: I thus prepared it, under the above-mentioned name, for publication first. In the present work I refer often to that study. As some misunderstandings have occurred with reference to it I shall dwell a little longer on E. Hauer's note,[1] which I knew after the present work was partly published. This note in its greater part is devoted to a linguistic criticism of my study. In fact, in the notes referring to the Manchu clan names I have given Manchu interpretations of these names which were heard by me mostly from the uneducated Manchus. The origin of these interpretations has evidently escaped E. Hauer's attention, so he, I believe, *bona fide*, has ascribed them to myself. He declares them to be my "*Irrtümern und Fehlern.*"[2] There is no need to explain that the folk etymologies, from the ethnographical point of view, very often fall into a conflict with scientific ones, but anyhow they are sometimes of certain value. Therefore in all cases when I was able to find out the Manchu interpretations of their clan names, I recorded them, not always indicating that these etymologies are of Manchu origin. Their naïvety was so evident that the idea of misunderstandings on the part of specialists[3] did not come to my mind. But I was wrong. Among several critics E. Hauer is the first one who wants to make his readers believe that these etymologies are my own linguistic blunders. The same may be stated in reference to the Manchu traditions as to their origin and particularly that of *Apkaï xan*.[4] The last one, historically speaking, is wrong, for *Apkaï xan's* reign took place nearly half a century after the formation of the Manchus as a political body under *Nurxaci*. For these reasons, I have added a footnote ("S. O. M.," p. 11, footnote 5) which E. Hauer did not understand and concluded by the remark "*ist irrtig*." Again, I am not responsible for the Manchu folk-lore. E. Hauer has lost his time and misled his readers when discussing:

[1] In "*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*."

[2] By this I do not deny the possibility of mistakes on my own part. Yet in that particular publication the chance of finding mistakes is increased by innumerable misprints.

[3] These etymologies may be interesting to specialists only.

[4] *Apkaï han*, of my transcription in "S. O. M.," and *Abkaï xan*, of Man. Lit., is not only "*Himmels König*" and "*Gott*," as E. Hauer translates, but it is also a Manchu translation (not exact, indeed!) of the emperor's title, under which name the first Manchu emperor reigning over China is known among the Manchus. For "*Gott*" the Manchus usually use *apkaï enduri*. Yet, *apkaï xan*, in the sense of Christian God, was also introduced into the Manchu language, but did not gain popularity among the Manchus, among whom the Christian propaganda failed.

he had to refute the present Manchu traditions. It is, however, different with the problems of transcription and origin of the name *mandžu*. I am responsible for the transcription of Man. Lit. words and names as they are now pronounced by the Manchus not yet *sinized*, and that of the Manchu Sp. of the Aigun District. I chose a transcription which was convenient for the printers, but with this poor means I was unable to reproduce all possible details of pronunciation. E. Hauer disagrees with me, and when my transcription of Manchu words differs from that of conventional transliteration with which this author is familiar he corrects me. The reading of a Manchu text, either transliterated or given in Manchu characters, does not present any difficulty for a specialist who knows Manchu. Indeed, the Manchu spelling of these words is well known from dictionaries. Therefore I used this opportunity for giving the *present reading* of Manchu Lit. As to Manchu Sp., it is also of some interest to linguists and ethnographers. This evidently does not interest E. Hauer. As to the name Manchu, *mandžu*, I have shown in "S. O. M." the reasons why I could not agree with different hypotheses as to the origin of this name, including *mandušri* and others. Indeed, after V. Gorskiĭ's critical analysis of various theories and traditions it is impossible any longer to maintain the explanation adopted by E. Hauer. For the suggestion *mandžu* from *man-tse*, proposed by W. Stark-Toller, I am naturally responsible in no way, which may be absolutely clearly seen from the text and preface to my "S. O. M." In the same preface I pointed out that I do not pretend to be a Sinologue, but naturally I appreciate very much any competent criticism from the Sinological point of view. In writing my "S. O. M." I did not intend to give a treatise of the history of the Manchus, a subject which may be attacked only by a combined effort of Sinologues, ethnographers, linguists, anthropologists, and archæologists. Their name interested me chiefly from the ethnographical point of view, and the explanation proposed by me was based upon historic and ethnographic data combined. Let us, moreover, remember that the controversy about the origin of the name *mandžu* among the Manchus themselves is a well-known fact and up to the present time no satisfactory solution has been found. The work translated by E. Hauer ("Huang Ts'ing-K'ai-kuo-fang-lüeh") is one of those publications which had to strengthen the Manchu rule in China. Indeed, it is well known that the most important parts of it were read, translated, and partly critically analysed and published by European scholars. Naturally, absolute credit cannot be given to the works inspired by the political needs of the current moments. Unfortunately, till now reliable historic documents are very scanty. Moreover, the current opinion among modern Chinese historians is that many purely historic problems cannot be solved even after a careful analysis of the written documents, and they need the support of ethnographical, linguistic, anthropological, and archæological evidences. It is also true, yet in a greater degree, in reference to the history of the Manchus, for historic documents concerning the Manchus date no more than a few decades before their coming to power. Therefore it is premature to close the problem by a simple reference to the work translated and commented upon by E. Hauer, who, confining himself to the Sinological field, has naturally failed to solve the problem.

I have discussed E. Hauer's criticism of my "S. O. M.," for in the present study I use the same methods: I give the Tungus traditions as to their origin and clans, which I analyse as far as authentic historic evidences and comparative method permit. I also give a description of the Tungus social organization and particularly of the clan names, where I explain, by the way, the value of Tungus interpretations of these names. It also holds good for the Manchu clan names. It is thus possible that the Tungus interpretations of their institutions, history, and clan names will again give a new occasion to speak about my "*Irrtümern und Fehlern*" to those who meet with difficulty when dealing with this class of ethnographical (and historic) evidences. Afterwards, such critics may happen to find themselves in the same awkward position as that in which E. Hauer is now. Referring to the conclusive part of his note, where he goes as far as trying to show to his readers that I did not know even Manchu numerals,[1] I am sorry to say that such methods of discussion may deprive many authors of the possibility to continue any further discussion with him, unless he changes his methods.

Let us now return to my other unpublished material.

The Tungus folk-lore I translated, and the Tungus Dictionary I prepared could not then be published, as I had hoped. I gave up the original project of publishing in the Dictionary only my own material, for, during the preparation of some other material for publication I established parallels from other languages and other Tungus dialects published by different authors. Since then some new material has been published by Professor P. P. Schmidt, Messrs. E. I. Titov, and N. N. Poppe; yet Professor W. L. Kotwicz has kindly put some unpublished material at my disposal. Owing to that, the Dictionary will be rearranged and some modifications made in the folk-lore,—and extended notes and commentaries will be added to.

According to my original idea, the present study ought to be preceded by another study devoted to the material culture of the Tungus and a comprehensive part dealing in general with the history and geography of the regions inhabited by them. None of these could be prepared, as collections and photographs gathered by me were inaccessible. In order to avoid misunderstanding, along with the following chapters dealing with the Tungus social organization, I have given a very short description of geographical conditions, and two chapters have been devoted to the classification of the Tungus groups and the history of their formation and migrations. Such a mode of presenting my material will result in a disproportion of parts of this study.

In preparing this study, among my other material I used my above-mentioned work on the "Ethnography of the Orochon of Transbaikalia," a corrected copy of which happened to be at hand.

The transcription of Tungus words approaches, in so far as possible, my original records, for which I have used the Russian "Academical Transcription" adopted for Asiatic

[1] This time E. Hauer quotes three meanings of the word *ninguta* (these may also be seen in I. Zakarov's Dictionary) in order to refute a new religious meaning which has been appropriated by the same word in Manchu Sp. recorded by me, viz., "the very ancient ancestor." This fact is, however, interesting from the semantic and ethnographic point of view. E. Hauer believes this case opportune for showing my incompetence in Manchu.

languages. The transcription of the Chinese words is given either phonetically, as they are known among the Tungus and Manchus, or in a romanized conventional form adopted by H. Giles, and others.

This time I have not added to this study the usual conclusion for the following reasons: This study covers but a part of my ethnographical observations. As stated, the social phenomena are so closely connected with other cultural phenomena that many of them cannot be properly understood without an exhaustive treatment of the Tungus ethnography in general, including the Tungus system of ideas and what usually is called "religion." This will be done in my other studies. The same may be stated in reference to the formation of the Tungus and their history. I have therefore decided to give my general conclusion as to the Tungus social organization and their history in my further works.

In the present study I give several maps to illustrate my text. I could not find a good map for drawing the river and mountain systems with all desirable correctness. Unfortunately, the original copy of my map of North-Western Manchuria, where the results of my geographic observations had been summarized, has not been accessible, as many other above-mentioned documents of my expeditions. Moreover, the copy of the original that I had had with me in 1920 was stolen, together with other cartographic material and personal documents, just before my sudden departure from Siberia. Since the maps presented in this study from the geographical point of view have been but approximately made, the boundaries of various ethnical groups could not be drawn with all desirable and possible correctness. In making up the map of the geographical distribution of the Tungus I have met with another difficulty, namely, to which period must I refer my ethnical boundaries? Some instances of recent migrations and extinction of some ethnical groups of Siberia that I give in the present study may show quite clearly the impossibility of giving the actual, present distribution of groups. Therefore I decided to give the facts I observed myself in 1912, 1913 in Transbaikalia and in 1915–1917 in Manchuria and Mongolia. On the other hand, there are no synchronous documents for giving boundaries of other groups not visited by myself. These boundaries I have also put approximately. In fact, the Goldi and Oroči maps, rather good and detailed ones, published by I. A. Lopatin in 1922 and 1927, are ten years younger and cannot be regarded as absolutely synchronous with my data. For details as to geographical distribution of these groups, my readers are requested to consult the works of I. A. Lopatin and V. K. Arseniev.

I have eliminated the Chinese and the Russians; I have also shown, without actual boundaries, the other non-Tungus groups, for all these groups are much more numerous than the Tungus. Chinese and Russians are met everywhere. The putting of this material on maps would enormously confuse the Tungus distribution.[1] Moreover, the actual number of all the population in the Tungus area is unknown.

The geographical names, one of difficult problems, are not uniformly given. Those names, with which the English readers are familiar and the transcription of which has already been stabilized, are given in the old transcription, but the names that are not

[1] Before the Peace Conference of Versailles and later a great number of ethnographical maps of different parts of Europe appeared. They show a great diversity of methods employed for demonstration of the distribution of various groups in the light required by the political considerations of the authors. Cf. A. van Gennep, Traité, etc., where several facts are gathered.

common or are absolutely unknown are given in an approximate phonetic transcription. Yet some names which are already stabilized in the Russian geographic writings and maps are given in the Russian pronunciation, while many others are given in the original Tungus form and approximate phonetic transcription. In order to help the readers I have given a special index of geographical names.

I am very sorry for being unable to reproduce here certain photographs of my collections which are now inaccessible to me. I have given only two water-colour pictures — one representing a disposal of a Nerchinsk Tungus woman's corpse, and another representing a Tungus wigwam on the Vitim Plateau (the Vitimkan River). Those readers who are interested in having some idea as to the physical types of Tungus may consult Miss Czaplicka's work.[1] Six photographs taken from my collection in the Anthropological and Ethnographical Museum of the Academy of Science (St. Petersburg) have been found, to my great surprise, reproduced in Miss Czaplicka's compilation. Four of them represent different types of the Transbaikalia Tungus.[2]

Generally speaking, the works dealing with Tungus ethnography are not numerous. A limited number of them, but not all, are given by V. I. Mežov in his "Siberian Bibliography." Also, in a very important addition to the above by M. K. Azadovskiĭ, one may find a list of works published in Russian in the nineties of the last century. Some bibliographical material is found in publications dealing with various groups[3] and problems, also in regional bibliographies recently compiled by various Siberian research institutions. In English some bibliography may be found in publications by J. Baddley, M. A. Czaplicka, Irv. Hallowell, and others. Among little-known publications one cannot, however, expect to find extensive treatises on the Tungus, but some of them are very valuable as a product of personal observations. Some day the Tungus bibliography will perhaps find its learned and industrious author, but this cannot be my ambition, so I can now give only references to the works actually mentioned in this study.

I am pleased to use this opportunity for expressing my sincere thanks to Madame K. Horchner and Miss K. Jackson, who have kindly read the manuscript and part of the proofs for the correction of my English; also to Miss A. M. Roberts, who, as chief proofreader of the Commercial Press, Ltd., has given her valuable attention to this work, and Messrs. W. Stocker and A. Akehurst, of the Whangpoo Conservancy Board of Shanghai, whose kindness has permitted me to make up the maps added to this work. It has been written and prepared for publication during the time that I have been research professor of the University of Amoy, which institution left me leisure enough to carry out this work. I particularly appreciate the very kind attention on the part of the Commercial Press chief editor, Mr. Y. W. Wong, and the editor of the English Department, Dr. Fong F. Sec, to all my requests in connexion with this publication, for which I thank them most sincerely.

THE AUTHOR.

Canton, July, 1928.

[1] Unfortunately, I knew this work only when the present study had been partly published. Some information about the Tungus, also the peculiar and misleading selection of authorities (cf., especially, "Bibliographical Sketches") badly need corrections and completion.

[2] The first one (Plate 10) represents a Nomad Tungus of Urulga (not "sedentary," as Miss Czaplicka says); the other three represent Nerchinsk Reindeer Tungus (called by Miss Czaplicka *orochon*) of the village Tèksèr on the Akima River (tributary of the Nercha).

[3] E. g., I. A. Lopatin has given a good Goldi bibliography.

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involved into the Nuichen organization.[1] In fact, the history of the Kin shows that the territory of "wild" Nuichen lay north from that of the "civilized" Nuichen, who occupied the regions located between the Long White Mountains and the Sungari(?) River (Hon Ton Kiang or Helong Kiang of C. de Harlez). The "wild" Nuichen were politically organized, and their chief came from Korea.[2] It is not clear, however, whether they were the "wild" Nuichen, direct ancestors of the Nuichen, whose Southern Tungus dialect is known, or whether they were a Northern Tungus group first connected with the Khitans and later included in the Nuichen political organization. I think the latter supposition is more credible.[3] Moreover, du Halde says that the Solons had their own town, called "Niergui," which perhaps ought to be connected with the Dahur clan name *nirgir*. The *nirgèr* soldiers (*čuxa*) are mentioned in the Manchu epic poem, which is assigned by the Manchus to the Ming dynasty or even earlier. It may be understood from this poem that the *nirgèr* soldiers had some connexion with the Solons and the Dahurs. From these facts, it is obvious that several groups belonging to both the Northern and the Southern Tungus, took part in the Nuichen organization, and that the Northern Tungus lived in Manchuria a long time before that period. These groups seem to be the same as we have seen in Manchuria before the Great Liao dynasty. Some other groups coming from the north joined them, perhaps; for it is beyond doubt that the regions of Manchuria, relatively good for reindeer breeding and attractive for hunters, were not empty when the first advance guards of the Northern Tungus descended south to the lowland of Manchuria.

It is very likely that the Goldi were originally composed of the *digir* and *samagir* clans and later included in their body the *odinkagir*[4] and *bultogir* clans; the latter perhaps had come from the west after the downfall of the Khitans, with whom they were connected politically, and with whom they had already intermixed and become crossed with the Mongols. The Manchus are inclined to recognize among the Goldi the physical (anthropological) admixture of the Mongol, "Bargut" of the Manchus, element, owing, we may guess, to the adoption of the clans, including the *bultogir*, which had migrated from the west.

[1] H. H. Howorth, *op. cit.*, particularly Article X. The Kin or Golden Tartars, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, 1877, pp. 243, 290.

[2] Let us remember that the ancestors of the Khitans (in the sixth century?) were pressed by the Turks, so that ten thousand (probably merely "great number") families migrated to Korea. E. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 299. It is very likely that the "wild" Nuichen originated from these emigrants.

[3] It may here be noted that, according to the history of the Kin, the wild Nuichen chief established himself among the Wan-Yan (this name is referred, by the Manchus, to one of their clans; cf. "S. O. M.," p. 20, and Suppl. Note XII, the clan *vang'jan*). From his discussion with a man of this people (Wan-Yan) it is evident that (1) the wild Nuichen chief did not belong to the Wan-Yan; (2) there were different clans (called by C. de Harlez "famille") which practised vendetta; (3) it was proposed that the chief form a unit with the fighting "families." Indeed, the chief was not alone when he came from Korea, and he did not originally belong to the Wan-Yan; but he acted as an independent and influential, one may believe, ruling person. These facts seem to point to a non-Southern Tungus origin of the wild Nuichen chief, if we agree that the Wan-Yan were ancestors of the Manchus. The fact of the existence of the *vang'jan* clan and an administrative unit of the same name (cf. reference of V. Gorskiĭ's to Man-du-in-kao, p. 132) permit one to infer that the name Wan-Yan was connected with the Manchu ancestors.

[4] The clans *diger* and *samagir* are still living in the northern part of the Goldi area, while the *bultogir* occupies the region near the mouth of the Sungari (according to I. A. Lopatin). I have hesitated before mentioning the *odinkagir* among the Goldi clans. I suppose that the present clan, *oninka*, is the old clan *odinka+gir*.

As to Transbaikalia, its southern part was occupied by the Mongols, — cattle breeders, — while the northern part, the Vitim Plateau, was occupied by the Reindeer Tungus. After the time when the region in the vicinity of Lake Baikal was left by groups connected with the Uigurs, or controlled by them, the Tungus rushed south and occupied, first, the regions good for reindeer breeding. This migration, it may be supposed, occurred about the same time as that of the groups which have been mentioned.

The direct cause of this first migratory wave, or series of waves, might be over-population, due to normal increase, together with the growth of the reindeer herds, or to pressure on the part of alien ethnical groups.

Let us now reconstruct this migration as it seems to have taken place in the light of all facts and the hypothesis which I have expounded. If we agree that the first enumerated thirteen clans migrated south into the steppe region, then other clans or parts of the first clans must have remained in the mountains; for, along the coast of Lake Baikal, we meet, among the oldest groups in the Barguzin district, the clan *samagir*, which originally occupied this small region. From this region, the clan gradually migrated south and east, but the remainder continued till recent times. The migration of these clans took different directions. The clan *čilčagir* and perhaps *tèpkōgir* migrated south-west and perhaps in the Nercha direction; the clans *kučigir* and *balikagir* and, perhaps, *limagir* migrated to South Transbaikalia, either in the Nercha direction or to the south across the Manchurian Plateau, and later west to Transbaikalia. In the tertiary migration, the clan *samagir* migrated possibly in the same direction and later eastward. This clan is found all along its migratory directions — among the Nerchinsk Tungus, the Mergen Tungus, and the Negidals(?). Its presence among the Nomad Tungus and the Goldi and also perhaps the Negidals seems to point to an early migration independent of the tertiary migration. The clan *kaltagir*, *bultogir*, and perhaps *bajagir* migrated, it may be supposed, in a southerly direction, leaving a part of their clan in the north. The clans *dulugir* and *nirgir* migrated south, perhaps together with the other three clans. The clans *odinkagir* and *diger*, and also, perhaps, a part of the *bultogir*, migrated east either along the Amur or directly south-east. This first migration is shown in the table and also Maps V and IX.

If it be so, then the clan *samagir*, living in the south, was cut into two parts, one of which migrated to the south-west and another to the east. This might be implied by pressure from the clans moving directly south, i. e., the *nirgir*, the *bultogir*, the *dulugir*, the *bajagir*, and perhaps the *kaltagir*, while others followed them. The clan *samagir* was followed to the east by the *digir* and the *odinkagir*, and to the south-west by the *čilčagir*, the *kučigir*, and the *balikagir*. Such a migration by groups is quite natural, for every clan is an exogamous unit and consequently cannot marry within itself, so it must be matrimonially connected with at least one other clan.[1]

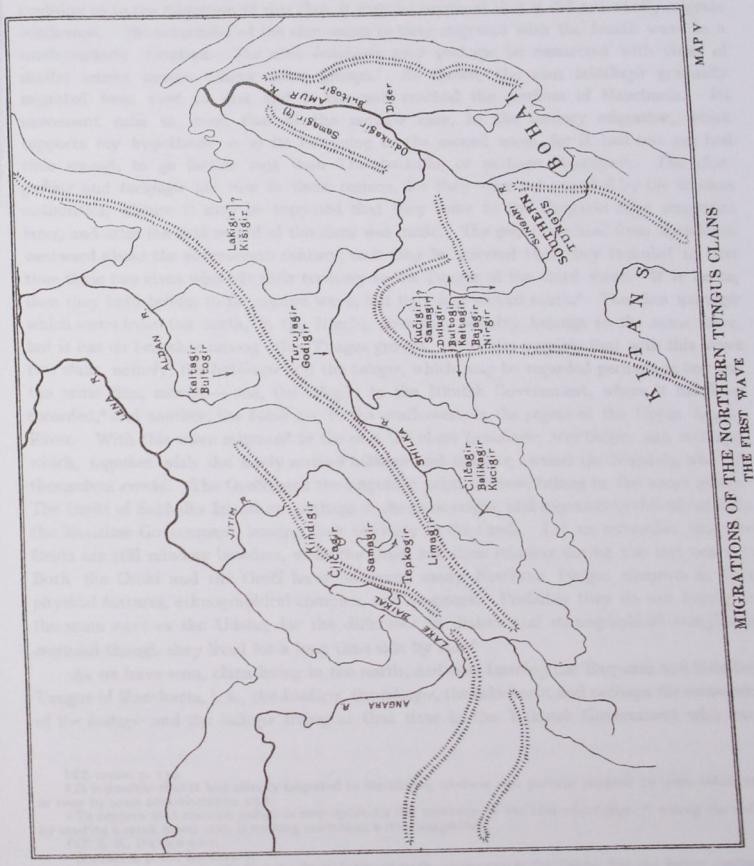
[1] Indeed, with the creation of the subdivisions of clans into new exogamic units, with new names, the matrimonial connexion may be confined to two or more new clans formerly connected by a common name. During the early migrations, however, the new subdivisions were not known, I suppose.

	S.-W.	Nercha	S.	Amur	E.	Remainder
čilčagir	+	?				
samagir	+	?	?	?	+	
kučigir	?	+	?			
balikagir	?	+	?			
bajagir		?	+			?
kaltagir		?	+			+
dulugir			+	?		
bultogir		+	+	?	?	+
nirgir			+			
digir				?	+	
odinkagir				?	+	
čeplogir	?	+	?			
limagir		+	?			

This scheme of migrations will be better understood if we remember that (1) reindeer groups did not go back, for their territories were occupied almost immediately by other reindeer groups coming from the north; and (2) the nomad and settled agriculturist groups never return to their former reindeer complex. These conclusions are based upon the process of transition from one complex to another which, at the present time, is[1] observed among all Tungus groups.

The Second Wave. The Tungus occupying the territory lying north from the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, namely, the Barguzin and Upper Angara-Lake Baikal group, have still preserved their original complex, and their neighbours, the Nerchinsk Tungus, have done so also. Among these groups the name *evenki* is used with reference to the groups of the first wave. From the previous section we have seen that the clans *samagir* and *čilčagir*, belonging to the first wave, are still preserved among these groups. The clan *bultogir* has also been preserved among the Nerchinsk Tungus. These clans were joined by another wave, so that we now find among them the following clans: the *kindigir* common to all three regional groups, the *goďigir*, the *turujagir*, and the *lakšikagir* common to the Barguzin and Nerchinsk Tungus, and also the clan *ŋaŋyagir*, known among the Nerchinsk Tungus and elsewhere, and the *čukikagir*, known only among the Upper Angara Tungus; the clan

[1] The case of a part of the Nerchinsk Tungus and the Birarčen, who are in a transitory state, maintains this conclusion in full: a few families returned again and again to their former mode of life, but the causes implying the transition to other forms of life do not change, so they soon gave up this intention. The general tendency is always the same.



MAP V
MIGRATIONS OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS CLANS
THE FIRST WAVE

kindigir is also known among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. Since we have no tradition as to the migration of this clan, it may be supposed that it did not wholly migrate south-west. The remainder of the clan seems to have migrated with the fourth wave in a south-westerly direction. The clan *čukikagir* may perhaps be connected with clans of similar names known among other groups.[1] As shown, the clan *lakšikagir* gradually migrated from west to east and it has now reached the confines of Manchuria.[2] Its movement calls to mind that of the *samagir* clan, in the tertiary migration, which supports my hypothesis as to its belonging to the second wave, for it had not yet had time enough to go farther east than Transbaikalia, or perhaps Manchuria. The clans *goďigir* and *turujagir* are new in these regions, for they were not recorded by the Russian authorities, whence it may be supposed that they came to the Barguzin *taiga* somewhat later, and after the first record of the clans was made. The *ŋuγal* migrated from Manchuria westward about the seventeenth century, so it may be inferred that they included at that time these two clans who left their territory to the Tungus of the third wave. If it be so, then they both belong to the second wave, but they first moved south.[3] The clan *ŋaŋγagir* which came from the north, in the Nercha direction, possibly belongs to the same wave, but it has no branches among other Tungus groups. It is also possible that with this wave two clans, namely, the *čukikagir* and the *čečogir*, which may be regarded perhaps as one and the same clan, moved — one, the *čečogir*, to the Irkutsk Government, where it has been recorded,[4] and another, the *čukikagir*, to the south-west, in the region of the Upper Angara River. With this wave migrated to the east the clans *čomokogir*, *n'as'ikagir*, and *moktagir*, which, together with the lately arrived *čačkagir* and *samagir*, formed the Negidals, who call themselves *evenki*. The Oroči from the linguistic point of view, belong to the same group.[5] The Oroki of Sakhalin Island are perhaps of the same origin, and migrated to this island from the Maritime Government, leaving their territory to the Oroči. Let us remember that the Oroki are still reindeer breeders, while the Oroči lost their reindeer during the last century. Both the Oroki and the Oroči have preserved many Northern Tungus elements in their physical features, ethnographical complex, and language. Probably they do not belong to the same wave as the Udehe, for the difference in dialect and ethnographical complex is essential though they lived for a long time side by side.[6]

As we have seen, clans living in the north, and now forming the Barguzin and Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, i. e., the *kindigir*, the *čilčagir*, the *lakšikagir*, and perhaps the remainder of the *kaltagir* and the *bultogir* living at that time in the Yakutsk Government who have

1 Cf. *supra*, p. 139.

2 It is possible that it had already migrated to Manchuria, where it was perhaps adopted by some other clan, or even by some administration unit.

3 To suppose that the clan *goďigir* is responsible for the existence of the clan *oďal* (*oďagir* ?) among the Goldi, by sending a small group east, is nothing more than a mere suggestion.

4 Cf. S. K. Patkanov.

5 See *supra*, p. 82, footnote 4.

6 It is, however, admissible that the Oroki belonged to the same wave as the Udehe, but the former continued their migration. This migration might be implied by the pressure caused by the Oroči, and it might have taken place because the Palæasiatics at that period had obviously lost their influence and power to stop Tungus migration.

preserved vivid traditions about the *mamugir*, who ejected them and with whom they fought. It may be inferred that the clan *mamugir* was directly responsible for this migration. There are some indications to that effect. In fact, a portion of this clan was living beside the clan *čečogir* in the Irkutsk Government, in the eighteenth century; and another portion by the side of the clan *laligir* on the east, where the Tungus at that time had already lost their reindeer and had utilized dogs. The *mamugir* clan thus has cleft into two parts by other groups coming from the north; perhaps it belonged to the third wave. It is very likely that the clan *mamugir* was pressed by the other clans that migrated later with the fourth wave, e. g., the *nikagir*, the *m'akagir*, the *laligir*, etc. Tungus tradition shows that the struggle between these clans and the *mamugir* took place before the seventeenth century, which is confirmed by the geographical distribution of this clan in the eighteenth century.

Let us now see how long ago this wave reached its southern point. During the Kin dynasty the Nuichen organized the greatest part of the population of Manchuria. They spread their influence over the Amur — Manchuria, the basin of the Amur, that of the Ussuri River as well, were divided by them into districts with a very elaborate system of administration. The Nuichen were a very advanced power, the strongest at that time in the Far East. The valley of the Amur was covered with their fields, villages, towns, big walled cities, fortresses, etc. Several remains of this period give proof that these regions were rather densely populated. This was so on the upper course of the Amur River basin — in the valleys of the Shilka and the Argun. It is, however, beyond doubt that the mountainous regions were occupied by wandering hunters, but it is also possible that all of them were enrolled under a certain form in the military organizations. The migration from the north, at least across the Amur, naturally stopped. But conditions changed, as soon as the Mongols came into power. After their victory over the weakened Nuichens, the Amur River region was depopulated, towns were left, and the fortresses were destroyed; historic remains showing this decline of the Nuichens are abundant all over the territory formerly controlled by them.[1] The depeopled region of the Amur valley was no further hindrance to

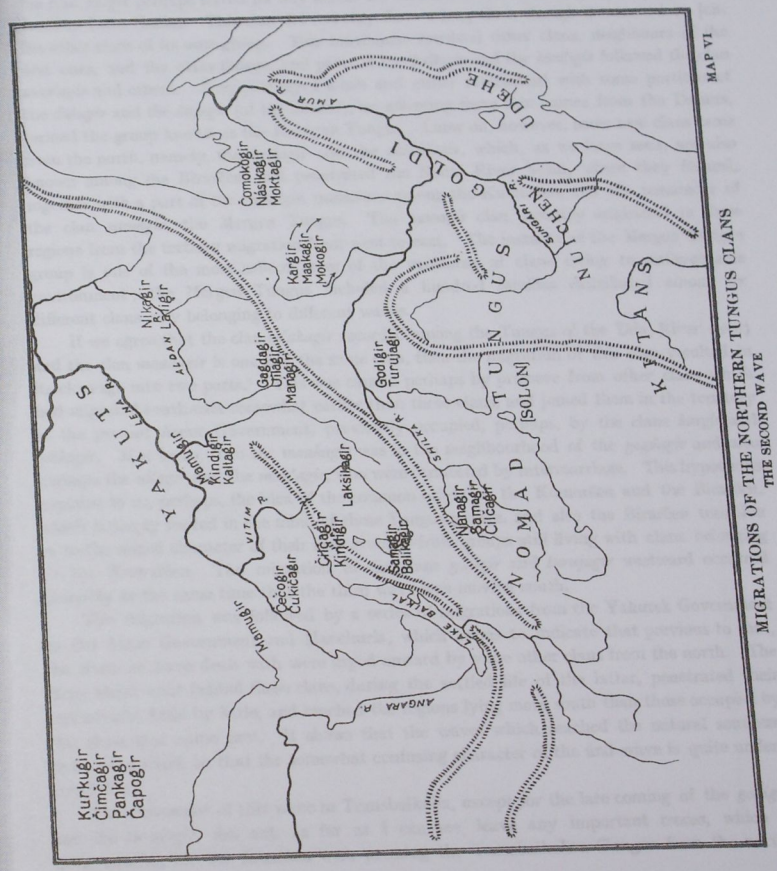
[1] E. Ysebrant Ides (p. 47) mentions the archæological remains of this period (according to local tradition) which he found in the valley of the Argun. Some excavations have been made lately by the local (Transbaikalia) amateurs of archæology (e. g., A. K. Kuznecov, Colonel Orlov, and others) who have partly described them, but their findings, up till now, I think, remain unpublished. Du Halde also mentions several remains of this period in Manchuria. Very numerous remains of this period are also found in Ussuriland, investigated and partly described, or at least enumerated by Th. Th. Busse and Prince Kropotkin. Some remains in 1916 were excavated by my collaborators and myself in the middle course of the Amur. W. J. Tolmačev has given a description of a Nuichen provincial capital in Manchuria, and A. Baranov has given a short account of some other remains in Manchuria. A. Z. Fedorov has published a short account of his excavation in another important place, in the vicinity of Nikolsk, in the Maritime Government, which seems also to be connected with the Nuichens. V. K. Arseniev has extended the recording of historic and prehistoric remains, in Ussuriland, but as far as I know, except his "Material, etc.," he has not yet published the results of his labour.

the Northern Tungus migrations, and the second wave descended directly south. Among the groups four centuries later, the Russian discovered people whom they called *goguli*. These *goguli* were no doubt the *ŋuγal* or *ŋγuγal*, who were at that time, just as the Tungus of Manchuria are now, divided into two groups — those who lived among the settled population, composed of the Dahurs, the Solons, and the Goldi; and those who were reindeer breeders, whom the Kumarčen perhaps met when they descended from the north. The tombs of the *ŋuγal* still attract the attention of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. The *ŋuγal* thus lived before the seventeenth century on the Manchuria Plateau, and came there much earlier, for a part of them, after the Nuichen defeat, became agriculturists. Evidence of their coming to the Manchuria Plateau must show that it must have been near the end of the Nuichen power, perhaps during the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, for the period of transition from the reindeer to the agriculture complex requires more than a few generations. I think, therefore, that the clans *goďigir* and *turujagir* were included in the ethnical body of the *ŋuγal* and later they migrated to Transbaikalia, as is believed by the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, who still preserve this name in reference to the Reindeer Tungus of the Barguzin *taiga*. It is evident that this migration took a long time, and these two clans reached the Barguzin Tungus not earlier than the eighteenth century, leaving a part of themselves together with their clan names among the Nerchinsk Tungus. It may be supposed that a portion of them, i. e., the clan *goďagir*, descended the Amur later on, and settled among the Goldi as the clan *oďal*.[1] In Transbaikalia the Northern Tungus migrations of this wave were in certain connexion with the migration of the Buriats, a part of them having been defeated by a general of Genghis Khan. It is beyond doubt that the Northern Tungus were not much disturbed by the political troubles undergone by the population of the steppe regions, but it is also doubtless true that their departure from the Vitim Plateau was, for a while, stopped. After the downfall of the Mongols, the normal migratory process was resumed. So the new clans, as the *ŋaŋagir*, came to Transbaikalia without any difficulty; but they did not move south, for a part of the first wave after the peace restoration in Transbaikalia joined the Nomad Tungus and left some territory for the new-comers. It may be inferred that during this period, or somewhat earlier, the Enissy River basin was occupied by the Tungus. Their clans, as far as we know from S. K. Patkanov's work, are different from those which we know among other groups, which shows that they had migrated and had been previously disconnected from other clans. This hypothesis is quite admissible, for some clans, e. g., the *mamugir*, according to the Tungus tradition, migrated westward. The scheme of the second wave of migration is tabulated and shown on Maps VI and IX and as follows:

[1] The alteration *goďigir* ~ *hoďigir* ~ *oďigir*; *oďigir* = *oďi* + *gir* ~ *oďa* + *gir* = *oďa* + *l* is possible.

Clans		W.	S.-W.	Nercha	S.	Amur	E.	Remainder
čukičagir		?	+					
čečogir		+	?					
ladžikogir			+	?				
godigir					+	?		
turujagir					+			
gagdagir				+				
kindigir			+	?				+
čomokogir							+	
n'aksikagir							+	
m'akagir							+	
mamugir		+					+	
laligir(?)							+	+
Enissy region	*pankagir*	+						
	čimcagir	+						
	čapogir	+						
	kurkugir	+						
Oroči clans							+	
Oroki(?)clans							+	

The Third Wave. The third wave has left the most vivid remembrance among many groups. The Tungus of Manchuria came to their present territory with this wave, and some historic records refer to this migration. The groups belonging to this wave, all except those possibly of the Khingan Tungus, call themselves *evenki* and recognize the fact that they belong to the Northern Tungus, and were formerly reindeer breeders. Let us follow their migrations from east to west. The Birarčen include three clans, namely, the *maakagir*, the *mōkogir*, and the *kargir*, also the remainder of the *igačagir* (and the *čakčir?*). The clans *mōkogir* and *kargir* seem to have migrated later. According to their tradition and historic records, they journeyed from the basin of the Bureia (*n'uman*), whence it may be agreed that their former movement was to the south-east. Alongside them, another group, namely, the *man'agir*, *uilagir*, and *gagdagir* clans, went directly south. First they occupied the left tributaries of the Amur and later they travelled south. The movement of the first three clans, urged forward from the north by other clans, — perhaps the *igačagir* and the *kaltagir*, — was originally toward the region of the Goldi, but they could not negotiate the pass, and returned to the basin of the Bureia and the present Chinese territory which lay south of the Amur;



MAP VI

MIGRATIONS OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS CLANS
THE SECOND WAVE

the clan *kargir* perhaps forced its way across the Goldi, and moved, without their reindeer, south to Lake Hanka. This clan did not stay there a long time, though it returned to join the other clans of its own group. This movement involved other clans, neighbours of the first ones, and the clans *čačagir*, and parts of the *bultogir* and the *kindigir* followed the clan *man'agir* and others. They journeyed south and either intermixed with some portions of the *dulugir* and the *bajagir* (of the Solon?), or, adopting these clan names from the Dahurs, formed the group known as the Khingan Tungus. Later on, however, some new clans came from the north, namely, the *igačagir* and the *ačikačagir*, which, as we have seen, are also known among the Birarčen, and penetrated the Nonni River basin, where they formed, together with a part of the *gagdagir*, numerous among the Kumarčen, and the remainder of the clan *samagir*, the Mergen Tungus. The *samagir* clan probably originated in these regions from the tertiary migration from west to east. The instance of the Mergen Tungus group is one of the most salient cases of the vanishing of clans owing to unfavourable environment; the Mergen Tungus included a hundred families distributed among six different clans only belonging to different waves.

If we agree that the clan *m'akagir* recorded among the Tungus of the Uda River (east) and the clan *maakagir* is one and the same clan, then the migration of this clan resulted in its cleavage into two parts.[1] This was caused perhaps by pressure from other clans which had migrated south-east somewhat earlier than these clans, and joined them in the territory of the present Amur Government, previously occupied, perhaps, by the clans *kargir* and *mōkogir*. If it be so, then the *maakagir* was in the neighbourhood of the *gagdagir* and also perhaps the *uilagir* and the *man'agir*, who were connected by intermarriage. This hypothesis explains to us, perhaps, the idea of the common origin of the Kumarčen and the Birarčen, which is deeply rooted in the mind of these Tungus groups, and also the Birarčen tradition as to the mixed character of their own group—from groups still living with clans belonging to the Kumarčen. The migration of the clans *goďigir* and *turujagir* westward occurred probably at the same time that the third wave was moving south.

This migration was followed by a series of migrations from the Yakutsk Government to the Amur Government and Manchuria, which seems to indicate that previous to that, the clans we have dealt with were urged onward by some other clans from the north. The clans which went behind these clans, during the settled life of the latter, penetrated their settlements, little by little, and reached the regions lying more south than those occupied by the clans that came first. It shows that the waves which reached the natural southern limit intermixed, so that the somewhat confusing character of the first wave is quite understandable.

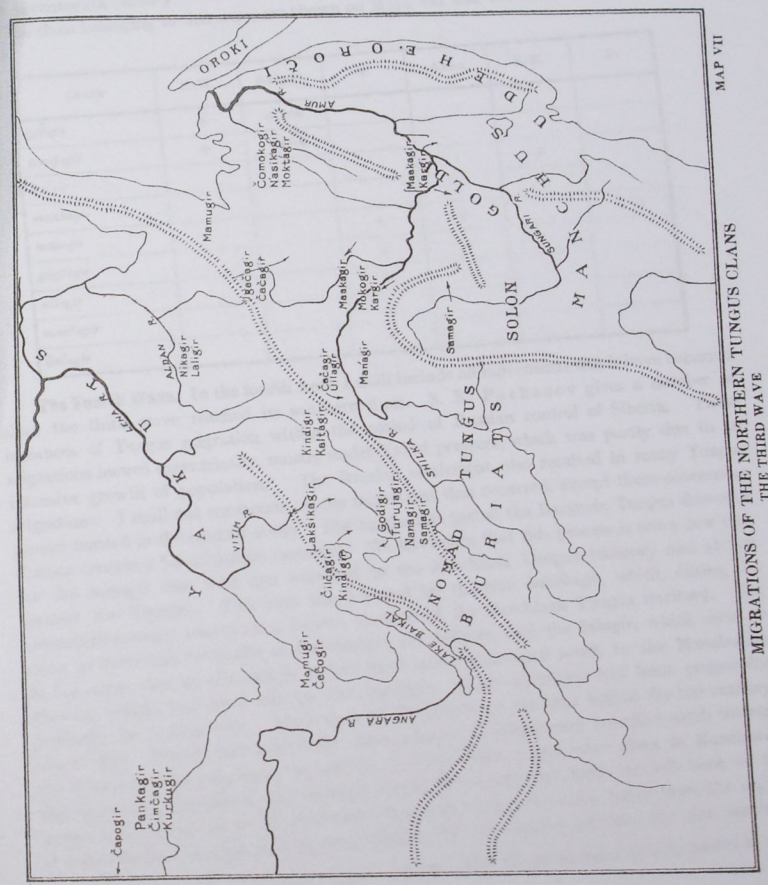
The movement of this wave in Transbaikalia, except for the late coming of the *goďigir* and the *turujagir*, did not, as far as I can see, leave any important traces, which is quite natural, for the Russians were pressing the Transbaikalian Tungus from the north.

[1] It is quite possible that the clan *maakagir* and the *mōkogir* (*mookogir*) originated from the same clan, and then a part of it migrated, together with the *kargir*, eastward, while another part of it remained and later moved south, together with the *gagdagir*; the same clan under the name of the *m'akagir* remained behind.

The Russian invasion resulted in a series of local movements and Tungus rebellions. Thus the clans which were moving from the north could not reach Transbaikalia, so they went eastward.

Let us now see when this wave might have occurred. Tradition says that the clans now forming the group of the Kumarčen migrated to Manchuria when it was empty, and occupied the Manchurian Plateau after the *ŋuŋal* left for Transbaikalia. It is evident that this wave moved south during the seventeenth century. The clans *kargir* and *mōkogir*, however, came much earlier to the eastern part of this area (the present Amur Government), for the clan *kargir* at the beginning of the nineteenth century had for its hunting ground the district near Lake Hanka, and many Tungus settlements were seen by R. Maack on the banks of the middle course of the Amur; thus it may be inferred that this group migrated to the Amur Government some centuries previous to their migration to Manchuria. It is possible that the migration of the clans *kargir* and *mōkogir* from the Yakutsk Government to the Amur Government occurred simultaneously with that of the *ŋuŋal* to Manchuria. It is likely that these two clans were connected with the *goguli* of the seventeenth-century Russians who lived between the Zeia and the Sungari on the banks of the Amur. It is also possible that some of these clans came to the Amur Government as a part of the second wave. Their mass migration, however, occurred somewhat later, because the banks of the Amur River were rather densely populated before the Russian appearance. According to the Cossacks the upper course of the Amur, namely, from the Shilka to the Zeia, was occupied by the Dahurs; the *goguli* and the *dučery* lived[1] down river, as far as the mouth of the Sungari. The Zeia was occupied by the *man'egry* (of the Russians), while the Selimdi and the Bureia were occupied by the *birary* (of the Russians). Some hunting groups lived north from the *man'egry* and the *birary*, who at that time had already lost at least a part of their reindeer. The Manchu government, in order to deprive the Russian invaders of their food supply, ordered the local population to depopulate the region. So in the middle of the seventeenth century, the agriculturist population was withdrawn from the Amur region to Manchuria, and left the Northern Tungus of the third wave to penetrate the mountainous regions of Manchuria. The Russian invasion may be counted as a general cause of this wave. First, the Russians appeared in the western confines of the Tungus territory, in the present Enissy Government in 1606 or 1607, and during the first half of that century they reached Northern Transbaikalia. Owing to Russian pressure, the Yakuts also moved from their original region in the present Yakutsk district and occupied some territories which before that time had belonged to the Tungus. The latter naturally had

[1] Cf. my "S. O. M.," pp. 174–177, where I connect the name *dučery* of the Russians, with the *ǯuǯen*, etc. Though the identifying of the Birarčen settlements with the *goguli* is very attractive, I do not think it may be justified. First, as we know, all agriculturist groups left the Amur for Manchuria; second, the Birarčen settlements could not be numerous, for they had a very limited number of exogamic units; third, tradition does not connect the *ŋuŋal* with the Birarčen. I am therefore inclined to consider them as a settled group of the Northern Tungus of the second wave who had already fallen under Dahur influence and probably under its control. It is thus very possible that the *goguli* and the *dučery* were very closely connected, the latter being, according to my hypothesis, Northern Tungus of the first wave, already "Manchufied," and closely bound by Nuichen power, perhaps as an "inferior group" among the Nuichen aristocracy.



MAP VII
MIGRATIONS OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS CLANS
THE THIRD WAVE

then to find some new territories. Yet the Russian invasion directly produced some very important changes in the Amur valley. The third wave thus occurred in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The clans belonging to this wave are shown on Maps VII and IX and in the following table:

Clans	S.-W.	Nercha	S.	Amur	S.-E.	E.
goǰigir	+	across				
turujagir	+	across				
kargir				?	+	
maakagir				?	+	
mōkogir			+	+		+ (?)
gagdagir			+			
uilagir			+			
man'agir			+			
čačagir			+			

The Fourth Wave. In the fourth wave I shall include all movements which have occurred since the third wave reached its southern limit. S. K. Patkanov gives a number of instances of Tungus migration within the period of Russian control of Siberia. These migrations moved excentrically, mostly under Yakut pressure, which was partly due to an intensive growth of population.[1] The Russian settlement also resulted in many Tungus migrations. I shall not enumerate all the migrations that occurred, except those concerning groups treated in the present study. During the last period the Barguzin Tungus showed a definite tendency for migration eastward. We have seen that this process is not a new one, for the *samagir* clan long ago migrated to the Nerchinsk Tungus territory and at last reached the Negidals. This clan was followed by the clan *lakšikagir*, which, during the nineteenth century, reached the eastern confines of the Nerchinsk Tungus territory. The clans, or better the remainder of the *kindigir*, the *kaltagir*, and the *čakagir*, which seem to be the same clan as the *čačagir* of the third wave, journeyed south to the Manchurian Plateau, which had been left by the *man'agir*. Their migration has been progressing gradually for a long time. They reached Manchuria in the first half of the last century, about 1835. During this period the clans *igačagir*, *ačikičagir*, also travelled south through the territory of the *maakagir*, the *mōkogir*, and the *kargir* to join other clans in Manchuria. The clans *uilagir*, *gagdagir*, and *man'agir* almost all moved away from the left bank of the Amur, and the clan *kargir* (its derivative *dunānkān*) returned to the Amur from the region of Lake Hanka. It may also be noted that under the Chinese pressure the clan *man'agir*

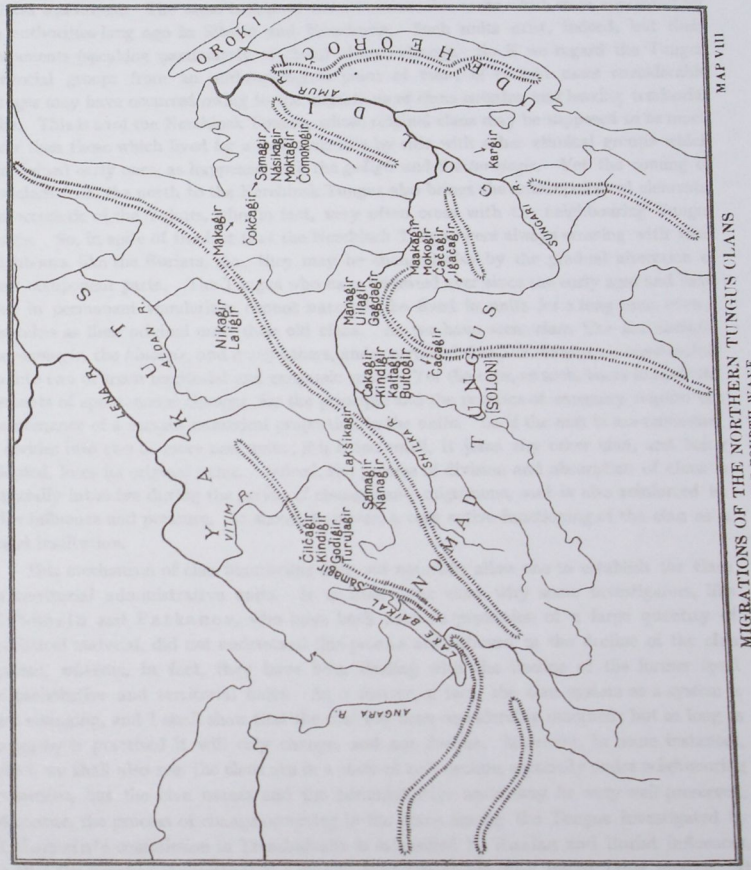
1 Cf. S. K. Patkanov, "I. N. R. P.": e. g., in 1783, the Yakuts had 42,956 males; in 1795, 50,066; in 1812, 54,264; in 1839, 81,119; in 1897, 107,828 males.

has lately migrated so far as the Taun region, in the Birarčen territory. The territories left by these clans were partly occupied by the Russians and Chinese and partly by the Tungus, who were still migrating south from the Yakutsk Government. So, for instance, the clans *ilagir* and *n'ikagir* left the Yakutsk Government. The migration of the old clans from the Yakutsk Government cannot, however, be established definitely, for, as shown, in the Yakutsk Government the loss of the old clan names since the eighteenth century has become very great. The Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government recently migrated to Sakhalin Island, where they have joined, without crossing, the Oroki, who are possibly a remainder of the second wave. Several changes have also occurred among the old clans living in Transbaikalia, principally under Russian and Buriat pressure. The fourth wave produces rather the impression of a hopeless search for new territory. As we have seen, many migrations occurred which proved fruitless, and the Tungus have returned as the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, the clans *kargir* and *lakšikagir*,[1] etc. These migrations are shown on Maps VIII and IX and in the following table:

Clans	S.-W.	Nercha	S.	Amur	S.-E.	E.
lakšikagir	from	+				
samagir	from	across	from			+
ilagir					+	
n'ikagir					+	
igačagir			+			
ačikačagir			+			
man'agir, etc.					+	

Conclusions. Together with the analysis of the geographical distribution of the old clans and their migrations, the formation of the Tungus territorial units has also been shown in detail. It is obvious that the present territorial units, e. g., the Barguzin and the Mergen Tungus, are not so stabilized as some other units, as, for example, the Solons and the Goldi. The clans composing these groups move from one place to another, carrying with them linguistic and ethnographical elements from one group to another. Certain peculiarities, however, of the primary *milieu* and neighbouring influences of stabilized groups, like the Manchus, the Dahurs, and the Buriats, form the ethnical *milieu* in which groups, even those which

[1] Referring once more to the account of E. I. Titov, it may be stated that the migrations of the Barguzin Tungus and those of the Yakutsk Government have been reinforced, owing to the economic disorganization of the groups closely connected with the Russians. So the clan *lakšikagir* of the Barguzin Tungus in all probability left for the Nerchinsk *taiga* together with some other clans. In the territory of the Nerchinsk Tungus a new clan, the *kokogir*, appeared from the Yakutsk Government. The latter clan was perhaps compelled to leave its territory under Yakut pressure, which, not being controlled by the central government, got stronger than it was before their grant of autonomy.



MAP VIII
MIGRATIONS OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS CLANS
THE FOURTH WAVE

change their components, are compelled to adopt certain cultural elements better adapted to local conditions. The same is true of the administrative units which were appointed by the authorities long ago in Siberia and Manchuria. Such units exist, indeed, but their components (speaking particularly of clans) always change. So if we regard the Tungus territorial groups from an anthropological point of view, in certain cases considerable changes may have occurred owing to the migrations of clans entering and leaving territorial units. This is so of the Nerchinsk Tungus, whose original clans may be supposed to be much purer than those which lived for a long time side by side with other ethnical groups which later joined early ones, as happened with the *goďigir* and the *turujagir*. Yet the coming of new clans from the north to the Nerchinsk Tungus also brings the anthropological elements, characteristic of the Yakuts, who, in fact, very often cross with the neighbouring Tungus groups. So, in spite of the fact that the Nerchinsk Tungus were always crossing with their neighbours, like the Buriats, etc., they may be changed also by the gradual alteration of their component parts. The Tungus who have migrated ever since the early ages and have been in permanent wanderings cannot naturally be fixed in units for a long time, even if one takes as their original units their old clans. As we have seen, clans like the *samagir*, the *mamugir*, the *kindigir*, and many others, under certain definite circumstances have broken up into two or more territorial and exogamic units. Yet the clan, as such, bears in itself the elements of spontaneous changes, for the principle and the practice of exogamy require the maintenance of a certain numerical proportion in the units. So if the unit is too numerous, it divides into two or more new units ; if it is too small, it joins any other clan, and being adopted, loses its original name. Indeed, the process of division and absorption of clans is especially intensive during the period of changes and migrations, and is also reinforced by alien influence and pressure. It shows, however, a very active functioning of the clan as a social institution.

This mechanism of clan functioning does not naturally allow one to establish the clans as territorial administrative units. It is thus quite clear why some investigators, like Kulomzin and Patkanov, who have both been in possession of a large quantity of statistical material, did not understand this process and believed in the decline of the clan system, whereas, in fact, they have been dealing with the decline of the former fixed administrative and territorial units. As a matter of fact, the clan system as a system is also changing, and I shall show that the clan has been considerably modified; but as long as exogamy is practised it will only change, and not decline. Moreover, in some instances, which we shall also see, the clans are in a state of real decline, especially under neighbouring influences, but the clan names and the administrative units may be very well preserved. Moreover, the process of change occurring in the clans among the Tungus investigated by Kulomzin's commission in Transbaikalia is intensified by Russian and Buriat influences, so that the number of members in a clan is much less stable than among other groups. It may be inferred that these Tungus, being left alone, might go through this process much more smoothly than occurs under present conditions, when some clan names could not be

preserved in the Tungus mind, and have perished for them, as meaningless administrative denominations. Something similar has occurred among the Buriats, who still preserve their clan organization camouflaged by the administrative units and old clan denominations.

Almost all existing territorial units, possessing even certain ethnographical peculiarities of their own, are composed of smaller units which are very often, chronologically speaking, of different origin. So, for instance, the Barguzin Tungus include clans of at least two different waves — the second and third — while the Nerchinsk Tungus include clans of all four waves. It shows to us that territorial units are very often of historically mixed origin. Such is true of other ethnical groups, like the Nuichens, the Manchus, and probably the Mongols, who also include units of different ethnical origin. On the other hand, the stabilization of ethnical units among the Tungus groups is far from being over, as the components of the units very easily leave the unit to which they belong and join another, till their neighbours stop this wandering and the unit settles. Then the process of the stabilization of the ethnographical complex goes on automatically, as is observed among the Solons, the Dahurs, etc. So the methods of the formation of the Tungus units do not escape the general rule, i. e., (1) *the unit exists and grows, using suitable human material that happens to be at hand;* (2) *the stabilization of cultural complexes requires a constant interethnical pressure and consequently a fixed territory being in partial or complete possession of the unit.*

From the analysis given above of clan migration it may be seen that during fifteen centuries, at least, this process has been going on, till it has now come to its natural end, i. e., (1) the exhaustion of the Northern Tungus who lived in the vicinity of the southern regions and produced groups for migration; and (2) the occupation of territories by alien groups. As a matter of fact, there are very few Tungus groups left between the Yakuts and the groups we have seen vanishing in Transbaikalia and Manchuria. For the Northern Tungus living north and east of the Yakuts, the access to these southern regions is barred by the Yakuts and the Russians. So under such conditions as were characteristic of the previous historic periods, the Tungus migration would perhaps have moved across the Chukchi territory to Alaska. On the other hand, Russian migration from the west and Chinese migration from the south had already met one another. The Yakut movement from the north also reached the Chinese wave, so that the Northern Tungus migrations were stopped almost entirely, or at least confined to regions not very accessible by the Russian and the Chinese, which inaccessibility impedes the movement. Thus the process of Northern Tungus migrations may be considered as finished, unless some catastrophic changes in the interethnical relations occur, and the Northern Tungus are again left alone, as has happened several times before in this part of Asia. From a general point of view, this process is a progressive movement of the Northern Tungus intermixing themselves with other groups and meeting the spreading Chinese influence. As we have seen, many Northern Tungus groups have been absorbed by other groups which have intermixed with the latter in spirit and blood, and some of them have reached the highest influence in the ethnical and political struggle. In spite of the fact of their rather hopeless position at

present and though they are surrounded by alien groups controlling the ethnical situation in the Far East and Siberia, they, at least some of them, still preserve, as I have shown, their ethnical spirit and a belief in their future and further extension. Several times I have discussed this matter with the Tungus, who looked upon me as a friendly person, and worthy of serious conversation.[1] These discussions have convinced me that almost all of them realize the present difficult position; they know very well the actual ethnical relations, and they also know that they have no friends among other groups who want to help them or merely to leave them alone. In the course of our discussions, when I wished to understand their problems better, I used to criticize their ideas, and I happened more than once to hear from them that their present position is only a temporary one, and will not always be the same as it is now. My reference to the powerful Russian migration to the east, the Japanese control of neighbouring Korea, the Chinese migration northward with the overthrowing of their elders — the Manchus — has been critically rejected for a broad general reason which may be formulated as follows: the *evenki* are not for the first time in such a difficult position; the Khitans and the Mongols and many other groups desired to possess the control of these territories and the *evenki* for ever, but all of them have perished while the *evenki* are still alive; many of the *evenki* are not strong enough to oppose their own mind to alien influences, and have been assimilated by their neighbours, but you must not think, they say, that the present nations, as the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Russians, will remain for ever in these regions, for some day they will decline and perhaps the next time the *evenki* will obtain control of this part of Asia. My reference to the small number of Tungus has also been rejected by their belief that they may grow in number at any moment when they move forwards to the steppe and agricultural regions; but for the time being they do not want to attain a large number of their own people, for, when the time comes to obtain control, other people will be in a state of moral and physical decline and they will very easily agree to *evenki* control in spite of their small numbers. If the comparison may be allowed, their understanding of their own rôle in the future and their present position is very close to the idea of an anabiotic state, which may change at any moment favourable for their growth. How far this understanding of the situation may be justified,

[1] I wish here to point out that, up to the present time, European and other travellers and ethnographers are inclined to look on ethnical groups living in a different manner, compared with the fashions and manners of the observer, as intellectually absolutely inferior, which point of view, ethnographically speaking, is, to be sure, a self-protective ethnical armour. On the part of these travellers and observers it is, of course, natural, for in most instances travellers and ethnographers are not properly trained as good observers of an alien complex. Yet they do not always meet the best or superior element of the groups they are dealing with, but just the average or even inferior element which ethnically and mentally is deprived of the instinct of self-preservation from contact with alien influences. What impressions and ideas may be formed about European ethnical groups, if one observes them as represented by farmers, factory workmen, office clerks, and small officials? But, as a matter of fact, the deviations in mental power among the so-called "uncivilized" groups exist, and the element superior to the average does not allow the foreigner to investigate them as easily as the inferior element does. This is also characteristic of all mentally superior Europeans. It is not surprising, thus, that the so-called "uncivilized" groups, and sometimes even "civilized" ones, are usually represented by travellers and old-fashioned investigators as childish and semi-idiotic people, imbued with "superstitions" and oppressed by an unbelievable *naïveté* in their mental processes. The writings of many ethnographers, especially those who have never visited groups of whom they speak and particularly those who do not know languages, abound in instances of fantastic descriptions and treatment of problems. To this question I shall return in a more detailed manner when I deal with the mental culture of the Tungus investigated by me.

it is now impossible to prophesy, but as a belief it may be regarded as a powerful self-protective armour, elaborated by the ethnical unit in order to survive among alien ethnical groups.[1]

The above-mentioned scheme of migrations, as stated, is based upon the present geographical distribution of the clans, traditions, and certain very scarce historic records. It is quite possible that some clans escaped my attention when I was observing these Tungus groups. It is also possible, if not certain, that some useful information may be found in records, still kept in archives, as those that I had the opportunity of studying in the *Bauntovskaja Uprava*. Moreover, several clan names are lost for ever in the process of the extinction of whole groups, by assimilation, etc. So it is very likely that some modifications of my scheme are not out of order. These details will not, I think, change the general outline of the process, as its framework is based mostly on traditions and verified facts.

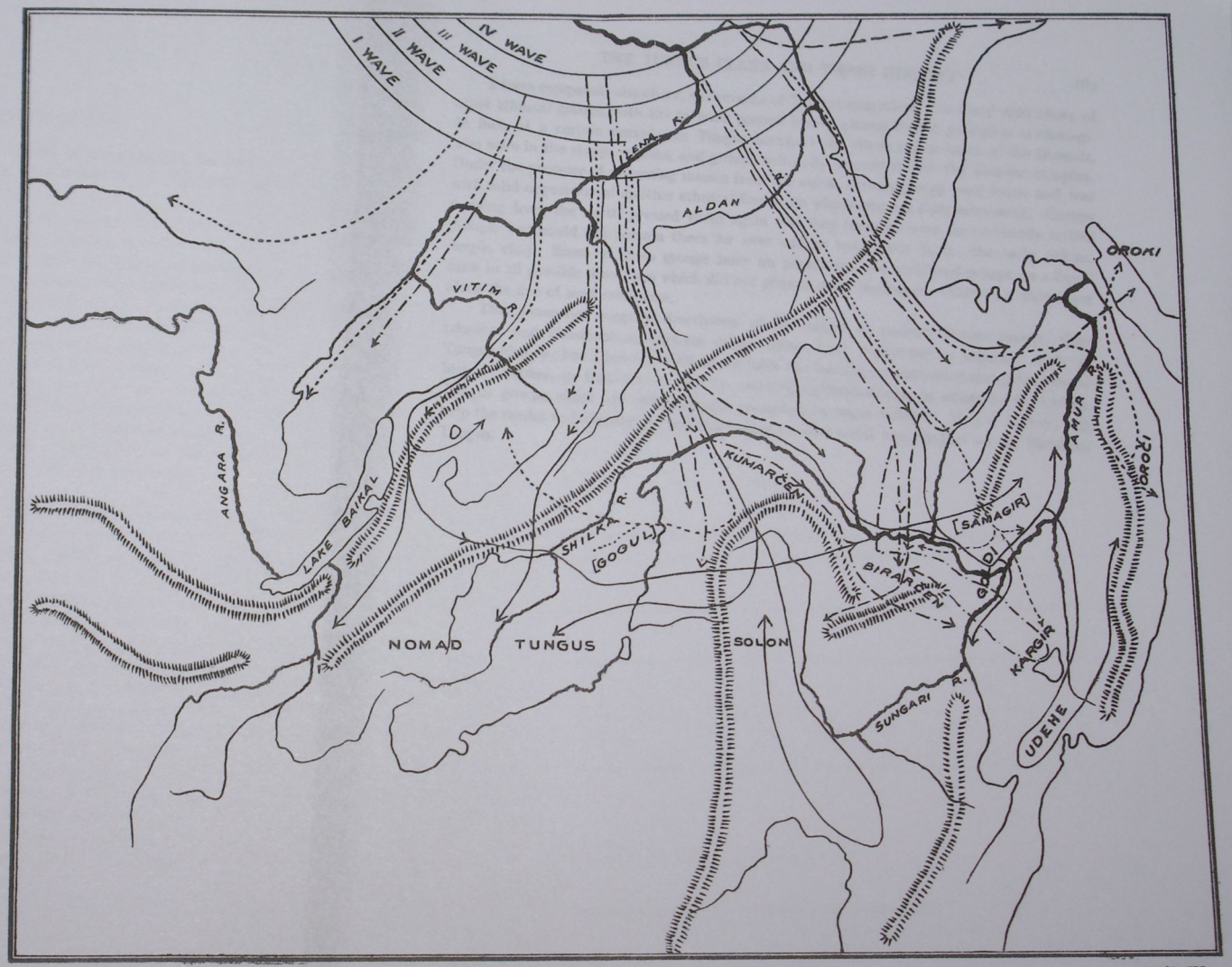
From the foregoing analysis of the historic successions of groups and clans, it may be seen that the process of the Tungus migrations has been going on almost without interruption, and the distinction of the four migratory waves has been taken for simplifying the description and the analysis of the process. During this period one may distinguish four waves in the Far East; but elsewhere, as in the Enissy River basin, one will perhaps find more or less than four distinguishable waves. Some of these waves observed in different regions will perhaps coincide, if the cause of the Tungus movements has been influencing the whole Tungus body, as, for instance, the Yakut and Russian invasions. Moreover, every movement is composed of small migrations of groups or even clans, so that the combined movement of all units and clans gives the idea of a certain general movement which, to be sure, may be hardly realized if one looks at it from the point of view of one certain unit. This is something like the impressions of a soldier during a big battle when he believes himself and the unit he belongs to, to be the principal object of the enemy attack. The migration of a clan sometimes does not show the essentials of the process, but only interesting details. Such is, for instance, true of the tertiary migration of the *samagir* clan, while the migration of the *kargir* clan is much more typical in showing the general movement south and back.

1 Such an attitude on the part of a numerically insignificant group, like the Tungus, in the eyes of the people belonging to ethnical units which now are powerful and numerous, looks like a childish dream not worthy of attention. But the history of mankind furnishes many instances of small units which later attained great power. Such a one in the Far East was, for instance, the Manchus, in Europe — the Latins, in Western Asia — the Phœnicians, etc. Historic records do not show what these peoples thought about their future. Great nations always intend to assimilate small groups, all of which potentially are the heirs of the great nations, and, consequently, dangerous. So the natural behaviour of the great nations towards their small neighbours is negative unless the small nations submit themselves at once. The ideological explanations of the great nations' behaviour towards small ones (neighbouring and directly dangerous) may take any form, but the essentials are always the same: i. e., to find out a good pretext either for complete assimilation or physical extinction. The ethnographers' intention to show the "inferiority" of these small groups and the need of "protecting them" results from the general attitude of the great nations and at the same time they work directly for the elaboration of such ideology; while they seek impartial truth, they are thus preparing the most perfected weapon for the ethnical struggle in the future. This is the reason why ethnography and anthropology are nowadays becoming fashionable — the extension of the interethnical struggle requires a superior knowledge of neighbours.

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THE NORTHERN TUNGUS MIGRATIONS
FOUR WAVES OF SECONDARY MIGRATION AND SOME TERTIARY MOVEMENTS

MAP IX

I have compared, elsewhere, the process of Tungus migrations, combined with those of other ethnical groups, with the tectonic process known among French geologists as *chariage*. In fact, at a certain period, the Tungus occupied the whole region north of the Mongols, who were in the steppe regions, and groups culturally connected with the Chinese complex. Under the pressure of migrating masses from the north, certain groups went south and met with solid opposition of another ethnical formation which stopped their movement. Groups arriving from the north pressed them again and they travelled over the previously settled groups, but could not remain there for ever and so went back (e. g., the early Solons, *kargir*, etc.). Some of these groups later on penetrated the stabilized groups, as a liquid mass in all possible directions which did not present great hindrance — that is, a movement along the line of least resistance.

This somewhat lengthy description of the origin of various Tungus groups, their relations and classification, perhaps might better have constituted a separate study in Tungus history; but I have decided to set forth the facts in my possession and give a general historic outline, so that I can clear up some misunderstandings in reference to various Tungus groups which are still jealously preserved by some writers. This, I believe, will help the reader in following my principal subject — the social organization of the Northern Tungus.

CHAPTER IV

CLAN ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

1. System of Relationship Terms: The Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia; The Tungus of Manchuria; Conclusions. 2. Clan Organization. 3. Clan Functions. 4. The Formation and Adoption of Clans.

Every clan as an exogamic unit is composed of a certain number of members varying under present conditions from a few tens to a few hundreds and rarely exceeding a thousand. The number of members in the clans depends primarily upon the density of population, which is thin, and upon two special factors, viz., (1) the existence of territorial units comprising at least two exogamous units; but territorial units, which are not numerous, owing to a general tendency, form ethnical units of themselves, which do not usually intermarry with neighbours; such were shown among the Lake Baikal Tungus, the numbers of which run to only a few tens and among the Kumarčen who numbered a few hundreds; and (2) the impracticability of maintaining numerous exogamous units, for such units eliminate too many members of the territorial units, who may be married; and also among numerous units the lack of written records results in great confusion in the system of kinship, as a regulator of marriage and other institutions within the clan. The Tungus, by the practice of creating new exogamic units, have found a good correction to their clan system; of this I shall give details later.

According to the given[1] definition of a clan, clan members are bound by the idea of a common origin from a male ancestor, so the descent of members is laid down as a fundamental principle of clan organization. On the other hand, sexual differences divide all clan members, who are also classified according to their descent, into two sexual groups. The belonging to a certain degree of descent, and to one of the sexual groups, is defined by the terms of kinship, implying a fixed system of customs, rights, practices, and obligations towards clan members and towards other clans. The system of kinship thus forms the framework of clan organization and defines every clan member's place and rights in a perfectly comprehensive manner. I shall therefore first describe the Tungus system of terms of relationship. This task is not so easy as it was in the Manchu system, because among the Northern Tungus the system of relationship terms is doubtless in a state of transition. Alien influences have already so disturbed the original system among different groups that the present systems are far from being alike. Among the Barguzin and Nerchinsk Tungus we find a system influenced by their neighbours, the Buriats, or even perhaps by other Mongol groups; among the Tungus of Manchuria we find a system influenced by that of the Manchus; and among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria there is a system, or rather the remains of a system covered by a layer of Russian and Yakut ideas. The Tungus system, generally speaking, is much poorer than that of the Manchus.

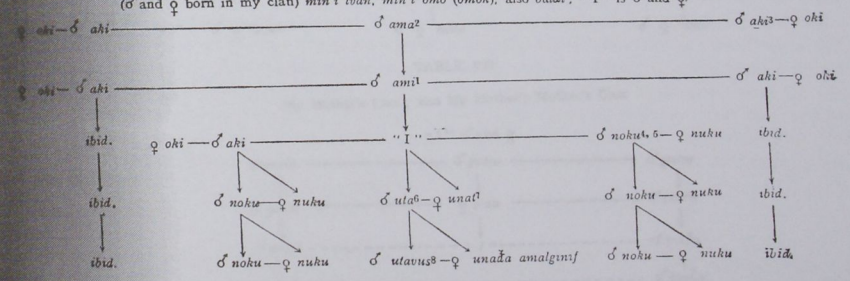
[1] *Supra*, p. 120.

The terms of relationship have been arranged in tables compiled according to the scheme of a genealogical tree, as was done with the Manchu terms. The centre of every table is occupied by "I," to whom the other clan members are related. The middle row comprises the members of the clan belonging to "my" generation referring to a certain far ancestor, i. e., without reference to the age of persons; above the middle row is that of "my father and his generation"; above the latter is that of "my father's father and his generation"; and so on. Below the middle row is that of "my son and his generation"; and below the latter that of "my son's son and his generation." The whole table is also divided into three columns: on the right appear relatives who are junior to "me," and on the left relatives who are senior to "me" in the middle row, and the same in the other rows, where the senior relatives are on the left and those who are junior are on the right. The direct descent is designated by lines with arrows. The common descent is designated by the horizontal lines without arrows. The broken line shows that after the persons who are bearers of terms of relationship come relatives who are connected by the marriage with the former who have a common origin with "I." The males and the females are designated by conventional biological signs. Wives and husbands are shown below the terms constituting the system taken as framework of the given table. I start from the description of the system practised among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia.

TABLE I

My Clan

(♂ and ♀ born in my clan) *min'i tvan, min'i omo (omok), also baldi*; "I" is ♂ and ♀



[1] *Amin* (Nerč.).
[2] And *amamihan*.
[3] All *aki* may also be called *aka, akado*.
[4] All *noku* may also be called *noko, nokokon nokodo; nokun* (Nerč.).
[5] *Nakun* (Nerč.).
[6] *Utin* and *amalgi*.
[7] And *unaða*.
[8] And *amalgin'if utin* [*amalgi*+*n'i* (suff. gen.) + *f* (suff. pronom. first pers. sing.)].

TABLE II

My Clan (♀♀ adopted through the marriage by my clan)

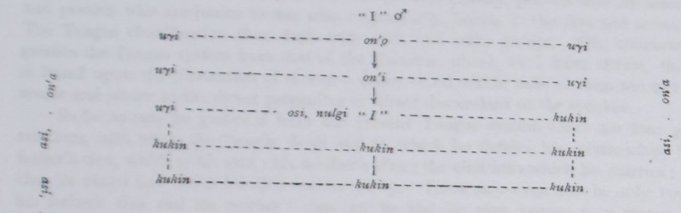


TABLE III

My Husband's Clan

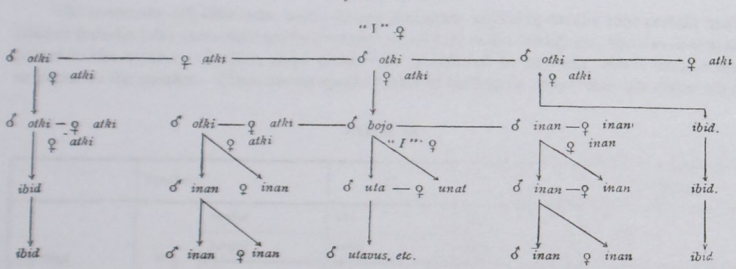


TABLE IV

A Foreign Clan (the progeniture of the women taken from my clan)

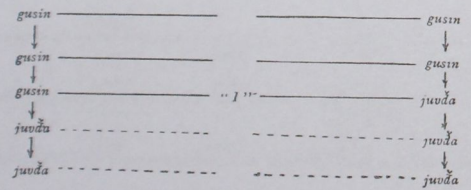
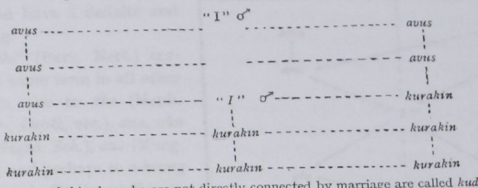


TABLE V

A Foreign Clan (♂♂/husbands/ of the women taken from my clan)



NOTE: All other men of this clan who are not directly connected by marriage are called *kuda*.

TABLE VI

My Wife's Clan

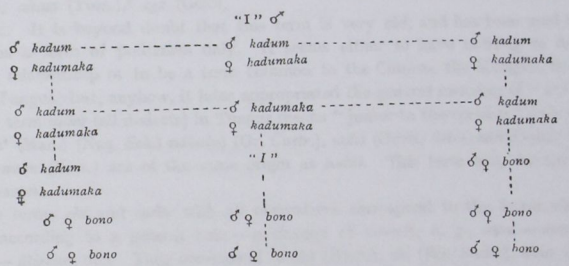


TABLE VII

My Mother's Clan; also My Mother's Mother's Clan

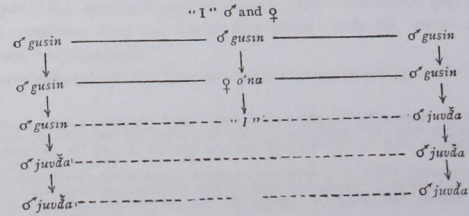


TABLE VIII

The husbands of my wife's sisters and generally those of all women of the clan with whom I am bound by matrimonial relations — *bađa*.
The husband of my daughter (I ♀), the wife of my son — *kurakin*.
The husband of my mother (if he is not my father) — *amiran*,* or *amiranksa*.
The wife of my father (if she is not my mother) — *oniran*† or *oniranksa*.
Persons belonging to the clan with which I am connected by my marriage — *kuđa*.
A widow, or widower — *navan*.
Twins — *đurmin*.

* See *infra*, p. 182. † See *infra*, p. 182.

If we exclude all terms designating direct descent shown in the middle column, as may be seen from these tables, this system may be characterized by the distinction of two groups only: (1) persons who belong to my father's and mother's generation and who are senior to me, and (2) persons who belong to my son's generation and who are junior to me. As to my own generation it is divided into two sub-groups, namely, persons who are senior to me and persons who are junior to me, who, respectively, belong to the first and second groups. The Tungus classification thus deals only with two main groups. This character distinguishes the Tungus system from that of the Manchus, where, as I have shown, the system is based upon the distinction of classes—*ǎalan*—and within each of them are two groups: senior and junior to the direct progenitor or direct descendant of the speaker.

So far as may be gathered from the present Tungus system there are four groups of relatives, with which the Tungus deals and to which he defines his relationship, i. e., his father's clan, which is his clan; his mother's clan; the clan into which he marries; and the clan (or clans) into which his clan women marry. There may even now be only two clans: his father's clan and his mother's clan, for he and his clan women may marry into his mother's clan.

These relations are shown in two tables, namely, Table IX for terms designating relatives shown on the left- and right-hand columns, and Table X for terms of direct progenitors and descendants.

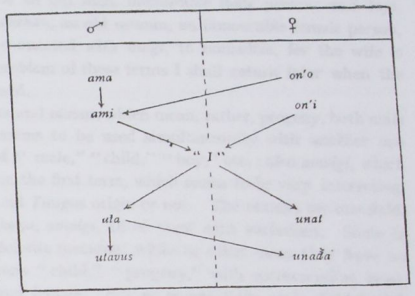
The terms *aki*, *oki*, also *noku*, *nuku*, do not designate anything except that certain males (*aki*) or females (*oki*) are senior to the speaker and certain males (*noku*) and females (*nuku*) are junior to the speaker. In fact, these terms may be referred to anybody who is either senior or junior to the speaker. There are no special terms of kinship in "my" clan but those which

TABLE IX

	Speaker		♂	♀	Remarks
My Clan	♂♀	Senior	*aki*	*oki*	by birth
		Junior	*noku*	*nuku*	
		Senior		*uɣi*	♀♀ by adoption
		Junior		*kuhin*	
My Mother's Clan	♂♀	Senior	*gusin*	*on'oka(?)*	by birth
		Junior	*juvǎa*	*juvǎa*	
		Senior		*oki*	♀♀ (of my clan) by adoption
		Junior		*nuku*	
Foreign Clan	♀	Senior	*otki*	*atki*	all members directly connected by marriage
		Junior	*inan*	*inan*	
Foreign Clan	♂	Senior	*kadum*	*kadumaka*	all members directly connected by marriage
		Junior	*bono*	*bono*	

refer to the direct progenitors and descendants of the speaker, and those which refer to the women adopted by the clan — these have a definite and specific meaning.

TABLE X



The term *aki*[1] (Barg. Nerč.) corresponds to the same term in all other Tungus dialects, also to *aka* (Mank. Bir.) (Ur. *Castr.*, Oroči, etc.), *axa*, *aka* (Buriat), *aha* (Negid. *Sch.*), *axa* (Mong. —senior, etc.), and perhaps to *a-hiung* (Chinese — 阿兄 and 兄) (according to P. P. Schmidt), also to *age* (Manchu —elder brother and senior), *axun* (Manchu), *akmo* (Tum.),[2] *aga* (Goldi, etc.),[3] etc. It is beyond doubt that this term is very old, and has been used in most instances as a form of politeness only. It seems either to have nothing to do with the terms of relationship or to be a term common to the Chinese, the Mongols, the Manchus, and the Tungus; but, anyhow, it later appropriated the general meaning of "senior."

The term *nuku* (all dialects) in Tungus means "junior to the speaker"; its equivalents as *nokun*[4] (Man.) (Neg. *Sch.*) *nāku(n)* (Ur. *Castr.*), *noko* (Oroči, *Sch.*), *nōu* (Goldi, *Sch.*), *nuwu* (Tum.), *naku* (Enis.) are of the same origin as *nuku*. This term may be applied to any junior person.

The terms *oki* and *nuku* with all derivatives correspond to the terms *aki* and *noku* altered according to a general rule — a change of vowels, e. g., *ama* — *eme* (Manchu); *atirkan* — *ătirkan*, etc. They correspond to *oka* (Kum.), *oki* (Bir. Khin.), *okin* (Mank.), *ākā* (Ur. *Castr.*), *okan* (Goldi, *Grube*, — an aunt/?/), also *oke* (Manchu — my father's junior brother's wife) and *egga* (Goldi, *Grube*).[5] It is interesting that in Mongol the terms for *oki*, though different, may be, perhaps, connected with the Tungus terms. For the first term they have *ekči**egeči* (Lit.), *egesi* and *egeci* of Buriats, /*aɣas?* of Yakut/,[6] *gege* of Manchu.[7] For the second term — *nuku* — they use descriptive terms: *exin dū*, *xuxen dū**keuken deggen* (Lit.), which means "a young girl."[8]

For the elderly *aki* and *oki* the Tungus also use terms meaning "old."

[1] Also *akmu* (Oxotsk Tungus, *Klaproth*), which seems to be *ak* (V)+*mi* (V), where *m* is "my."
[2] *Aki* is often used as *akin*, but the suffix *n* is not yet stabilized. One may say *akidu* and *akindu*, but usually *akinif* — my brother. Cf. my "S. S.," pp. 114, 115, with reference to the same suffix in the word *saman*.
[3] See also *infra*, footnotes 5 and 6.
[4] *Noku*→*nokun*, even *nokunin*, are analogous to *aki*→*akin*→*akinin*. Cf. *supra*, footnote 2.
[5] *Egga* (Goldi) corresponds to *aga* (Goldi, the elder brother) and perhaps to the Manchu term *gege*.
[6] *Gege* ought to be connected with the Chinese *ʒe-ʒe* (姐 姐). It is, however, possible that the Manchu and Mongol terms are of different origin.
[7] *Dū**deggen* (Lit.) in the form of *to* is met with in Manchu. Perhaps it has been borrowed from the Mongols. The Yakut term is *balys*. The Manchu term is *noŋ* — the junior.
[8] Cf. V. Seroševskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 563, where he supposes that *agas* formerly was used instead of the recent *ečǎī*. Cf. *infra*, p. 176. According to this author *agas* merely meant "senior."

The terms designating the women adopted as wives of the clan *uγi* [also *ugi* (Ur. *Castr.*), *uji* (Bir.)] and *kukin* (also *kuk'in*) (all dialects) are very interesting, for the first is probably connected with the old Manchu term *uxe;* the second had been borrowed from the Mongol *xuxen‖keuken* (Lit.) — a girl, and later became a term of relationship for the Tungus word, for the word "girl" had previously been already employed — *unat, unaďa* — a daughter.

As we have seen in the Manchu system, the term *ama* is one of the fundamental terms, serving for the designation of the father's father.[1] This term seems to belong to a pro-Tungus language. It is important to note that in the Birarčen dialect its derivation is "my mother's elder brother" — *amaka.*[2] Perhaps it may also be connected with the Mongol term for "father," namely, *awa‖aba* (Lit.) and Buriat (Podg.) — *aba* [Yakut — *aγa?*], for the alteration *b-m* is well known in the Mongol language, and even in the same dialect.[3] Yet the Mongol language possesses another term for "father" quite peculiar to this language, i. e., *ečige‖ečige* (Lit.), *ešege* of the Buriats, borrowed by the Manchus for the designation of the father's junior brother, and unknown among the Tungus who are beyond Manchu influence. From these facts it may perhaps be inferred that the Mongols have borrowed the term *aba* from the Tungus, when they needed a special term for the designation of a system for the direct paternal descent.[4]

The terms *on'i, on'o,* are known among all Tungus, Manchus, and Nuichen. In fact, *onin* (*oni*) (Bir. Kum. Khin. Barg. Nerč. RTM), *aninin* (i. e., *ani*) (Enis.), *onā* (Mank.), *ănā* (Ur. *Castr.*), *onin* (Neg. *Sch.*), *on'aï* (Bir. Kum.), *on'o* (RTM), *en'a* (Bir.) (Manchu), *oh-ning* (Nuichen, i. e., *onin*). The alteration *oni* — (*on'o*) into *en'a* among the Manchus has operated in the same way as it has with *amin-ama.* This term is also met with in "my mother's clan" as *on'oka,* — "my mother's sister." On the other hand, in the Mongol languages there are several terms: (1) *exe‖eke* (Lit.) which correspond to *exe, eke,* of the Buriats; (2) *eďi* (Mongol), *eďi, eži, izi, iži* (Buriat); this term may be connected with the term designating "my mother's sister," "my elder sister," and generally "senior women,"[5] *eďii* of the Yakuts; and (3) *öje* — all eastern Mongolia (which perhaps may be connected with the Yakut term *ijä?*). There is thus no connexion between the Tungus *oni, on'a,* etc., and the Mongol terms, of which *eďi* originally perhaps meant "my mother's sister" or "my mother's class."

[1] In Nuichen (cf. W. Grube, "S. S. J.," p. 89) father is *amin* (*ami*); i. e., just as it is in Northern Tungus, but according to the practice of honourable terminology, the Manchus, and also the Tungus under Manchu influence, use terms of the senior class, i. e., *ama* instead of *ami.* Furthermore, when the latter term was lost they wished to invent a new term for the class *ama,* so they borrowed it, as usual, from their neighbours, the Chinese. (Cf. my "S. O. M.," p. 180.)

[2] *Amaka* (Enis.) is "grandfather." *Amaka* (Neg. *Sch.*) is "the bear," for which a term of kinship is used according to Tungus practice.

[3] Cf. A. D. Rudnev, p. 182. This alteration is also known in the Tungus languages, where it mostly affects the suffixes of the accusative, of first person in verbs. The alteration *m-p* is also known, but not in the case quoted by L. Adam (p. 15), for *zalum* is *zalu+ma* and *zalupkim* is *zalu-p-ki-m,* where *p* is the suffix of passive verbs equivalent to *v, w, vu,* and is very often used with the suffix *ki* of transitive verbs.

[4] According to V. Seroševskiĭ (*op. cit.*, p. 567 *seq.*). The Yakuts neither created nor borrowed any word for "father" and use *agas,* which means merely "senior."

[5] Cf. *supra,* p. 175, footnote 8. *Eďii* seems to be of a later origin as compared with *agas.*

The terms for husband and wife among the Nerchinsk and Barguzin Tungus are: *atirkon,* for the husband — which means an old man, honourable male person; and *bojo,* the man;[1] for wife, *asi,* the female; *atirkan,* an old woman, an honourable female person, etc.; also *nulgi,* which ought to be connected with *nulgi,* to nomadize, for the wife is the leader of a nomadic unit. To the problem of these terms I shall return later when the terms of other groups have been discussed.

The terms for son and son's son, *uta* and *utavus,* which mean, rather, progeny, both male and female, derived from *uta,* which seems to be used simultaneously with another one *kuŋa+(kan),* now used in the sense of "male," "child," "boy," etc.; also *amalgi,* which means "a boy." Let us dwell longer on the first term, which seems to be very interesting. It is not clear whether this term is of old Tungus origin or not. The reasons are manifold.

The terms for "son" are *uta, ur, kuŋa, amalgi,* all of them with variations. Some of these terms in various dialects have a definite meaning, while in other cases they have no definite meaning. So, *uta* usually means "child," "progeny," with corresponding *kuŋa,* which may be referred to both male and female. But *ur* means "the male child" with corresponding *amalgi,*[2] the boy. Let us remember that the Manchu term *xaxaďi* — the male *ďi* — has nothing to do with the above-mentioned Northern Tungus terms. The term *uta,* with its numerous variations, has attracted P. P. Schmidt's and P. Pelliot's attention. First of all, let us give the list of its variations. (1) *Pikta* (Goldi, — Kind, Sohn of W. Grube), *piktö* (Goldi, *Sch.* Olča) [cf. *piktane* (Goldi), *pikte* (Olča) — Junge von Thieren of W. Grube)], *gitto* (Oroči, W. Grube), *xityi* (Oroči), *hita* (Neg. *Sch.*) (Oroči, S. Leontovič), *il'á* (Oroči, Margaritov); another series: (2) *guto* (Barg., J. Klaproth), *gutta* (Enis.), *xutto* (Yak. Gov., Czekanowsky), *xutu* (Oxotsk.), *xuto, hutto, huto* (Ang. Irk? *Tit.*), *hutö, hute* (Neg. *Sch.*), *hutto* (and *futto?*) (Noril., W. Grube), *hüttan* (Mangaz., J. Klaproth), *hutta* (Enissy, J. Klaproth), *huta* (Yak. Gov., J. Klaproth), *ute* (*ún'tu?*) (Solon, *Ivan.*), *uta* (Bir. Kum. Khin. Nerč.), *utā* (Bir.), *uto* (Nerč.), *ute* (Bir. Kum.), *utu* (Oxotsk. Lam., J. Klaproth), *uta* (Barg.), *uta* (Čapogir, J. Klaproth), *ute* (Ang., J. Klaproth), *utgu*(?) (Ud. *Middend.*); for comparative purpose: (3) *urrkokkan* (Ud., J. Klaproth), *urkan, urkakan* (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Irk. *Tit.*) *xurkan* (Irk. *Tit.*), *urile* (Solon. *Ivan.*) (the sons, children), and *uri(l)* (Bir.).[3] It is beyond any doubt that we have here three different roots, namely, *hit* or *hikt* (corr. *pikt*), *uta* (*a* is subject to variations), and *ur* (*+kan, +kakan,* are dimin. suff.). P. P. Schmidt has compared the first two roots, and P. Pelliot has suggested to connect them with the mediæval *hači* (*ači* written) of Mongols — "*bienfait, action bienfaisante ou malfaisante méritant gratitude ou vengeance*" and "*petit fils,*" the latter corresponding to that in the Turkic Altai dialects as *ačy* — the younger brother,

[1] In a broad sense, the man, as a species, and sometimes male. *Asi-bojo,* the woman; *nirai-bojo,* the man (male).

[2] It is connected with Manchu *omolo.* I do not go into details as to this term and *kuŋa,* which we will not need for the present case.

[3] Some of these transcriptions seem to be doubtful. I have great suspicion as to *g* in all cases (J. Klaproth and missionaries, also Oroči). The cases of Middendorff's *utgu* and Ivanovskiĭ's *untu,* also *xityi* (Oroči) (*xitā*), seem to be wrongly recorded. Yet *urrkokkan* is, of course, an emphatic pronunciation of *urkakan.*

nephew, junior relative, also corresponding to the Mongol term *ači*, *ǎči*, nephew, niece. Moreover, according to P. Pelliot, it has originated from *hatï* to which *atï* of the Orxon inscription corresponds. Indeed, such a way is quite possible, but the situation is more complex than that. The alteration *s-t* is a quite common phenomenon in Tungus, indeed. Let us suppose it has happened in this case. Two words are found in Manchu : *fisen* and *fusen*,[1] the progeniture, progeny, both man's and cattle's (cf. above, *piktane* of the Goldi); also *use*, grain, seed, larvæ of louse, etc., *wuze* of Manchu Sp. and connected with *wuh-sih-yin* (Nuichen) (*usin* of Manchu) (*wužin*, Manchu Sp.), and *wuži* (Manchu Sp.), to beget, which has originated with a long list of derivatives from the root *use-wuse*. Two roots, *fise* (*fite*) and *fuse* (*fute*), have also produced a long list of derivatives. The idea of all of them with specified meaning is the same, namely, the progeny, etc. Taking into consideration that *fise* and *fuse* may be doublets derived from the same root, probably *fute*, and that the present and Nuichen forms with the initial *w* point to an old form *ute*, which, with the bilabialization, might normally evolve *ute→wute→fute* (*use→wuse→fuse*), I suppose that all Northern Tungus forms have originated from the Southern Tungus form, being borrowed at different periods and later affected by aspiration. The original form was probably *ute*, perhaps known to the pro-Tungus, but not in the sense of "son," "child." The form *ite* has spread among the Tungus groups of the lower Amur River basin. The form *fite* has come later to thrust out the old one among the Goldi-Olča. The Goldi-Olča form *piktō* may be easily explained from *fite*, for the incorporation of *k* into the similar Manchu-Nuichen roots is known in Goldi-Olča. This root (*ute-ite*) did not receive such a development in Northern Tungus as that which has happened in the Southern Tungus language, which points to its borrowing in a limited sense of "human progeny."[2] From the ethnographical point of view such a moment was exactly that in which the Northern Tungus needed a term for progeny of patrilineal system of kinship and the old term could not satisfy a new position of children towards their father. Generally speaking, for the same reason very important changes affected the whole system of terms of kinship among the Northern Tungus, which will be shown later. The analysed root given above has its analogy in the Mongol languages, namely, *ür(e)*, *üre‖üre* (writ.), *Rud.* and Buriat — *uri*, *üre*, the progeny, seed, etc. This root has lately been used by the Tungus for forming a new notion *ur+kak*, *ur+kakan*, the male child (i. e., the seed), and *uri(l)*, the progeny (females and males). This root, however, may be, perhaps, connected with Manchu *ursan* (also *arsun*), the offshoots of plants, sprouts, etc., and *fursun*, the breeding, increase of cattle, cultivation of plants, etc.; also *ure*, to ripen, to bring the fruit, etc.[3] P. Pelliot has connected the Mongol

[1] Cf. *bethe-fatxa-fetxe* and *fesexelembi*.

[2] *Utakon* (Nerč.), the human embryo, fœtus. This is perhaps of a secondary origin from *uta*.

[3] Goldi *furi* and *puri* (according to W. Grube, the family, Haus, Hausgenossen) and Olča *puri* (according to P. P. Schmidt, the family) seem to be borrowed from the Manchu-Nuichen language, indeed. However, I do not know *furi* in Manchu Sp. and it is unknown in Zaxarov's dictionary. It would be very useful to know the exact meaning of *furi-puri*, for the Goldi idea of family is perhaps different from that of "the family." *Uri(l)* (Bir.), plur. from *ur(ur+kan*, where *kan* is dimin. suff., whence plur. *urkar* and *urkakar* [*urkakan*]), is "the sons," i. e., the progeny. In Kum. (Manäger of Ivanovskiĭ and others) *urkan*, *urkakan*, has been recorded by me; consequently, *uril* also exists, but as to G. J. Ramstedt's derivation from *urile*, recorded by Ivanovskiĭ, I have some doubts, indeed. This form may hardly be a plural with suffix *e*, for such a suffix does not exist in

word *hürä* (*urä*—writ. Mongol), the seed, fruit, with Širongol *fure*, the seed, and with Uigur *uri*, the son — Turkic *uruq*, *uru* — "*semence, descendence*," also *ürän* of several Turkic dialects in the same sense.[1] P. Pelliot supposes this word to be borrowed by the Mongols from the Turcs. It is evident that the Tungus terms of two first roots — *ute* and *ite* (with aspiration and bilabialization) — have originated in the Tungus soil, while the terms of the group *ur* have been probably borrowed from the Turkic languages either directly or through the Manchu (— Nuichen), among whom this root has received a wide development, mostly in the sense of growth and reproduction of plants. Let us now return to the etymology of *uta*, etc., suggested by P. Pelliot. We have seen that the Tungus terms have grown in the Tungus soil from *ute*, — the progeny in a broad sense of the word, — while in Mongol the closest approximation gives *atï* in the sense of the term of kinship. The latter may hardly be connected with the first as to the meaning unless it is proved (1) that the term now referred to as a category of sibs, formerly referred to the direct progeny, or this category of sibs was considered as direct progeny, and yet (2) *that the same root is found in Mongol in the sense of a Manchu root*.[2] Moreover, the alteration *ute — atï* ought to be justified by analogous cases, at least. Let us remark that the terms of kinship, generally speaking, are a very delicate matter, requiring, first of all, thorough analysis of the process of changes of the social organization which have occurred in the previous periods. The connexion of Mongol *hači* and Tungus *uta* still has to be shown. Considering the fact that the pro-Tungus did not know very much about cattle breeding and agriculture it is very likely that the idea of the root *uta*, together with the word itself, has been borrowed by the Southern Tungus from cattle breeders and agriculturists. This hypothesis may perhaps explain to us why, in Northern Tungus, this root has received a limited development, that is, only as a term of kinship.[3]

Kum. In all probability this is an entirely different word — the camp. In fact, *urilen* (Nerč. Khin.), *uriden*, *uridan* (Bir.), is a term applied to a group of wigwams (usually, over three) camping for a certain time. This word is a derivative of *uri*, *urin*, *urō*, *uren*, etc., of various dialects (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Khin. RTM. Kum.) (Ang. Irk. *Tit.*), to camp, to settle for a while, to stop (periodically) the roaming, etc. It has naturally nothing to do with the "family" and "son." The omitting of *n* in case of Kum. (Ivanovskiĭ) is absolutely natural, for it is a suffix (pron., third pers. sing., sometimes stabilized in the nouns when they are not related to the first or second persons; in this case I think the speaker belonged to the camp; about the instability of this suffix, cf. my part of Šramana-Shaman, pp. 114, 115). Owing to a mere coincidence, G. J. Ramstedt, absolutely arbitrarily cutting off the suffix in a word of different meaning and wrongly understood, has received his *uri*, which does not exist in Tungus in the sense of "son"; but the plural from *ur* is, of course, *uril*. Let us return to *furi-puri* of Goldi-Olča. I do not venture to suppose that this term has originated from *uri*, to camp, for this root, so far as I know, does not, at least now, exist in Manchu. As a matter of fact, since the settling, the Manchus, or, better, their ancestors, do not need such a special term connected with nomadizing, but they might need it. From the Southern Tungus soil it might be *uri-wuri-furi* and borrowed as *puri*. Let us remember that among the Goldi, when they do not nomadize during some seasons, several families sometimes used to live together in the same house. Such a "composite" family includes several semi-independent family-units; i. e., just as it happens among the Tungus, when several families (e. g., among the Kumarčen) camp together for a long time for collective fishing or in winter stations possessing in common the hay supply for horses, etc. There is another reason for the existence of "composite" families among the Goldi. They have borrowed the Chinese-type house, so since a small family cannot afford to build a house for itself alone, several family-units live together. It is natural, so the sons very often live together with their father, but every unit has its own household, at the same time participating in collective work, like fishing, etc. In the Northern Tungus language such a living (seasonal) together may be called *urile(n)*. It is also possible that *furi-puri* has developed in the Southern Tungus soil from *ur*, *fur*, discussed above.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 237.

[2] In Yakut *iččat*, the progeny.

[3] The above analysis of these terms has been written for my paper on "Bilabialization and Aspiration."

The term *utavus* has originated from *uta*.

The terms *unat, unaďa*, mean girl, just like the Manchu *sargan*. Its equivalents in other Tungus dialects are: *unat, unaďa* (Nerč. Barg. Mank. Khin.), *unaďi* (Bir. Kum. Mank.), *uni+l* (Bir. Mank.), *hunat* (RTM) (Ur. *Castr.*), *hunač* (Tum.), *hunači, hunaďu* (Lam.), *gunat*(?) (Enis.); in the sense of "sister" (i. e., girl) it is met with as *honat, xonadiu, unadin* (Neg. *Sch.*), *xunadi* (Oroči. *Sch.*), etc., where the root is (*h, x, g*) *una*+suff. But in Olča *ponda* (changed in the Olča Dict. into *pundadu*) and Goldi *pandasi* (*Grube*) and *póndadi* (*Grube*), *pondazu* (*Sch.*). P. P. Schmidt compares these terms with the first series, according to the principle of alteration *h-p*. We know, however, no equivalent in Manchu, but we have a series of words in Goldi and Olča, also as far as I know, without equivalents in Manchu, and they do not sound, I think, like Tungus words. These are: *pandu*, the master (Herr, *Grube*), *žog pandu*, the house master (Hausherr, *Grube*), *paŋdu*, the inhabitant (*Sch.*) (? *S. Sh*), *pandulari*, to cohabit (*Sch.*). It is evident that in all these cases we have suffixes for "girl" *-si, -ʒu, -du, -di*, and the root *panda, ponda, punda*, which does not sound like a Tungus word. It may be supposed, therefore, that we have here two different roots: *una*, which is a Tungus word, and *pVndV*, which is not Tungus and did not originally mean "girl."

In Mongol: *aŋa, exin‖ükin* (Lit.); in Buriat: *basagan, basaga, okin*,[1] *uxin, oxin;* in Yakut *kys* do not mean "daughter," but only "girl."

"My" Mother's Clan and "My" Father's Mother's Clan. In these clans we find three new terms: *gusin, on'oka*, and *juvďa*. This is quite comprehensible, because the members of "my" clan marry into these clans, and preserve their original terms of kinship.

Yet those who are not members of "my" clan and enter these clans are connected with me by no direct relationship. The term *gusin* (Barg.), *guse* (Nerč.) [also *guhin* (RTM), *gus'in* (Mank.), *gusin* (Ur. *Castr.*)], does not distinguish senior and junior groups and covers all male seniors belonging to these clans.[2] In Goldi (W. Grube), *gusi* is "Schwiegervater" which W. Grube connects, I think wrongly, with *ause; guse* (W. Grube), is the mother's brother; *gusi* (Olča, *Sch.*) is "relationship (probably senior, *S. Sh.*) on the mother's side" connected by P. P. Schmidt with *gusini* (Goldi). It is evident that this term is preserved in Goldi-Olča with its old meaning.[3] In Manchu, *nakču*[4] corresponds to this term. So the term *gusi* seems to be a Northern Tungus or perhaps a pro-Tungus term.

The term *on'oka* is evidently connected with *on'i, on'o*, etc., which is quite clear, for "the sisters of my mother," etc., belong to the same group as "my mother." This has an analogy in Yakut and Mongol: *eďii* (Yakut), "my mother's sister," and *eďi* (etc., Mongol), the mother.

[1] As compared with the Tungus *oki*, this word seems to be of different origin.
[2] It is interesting to note, though it is hardly believable, that in the dialect of the Nomad Barguzin Tungus (N. N. Poppe) *guhin* means not only mother's brother but also mother's sister. It is, however, possible that this is a secondary phenomenon due to the loss of term for "mother's sister," i. e., *on'oka*, as it may be observed in other dialects.
[3] I find a term *gusinar*, which is *gusi-nar*, where *-nar*, is a Mongol suffix, for "the husband and wife," in the religious texts of the Birarčen. This term is still used in the common language of the Mergen Tungus in the sense of the "husband and wife." The question as to whether there is genetic relationship between *gusi* and *gusinar* I leave open.
[4] Cf. *infra*, p. 187.

It is not so, however, with the term *juvďa* (♂ and ♀). It is beyond doubt that this term is a composite one of *juv-ďa*, for in the RTM dialect it is *juv-na*. The suffix *-ďa* in Tungus (e. g., Bir. Kum. Khin.) is used as a term by itself: the son (and daughter) of "my" elder sister, also "my son" (in Kum.), but it is also well known in Mongol: *ďo, ďo‖dige* (Lit.), and Buriat, *ʒe* as "the matrilineal nephew." It corresponds to *siän* of Yakut. In Manchu it is known as the suffix *-ďi* with the sense "the son (and daughter) of," very widely used in the system of terms of relationship. It may be connected with *-ďui*, etc., the son, used also as a suffix equivalent to *-ďi*. It seems to be of Chinese origin, from 姪, "the nephew," also perhaps 子, *ʒy, ʒe*, "son" and "daughter."[1] Thus *-ďa* does not seem to be of Tungus origin. The suffix *-na*, however, looks like a derivative from *ina*, which was originally used, it may be supposed, instead of *juvďa, juvna*, but the origin of *juv-* is not yet clear.

A Foreign Clan. The terms used by females, *otki* and *atki*, have been derived from the same root, the initial vowel having been altered according to the principle of sexual distinction.[2] As to the origin of these terms, I do not venture to assert that they are Tungus. In Manchu they are rendered by *amγa* and *èmγè;* in Mongol—by *xadm‖kadam* (Lit.), *xadam* (Buriat), added to the corresponding terms: the father and the mother.

The term *ina* means "my husband's younger brother"[3] and all of this clan whom my husband calls *noku, nuku*. Let us remember that *ina*, responding to *uγi* (1) in the RTM dialect, *-na* is used as a suffix meaning "the son (and daughter) of my mother's brother," etc. (all juniors); (2) in Manchu *ina* is "the junior class of my mother's clan."[4] Thus, in the Tungus system the use of this term may be very easily understood, if we agree that *ina* is "the son of my sister" and the sister remains in the same clan as "myself" is born. The original stage, perhaps the pro-Tungus one, was that of the Manchu idea expressed in this term: when two matrilineal clans bound by the respective obligations of matrilocal intermarriage (the matrimonial connexion between two clans is still observed in the Tungus system); the junior groups of my mother's clan who are born in this clan by "my" sisters (all junior females); in another clan there were probably special terms used for "my own" progeniture in this class. The second stage is that of the transition to the patrilineal system (and patrilocal marriage) in which the women are adopted by another clan, so that all sisters are again together, and call their children *ina;* the special term for "my" progeniture might then be well preserved. In the Manchu system *ina* is not a simple survival, for the mother of *ina* are supposed to be women of "my" patrilineal clan. Owing to that, in the RTM dialect, this term has degenerated into the suffix *-na*. The third stage is that when several clans are bound by intermarriage, a foreign term *-ďa* is introduced into the system of "my mother's" clan, where not all the women belong to "my" clan; the term *ina* is preserved by inertia in "my husband's clan," for there are certain respective obligations between *ina* and *uγi* which are maintained in the new patrilineal clan practising patrilocal marriage (e. g., the levirate, several obligations, etc.).

[1] Cf. my "S. O. M.," p. 46, and A. D. Rudnev, p. 90. Moveover, in Manchu folk-lore *ďi* is used as "son."
[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 175.
[3] Cf. In Yakut the term *ini* means "the younger brother," generally a "junior male."
[4] Cf. my "S. O. M.," p. 47.

The terms used by males, *kadum*, *kadumaka*, have derived from *kadum*, which is the above-quoted Mongol-Buriat term *xadm* sometimes combined with the others. *Kadumaka* is the same term, but increased with a suffix showing the female designation of the senior group.[1] *Bono* has been derived, in all probability, from the same source as the Dahur term *benər*, for it does not sound like a Tungus term.

In order to exhaust the analysis of terms I have to dwell a little more upon the terms shown in Table VIII. The term *baďa* is borrowed from the Buriat *baza*, *baza*, and Mongol *baď||baďa* (written, *Rud.*). In Tungus it means the relationship between a group of men resulting from marriage to women of one and the same clan. So it is supposed that all these men are *aa*, i. e., brothers by their mother's clan. It again points to the marriage bonds between two clans. B. E. Petri[2] very carefully investigated this phenomenon among the Buriats of the Irkutsk Government and distinguished five cases which may be classified into three groups: very close *baza*, called *goł* (the fire), *baza* belonging to the same clan; close *baza*, called *bazale*, two men belonging to different clans, but married to cousins; and far *baza* called *gasada baza*, all men married to women belonging to the same clan. No such detailed distinction of degrees of relationship is known among the Tungus, for the Tungus system, contrary to the Buriat, does not recognize persons belonging to different clans any further than indicated in the tables already given. So they are rather indifferent as to the degree of direct blood relationship within the units of classification, and do not need any such detailed classification of *baďa*.

The term *kurakin*, "my ('I' ♀) daughter's husband and my son's wife" is already known from an analysis of Table V.

The term *kuda*, by which is designated a slight relationship between persons connected with one another by the intermarriage of their respective clans, only, is known among the Bir. Kum. (Ur. *Castr.*). This term, perhaps, is of Mongol origin. In Buriat it is *xuda*; in Mongol, *-xud||kuda* (Lit.); but in Manchu, *sadun*.

The term *navan* (sometimes *naun*) — a widow and widower — is known in all Tungus dialects, including Goldi *nau* (W. Grube), Olča *nāú*.

The term *ďurmin* — twins — has no particular meaning and is derived from *ďur* — two.

The term *amiran* — my mother's husband (second), if he is the *noku* of my late father — is a composite one: *ami* — the "father" — + *ran* ("instead of," etc.). It is noteworthy that if he is not my father's *noku*, I call him *ami* + *ran* + *ksa*, i. e., "like (or similar to — suff. *ksa*) my father's *noku* who married my mother." Thus it is supposed that according to the usus of the levirate, the *noku* has to marry the widow of his elder brother. Yet the same peculiarity in terminology is shown in the term *on'iran*, my father's second wife, if she is the *nuku* of my late mother, and *on'iranksa*, if she is a foreign woman. Thus, it is

[1] Cf. *on'oka*.
[2] B. E. Petri, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–32. Cf. V. Seroševskiĭ, *op. cit.*, *baďa* is used among Yakut women.

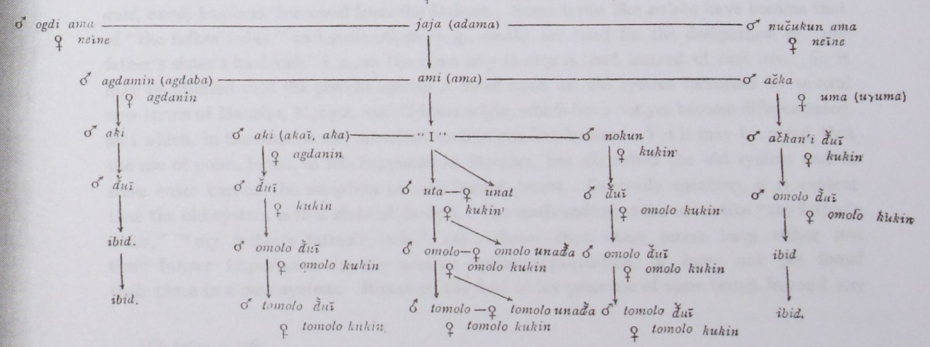
supposed that, according to the usus of sororat, the *nuku* has to marry her elder sister's husband.

The above-mentioned system of the terms of relationship is very simple as compared with that of the Manchus.[1] Yet in this system we do not see, except, perhaps, *ďa*, any recent Chinese influences. Several Mongol terms have, however, been adopted, yet most of the terms referring to the direct ancestors and descents show their common origin with the Manchu terms; properly speaking, they exist in some way quite independently of the clan organization. Many elements, e. g., *ina*, *amiran*, *oniran* (also *baďa*), have survived, perhaps, from past forms of the clan organization and marriage regulations. In the Manchu system the existence of terms like *aka*, analogous to *ama*, seems to point to the fact that the Tungus system might also have been subdivided into classes, as the Manchu system has them in the most elaborate form. The present Tungus system is thus, perhaps, somewhat simplified. To this question I shall return later when the other Tungus systems have been analyzed and the marriage regulations described.

The System of Terms of Relationship Among the Northern Tungus of Manchuria (Birarčen)

TABLE I

My Clan ("I" ♂ and ♀) (the men and their wives)



[1] In my "S. O. M.," p. 49, fourth line from the bottom, a line has been dropped from the text, which has changed the meaning of it altogether. The conclusion ought to be corrected as follows: after the words "with the Manchu system" should be inserted "is very poor, while the latter".

TABLE II

The Women of My Clan and Their Husbands

"I" ♂ and ♀

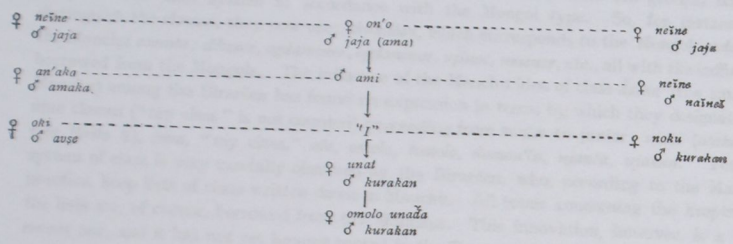


TABLE III

"My Mother's Clan" (the same as "my father's mother's clan")

"I" ♂ and ♀

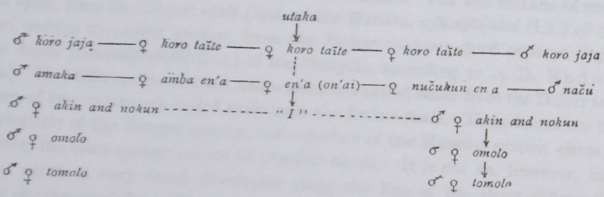


TABLE IV

My Husband's Clan ("I" ♀)

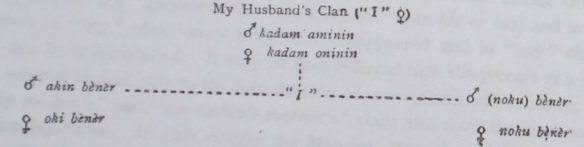
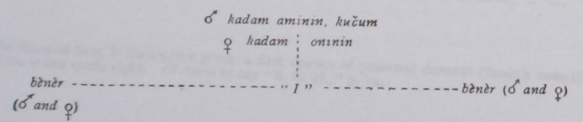


TABLE V

My Wife's Clan ("I" ♂)



From a glance at this system it may be seen that it has developed along the line of class distinction, which is, of course, a relatively recent phenomenon due mostly to Manchu influence and very clearly seen in the numerous Manchu and Chinese borrowings. Yet the terms designating direct ancestors and descendants are separated from the rest of the clan members. Mongol influence has also resulted in certain borrowings.

From Table I, it may be seen that there is no such definite system as has been observed among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia. First of all, some terms are doubled: e. g., *ačka* (which is, of course, the Manchu *ečke* from the Mongol *čege*)[1] and *nučukun ama*, i. e., the little father; *agdamin* or *agdi ama*, i. e., the great father, and *agdaba*, of Mongol origin. Moreover, the composite terms with *ama* have been introduced from the superior class of the "father's father's."[2] Among the Birarčen this process, however, is not yet complete. In fact, the grandfather's brothers are called *ama* (*nučukun* and *ogdi*),[3] but the grandfather is called by a Chinese term — *jaja*, i. e., 爺爺, *jeje*, also borrowed by the Manchus and the Mongols, the term originally used for great-grandfather being *adama*. A new term *ǎuĭ*[4] had been introduced for the designation of "my father's brother's children." The terms *omolo*, *tomolo*, have been borrowed from the Manchu system. The idea of *omolo* and *tomolo* is not, however, quite clear, for these terms are also used for the "grandson of my father's mother."[5] In spite of this, all old terms used for the designation of direct kinship as *aki* (also *aka*), *oki*; *noku* (for both ♂ and ♀); *uji* (= *uɣi*) and *kukin*; also *ama*, *ami*, *on'o*, *on'i*, and *uta*, except *utavus*, have been preserved. New terms *nẽĭne* of Chinese origin, 奶奶, *naĭnaĭ* (also borrowed by the Manchus and the Mongols), *ūma* (*uɣuma*) of Manchu origin (*uxume*), *agdanin* (analogous to a new term *agdamin*), but *naĭnča* ("the husband of my younger sister"), of uncertain origin, have also been introduced. A new term *avse* (also *ausi*, *awsă*) has been borrowed from the Dahurs. Some terms like *an'aka* have become that of "the father's clan," and some others, e. g., *amaka*, are used for the designation of "my father's sister's husband," i. e., in the same way as *ama* is used instead of *ami*, etc. So it may be inferred that the present system is based upon an old system increased by several new terms of Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese origin, which have not yet become differentiated, and which, in the same sense, are often used in parallel fashion. Yet it may be noted that the use of polite forms, as has happened in Manchu, has disturbed the old system and in some cases caused the adoption of new foreign terms. Generally speaking, it is evident that the old system is in a state of decline. The confounding of the terms like "my father's sister," "my father's father's wife," etc., shows that these terms have either lost their former importance in the present social organization, or have not yet found their place in a new system. However, the fact of the presence of some terms, beyond any

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 176.
[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 176.
[3] These seem to be mere translations of the Manchu terms: *faŋkalin* and *amba*.
[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 181.
[5] One may here guess the influence of the Dahur system (cf. *infra*, p. 186) in the degrees of closeness in consanguinity.

doubt, of Tungus origin, e. g., *aka, amaka, adama*, etc., point to a system much more developed than that observed among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia, who, except among the members of the family, do not distinguish age within the classes, or even classes, but only groups.

Independent of the present system, the Tungus of Manchuria (all groups) tried to adapt a new clan system in accordance with the Mongol type. So, for instance, to distinguish the classes, they now use: *akunačen*, which corresponds to the Mongol *axdo* and the Manchu *axunto; ečkenor, agdaminor, agdaninor, ujinor, umenor*, etc., all with the suffix *-nor* borrowed from the Mongols. The influence of the Manchu idea of class *ďalan* (the same in Manchu) among the Birarčen has found its expression in terms by which they designate the nine classes ("my class" is not counted) proceeding from senior to junior: *utači* (*utaka* ♀), *jaja* (*ťaïte* ♀), *ama*, "my class," *uta, omolo, tomolo, ďomon'čo, ujanča, ujakan*. Yet the system of class is very carefully observed by the Birarčen, who, according to the Manchu practice, keep lists of clans written down in Manchu. All terms concerning the keeping of the lists are, of course, borrowed from the Manchus. This innovation, however, is a very recent one, and it has not yet become rooted in the Tungus mind, though they observe all customs and fashions connected with the existence of the classes, and sometimes are stricter in this than the Manchus themselves.

It is an interesting fact that the Birarčen also recognize the distinction of the closeness of consanguinity, borrowed by them from the Dahurs. The first cousins of male descent are called *ujale*, from the Dahur *ujale* [*üjele* of the Buriats, *ujõlet‖üüijeled* (Lit.) of the Mongols]; second cousins are called *ujakan*, from the Dahur *ujakan;* third cousins, *kajali*, from the Dahur *kajali* [*xajalat‖kajalid* (Lit.) of the Mongols, according to A. D. Rudnev, a second cousin]. The children of a brother and a sister are called *tarale* from the Dahur *tarale*,[1] and the children of two sisters are called *ťuale* from the Dahur *ťuale*. These terms are not, of course, characteristic of the Tungus system, nor are they of the Manchu system either, for, among the latter, the class system covers all possible needs. It is not so, however, in the Mongol system, which is very much developed along the line of the strict differentiation of the degrees of consanguinity. These terms have a certain importance among the Birarčen, for terms applied to "my" generation in "my mother's" clan (*ďa* or *ina*) and in the clan that the women of "my" clan marry into, have disappeared and in "my" clan a new term —*ďuï*—has been introduced. It may be thus inferred that the process of a further decline of their original system, due to the introduction of innovations, will continue.

"My mother's" and "my father's mother's" clans also show the most confused picture in relationship-terms. In this system the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese terms leave no place for the Tungus terms. As stated, the terms characteristic of the "father's clan" have also been introduced into this system. So, for instance, *amaka*, i. e., "my mother's

[1] For the Manchu *tara*, I. Zaxarov gives: a first cousin of paternal descent (though sometimes of maternal descent). This is not quite right. Cf. *tarsi* in my "S. O. M.," p. 70.

elder brother," is, of course, "my father's father's brother," *akin-nokun*, i. e., my brothers of patrilineal descent, occupy the place of old terms, and *omolo, tomolo*, borrowed from the Manchu system, i. e., the second and third class of patrilineal descent, are used for "my mother's brother's descent." *Ačču* is borrowed from the Manchu system—*nakču*, which has also been borrowed from the Mongol *nagači‖nagačču* (Lit.) and the Buriat *nagasa* (*Podg.*), *naxsa* (*Petri*). In Mongol-Buriat this term, being of greater importance, is used for the designation of the mother's clan people *nagč, naxči, nagačinar* (*Rud.*), *naxsanut* (*Petri*). This term has also been adopted by some Tungus of the third migratory wave,—Kum. Khin. Merg.,—but it is extraordinary that it has not yet been adopted by the Goldi, whence it may perhaps be supposed that it is of a relatively late origin among the Tungus and the Manchus.[1] The mother's mother's clan includes two Chinese terms: *ťaïte* from *t'ai-t'ai*, 太太, and *jaja*, increased by the Manchu *koro* (*goro* of Manchu Lit.—far, remote).

Naturaliy, the terms concerning "my wife's clan" are also borrowed from the Mongol: *kadam, kučum, bčnèr* (Dahur). It is also curious that the terms by which the woman designates her husband's clan people have also disappeared. Among the Birarčen we also find some terms not used among other groups, e. g., *kuŋïl*—"all women adopted by my clan and younger than 'I,'" which corresponds to the Manchu term *wurtasa; naďil*—the native clan of the woman when she is married, of Dahur origin which corresponds to the Manchu *končïyi* (*xončixin*—Manchu Lit.); *gusinar*;[2] *g'irk'i*, the husband, of uncertain origin, is used as a polite expression and is parallel in use to *bojo*.

As stated, the system of the Birarčen (and other Manchurian Tungus) is undergoing a process of complete decline in the old system, but it is interesting to note that the terms that are most affected are those of the mother's clan and of the descendants of "my clan women," i. e., contrary to my conclusion in reference to this process among the Manchus, where the old system seems to be better preserved than in these clans.

Among the Khingan Tungus *ačibo* and *atavu*, borrowed from the Mongols, are used for "my father's brother and sister"; the term *uji* (*uɣi*) has been replaced by a Mongol term *bõrga* (*bergen*, Mongol; *berjen*, Buriat).

Among the Kumarčen *ačka* is *ačike* (influenced by Manchu Lit.) and *uta* is substituted for *ďuï*, but "the father's father" is *ada* (from *adama*, the elder class); the wife of *ačka* (*ačike*) is called *ačaka*.

Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, whose system is nearly the same as that of the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia, some terms of Yakut origin have also been introduced, e. g., my wife's father is called *kinne* from the Yakut term *kynna*,[3] while among the Mankova Tungus some new terms of Russian origin have gained ground, as *d'edaï* and *babu*, the father's father and mother [from the Russian *d'eď* (and *d'eduška*), *babka* (and *babuška*)], *wnučka*, grandson and granddaughter [from the Russian *vnuk*(♂), *vnuka*(♀)

[1] It may here be noted that among the Yakuts it corresponds to *ta²*, which has nothing to do with the Tungus *gusi* and the Mongol *nagč*, etc.
[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 180.
[3] The same happened to the Tungus of the Kalar region.

vnučka(♀)]. Some Buriat terms have also been borrowed, e. g., my father's brother, *avaya* (from the Buriat *abaga*, Mongol *awa*, the father's elder brother, *abaganor*, all seniors of my clan; Yakut—*abagai*, etc.).[1] All these borrowings have confused the Tungus original system which is better preserved in the extinct dialect of Urulga (Castrén), and also that of the Borzia Tungus.

Conclusions. These facts point to a process which is now going on in all Tungus dialects — that of thrusting out the original Tungus terms of relationship.[2] Indeed, it is more advanced among the Tungus groups living in close proximity to other ethnical groups than among the Tungus groups which live away from alien influences. Yet the disappearance of the old terms is in direct dependence upon the changes occurring in the social organization. As may be observed in other languages, the Tungus also like, though sometimes they abuse, polite and foreign terms, which also intensify the process of decline in the old system.

As far as we can judge by the analysis of the Northern Tungus and Manchu systems of relationship-terms, the original Tungus, or perhaps pro-Tungus, system recognized relationship (kinship) in two clans only — that of the mother and that of the father. These clans were divided into two groups, each of them in accordance with the age of the speaker. An independent system of terms of kinship confined to direct ancestors and progeny, i. e., the family, already existed at that time. Intercourse with neighbours resulted in the invention and borrowing of new terms mostly related to those foreign clans to which marriage relations were extended. It is very likely that the Mongols entered into direct intermarriage and introduced new terms. Mongol influence was especially strong over the Manchus who long ago adopted certain terms, used in "the mother's clan." The system of terms of relationship among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia seems to be a typical instance of this period. Another important step was that of the invention and the extension of the class system over all clans. This might be due to alien influence and the spontaneous development of a new system once discovered and certainly influenced by a somewhat independent family organization. As units were relatively small it was rather useless, so one has to suppose that this process coincided with the numerical growth of the clans and the strong alien influence. The growth of the family has been responsible for a particular development of terms for direct ancestors and descent which gradually began to take the place of the old class system, and naturally it follows that foreign terms were borrowed in great numbers.[3] A strong source of new terms was that of Chinese culture which had a perfectly developed family system. This is a state of the Manchu system. With the growth of the clans and

[1] It is interesting that in Yakut, according to V. Seroševskiĭ (*op. cit.*, p. 568), *abaga* are elder brothers and sisters of my grandmother.

[2] I have at hand some data concerning the terms of relationship among certain other groups of the Yakutsk Government and the Enissy Government (dialects Lam. Tum. Enis.); also there is some material in various vocabularies gathered by incidental travellers. But as they are not absolutely reliable and complete, and at the same time are different in some respects from what has been discussed here, I had better postpone the discussion of these delicate problems.

[3] The Yakut system seems to vary along similar lines of changes. V. Seroševskiĭ has pointed out the lack of family terms in the old Yakut system.

the overgrowth of the exogamic unit, a new idea had to be introduced — that of degrees of consanguinity which was supplied by the Mongols, together with "polite" alien terms. This might be true of the Birarčen, unless they had previously adopted certain elements from the Manchus system. Practically speaking, it was not absolutely necessary on Tungus soil, for the Tungus always used the formation of the new exogamic units within the old ones in order not to disturb the normal function of marriage. It seems more likely that the Tungus were merely imitating the Mongols who were recognized as a culturally superior people. Indeed, the Birarčen system may be understood not as a system in itself, forming the basis of their social organization, but as a product of historic intercourse and various influences which represented different systems — the clan system, the family system, and the consanguinity system, covering and ousting the old group system.

In other groups, all kinds of alien influences may be observed. Some of the influences affected the essentials of the social organization, while others are mere fashions in the use of alien terms. The latter stage of decline in the old system results from the transition to the family system, which is partly observed among the Tungus of Manchuria and Mankova. This process is proceeding mostly under the influence of the Chinese, through the Manchus and perhaps Dahurs, and Russians.

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2. Clan Organization

Three distinct groups of persons form the Tungus clan, namely, (1) the persons born in the clan, males and females; (2) the persons adopted by the clan; and (3) the women belonging to other clans, but married to the men of the given clan. The second group is not, of course, numerous, unless a whole group of other clan members is adopted. The persons adopted by the clan during several generations are not considered as genuine clansmen. Married women do not belong to the clan and up to their death they are considered as foreigners, preserving their own clan spirits. They are sometimes also limited in the participation of clan meetings. Among the Reindeer Tungus, women who are widows and whose children are too young cannot take part in clan meetings, but are allowed to join them as family heads. Among the Tungus of Manchuria who have copied the Manchu system, these women are not allowed to participate in clan meetings; the husband's brothers, or some near male relative of the husband, act on their behalf.

In the Tungus mind the clan is a social unit, the members of which are of common origin and have in common certain interests to defend. So every clan member is proud of belonging to his clan and is interested in its future success.

The clan as a unit acts in the matter of (1) marriage, which is regulated according to the customs and principles of exogamy; (2) the further increase of the clan through the assistance of members who have to marry; (3) clansmen's morality (customs and regulations); (4) conflicts between members on the ground of property relations, etc.; (5) clan honour and vendetta; (6) various judicial problems, which are usually of rare occurrence; (7) interclan

and interethnical relations, including political functions; (8) administrative functions, unless the administrative organization is a separate one, as appointed by the government. Such complex functions of the clan naturally imply a certain definite organization.

At the same time the system of terms of kinship is the backbone of clan organization. The respective rights and duties of clansmen, properly speaking, are defined by their relative position, which will be dealt with when the customs and various regulations are discussed. In accordance with the relative position of the members, a complex code of rules regulating certain relations is observed. As, for instance, juniors do not call seniors by name, do not take their seats without asking for permission to do so, do not speak without being spoken to, do not intermix with seniors during ceremonial performances, do not joke with seniors, etc. Juniors have to show esteem to the seniors by bowing and kneeling when they meet them. In order to make the life of the seniors easy, the juniors have to serve them during their wanderings, hunting, and generally at any moment when they are asked to do so. They have to look after the seniors when they happen to be drunk; they must work for their seniors, must obey them if they require personal service, even when they do so only in order to show their power. Certain kinds of food are forbidden to juniors, e. g., certain parts of the bear's bowels.[1]

The seniors have to direct the affairs of the clan, and those of the family as well. It is important to know that these regulations take note of certain degrees of kinship, and not of age, so that it may happen that a junior is older than a senior. However, the external signs of relative position of such person are shown only when the latter attain adult age,— eighteen or nineteen years, — and yet absolute age is also counted, when the question is of physical effort; these regulations are somewhat affected by the actual age of the persons.

This system, however, defines the relations between members, but it does not form the unit as such. Clan meetings[2] include all influential members, mostly chiefs of families, both male and female,[3] and, practically speaking, all hunters, except very young persons who go hunting with other people; these meetings form the highest authority of the clan. Yet sometimes the Tungus elect a chief who usually acts on behalf of the clan meeting. Among the Tungus of Transbaikalia, a general meeting is attended by all men over twenty-five — *atirkon* — and all women who act as family heads — *atirkan*.[4] The women are not naturally numerous, for they very rarely become family heads; but when present, they are as influential as any other member of the meeting. Usually young men under twenty-five and old men do not take any part in the meetings, and seem to be indifferent to the social functions of the clan. Foreigners are allowed to take no part whatever in clan meetings. The chairman, usually a man of ability, occupies a place in the centre and keeps order; he

[1] According to the Tungus, a person violating this custom will be unfortunate in bear hunting.

[2] In Bir. it is called by the verbs *kowseldi*, *ič'k'je* (from the Manchu *ičix'ambi*), to judge, to discuss, to investigate. In Transbaikalian dialects a Mongol term is used — *suglan* — which has been recently borrowed and means "meeting."

[3] The practice of exclusion of the women family heads among the Birarčen is a recent borrowing from the Manchus.

[4] *Atirkon* and *atirkan* may be translated: an independent person, head of the family, master and not "old" [for the Tungus language possesses another term for "old" — *sagdi* (in Manchu the same)], or "noble," as S. K. Patkanov suggests.

has power, however, to stop discussions. Sometimes the chairman is also the chief of the clan. The meeting transacts all business in a very quiet manner without permitting members to raise their voices or get much excited. No rough or offensive expressions are allowed.

At the beginning of the Russian occupation of Transbaikalia, the Russians required the Tungus to take up, at their clan meetings, all questions concerning the payment of tribute and general administration. The clans officially recognized performed these new functions for some time; but with the further development of the clans and the increase of clan members as described in previous chapters, these functions were held over for special meetings of all persons officially inscribed in the lists of the recognized clans. These meetings had nothing to do with the regular clan meetings.

Among the Tungus of Manchuria meetings are attended by all male members of certain age — independent persons, adult hunters, etc.; the women, according to the Manchu practices, have their own meetings.[1] A clan meeting is called *mokun'i kowsen*. The chief of the clan — *mokunda* (borrowed from the Manchus) — presides at the meeting. The power of the meeting and the duties of the chairman are greater among these Tungus than among the Reindeer Tungus, because the ordinary functions of the clan meeting have been extended to include questions connected with the military organization required by the Manchus, and also the political and administrative questions not eliminated by the creation, as it has occurred in Transbaikalia, of any other administrative units. After the abolition of the Manchu military organization and Tungus privileges as bannermen, the normal duties of clan meetings obtained once more. The meetings are usually followed by a religious performance, such as may be observed among the Manchus.

As a rule, among the Tungus of Transbaikalia clan meetings are held as often as their current affairs require. Usually they are held on the occasions of yearly markets, marriage meetings, and others; they are usually followed by occasional shamanistic performances, not directly connected with clan business transactions. In exclusive cases extra meetings are also called. In the olden days, when the Tungus had to fight their neighbours, and needed to combine their forces with other clans, meetings were held more often than they are now. There is no fixed quorum for meetings, so that in urgent cases a few clan members may carry out the whole business and no formal objection may be presented afterward, for the members arrive at the best decisions they can in the interest of the clan. Persons who intermix personal interests with those of the clan (I heard of a couple of such exceptional cases in Manchuria) are considered as "bad people," though they may be rich, and consequently worthy of esteem. Clan meetings, in rare cases, it is true, consist of hardly ten persons, if the clan is not numerous and all members are not present; but if the clan is numerous, the meetings are sometimes attended by over a hundred members.[2] In extra meetings, three or four old members, assisted by any number of young people, are considered competent to give a decision on any question.

[1] See description in my "S. O. M.," pp. 55, 56.

[2] There are a few clans (exogamic units) which include over a hundred families.

Clan meetings carry out the election of a chief, among groups where such election is practised; chiefs, however, are not common among Tungus groups; possibly, in former days, they were elected for certain definite purposes only; and then mainly as military leaders. The organization of the Tungus of Transbaikalia by the Russians has implied a regular election of chiefs, whose functions have been defined by the Russian authorities; these authorities for administrative purposes required that every clan must have somebody at its head. They were called by different names of non-Tungus origin[1] and naturally were not real clan chiefs, but chiefs of administrative units. Previous to that organization, according to early Russian testimony, the Tungus, at least in some regions, as in Transbaikalia, had certain hereditary chiefs. These chiefs, however, were not always of Tungus origin, but very often Dahurs; this was also true in Manchuria.[2] This institution, probably, was thus brought about by alien pressure. The Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia assert that in former days, when some danger was expected from their neighbours, the clans used to elect a military leader in common. So, for instance, the clans *kindigir*, *čilčagir*, and *lakšikagir* regularly elected a military chief. However, the original Tungus organization had no position of hereditary chief: when the clan needed a head for certain purposes a clan meeting was held to appoint some one to act as head of the clan. Sometimes the right person could be selected without any clan meeting — when the clan was in trouble the most experienced and intelligent person usually became head. If such a person could not act at a moment of need his place was taken by another person. Thus we can understand why the Tungus believe (which belief has been several times recorded by myself and other travellers in parts of Siberia)[3] that previous to their having been "organized" by the Russians and the Manchus, they lived "like wild people" without any organization. Indeed, though it must be understood that they did not actually live without any organization, but were organized in a different manner, as they had no chiefs, no permanent administration, and no political officials. As we have already seen, among the Tungus of Manchuria who have fallen under Manchu control, the Manchus insisted upon the organizing of every clan in the same way as their own clans were organized. In this the Manchus were much more competent than the Russians, because the latter had not correct and clear ideas about clan organization, but the Manchus used a system which had already been proved

[1] Cf. *supra*, Chap. II, Section 5.

[2] V. Seroševskiĭ quotes a case of a Tungus group who elected a Yakut as their chief. As regards the Tungus of Siberia the system of elected military chiefs might be copied by them from the Yakuts who, as V. Seroševskiĭ shows, already in the sixteenth century possessed certain political organization in the form of unions of clans. Moreover, the spirit of their social organization was such that it might allow the existence of chiefs. It may be supposed that the ancestors of the Yakuts who lived in the south and without doubt were involved in the political life of their neighbours did know political organization covering several units (clans). The practical need of having chiefs appeared when the interethnical pressure compelled them to defend themselves against their neighbours. It was so with the Russians in the seventeenth century and previous to that with the Tungus who naturally opposed the Yakut penetration into their area. True, the clan unions, headed by chiefs and councils of elders, sometimes were in hostile relations one with another and even fought. Little by little they might grow into what may be regarded as "tribes," united by the common interests of self-defence against their neighbours or independent ethnical units, if the interethnical pressure were not strong and the economical bonds loose. As we have seen, the first case was typical of the Mongols and the Manchus; the second case was typical of the Tungus, when they lived in Siberia without strong interethnical pressure and economical connexion between the units.

[3] E. g., in the Enissy Government. Cf. Ryčkov's account.

efficient. The Manchu system was copied by the Tungus, not only in the organization of the system of internal relations, as reflected in the system of their terms of relationship, but they also copied the organization of male and female chiefs — *mokunda*. As among the Manchus, the chief functions of the *mokunda* are (1) the keeping of lists of clansmen and their relations according to the system of kinship terms; (2) the performance and supervision of clan duties and the execution of clan decisions; (3) judicial decisions in simple cases, as in disobedience to seniors and similar misdemeanours; (4) the transmission of governmental orders, and like duties, especially those regarding the military duties; and (5) the observance of customs of mourning, etc. It ought to be noted, however, that among the Tungus the *mokunda* are not so powerful as they are among the Manchus, and, as an institution, do not seem to be very closely bound to other social institutions. As a matter of fact, after the downfall of the Manchus the *mokunda* institution among the Tungus fell somewhat into disuse. Sometimes, when the clans were not numerous, they did not elect any *mokunda*. Moreover, the idea of the *mokunda* has never been very clear, for the terms *mokunda* and *kašinda* sometimes overlap one another.

The religious ideas of the Tungus give strong support to the idea of clan organization. The understanding of this phenomenon requires a detailed study of the Tungus religion in general, and particularly a study of their conception of world organization, the relationship between man and environment, so for a time I shall call attention to a few phases of the Tungus religious conceptions and practices. According to the Tungus idea and practice, the shamans belong to the clans, or every numerous clan has its own shaman or several shamans. The reason for it is that the spirits belong also to clans, and must be mastered by clan members. Moreover, every clan has its own spirits, who cannot be mastered at all, but their malevolent influence may be neutralized by the skilful manœuvring of experienced people of the given clan.[1] Another important practice is that of ancestral worship. As shown among the Manchus, ancestral worship appropriated a very important place in clan functions, so that the principal purpose of the annual meeting was that of a sacrifice to the spirits of their ancestors. Though among the Northern Tungus this idea is not developed to such a degree, as may be observed among the Manchus, yet the Tungus, however, keep their deceased clansmen in memory for a long time and regularly organize a rite for "feeding the dead people of the clan." Among the Tungus of Manchuria the custom of mourning after seniors is very fashionable. It was introduced through the Manchus from China. So, along main lines, these practices are similar to those observed in China. Mourning — *s'inaï* — among these Tungus ought really only to be observed by direct descendants and descendants of the brothers of the deceased person.

Traces of ancestor worship are also observed among the Reindeer Tungus, but, generally speaking, the cult, in relation to dead clan members, does not play any important part among them.

[1] Vide Supp. Note VIII.

In every clan a reindeer called *jasił* is reserved for the clan spirits. There are, however, two kinds of reindeer for this purpose, namely, a male of white colour with well-developed antlers, which is loaded only with placings for spirits and is never used for riding, and an *ongun* reserved for the spirits of the given family, either male or female, without any distinction in colour, may be used; these reindeer are sometimes ridden by the male members of the family, mostly boys. The same practice is also observed among the Tungus who use horses; instead of reindeer, *jasił*, they offer horses, *ongun*, *onyun*.[1] The horses, *ongun*, are also distinguished as to their functions and colour. Some of them are reserved for the clan spirits, and some others for the family spirits.

In the past, the Tungus of Manchuria had clan cemeteries, where annual meetings were held. Some old people still ask to be buried in clan cemeteries, so after the flesh has disappeared from the corpse the bones are transferred to these cemeteries. If the clan cemetery is far away, the Tungus sometimes burn the corpse and transfer the ashes in small coffins to the clan cemetery. These practices, however, I think, are not very old ones, for the idea of transferring the bones or even ashes looks, rather, to be of Chinese origin: I heard nothing about clan cemeteries among the Reindeer Tungus.

Everyone is thus bound to his clan through the spirits, and he cannot escape their influence unless he knows them and how to manage them. By these spirits, members of the same clan are also closely connected among themselves. Women who leave their clans still preserve their spirits which bind them to their original clans.

Generally speaking, the Northern Tungus as a wandering people do not possess any fixed territory, since they move from one place to another. We have seen, in the last chapter, that clans which are nomadic cannot naturally have fixed territory as it is observed among sedentary groups. In spite of this, their seasonal migrations are usually confined to certain regions which are supposed to be territory belonging to the clans. Yet, owing to pressure from their neighbours, clans sometimes change their itinerary and their regions, and other clans, connected with them by certain relations, sometimes also cede their own territory to them. Thus two or more clans often live side by side, travel together, and intermingle through the same territory. Let us take some instances. The clan *samagir* formerly occupied a fixed territory along Lake Baikal; the clan *kindigir* occupied the lower course of the Upper Angara River;[2] during the winter season the groups of the clan *turujagir* still roam through the basin of the Kaivoda River, and during the summer

[1] This term is borrowed from the Mongols (*onon‖onyon*. Lit.) and the Buriats, among whom this term designates the shamanistic spirits.

[2] Cf. E. I. Titov, Notes, etc. The clan *kindigir* is an administrative unit (see *supra*, p. 111), so that the possession of territory by this clan is not that of clan territory, proper. The same may be referred to the clan *samagir* and the *čulčagir* clan of the Upper Angara River basin. According to E. I. Titov the clan *kindigir* (administrative unit) long ago divided its territory among families according to the number of hunting members in every unit. Thus, on main lines, this is the principle of hunting companies (cf. *infra*, Chap. VII, and *supra*, Chap. I). However, the question as to whether members of these hunting companies are connected, by their belonging to social units, exogamic or not, is still to be answered.

season, along the basin of the Vitimkan; the clan *lakšikagir* occupies the region of the upper course of the Olokma River; the clan *bajagir*, among the Khingan Tungus, occupies the middle course of the Gan; and the clan *man'agir* lived once on the upper course of the Kumara River. From the enumeration of the Tungus clans we have seen that almost all of them had certain fixed territory, but it is beyond doubt that the clans have intermixed, and now at least have no fixed territory. At the present time a new form of territory is in use, as observed among the Northern Tungus — the individual form, or that of hunting companies composed of hunters belonging to different clans. The companies occupy certain territory, which is supposed to be used by them. The whole territory, for instance, among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, is divided between hunting companies. The same may now be observed amongst almost all Tungus groups. Thus the process of the dissolution of the clans as territorial units, if they ever existed as such, is going on. It may be supposed, however, that the idea of clan territory in former days was one of the fundamental ideas of the clan, for clans fought among themselves for territory and nothing else. So, for instance, the wars with the *mamugir* and *samagir* clans, as they are preserved in folk-lore, were caused by competition over territory. On the other hand, as a clan cannot live alone, and should have marriage relations with at least one other clan, territory was usually divided between two neighbouring and friendly clans. As we shall later see, in order to form numerous groups composed of several clans, the Tungus, and the Manchus as well, were in favour of extending friendly relations to other clans through marriage; indeed, the respective concession of territory is a good way of establishing friendly relations. With the extension of these relations, the former territorial boundaries of the clans disappear, and a new method of using territory by hunting companies comes into force. This process is naturally reinforced by the intrusion of alien groups into the Tungus territory; so, for instance, the Tungus companies sometimes adopt Russians and Chinese with whom they hunt.

Among the customs showing the connexion between clan members, is one which is called in Tungus *nimadif*. It has been recorded by many travellers among the Northern Tungus and interpreted in this way. In its pure form it consists of the giving of hunting spoil to clansmen — in other words, the fruit of the hunting does not belong to the hunter, but to the clan. Without exception, all Tungus consider this custom as a fundamental one. At present, it varies among the different groups. Among the Nerchinsk Tungus the skin has to be given to the clansmen, together with the greatest part of the meat. According to E. I. Titov, among the clan(?) *kindigir* of the Upper Angara River, the skin is given to the old clansmen. Sometimes it is given, to the old men, together with the œsophagus, the lungs, the heart, and the liver of the roe-deer. Among the Tungus of Manchuria the skin and the greatest part of the meat are given to the neighbours, and especially to clansmen. This practice is very common among the Birarčen. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and those of the Amur Government and Sakhalin Island, the skin and the greatest part of the meat are given to other people. Thus, the custom is

very common if not general among the Tungus.[1] Perhaps to the same class of phenomena may be referred the eating in common of the bear. As a matter of fact, the bear does not belong to the hunter, but to the people who happen to be with the hunter.[2] This custom is observed among many other groups which shows a close connexion between clansmen. The rights of neighbours to skin and meat is, of course, an adaptation of an old practice under new conditions, i. e., the formation of mixed settlements and communal life of persons belonging to different clans. The element of benevolence and assistance of the poor, understood from E. I. Titov's translation of this term (among the Irkutsk Government Tungus), may also be considered as an adaptation to new conditions.

Clan unity may also be observed in other phenomena of social life. So, for instance, when the election of chiefs (administrative units) was established by the Russian authorities, the clan *turujagir* supplied Tungus officials, so the *golova* and *rodovoĭ starosta*[3] were elected from this clan, and the latter wished to keep this privilege. The same happened with the Tungus of Manchuria.[4] The idea of clan honour also plays a very important part in the unity of clans. For instance, every clan wants to attain and hold a high level of morality: every clan wishes to provide its members with good wives, highly "paid" by the clan. At the same time, every clan recognizes its originality and peculiarities, and is always proud of the fame it has acquired. Thus the clan *bajagir*, among the Khingan Tungus, is very proud of being notorious for the aggressive character and rough manners of its members, who terrify other clans, especially those which, being married into other clans, are not directly connected with this clan by marriage relations. Even the women maintain the clan honour and fight, if necessary. Therefore, the *bajagir* are always joking about the clan *kaltagir*, using bad expressions when speaking to them, etc., for the clan *kaltagir* is very peaceful,

[1] In Tungus, I find the following meanings of *nimadif*, — *n'imadi* (Bir. Nerč. Barg.) and *nimat* (Tum.),— a verb, to give the skin and meat to clansmen and neighbours. *N'imadif* (Nerč. Barg. RTM. Amur. Gov.) seems to be a noun with a possessive suff., first pers. sing. Perhaps this term may be connected with *n'imax* (Neg. *Sch.*), *n'imak* (Ur. Castr.), a neighbour (the neighbour is a clansmen? *S. Sh.*), and *n'imaw* (Bir.), *n'imav* (Khin. Bir.), *n'ima* (Tum.), to visit a neighbour, to go as guest, etc. So "the neighbour," "to visit the neighbour," "to give the skin, etc.," seem to form the complex. E. I. Titov gives *nimat*(?) for the noun (Irk. Government) and *n'amačĭrin* (which is, of course, a verbal form increased by suffixes, third pers. sing., present) also for the noun (the Upper Angara River) and a verb — *nimadiv* (Irk. Government). Among the Yakuts this custom is so common that it penetrates all the relations amongst them. V. Seroševskiĭ has gathered a great number of facts and found a close connexion between the clan organization and this custom. It is quite probable that this custom has been borrowed by the Tungus from the Yakuts. One of the reasons is that among the Yakuts this custom is more common than among the Tungus, and another reason is that the Tungus term seems to be connected with the ideas of "guest" and "visit." The Tungus naturally might adopt this practice from the Yakuts (more "civilized" than the Tungus) as a form of "good manners" when they used to be guests of the Yakuts. In the Tungus mind this custom thus has been connected with the idea of "visit" and "guest"; and if it be so has no direct connexion with the clan organization.

[2] It has been observed among many Tungus groups, e. g., among the Barguzin Tungus (my own observations and, previous to me, those of N. M. Dobrosmyslov), the Upper Angara River, Tungus (E. I. Titov), and the Enissy River Tungus (K. Ryčkov) (cf. also T. von Middendorff and other travellers). Yet, among almost all Tungus groups certain customs as to bear hunting, the bear-skin, etc., are recorded (cf. J. Hallowell). It is not clear, however, whether these customs are connected with the hunting complex in general, or whether they have been borrowed from the Palæasiatics as a complex by itself. Only among the Palæasiatics is this complex found in its most developed form, and among the Tungus groups, living in the vicinity of the Gilaks, and who have obviously borrowed it from the latter.

[3] Cf. *supra*, p. 109.

[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 113.

and polite, and does its best to maintain its fame.[1] Such a hostile attitude between clans is very common among the Tungus. The clan *samagir* was a notorious one and proud of its numerous shamans who fought with other shamans and clans. Clan names are also very often a source of outrageous jokes; e. g., *lakšikagir*.[2] On the other hand, a clan is always ashamed (*alăamugdī*) of having members who violate regulations, and it does its best to avoid being spoken badly of. Clan vendetta is practised no more, but it is still in the memory of the Tungus: in former days, according to tradition, the most insignificant conflict between two clans took the form of a continuous vendetta, followed by murders of hostile clan members. Among the Manchus the vendetta now takes a mild form of respective insult when members of two hostile clans meet one another.

The most important problem is that of insistence upon obedience to clan orders. Every man and woman belongs to the clan and as such are supposed to be controlled by it. The clan provides its members with wives and husbands, also with dowry and kalym;[3] the clan assigns hunting territory to its members; the clan protects its members against spirits and foes; the clan helps its members when they are in need; the clan helps its members, when they are right, in their conflicts with other clansmen. In a word, the clan means everything to the Tungus who cannot live out of it. The first measure of compulsion on the part of the clan which is usually efficacious is that of moral pressure, — public opinion, — the members of a clan agree with the current ideas, and do not enter into any further discussion. The second measure is that of a clan decision taken either at a clan meeting or by its officials. In case this decision is left unenforced, the clan must apply the necessary measures. The clan has at its disposal three powerful measures: (1) punishment by thrashing (verb — *bojede*); (2) expulsion from the clan; and (3) capital punishment, usually by strangling (verb — *kakor*).[4] Thrashing is very common and is the usual way of compelling members to recognize and respect clan authority. Among all Northern Tungus it is applied when a junior refuses to obey seniors or to follow the decision of a clan meeting. Among the Tungus of Manchuria punishment may be ordered directly by the *mokunda*, as is practised among the Manchus; among the Reindeer Tungus this punishment must be assigned at a clan meeting, or by clan authorities.

[1] This is not, indeed, peculiar to the Tungus. Some clans among other ethnical groups consider as their foes clans from which they have obtained their wives (cf. Rivers). More than that, sometimes big nations elaborate and specialize in behaviour offensive to other nations, and consider their rough manners to be a quality of high pride and distinction. Vice versa, the nations moderate in their manners, who forgive their arrogant neighbours, are also proud of themselves.

[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 134, 135.

[3] See *infra*, Chap. V, Section 2.

[4] Naturally, the Tungus did not, and do not, use any prison punishment for the simple reason that they have no prisons. Among the Yakuts the capital punishment of clansmen was also practised. So V. Seroševskiĭ (*op. cit.*, p. 457) was informed by an old man that in early days if a clansman murdered another clansman, the murderer was brought to a forest, attached there to a tree and left, without food, "up to the end of his life." In other words, it was capital punishment by starvation. However, generally speaking, the Yakut system of penal code, as it is accounted by V. Seroševskiĭ, is entirely different from that of the Tungus. The confiscation of property and other kinds of material compensation and compelling are characteristic of it, as it is also true of the recent Buriat common law (cf. V. Riazanovskiĭ, *op. cit.*). The Yakut code does not know the punishment by thrashing, which has been introduced, according to V. Seroševskiĭ, from the south, probably under Russian influence. The Yakut system belongs to the "cattle-breeding complex of Central Asia" and in this respect the Tungus complex seems to be of different origin.

Expulsion from the clan is naturally the most effective measure: according to Tungus, Manchu, and Dahur ideas, a person not belonging to any clan is deprived of its rights of defence and protection. If such a person is murdered, the murderer is not responsible, for there is nobody before whom the murderer has to give an account. Owing to this, persons who leave their clans are at the mercy of all possible accidents: those expelled from the clan are in the same position, if not worse. They are considered as bad and extremely dangerous individuals. So, under the conditions of Tungus life, expulsion from the clan was almost equivalent to capital punishment. With the intrusion of Russian and Chinese influence, expulsion from the clan has lost its former meaning, for an expelled person may find protection among the Russians and the Chinese. Let us remark, by the way, that this is the reason why the Tungus consider their fellows who from legal authorities seek protection against their clansmen as the most dangerous and unworthy of people. It also explains why the moral standard of the Tungus living among non-Tungus groups is always inferior to that of the average Tungus living among his own people. Christian propaganda is also responsible for failure in the observance of clan authority, as the Tungus who may count on the protection of the church often escape from clan control and very often become real outcasts.

Capital punishment is the supreme measure which is always at the disposal of the clan. Among the Tungus of Manchuria the pronouncement of the death sentence requires great caution on the part of the clan meeting which is able to give this decision; old men discuss the matter lengthily before the sentence is pronounced. When the death sentence has been given the young men dig a deep grave. The man who is to be strangled is put in front of the open grave and a running knot made of a leather thong is put around his neck; the young men take the two free ends of the knot and pull them till the man is strangled and falls into the grave, which is immediately filled up with earth.[1] Such strangulation of criminals was practised also by the Manchus.[2] Thrashing also results sometimes in the death of the criminal.

The death punishment, however, is sometimes carried out without any notice being given to the criminal. An instance, of which I heard from various sources, may be taken as a typical one. After having done something wrong, a man of the *maakagir* clan left his clan and migrated with his wife to the region of the Ussuri River, which is far away from his clan territory. During his exile three daughters and a son were born. In 1900 all of them migrated to the basin of the Taun River.[3] As they lived absolutely without any connexion with their clansmen, the father taught his daughters to shoot, for hunting, and for self-defense against the Chinese robbers, who were numerous in that region. Little by little normal relations were re-established, and the son was married to a girl who did not know how to shoot. When the father died, the girls lived by themselves, by hunting and also by

[1] Such a case took place, for instance, in the clan *maakagir* in 1913.
[2] See my "S. O. M." The Chinese chronicles mention some facts among the Manchus, e. g., that one of the murderers was strangled before his open tomb.
[3] It may be supposed that the man had migrated to Russian territory to seek the protection of the Russian authorities and during the Boxer trouble had had to leave for the interior of Manchuria.

occasional robbery of the Tungus; they had no desire to marry. It once happened that they came to the River Kulun and put their wigwam in a place about six miles from another wigwam. The young man belonging to the family of the hunting girls went to visit his neighbours and in a conflict was killed by another man belonging to the same clan. A clan meeting was at once called. It was absolutely evident that the girls would avenge their brother's death. The clan meeting was first inclined to take mild measures, i. e., to take their rifles away from the girls; but as it was practically impossible to do so without fighting, the clan meeting decided to kill all three girls, their mother who was blind at the time, and had nobody but her children to feed her, and also to take away the murdered man's wife and give her to somebody else. At nightfall the clansmen surrounded the wigwam, and at daybreak they killed the mother with her three daughters, the youngest of whom was only eighteen years old. The wife of the murdered man was taken alive, and given to another clansman. In order to avoid complications with her clansmen she was not killed. The property of the family was divided among the clansmen. Owing to the great importance of this act, a paper was written in Manchu and sealed, with the finger-prints of all clan members responsible for this act: at this meeting all old clan members were present. It is obvious that such a tragic issue would have been impossible if the father had not been an outcast, who had broken off his relations with the clan long before the episode. In course of a simple discussion, his son, who was also an outcast by birth, might be murdered without responsibility for the dead being placed upon anybody and no blame would be attached to another.

The right of life and death over clan members, both male and female, is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the clan meeting. The psychic attitude of the clan using this weapon is that the clan is "ashamed" (*aldamugdi*) of its members' crimes.

This is not so among the groups living under Russian rule in Siberia, where "humanitarian" ideas have compelled the Russian authorities to deprive the Tungus clans of their right to administer capital punishment. They, however, preserve the remembrance of these practices in olden days; naturally this measure of the Russian authorities had the most demoralizing effect on the Tungus clan system.

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3. Clan Functions

The basis of clan organization and its fundamental functions, is, as has been shown, the regulation of marriage; in fact, the clan is the unit in which marriage is not allowed. The clan is naturally interested in the marriage of its members with women belonging to other clans. However, the marriage arrangement is not always a simple problem, for very often a certain disproportion in the sex rate occurs, and the number of women who may be married is sometimes less than that of the young men who are to be married. Owing to this, marriage very often becomes a problem impossible of solution. Heads of families who have to marry their children are sometimes unable to find mates for them, and then the clan comes to their aid. In connexion with the lack of women of marriageable age, the heads of families who have girls to be married sometimes

raise the requirements for their future sons-in-law. Naturally, in such a case, without clan intervention it is very difficult for an agreement to be reached between the girl's father and the fathers of the young men, or their responsible relatives. When there is too persistent a disproportion among the young men and girls who have to be married, the only solution is the division of the old clans, which is naturally taken in hand by the clan. Thus, the clan has always to arrange and regulate marriage affairs.

The same may be stated in reference to the regulation in the increase of the clan. The increase of population among the Northern Tungus constitutes one of the most important problems, as it is among so-called civilized ethnical groups. The Tungus are anxious to be a numerous people. The clans therefore always look by way of natural growth for increase in the number of their members. The methods of the regulation of increase are manifold, but first the clan tries to assure a normal functioning of economical units — families; families that are unable to feed their children are assisted by the clan. So if a family cannot exist as an independent unit, the clan divides it between the other families. If a family needs temporary assistance, the clan provides it with necessary reindeer, horses, etc. If a young man cannot marry, owing to lack of young girls, the clan looks for a girl, pays for her, if necessary, or gives the man a widow. In all these cases, the same impulse defines the clan attitude, i. e., the regulation of the increase of population.

Another very important function of the clan is the distribution of hunting territory between the families. It has been recorded by all travellers who have been interested in this matter that the Tungus settle this problem very smoothly, even when the interests of different clans become intermingled. If there are no other clan interests the matter is simplified — the clan acting as a unit is interested in the rational exploitation of territory. Thus hunting territories are distributed between the economical units — families (or are allotted to companies composed of hunters belonging to different families), according to the needs of these families, and their possibilities in hunting. No privilege for families is created, and I have never heard of any complaints.

However, conflicts between clan members are certainly possible: the clan then intervenes and acts as a judicial organ. The following matters may be subject to judgement: (1) Conflict between clansmen concerning disputable claims in hunting, e. g., the owner of a killed animal cannot establish his claim when shots have been fired by two men; the animal was killed, or, having been wounded, fell in territory of another family or hunting company. In such cases the clan settles the question according to the prevailing customs. So, for instance, among the Barguzin Tungus the hunter is allowed to follow the animal into the territory belonging to other clansmen, and if he kills the animal it belongs to the hunter. But some other groups do not recognize the undisputable right of the hunter to the animal killed in territory used by somebody else. (2) Conflicts between members of a clan may arise on account of inheritance regulations; private property in general, especially the illegal use of traps for animals placed on another's property; and stealing, which happens very rarely. (3) Complaints of seniors against juniors when the latter do not obey. (4) Complaints of juniors against seniors (particularly chiefs of unit-families), e. g., when they have bad character, are drunkards, or when they fall into *senile marasmus*, but insist on

their right of controlling the unit. (5) Violation of various customs by clan members. (6) Bad conduct of husbands and wives. (7) Various cases when the interest of unit-families or unit-clans are involved and affected by members of a clan. These conflicts are settled by the clan if they concern clansmen, but when the quarrelling or guilty persons belong to different clans, a mixed meeting of the two clans or their representatives gives judgement. Crime in Tungus is called *ujile* (Bir.).[1]

The clan also functions as an administrative unit, when certain authorities appoint them to do so; for instance, in Transbaikalia, the clans *samagir*, *kindigir*, *čilčagir*, act as administrative units. All clans in Manchuria, under Manchu rule, had administrative powers. Before the Russians and the Manchus took control of the Tungus, the clans had always acted as administrative units, for the clan is a natural unit, and the Tungus did not know any other form of administration. After their migrations and the general decline of clan organization, the remains of the old clans formed territorial units acting in the same way as the old clans did: this is so among the settled Nerchinsk Tungus, the settled Biraršen, and probably the Oroči,[2] which shows that the Tungus return to the old system even when the old clans are destroyed.

As we have seen, the clan acts in the interests of its members towards other clans, so it enters into interclan relations. In fact, there are many questions concerning several clans, for instance, marriage, the distribution of hunting territory, conflicts between persons belonging to different clans, and particularly conflicts between husbands and wives who belong to different clans, complex cases of inheritance, the settlement of dowry, and kalym questions. In all similar occurrences mixed meetings of the two clans interested in the matter are called. Though it is presumed that the clans act as equal parties, the actual position of the clans in a conflict depends upon the influence of the respective clans and their specific interest in the particular question to be settled. So, for instance, if, in a clan, a representative of its members has to enquire into the bad conduct of a member belonging to another clan, the latter becomes the defendant and naturally is in a more difficult position than the person who appears as the plaintiff. On the other hand, the character of the clan members, e. g., in reference to the clan *bajagir*, may also balance an unfavorable position of a clan in conflict.

The most important matter concerning several clans is the co-operation in common danger. With the Russian and the Manchu spread over Tungus territories, political and military agreements between the clans lost their former importance, but when the Tungus clans were bound by marriage relations or any other common interests, they formed political groups of some strength. From the Tungus traditions we have already seen that at different times in Transbaikalia the clans *kindigir*, *čilčagir*, and perhaps the *lakšikagir*, formed a political unit against the clan *mamugir* and other groups, e. g., the Nomad Tungus. The clans *mōkogir*, *maakagir*, and *kargir* also formed another group in the Amur River basin. Perhaps the clans of the first wave — the *dulugir*, *kučigir*, and *bajagir* — also

[1] *Ujile oran* — he (or she) commits a crime; *ujile oča* — the crime committed. *Ujile* is borrowed (cf. "Notes on Bilab.").

[2] Cf. S. Leontovič, V. P. Margaritov.

formed such a unit when they moved south to Manchuria. Clans united for political and military purposes practised the election of chiefs, just as the Tungus now elect their ablest men as chiefs for hunting, etc. These chiefs sometimes might be even of non-Tungus origin, as Dahurs, Manchus, etc.[1]

These formations were very elastic ones, indeed. So we know from the testimony of the Russians, who in the seventeenth century met the Tungus, who had three hundred fighters headed by a man called by the Russian Danula, which shows that there were several clans joined together as a military unit. Generally, the Russians often mentioned the Tungus chiefs with whom they dealt. But, as we have seen, the Tungus do not seem to practise the election of clan chiefs, but only that of political and military chiefs who are elected by several clans. It is thus more likely that the Russians were dealing with chiefs elected for the special purpose of opposing Russian invasion. The formation of such a group depended upon a specific purpose: sometimes two or three clans formed a group in order to oppose other Tungus groups in their movements: at other times, several clans formed bigger units to fight non-Tungus groups. But one thing is evident—that these groups were formed in accordance with the ethnographical nearness of the clans, and the particular interests of the clan group, the fundamental basis of these groups being marriage regulations between two or more exogamic units. In the seventeenth century the Northern Tungus were found by the Russians in a state of temporary political and military union, so it may be inferred that at that time they had not yet reached the stage of stable political union, as had happened with the Southern Tungus, who probably long ago formed unions of clans as the Manchu chief Nurhaci and Nuichen did. Yet we may also remember that the Northern Tungus, before the formation of the Khitan Empire, had a political union in South Manchuria.[2] Thus, in regions where pressure on the part of other ethnical groups was strong enough to stimulate the formation of unions, the Tungus formed there without any great difficulty; but in regions where pressure was not intensive, they formed temporary unions for certain definite purposes.[3] These facts allow one to infer that *the formation and consolidation of political units have been caused by interethnical pressure, and thus this form of social organization is a mere function of interethnical pressure.*

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4. The Formation and the Adoption of Clans

From the facts already established, it may be inferred that the Tungus clans and the unions of clans are not fixed and stabilized units, because they existed only for certain

[1] Some Tungus clans in Transbaikalia in the seventeenth century were headed by the Dahurs. The Dahurs, as shown, kept their leadership at the beginning of Manchu rule in Manchuria. The Manchu epic poem I have written tells the history of a Manchu who had left his clan and joined the Northern Tungus: the latter elected him their political and military chief. Cf. also p. 192.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 149.

[3] The system of Tungus organization also seems to point to a fact of importance, namely, that in the seventeenth century the interethnical pressure in Siberia was not intensive enough to stimulate the formation of Tungus clan unions. It may therefore be inferred that the Yakuts were not oppressing them at that period and the early population of Siberia was probably very sparse, for the Tungus might proceed to Siberia without any permanent political and military organization. If it be so, then, the first Northern Tungus migrations southward were caused probably by the natural growth of population. Cf. *supra*, p. 146.

practical, though temporary, purposes. It is not thus surprising that clan organization takes very variable forms, in dependence upon local influences, temporary needs, and fashions. As stated many times, the basis of clan organization is the regulation of marriage. The Tungus do not bother themselves about the name of such a unit, but they take care that it exists. However, so soon as it does not satisfy the practical needs of the marriage regulations, the Tungus always discover new solutions of the problem: they divide the clan into two exogamic units, which become clans. The mechanism of clan formation has been shown in the case of the Manchus: it does not differ very much from that observed among the Northern Tungus, for we have seen, in the history of the formation of new clans among the Tungus, that it is evident that at present we are able to trace the history of many a new clan from an old one, and instances have been shown where four stages are still observable. So the old clans of the Barguzin Tungus during two centuries formed offshoots, which again produced new clans and at last produced new family names (and clans). When the clans were growing fast and, owing to local conditions, the Tungus could not get women from their neighbours, naturally the process of the formation of new clans was very intensive. It is evident that the Tungus are very sensitive as to certain differences in customs and manners; so they sometimes prefer to avoid marriage altogether. Here it may be pointed out that the ethnographical differences with neighbouring groups which have been mostly due to various alien influences, have been a real impediment for free intercourse in the exchange of women. Yet the ethnographical differentiation has been intensified by the condition of the fixed tenure of territory, as happened with the Tungus of Transbaikalia and Manchuria. For the formation of new clans, thus, originally, there was no such stimuli as differences in ethnographical peculiarities confined to small territorial units and impossibility of migrations when the clans needed to meet some other clans for the regulation of the mating problem. I think, therefore, that the formation of new clans is rather a recent phenomenon, indirectly due to interethnical pressure.

Let us look for a moment at the problem of marriage from the Tungus point of view. The clan, let us suppose, is very numerous and needs to marry off a hundred young men. But the clan with which the first one is already connected in the exchange of women has only fifty young girls to be married: thus the first clan must look for young girls of other clans. It is satisfactory if it finds such a clan in a group ethnographically similar, but if it cannot find it, or the clan lives far away, the problem becomes difficult. The clan, therefore, has either to abstain from marrying its fifty young men, or must find another solution. Marriage within the clan is not allowed among the Tungus, but this practice is known among their neighbours, the Mongols and the Russians, who are above all considered as a culturally superior people. Among them, if the degree of consanguinity (only males are counted) between the young man and girl exceeds (in degrees of relationship) a certain limit, the marriage is practicable. Among the Tungus these degrees of relationship may easily be established, as they are always properly memorized by the clan. However, according to general practice, marriage within the clan is prohibited, as clans must be preserved for

other purposes. Then the only solution is the division of the clan into two exogamic units. But then arises the problem of how to formulate the division and make it legal. As social life among the Tungus is regulated by customs which were established beyond the memory of living people, they are supposed to be given to man by higher beings, spirits, or implied by the customs of other ethnical groups. If any change occurs the Tungus have to declare it to those higher beings and receive an approbation of their act. Such a higher being is the spirit who is omnipotent and present everywhere, who does not interfere in the small everyday things of life, but who is the highest power and the source of life and creation. This spirit in Tungus is called *buga*, *buŋa*, which means, at the same time, locality, world, etc. Among the Manchus this spirit is called *apka enduri*, the spirit of heaven, which term has been borrowed by some Tungus from contact with the Manchus. As a notion it approaches the idea of "God," but it seems to be more powerful, and more indifferent to human things than "God." He never enters into direct relations with man, and always acts through other spirits who are rather closer to man than to this spirit. The Tungus confine their relations with this spirit to simple and very rare prayers, and formal declarations.

It is natural that the division of the clans surpasses the powers of the clan spirits and, when the Tungus need the division of the clan, they make a declaration to *buga* (or *enduri*) by giving a rich sacrifice either of a reindeer or a bull. Yet the shamans have nothing to do with this act, for they are connected with the clan spirits only. As soon as a solution is found, there is no impediment for the division of the clans and the formation of new exogamic units. The division of the clans is, however, complicated by the fact of the existence of the common clan spirits. For instance, among the Birarčen, the clan *maakagir*, which was very numerous, for this reason separated from itself a new clan, *malakul*, which is now also very numerous. The sacrifice of a bull to *buŋa* was made and two exogamic units were formed, but the spirits were not divided, and intermarriage thus is not allowed. The shamans afterwards divided the spirits,[1] so that the spirits of the newly formed units must not leave their clansmen.[2] The experiment, however, is not yet over, for the Birarčen want to see, during a certain period, whether the spirits are really separated or not. As soon as they find proof of the separation of the spirits, marriage will be practicable.

In an analogous position among the Kumarčen two clans are found. The clans *man'agir* and *učatkan* have already decided to divide into two exogamic units, but as the sacrifice to *buŋa* has not yet been made, intermarriage is not allowed. A division must take place very soon, for these clans are very numerous. Another instance: the separation of the clans *kargir* and *dunänkän* among the Birarčen took place so long ago that the clan *kargir* has almost disappeared. All stages in the process of clan division may now be observed among the Tungus of Transbaikalia, where new units usually called by Russian

[1] The mechanism of the spirit division I shall explain later in a study devoted to the Tungus religion.
[2] It is interesting that these Tungus call the clan *kala* and the religious exogamic units with divided spirits they call *mokun*, a Manchu new term for "clan." This is a curious adaptation of alien terms.

names are in the process of formation. It is interesting to note that among these Tungus the formation of new clans is simplified, the spirit system being shaken, owing to the adoption of Christianity. The sanction of clan division is very easily received from the spirits without great formalities.

Along with the division of the clans, the adoption of clans is also practised. The reasons for clan adoption are the same as for clan division — marriage. In fact, if the clan is very small, the chance of a numerical disproportion of the sexes is very probable. So it may happen that at certain periods women are numerous and at other periods they are few, so the normal exchange of women with other clans is impossible. Yet sometimes the spirits become very harmful and cannot be mastered by the clan members. In such cases, the clan may be adopted by some other clan which wants to increase its number. In the case of adoption, the clans involved in this act have, with the usual declaration, to give a sacrifice to *buga*. The clan *igačagir* among the Birarčen was adopted, after a sacrifice, by the clan *malakul*, which, as shown, has also adopted some Goldi groups, and later started an independent existence. If the clan is not numerous, its members may be adopted, one by one, by the other clans. It is a very common practice among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, who have many clans, which are, practically speaking, disconnected. The adoption is simplified if the clan spirits enter the members of another clan: it shows that the person may be adopted without any formalities by the clan whose spirits enter the person in question. Among the Birarčen, adoption has taken a curious form, viz., the person being transferred into another military unit by this act was also adopted by the clan that belonged to the military subdivision where the person had been shifted. It is natural that the names of adopted clans are preserved for some time and later forgotten.

So far as may be seen from the facts now observed, the formation of new clans is possible in the form of the division of old clans, but as to the names of such new units, they are very often taken from the personal names of the ancestors to whom the direct descendance of the living people may be traced. By this I do not intend to show that the new clan names may not also originate from geographical names. It is, of course, quite possible that the clan may be distinguished within itself, for instance, two geographical groups, e. g., a group living in the upper course of the river and another one living in the lower course of the same river; but these facts are lacking in my observations. S. K. Patkanov's hypothesis as to the geographical origin of the clan names, if we exclude the names invented for the administrative units by the Russian authorities, cannot be justified by the analysis of the clan names and their history.

If we summarize what has been stated in reference to the clans in general, it may be concluded that in a great degree they are subject to variations as to the number of members they include, the names, the functions, the terms by which the unit is defined; but *the clan as a social unit is a most definite institution, the regulation of marriage, its functioning as a biological unit, and sometimes as a rudimentary ethnical unit, being the reasons of its existence.*

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE

1. Regulations in Sex Relations: General Principles of These Regulations; Exogamy; Forms and Ways of Marriage; Conclusions as to the Early Forms of Marriage. 2. Marriage: Ways of Marrying; Capture; Intermarriage with Other Ethnical Groups; Divorce; Match-Making; The Kalym; The Dowry. 3. The Wedding: The Reindeer Tungus; The Nomad Tungus; Comparison of Wedding Customs and Conclusions.

From the Tungus point of view, marriage as an institution satisfies different needs — love as an emotional state, childbirth and child education, and the formation of economical unit-families. The prevailing importance of these elements among various groups is subject to certain variations: among the Reindeer Tungus the emotional stimulus of marriage is considered a very important matter, while among the Manchus, who do not look at marriage as a means of satisfying the needs of love, it is considered rather an impediment to the smooth functioning of the social regulations. Marriage is naturally regulated by a certain complex of customs, practices of prohibitions, and avoidance customs, etc. Before giving a description of the various marriage regulations, I shall give that of sex relations in general.

1. Regulations in Sex Relations

General Principles. Among the Tungus, sexual relations are regarded from the emotional point of view, as productive of love and pleasure, and from a physiological point of view, as resulting in pregnancy. Love as an emotional state is well known among the Tungus. It may originate between young men and girls or married women as well; and between the married men and girls and also married women. To this question I shall return when social customs and behavior are discussed, but I now want to emphasize the fact that the Tungus are subject to a great degree of the sentiment of love which sometimes urges them to violate social customs and to commit crime, both men and women being responsible for the result of the conflict between their emotional stimuli and the social regulations. For the Tungus, the idea of pregnancy as a physiological consequence of sexual intercourse is also not a secret. Some authors believe that "primitive" people do not connect the fact of sexual intercourse with pregnancy. The Tungus understand it and explain it as a natural phenomenon, similar to that observed among animals—dogs, reindeers, wild animals, etc. Yet, among some Tungus groups of Manchuria I found the influence of Chinese theories.[1]

[1] The disconnexion of the facts of sexual intercourse and pregnancy may also be of secondary origin. So, for instance, among Europeans the disconnexion of these two phenomena is sometimes of secondary origin resulting from religious theories, hypocrisy, and the special secrecy of these phenomena. The same may easily occur among "primitive" groups inclined to philosophical generalizations, and showing a long previous history of the variatio..3 in their social forms (e. g., the Australians).

The prohibitions and customs of avoidance are called by some Tungus groups *oďik'it*,[1] which protect the system of sexual regulations.

Sexual relations between members born in the same clan are absolutely prohibited. In spite of the fact that no customs of avoidance are practised, I know of no cases of relations between women and their father's clansmen.[2] The relations of the seniors to the juniors are purely protective on the part of seniors, who demand obedience from the juniors. However, in the husband's clan, the relations for the women are restricted. A woman is not permitted to call her *atki* by name; she may not speak to them, she may touch neither them nor their belongings; she may not sit down on their beds, and she must always be carefully dressed in the presence of these relatives and never show her nudity. She must obey her *atki* and call him *ama* — my father's father. On the other hand, a man is not permitted to be frivolous with the *kukin;* he is not permitted to touch her, or her belongings, to sit down on her bed, or to speak to her personally, but he may just give orders to her if required. He is not naturally permitted to marry her if she becomes a widow.[3] There are, however, no regulations between the *inan* and the *uγi*, who are free in their relations. Sex relations between these relatives are not formally prohibited. Though I have not heard of regular intercourse between the *inan* and the *uγi*, although it is allowed among the Manchus as a peculiar form of the solution of the sexual problem,[4] I have heard nothing of prohibition. So it may be supposed that these relations are subject to general practices of sexual relations.

The relations between a woman and her *gusin* and *juvǎa* are restricted by no special regulations. However, according to general principles, the woman has to call all her male seniors, relatives of the mother's clan, *gusin*[5] and she calls her *javǎa* by their personal

[1] I think it is "not to do" from *ŏ, ŏďi* being the imperative form of the same. This term may also be used in reference to all kinds of prohibitions — *-kit* is, of course, a compound suffix.

[2] In exceptional cases if such a violation occurs it has really dreadful consequences for the guilty man (cf. *infra*, p.).

[3] It is very interesting that among the Goldi (I. A. Lopatin) and the Oroči (S. Brailovskiĭ), where the clan system is in a state of disintegration, cases of illicit intercourse by fathers-in-law with their sons' wives are very common. According to I. A. Lopatin, they are almost usual if the husband is very young and his wife is an adult. The same is true of other seniors of a young husband's clan. I have quoted some incidents among the Tungus and Manchus, some of which had no bad consequences for the trangressors as in the story of the old shaman. B. E. Petri has mentioned the indifferent attitude of the Buriats as to the actual fathers of the children, if the husband is too young or too old. It is very likely that among the Buriats, the seniors of the husband are responsible for the young husband's wife's pregnancy. Yet the practice known among Russian peasants as *snoxačestvo* (from *snoxa*, the daughter-in-law, whence *snoxač* — the father-in-law practising illicit love with his daughter-in-law, *snoxačestvo* — the practising of such a love) has appropriated certain recognition as an institution, when the husband is very young or oppressed by his father's authority, although this practice is disapproved of by public opinion. This practice obviously depends upon the growth of the family system and that of the power of the omnipotent *pater familias* who abuses his power and does not miss any opportunity of illicit pleasure with young women. So that this practice has nothing to do with the Tungus violation of the prohibitions that are intended to eliminate the possibility of such intercourses. With reference to other Tungus groups some authors have pointed out that the cause of these violations lies in the kalym practice, and the marrying of young boys to adult women, which is certainly wrong, for this phenomenon is correlatively connected with other practices depending upon the decline of the clan organization and the prevailing development of the family and the rights of the *pater familias*. It is interesting that when the family system grows on account of the decline of the clan system, "*snoxačestvo*," practised among the Tungus, finds its allies from Russian and Chinese influences.

[4] This may perhaps explain to us why the Manchus do not consider the love stimuli very much in marriage — their system of sexual regulations is such that the young men may very easily satisfy their needs (physiologically speaking).

[5] Among the Tungus of Manchuria who have borrowed their customs from the Manchus and the Dahurs, the *nača* is treated in the same manner as the other seniors of the clan.

names. On the violations of these customs, persons are considered to be *oruma bojo*, *oruma asi*, i. e., a bad man, or a bad woman, which means more than a simple disapproval of conduct, for if this conduct becomes a habit the matter is set before a clan meeting, with all the consequences that may result from it.[1]

The relations between a man and his wife's clan, except naturally that of the mother's mother, are not regulated at all. He calls his seniors in this clan by their classificatory names, *kadum*, etc., borrowed from the Mongols, if the clan is not that of the mother. There are no restrictions towards the junior group, called also by a Mongol term *bono*, *bènèr*. The relations between a man and the women of the clan that takes his clan women are restricted by no prohibitions.[2]

From these facts it may be seen that the relations between women and men may be grouped under three heads: (1) absolute prohibition of any relations regulated by customs of avoidance with the seniors of the husband's clan; (2) absolute prohibition not regulated as to the relatives of her own clan and among some Tungus groups, as to the seniors of her mother's clan; (3) unprohibited relations with her husband's clan and that of her mother, and usually with all men of her mother's clan.

Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the virginity of the bride is not required. Girls attaining the age of maturity are allowed to have intercourse with men not restricted as to marriage, so that if the bride is over twenty years old there is little chance of her being a virgin. However, the fact of the girls' relations is not shown: as a rule, these relations are rather of a clandestine character. If the girl gets pregnant, it does not reduce her value: on the contrary, she is appreciated as a bride, for she has proved to be fecund and healthy. Among the Udehe, a girl's pregnancy may be used as a way of compelling her parents or other relatives to give her in marriage to the man responsible for her pregnancy. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria a girl's pregnancy is considered a shameful thing, but the girl is always excused, for among these Tungus sexual intercourse after a certain age is considered as a natural phenomenon. Yet a virgin is not considered a bad girl, and is always excused, for she may be a "good wife worthy of love." Owing to Manchu ideas, free sexual life among the Birarčen and the Kumarčen is theoretically prohibited, but results show that the girls' position among these Tungus does not differ very much from what has been stated in reference to the Reindeer Tungus. Among the Khingan Tungus, girls are permitted to have free intercourse after the age of fifteen or sixteen. Some of them go so far that they have several lovers whom they receive one after the other during the same night. Sometimes a girl sleeps with two men at once, with her consent, of course, for according to the Tungus "the woman is glad, as she does not lose anything and this is good for her." According to one of them, it is commendable to give a girl some

[1] Including the death penalty. The Tungus say with great contempt of the man who violates these prohibitions: "This man is like the animal: he looks but for a ... [vulva]." Among the Manchus the custom requires the suicide of the criminal, e. g., the case of the father-in-law surprised by his son with the latter's wife. (Cf. my "S. O. M.")

[2] If this clan is not that of "my mother" the terms of relationship are borrowed from the Mongols — *ayus*, *kurakin*, also *kučum*.

present before going to her, but with girls one knows well, no present is required. Intercourse is common among the Goldi and the Udehe, but is strictly prohibited among the Manchus.

A married woman is in a different position. If the husband stays at home, the woman is allowed to receive no one. Among the Khingan Tungus, in exceptional cases, however, the husband often knows his wife's lover, and shuts his eyes when she is going out to meet him. Prostitution among wives, as has been recorded among the Udehe, is unknown among the groups which were investigated by me. Among all groups, in exceptional cases, the husband openly opposes his wife's conduct and if she continues her relations he tries to exhort her to change her ways. Sometimes he uses rough and insulting expressions towards her, or even beats her. Very rarely such conduct results in divorce. As a general rule, if a woman stays alone in her wigwam, every guest may hope to be received by her, which is quite natural, for the husband is sometimes absent for several weeks, and may happen to be in the same position as his wife's lover. Among the Tungus, investigated by me, I observed no hetærism, as is known among the Udehe and the Buriats, who believe in its existence among themselves; this was not, however, recorded by B. E. Petri. The husband's attitude in the matter of his wife's infidelity was once explained to me by a Tungus: "a woman is not food — she does not decrease"; if she has intercourse with other men, "she remains also for her husband." In spite of this attitude, love with foreigners and abuse in sexual pleasure with several men at the same time are disapproved and the Tungus (Birarčen) say of such a woman: "She is like a bitch — she runs around all day, and night." It ought to be noted, however, that not all women will have intercourse with foreigners. There are different reasons for it, e. g., the personal inclination for a quiet life; the fear that the husband and children will not live long lives, which happens (according to the Birarčen) if a woman has intercourse with foreigners. As a general rule, among all Tungus groups, women's intercourse with foreigners is disapproved of and gives the husband certain rights to the support of his clan in claiming a divorce. Some Tungus groups, e. g., the Goldi and the Udehe, even recognize the husband's right to kill the wife and her accomplice, who are taken *in flagrante delicto*. Let us remark that this practice was also known among the Mu-ki, who lived in Manchuria in the sixth century after Christ.[1]

The men are even freer than the women in their relations with non-prohibited women. It does not mean, however, that all of them practice running after women. Many of them, the women as well, dislike love pleasure outside their families; but, generally speaking, a man is not very much criticized for his conduct, and it sometimes happens that he has several married women and girls whom he maintains relations with.[2] So a man may have intercourse with women and girls within the limits defined by prohibitions, and

[1] Cf. J. Klaproth, "T. H."

[2] The Tungus language possesses a special term meaning "to sleep with a married woman" — *ǯorokto* (Nerč.), which seems to be derived from *ǯoro*, to steal, etc. If a woman has relations with other men, the Tungus use the term *kojoli* (Khin.), which ought to be connected with *koimale* (Bir.), cunning, false — borrowed from *koimali* (Manchu) of the same meaning. Both the terms *ǯorokto* and *kojoli* are obviously of recent origin. The Tungus language, however, possesses a verb. *sèl* (Bir. Barg. Mank.), which simultaneously means to refuse (both man and woman) intercourse (either with the husband or wife, or also with other men and women) and to refuse the marriage proposition.

also with the non-Tungus women.[1] Violation of girls and women has not been recorded by me among the Tungus groups. As a rule, the Tungus prefer love preceded by the woman's consent. This practice is also unknown among the Manchus, but according to B. E. Petri, it is sometimes practised among the Buriats. Then, however, the guilty man has to pay a ransom, if it becomes known to the girl's clan. Among the Tungus, if a man violates the prohibitions, the clan may interfere and things turn out badly. It is nearly always the man who is considered responsible — very rarely the woman.[2]

If we now summarize the Tungus idea about the sexual intercourse, in general, it may be formulated: (1) intercourse with women and girls not prohibited is unrestricted; (2) virginity is not required from a girl about to be married (except among the Manchus); (3) intercourse with non-Tungus — both women and men is not in favour.

Exogamy. Among the Tungus, marriage within the clan is considered as incest and is prohibited, i. e., a man may marry no woman born in his clan. As stated, exogamy is the backbone of the Tungus social organization. In fact, all Tungus groups without exception still practice, or did so within recent time, clan exogamy. People who are allowed to intermarry are called *aŋgnaki* (and *aŋgaki*) (Bir. Kum. Nerč.). The clan, however, as shown, is not a stable unit, for it is defined by the idea of exogamy, the restrictions of which are always adapted to the practical needs of marriage. Doubtless exogamy is one of the oldest institutions among the Tungus.[3] Generally, exogamy is such an early institution that, as to its origin, one is confined to hypotheses.[4] A great number of theories has been proposed; among them, the most probable is that long ago suggested by some ethnographers, who have proposed a biological basis for exogamy. Prohibition in marriage between close relatives speaks for itself, if we remember what is now known about inheritance.[5]

Among the most fantastic ideas as to inheritance and crossing, known among cattle breeders, there are many which are quite correct and justifiable from a modern scientific point of view. Biologists do not reject the acquired practical experience of cattle breeders,

[1] E. g., in the Japanese and Chinese brothels visited by the Khingan Tungus, the Birarčen, the Kumarčen, etc. The Tungus, however, do not favour the idea of men going to prostitutes, who are often responsible for maladies among them.

[2] The passive rôle of the woman has found its expression in the language: the man uses the verb in the active form (without any suffix), *asa*, or with the transitive suffix *asavu*, but the woman uses the same verb with the suffix of reciprocity, *asalda*, if she consents. Let us remark that several other terms are borrowed, mostly from other languages and are often descriptive in nature.

[3] We have naturally no historic data to establish how long ago it was introduced among the Tungus. In Chinese chronicles some indications as to exogamy are found. So the prohibition of marriage between the persons belonging to the same clans (similar names) was promulgated by a Toba emperor in A. D. 483 (cf. E. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 147). The Tobas were probably of Mongol origin. Aguda, the first emperor of the Kin dynasty, promulgated the same principle in A. D. 1118 (cf. C. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 33). These facts, however, do not show that the principle of exogamy was introduced among the subjects of Tobas (E. Parker says, under the Chinese influence), and among the Southern Tungus (Nuichen) by their respective governments. It might have existed a long time before these official acts, as it did, for instance, in China. The principle of exogamy, according to E. Jameison (*op. cit.*, p. 38 *seq.*), was recently incorporated into law, though it did exist since immemorial times among the Chinese. But it is quite possible that after the migrations of the Mongols which preceded the establishment of the Tobas and that of the Nuichen before the recognition of Aguda as their chief, the principle of exogamy was not very strictly observed, so that the government undertook to require that it be observed. As we have seen, the migrations very often produce confusion of social institutions.

[4] Cf. my "S. O. M.," p. 104.

[5] Cf., for instance, R. R. Gates's summary. Especially, inheritance of dominant characters. However, this problem is still under discussion. The opinions greatly differ.

but they investigate its achievements. Still the explanations of some well-established principles of inheritance and crossing are not usually scientific, and are very often lacking altogether. The case of man is not so simple as that of domesticated animals. First of all, cattle breeding is rather a recent discovery, while human breeding as a matter of observation is much older. In fact, we know no ethnical group which does not regulate marriage by means of some customs. The systems of clan organization as they are observed, e. g., among some Australian groups, point to the enormous age of their marriage regulations. The stage of unregulated mating in man, — a theoretical projection based upon the theory of evolution, — in the light of our knowledge of mating among other animals, regulated by natural selection, seems to be hardly probable. However, during the periods of transition and ethnical disintegration it might easily occur. Among almost all ethnical groups all natural phenomena observed by man are explained by the hypothesis of supreme powers regulating life, — the first important generalization[1] that man has come to achieve. The idea of the existence of supreme powers has been severely criticized by philosophers who have recognized other powers, e. g., that of "social contract." Since that time theories as to the origin of social institutions may be counted by tens, but social phenomena have remained as enigmatic as they were at the moment of the creation of the first hypothesis as to supreme powers.

The psychological, historic, "sociological," economic, biological, and other systems have been various aspects of social phenomena in a different manner, perceived by sociologists. The explanation of natural phenomena, thus, even in modern times, has been sought for in various supreme powers and mysterious nature of human society. The original discovery of the principles of inheritance, observed in man, and the practical ways for avoiding evil effects resulting from the mating of relatives, were first explained as the will of the supreme powers and the natural side of the problem was later forgotten, as has happened with many other discoveries. Indeed, the fact of a one-sided clan prohibition, either maternal or paternal, is very commonly observed, but the elimination of an important group of relatives in order to avoid the evil effect of crossing, has been a step of the greatest importance, while an absolute and perfect solution of the problem may not have been required from our early ancestors.[2] Moreover, some ethnical groups practise prohibitions affecting both sides, as to relatives. I have shown that the Manchus have gone further in prohibiting the mating of the old with the young, as it is supposed to be in the class system in Australia. Thus, in these regulations we may see different stages of the solution of this biological problem. These regulations naturally are nothing but new forms — comprehensible to the human mind — of natural selection: it regulates mating and breeding among other animals, but in human society it cannot be practised, as it is required for the safety of the species.

[1] Indeed, it is the first, as far as the history of human attempts at the understanding of biological phenomena (in a broad sense). It is quite possible that it has been preceded by some other hypotheses which are now lost.

[2] Vide Supp. Note IX.

Among the Tungus, besides the clan in which the person is born, in the class of women prohibited from marriage in the mother's clan may be included only the direct ancestors of the mother, i. e., her mother. The difference in age, however, excludes the possibility of marriage, so that there is no formal regulation as to this relative. Among the Manchus, marriage prohibitions are much wider than among the Tungus. In fact, one finds from the list of marriage regulations among the Manchus that the general principle consists of the avoidance of any possible marriage between members of different classes. But as we know, among the Northern Tungus, except those who have fallen under direct Manchu influence, the class system is lacking. It is curious that even among the Tungus of Manchuria prohibition does not formally affect the senior and junior classes, which once more shows a recent origin of class system adopted by them.

Forms and Ways of Marriage. Among the Northern Tungus two forms of marriage are met with: monogamy and polygyny. The first form is the commonest one, and the second is very rare. As a matter of fact, polygyny is not allowed except in case the first wife either has no children or has attained an age when she can have no more. I have observed polygyny among all Tungus groups,[1] but, roughly speaking, it does not exceed one per cent of all the marriages observed. Sometimes the practice does not allow one to marry two sisters. The wives must belong to different clans, although there is no formal prohibition. The Barguzin and Nerchinsk Tungus, for instance, do not oppose the marrying of two sisters by one man. The wives in all cases call one another *oki* and *nuku*, i. e., the sister (senior and junior), and the children of both mothers call them *on'i* (*en'a*, etc.), i. e., the mother.[2] If the first wife dies, the widower is allowed to marry her sister, according to the principles of sororat. The marrying of two sisters is not practised, for the reason that the kalym is so high that it cannot be afforded by the Tungus, among whom there is no great difference as to personal wealth, but the question as to why the kalym is high still remains unsolved. It may be due to the general idea of the Tungus about polygyny. In all cases of polygyny I know that the Tungus used to speak of it with a certain repugnance and disdain, and persons who were polygynous were not considered "good people." Almost all of them, to a certain degree, were anti-social individuals. This is, of course, natural, for when women are lacking among the Tungus, the man who has two wives deprives at least one of his clansmen of the possibility of being married, and in this way he goes against clan interests, and thus uses his personal wealth for paying a high kalym. The Manchu practice is similar to that of the Tungus of Manchuria, and seems to influence the latter, especially in reference to the prohibition of marrying two sisters.

Among the Tungus it is very often of common occurrence that two clans are bound by a systematic exchange of women, so that the mother's clan provides the women. Such

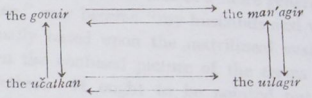
[1] Among the Reindeer Tungus o. Manchuria I observed no case of polygyny. It is partly due to the influence of the Russians, or rather of the Orthodox Church. However, within the memory of old men a case has been known.

[2] Among the Buriats (according to B. E. Petri) the children of the second wife sometimes call her by her personal name, and only the first wife is called "mother" by all the children, including those belonging to the second wife. Among the Chinese, including those of Singapore (Miss Jakeson has kindly communicated this fact to me), only the first father's wife is called "mother." In case of Chinese practice the second and third wives are concubines. Cf. also H. P. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 202.

marital relations are, for instance, to be seen among two clans of the Khingan Tungus: the *bajagir* and the *kaltagir*. Among the Kumarčen, who are increasing in number, two old clans, the *man'agir* and the *uilagir*, are bound by the following relations:

the *govair* has its wives from the *man'agir* and the *učatkan*
the *učatkan* has its wives from the *govair* and the *uilagir*
the *uilagir* has its wives from the *man'agir* and the *učatkan*
the *man'agir* has its wives from the *govair* and the *uilagir*

The same relations are shown in the scheme:



Why the *govair* and the *uilagir*, also the *man'agir* and the *učatkan*, are not connected by this agreement is obvious: in recent times they separated, so that this scheme of intermarriage is based simply upon intermarriage between two old clans, namely, the *man'agir* and the *uilagir*. The clans *gagdagir* and *gurair* do not enter into intermarriage with the above clans.[1] Among the Biraršen two pairs of clans are also connected: the *maakagir* with the *malakul*,[2] and (formerly, *kargir*) the *dunānkān* with the *mōkogir*. The same tendency is observed among the Tungus of Transbaikalia, where the clans *turujagir* and *godǐgir*, also the *čilčagir* and the *kindigir*, seem to have been formerly bound. Among these Tungus, however, a series of new clans has already confused the old system, the new clans being too numerous.[3]

Among all groups marriage between cross-cousins is considered as a preferential mating. Among the Barguzin and the Nerchinsk Tungus every *gusin* (the mother's brother) may take in marriage his *juvdă*, also a man may take in marriage his mother's sister, but among the Tungus of Manchuria marriage with a *nakču* is prohibited. Let us here remember that among them the man calls the sister's female children by the same term as his sister calls them, i. e., *unat*. This is due to the Manchu influence of class distinction, for the man may not take in marriage his mother's sister. On the other hand, among the same Tungus the mating of seniors with juniors not directly connected through both mother and sister is not prohibited at all, but desirable. Marriage with the father's sister's children is allowed, as is observed among the Manchus.[4] The Tungus, however, assert that these marriages are not prolific and usually male children do not result from such matings.[5]

[1] It is very likely that the clan *gagdagir* (and its offshoot the *gurair*) did not previously enter into the Kumarčen group. In fact, this clan is known among the Mergen Tungus. Since this clan had been included in the Kumarčen group it has produced another exogamic offshoot for marriage functions, because two other clans, namely, the *man'agir* and the *uilagir*, had already been bound by matrimonial relations.

[2] It is very probable that the clan *maakagir* was formerly connected with the clan *gagdagir*. After the latter went south, the clan *maakagir* produced its offshoot, the *malakul*, and the clan *gagdagir* its offshoot, the *gurair*, with which the old clans, respective, intermarry. So the reason of intermarriage between the father-clans and their offshoots is that the consort clans, the *maakagir* and the *gagdagir*, were separated during their migrations. Cf. also *supra*, pp. 131 *seq.* and 160 *seq.*

[3] *Vide* Supp. Note X.

[4] Cf. the explanation of this form of marrying (*tarsilambi*) in my "S. O. M.," p. 70. Among the Kumarčen marriage between the children of a *nokun* with those of an *oki* is prohibited.

[5] It would be very interesting to check this Tungus conclusion by reliable statistical observations.

The mode of marrying most preferred is that when a brother and sister are exchanged against another brother and sister. The reason of this preference lies, however, in the practical considerations as to the kalym and the dowry, the arrangements of which is very much simplified in such an exchange. The marriage of two brothers to two sisters is very common, but the marriage of three brothers with three sisters is not practised among the Birarčen. The reason of this prohibition or impracticability is not clear.

The practice of levirate and sororate is general. As a rule, among the Transbaikalia Tungus, when the husband dies the woman may marry her *inan*.[1] More than that, in case of the elder brother's death, the young brother must take the care of his wife and children, who call him "father" (*ami* instead of *aki*). If he marries the widow he is called *amiran*.[2] The practice of levirate is not now observed as a compulsory institution, but the facts that the young brother must take the care of the widow and her children and that he may marry her point to a compulsory character of this form of marriage belonging to former days. Among the Tungus of Manchuria levirate is still practised, while in former days it was compulsory. According to the Birarčen, the Goldi extend the levirate to the father's wives, except naturally the mother, so that after the father's death, the son inherits the wife of his father and makes her his wife. According to the Birarčen this practice is based upon the practical calculation of the father, who desires to procure a good wife for his son, when he himself dies. With good reason it may be supposed that this practice of the Goldi, as to the father's wife, has been known among all Tungus.[3] The wives of all *aki*, i. e., the elder brothers and all male seniors, among the Reindeer Tungus, are inherited as wives. The practice of levirate among the Manchus is nowadays unknown; however, it is a living and very important institution among the Goldi, the Oročі (Brailovskiĭ), and the Buriats (Petri). Some indirect indications show, however, that this practice in former days might also have been known among the Manchus.

On the contrary, the widow may not marry all relatives of her husband whom the latter calls, e. g., *aki, ama, ami, ačka, aka*, i. e., the seniors of his clan. When she needs no help from her husband's clan, and when the clan has no objections to her remarrying into another clan, the widow may marry anybody she likes, except those prohibited by the general rule. When the husbands belong to different clans, the children also belong to different clans, those of their respective fathers. Though they are foreigners as to the clan, marriage between them, I think, is not practicable.[4]

[1] It ought to be here pointed out that *ina* in the Manchu system means: the progeny of "my clan women," i. e., in the terms of the classificatory system, all young people of "my husband's clan" are supposed to be the progeny of "my clan women."

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 182.

[3] Such an extended form of levirate was practised among the early Sian-pi and Hiung-nu, which was recorded by Chinese chronicles (cf. E. Parker). According to B. E. Petri this practice among the Buriats is considered an illegal one, so no formal wedding is celebrated. The Buriats assert that such cases are due to a recent innovation. Among the Tungus of Transbaikalia I know of an incident when a man ran away with his father's wife, the father being alive. This case is quoted by the Tungus as criminal and a repugnant violation of custom.

[4] I know no cases like this, and the Tungus did not hesitate to give a negative answer as to the possibility of such a marriage. In fact, the mother remains as the basis of the family. Cf. also "S. O. M."

Conclusions as to the Early Forms of Marriage. In the marriage regulations observed among the Tungus, one may thus distinguish two systems, — that of the Tungus, and that of the Manchus, — just as we have seen in the system of the terms of relationship. According to the Tungus system, it may be supposed that two clans were originally bound by marriage, so that all women of "my mother's clan" were "my potential wives"; on the other hand, all men of "my mother's clan" were "my potential husbands," so the cross-cousin marriage form has been just a specific case of a more general form, namely, all "my mother's clan men and women" may become "my husbands and wives." If we agree that the Tungus clan was originally based upon the matrilineal system of kinship, and that marriage was matrilocal, then the confused picture of the terms of kinship and marriage regulations disappears altogether. It ought to be pointed out that *ina*(*n*), whom the Tungus woman may marry, if her husband dies, in Manchu is "my mother's clan junior class" and in RTM dialect it has been preserved as a suffix (*-na*) for the designation of the same relative (*juvna*). Yet *juvďa*, as I have supposed, is borrowed from the Mongol system. Again, an old term used, perhaps, after the adoption of the patrilineal system *gusin*(*ar*) for "the husband and wife" in the dialects of the Tungus Manchuria ought to be perhaps connected with *gusin* of other dialects where it means "my mother's relative of the senior group," and consequently "my potential husband." Thus in the Tungus woman's mind there were in "my mother's clan" *gusin*, merely "seniors," who naturally went to another clan. The progeny of the *gusin* in other clans was called *ina*, who returned to the mother's clan as husbands, so that the idea of *inan* was connected with that of "husbands of my clan (junior and of my age class) women." With the change of the matrilineal into the patrilineal system, with patrilocal marriage, the men of the mother's clan did not go to another clan, but in the Tungus woman's mind the *ina* remained her potential husbands (the survival of levirate). Therefore, the Tungus have borrowed a ready term from the Mongol system, — *juvďa*, but the Manchus have preserved *ina* in its original meaning: the son of the *gusin*, while the *gusin*, together with the change of functions in the patrilineal system, was called by a Mongol term: *nakču*. From the Tungus woman's point of view, *gusin* always remained in another clan and the *ina* in the clan from where she got her husband. This shows, by the way, that Mongol influence has been exercised upon the Northern and Southern Tungus after the division of these Tungus branches was over. Later on, *ina* took another meaning: in "my husband's clan my sisters' (all of whom were the wives of the men of my husband's clan) progeny," which coincides with the Manchu idea: the progeny of my class (from the females); and *gusin*, belonging to the mother's clan, has naturally become the potential husband, according to the idea that all men of a foreign clan are potential husbands.

It is quite natural that with the transition to the patrilineal system and the patrilocal marriage the women in the husband's clan met with the class *ina* also their seniors who were styled *atki* and against whose sexual pretensions they ought to be protected by a system of restrictions and avoidance customs, among which the prohibition of re-marriage with them is only a particular case. This was an innovation well developed in the class

system of marriage among the Manchus. The practical need of a class system was also required after the adoption of the patrilineal system. Thus two stages may be supposed to have been undergone by the Tungus:

(1) The matrilineal system and the matrilocal marriage. The woman marries her *ina*, the sons of ♂♂ belonging to her clan, but she does not marry the *gusin*, for they go away.

(2) The patrilineal system and the patrilocal marriage. The woman marries her *ina*, the sons of ♀♀ belonging to her clan, and she marries the *gusin*, for they belong to another clan.

The above-given facts and conclusions permit one to restore, hypothetically, the sequences of the marriage regulations in the following scheme:

In the first stage two matrilineal exogamic clans were connected by intermarriage; all *gusin* were in the other clan with their children *ina*, so two age groups were distinguished in the clan into which the men of the woman's clan used to marry; in the clan were also distinguished two age groups, namely, that of the mother's and her sisters' (*on'i, on'o*) husbands who were called *ama, ami*[1] and one's children and that of the sisters', who were the junior group.

In the second stage two patrilineal exogamic clans were connected by intermarriage; all *gusin* remained in the other clan, with their children *ina*, to whom the woman might be married; in her own clan the senior men were *aki* (and *ama, ami*, — the direct ancestors, "the husbands of my mother and her sisters," as was so in a previous stage)[2] and the junior men *noku*, to whom marriage was not permitted, according to the principle of exogamy.

In the third stage, intermarriage was extended to foreign clans; the terms of relationship were borrowed from the Mongols for one's wife's relatives, and one's husband's relatives, except *ina*, which was transferred into these clans as "my potential husband,"[3] and perhaps *atki*, the origin of which is not clear;[4] a series of avoidance customs were introduced, in order to protect the woman, who met with senior males belonging to a foreign clan, not previously restricted from sexual intercourse by the idea of common origin; in this stage the idea of an age distinction in the clan organization prevailed and by artificial methods of avoidance the division into two groups, senior and junior, was again maintained.

In the fourth stage, the family principle appropriated the greatest influence, and by analogy with the family, the system of class was introduced; most of the terms were either borrowed from the Chinese or were old ones adapted to a new purpose; the restrictions of marriage with seniors naturally spread over all clans.

[1] *Amaka* — the elder brother of my mother, who remains in my mother's clan — is a survival in the Birarčen system. Therefore marriage to an *amaka* (also a *načи*) is still prohibited.
[2] The restriction of crossing has been spread from *ama, ami*, to *aki*, the latter being perhaps borrowed from other groups.
[3] For my *gusin's* son is a new term borrowed from the Mongols.
[4] In other dialects it is substituted by Mongol and Yakut terms.

In the fifth stage, the principle of consanguinity prevailed; the terms were borrowed from various sources, — Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, Russian, — with the idea of a new system of relationship, which destroyed the class system.

It ought to be noted that some Tungus groups did not pass through all stages of these variations, but remained at the transitory stage, while some other groups perhaps missed certain stages, owing to direct foreign influence. Indeed, migrations and the destruction of the clans during endless wars gave great impulse to the variations of the original system.

Let us now return to the system of kinship. From the sequences of forms of marriage and the system of kinship, as explained, it may be inferred that the original Tungus system of kinship was probably very meagre, tending to define two groups of females and males only, who, according to the principle of exogamy, might, or might not, intermarry. The exogamy was introduced, perhaps, in order to exclude from the above-mentioned groups direct ancestors and progeny, and it was introduced as the result of biological observations concerning bad influence in the marriages of close relatives. The complexity of the system of the terms of relationship which was observed in its most developed form among the Manchus, and in a less developed form among the Tungus of Manchuria, and in a still less developed form among the Reindeer Tungus was due to the degree of the intermixing of the different systems, mostly owing to foreign influences, and partly to the result of the spontaneous variation of these forms. The Buriat (Mongol) system of kinship and marriage regulations is now found to be the most advanced, and seems to be responsible for many changes which occurred in the Manchu and Tungus systems. The Tungus system thus seems to have originated from a very simple form of the system of kinship and group marriage, actual or potential, limited by exogamy within the clans and endogamy within the ethnical units (tribe), originally probably composed of two clans.

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2. Marriage

Ways of Marrying. The Tungus consider marriage as an act of social importance; the principal idea of marriage is that of the continuity and further increase of population: marriage is therefore one of the principal problems among the Tungus. Whence, obtaining women, match-making, and the complexity of customs of the wedding are of the greatest importance.

The woman is, however, needed not only for childbirth and child education, but also for carrying out certain work in the family. The latter is the economical unit, and without the woman such a unit cannot exist: this problem I shall deal with in the following chapter. The proportion of women to men, as shown, is not always favourable for a smooth functioning of marriage, because the women are usually less in number than the men. So, for instance, from 1912 to 1915 the Birarčen suffered from a lack of women, so that all girls under the age of thirteen were already engaged, while among the Kumarčen there were unmarried girls of over forty. Such a disproportion is, of course, a temporary phenomenon.

Owing to the fact of the permanent over-proportion of males, as shown in Chapter II, parents are always anxious to find mates for their sons as early as possible. This is the reason why match-making is of such importance in the system of marriage.

If a girl's parents or her relatives do not care to keep her at home, she is sometimes married at an age when she cannot physically become an actual wife. Then, of course, she has no sexual intercourse with her husband "till she gets fat," according to the Tungus expression. However, as will be shown, "the getting fat" does not exactly correspond to sexual maturity. But among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the moment of consummation of marriage corresponds to the age of sexual maturity, which takes place at the age of eighteen years, when a wedding according to the Orthodox Church ritual (they are supposed to be Christians) is celebrated. This is an interesting instance of the adaptation of new customs to the original Tungus ideas. Among some groups where the clan does not help the young man's parents or relatives, and the family cannot afford the payment of kalym, marriage is sometimes postponed for a long time. When the marriage is postponed after the age of the bride's maturity, the betrothed husband, among the Khingan Tungus, is allowed sexual intercourse with his betrothed. There is, however, no formal regulation of the matter, but the bride's parents and clan people "do not notice," even if the young man comes to her wigwam (she lives, of course, with her parents or relatives) and sleeps with her. In order of adaptation, the Buriats and also the Udehe allow the wedding, and also the consummation of marriage, before the full payment of the kalym. In the same way, among the Udehe, the kalym, as an essential of the wedding, is sometimes, if it cannot be afforded by the bridegroom, reduced to two harpoons and small Chinese wine cups.

Owing to early match-making, a girl sometimes remains unmarried, if her betrothed dies before the wedding or if her parents or relatives wish to keep her with them, or if she does not want to marry. As I have recorded, among the Tungus of Transbaikalia, the maximum age of the bride was twenty-eight. The age of thirty as the maximum limit has been indicated to me by some groups, e. g., the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and the Khingan Tungus. Among the Kumarčen, in exceptional cases, it reaches the age of forty, which, as shown previously, is due to a temporary disproportion of sexes among this group. Among the Birarčen, marriage takes place not before the age of fifteen, and usually between eighteen and twenty. In forty-five cases of marriage as I have observed among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia, the average age of the bride was 17.2 years, with a minimum age of thirteen and a maximum age of twenty-eight. Among the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia the average age of the bride in thirty-four cases was 20.7 years, with a minimum of fifteen and a maximum of twenty-five; over fifty per cent was between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one. Among the Tungus of Manchuria I have observed a case where a bride and bridegroom were eleven years old; a marriage at the age of twelve is common. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the minimum age of the bride sometimes is below the age of eleven, for, according to them, women are sadly lacking; the average age of the bridegroom is somewhat higher. Among the Nomad Tungus it has been

found to be 22.9 years, with a minimum of fourteen and a maximum of thirty years, and over fifty per cent of the ages fall between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three.

The difference in the age of husband and wife may thus vary within the limits of the maximum and the minimum age of the bride and bridegroom. Generally speaking, the Tungus prefer an equal age in husband and wife. However, under the stress of economic needs, the Tungus sometimes marry a woman to a young boy in order to get a "working woman" for the bridegroom's family. Such occurs when the chief of a family becomes a widower and he himself does not want to re-marry, but has a young son to be married: from the Tungus point of view this form is not commendable. It corresponds to a case of a young man, poor and orphaned, joining his wife's family, as a male active element of the economical unit: then the wife may be much younger than is required by the physiological possibilities of marriage.[1]

If the bridegroom cannot pay the kalym in horses, or reindeer, then he arranges payment by his own work — marriage by service. In such marriage the man works for his future wife's parents, or relatives, and the marriage takes place when the fixed period expires. Such a form is sometimes practised when a widow remains with the children and needs a man for supporting the family. Indeed, this form of marriage is not perhaps an old one, for it is based upon the idea of the man's work as compensation for the kalym; this was established after the form of exchange had been shaken up by innovations borrowed from other ethnical groups. Among the Manchus, the Udehe, and especially among the Buriats and the Goldi, marriage by service is now rarely practised. Let us remember that the Manchus consider it as an old institution which was in former days a preferential form

1 Among the Goldi, according to I. A. Lopatin, the main reason for marriage is the purchase of a woman for housework and pleasure. This author, with many others, was impressed by the difference in age of married couples and the practice of kalym, but he contradicts himself when he gives his account as to dowry, marriage, and sexual relations. In fact, according to I. A. Lopatin's account, the Goldi love children and want to have them. Among the Goldi (and Udehe) the idea of marriage is based upon the general Tungus idea as to marriage, viz., marriage is a means for obtaining children and forming a new economic unit. First of all, sexual relations between an old man and a girl of eight years is not a common practice, indeed. If a chief marries such a small girl, he does so in order to prepare a wife for his unmarried son (cf. *supra*, p. 214). If he marries his young son to such a very young girl he does not wish to enjoy the child, but he makes a certain economy in the payment of kalym, which is usually reduced if he takes charge of the girl. Besides, the girl little by little accustoms herself to the new family. Moreover, the lack of women, as found among the Tungus, compels the father to foresee further difficulties in getting a wife for his son, for most of them are sometimes betrothed from early childhood and even before birth, as among the Manchus, and as commonly practised among the Chinese. By these remarks I do not intend to deny that sometimes the old man, in marrying himself or his son, has sexual pleasure in view, instances of which I. A. Lopatin perhaps knows, but it ought to be remembered that (1) the Goldi customs do not very strongly oppose sexual relations with women belonging to foreign clans, so these cases must be regarded as that "of love for young girls," relatively rare even among Europeans; (2) customs of avoidance concerning the husband's father and all seniors are known also among the Goldi; (3) her parents and relatives are not indifferent to the woman's position in her husband's family, so they may take her back, and in case of the violation of customs on the part of the husband's father, they do not pay back the kalym. Considering these conditions, it seems to be more likely that, without speaking of the exceptional cases of sexual deviations from the biologically normal standards (perhaps allowed by a clan organization which has declined as among the Goldi), the common practice of the marriage of young girls has in view mostly economical considerations and the needs of getting a woman for the family, as has already been pointed out by several authors who have investigated various neighbouring groups (e. g., S. Brailovskiĭ). The idea of intercourse between old men and young girls, which haunts I. A. Lopatin's mind (e. g., *op. cit.*, p. 157, and others), could perhaps be avoided if he would investigate more completely the practices of the consummation of marriage, the customs of avoidance, and the ways of the woman's family intervention in case of her dissatisfaction with her position in the foreign clan. To that it ought also to be added that the clan organization among the Goldi, as it has been described by I. A. Lopatin, has been shaken up by borrowed innovations, and they are not characteristic of the Tungus system in general, and particularly of that of the Goldi themselves.

of marriage. In its particular form, i. e., when a young man joins his wife's family (usually with an elderly father or mother who cannot work and maintain the unit), it has a certain analogy to the customs known among the Jukagirs practising matrilocal marriage and Koriaks.[2] As a matter of fact, there may be two different sources of this practice: an old practice of matrilocal marriage and a recent practice as compensation for the kalym, obviously connected with patrilocal marriage in the patrilineal clan. The early form perhaps was assimilated by the recent form.

Marriage by exchange is still the most-favoured form of getting a wife: two families can thus exchange girls given to the sons of the families.

Sometimes match-making and marriage are postponed till the adult age of the young man is reached. In a case (among the Birarčen) the reason given was that the mother, who was the head of the family, wanted to choose good daughters-in-law in accordance with her sons' inclinations. In fact, all three sons, who lived with their mother, had wives who were very healthy, handsome (from the Tungus point of view), hard-working, and with good characters. The mother taught them how to dress skins, keep house, etc. As a matter of fact, this big family, which is very rare among the Tungus, was more prosperous than the average Tungus family. If a young man or a young girl does not want to marry the person chosen by their parents, the final settlement of the question depends upon the respective characters of the parents and the children, interested in the matter. The children very often are victorious and the marriage arrangement is left to their responsibility, so that real love conquers the parents' calculation in marriage: however, match-making and the wedding must be carried out as is required by custom.

Capture. Marriages by capture are also known. They occur if the parents' will cannot be changed. This practice, according to the Tungus, is an innovation mostly due to Russian influence. Among the Manchus, except in the premature pregnancy of the bride, capture is unknown. I have heard of no incident of capture among the Tungus of Manchuria who, like all Tungus, do not object very much to a girl's pregnancy before marriage. Among the Barguzin and Nerchinsk Tungus capture is considered a heinous crime, which is quite natural, for it infringes upon the regulations of marriage and naturally creates hostile relations between two clans, which the Tungus always wish, if possible, to avoid. If a girl is captured (always with her consent, of course) her clansmen take arms and start in pursuit. If the man is caught, they take the girl away, and beat and even sometimes kill him. According to the Tungus "to capture a girl is worse than to steal a reindeer," and theft as a crime is almost unknown among the Tungus.

In three cases of capture observed personally, the Nerchinsk Tungus were responsible. They, however, as compared with the Barguzin Tungus, are in a state of very advanced process of clan decline. I shall give a short account of these captures, which are interesting from many points of view.

1 Cf. W. Jochelson's "The Yukaghirs" and "The Koriak." Among many other instances, I may quote the Nuichen tradition as to the marriage of Sian-Pou (C. de Harlez's transcription), the ancestor of the emperors of the Kin dynasty. He married a girl of a man belonging to Wan-yan and did not pay kalym, but he inherited his father-in-law. At that time the patrilocal marriage and the patrilineal clan existed among the Nuichen.

In the Tungus village *Tèksèr*, on the Akima, a right tributary of the Nercha,[1] a young man, with a number of his friends, captured a girl whose parents did not want to give her to the man in marriage. They went straight to the Orthodox priest in the neighbouring village (*ʒ'ulʒ'a*, on the Nercha River bank), who married them. Later on, the kalym, calculated at three hundred roubles, in horses and fur, was paid, but the girl did not receive the dowry.

A group of the Nerchinsk Tungus went to the Barguzin Tungus to celebrate the wedding of a Nerchinsk Tungus with a Barguzin girl. During the wedding, when all were drunk, a young Nerchinsk Tungus captured a Barguzin girl. The following morning the Barguzin Tungus discovered the fact of the disappearance of the girl, and required the Nerchinsk Tungus to present themselves before a general meeting. The young man was not among the Nerchinsk Tungus. Then the meeting decided that the marriage, just concluded, ought to be annulled, and taking their rifles they decided to give real battle to the Nerchinsk Tungus. Offers of negotiation were declined by the Barguzin Tungus, and the men, old and young, wanted, according to their expresson, "to fight as they used to fight with the Yakuts and the Mamugirs." After certain deliberation the matter was settled in a peaceful way: the elder brother of the young man who had captured the girl promised to pay the kalym calculated as thirty head of reindeer and horses, and to give a good wedding. The young man, however, was married by an Orthodox priest soon after his elopement with the girl.

The third case already mentioned is that of a man who ran away with his father's wife. This man was a real exception, among the Tungus — he had been married four or five times (he was then about thirty-five). After the capture of the woman he left his clan and lived among the settled Tungus, under the protection of the Russian authorities.

From these facts and other personal observations[2] of the psychology of the Tungus, it is obvious that this practice is rather an exception, by which, however, I do not presume to say that capture was unknown among the Tungus. The close cultural relationship of the Tungus to the Palæasiatics, at a remote period, is beyond doubt. Among the Gilaks and the Koriaks capture is an essential of the wedding ceremony. This is also true of the Goldi wedding ceremony, though among them it is observed in a less-developed form. It was also known long ago among the Sien-pi, among whom,[3] according to Chinese chronicles, "their marriages always began with clandestine commerce, and then capture of the woman. After from three or six months a go-between was sent with presents of horses, oxen, or

1 Cf. *supra*, p. 60.

2 I had a good opportunity of observing all details and psychology of the Tungus in a capture when a great friend of mine wished to capture a girl and asked me to help him capture her, for I had good fire-arms and horses. In this case, I abstained from helping him and missed the opportunity of observing this ethnographical phenomenon as an active person in the affair, for I wanted to remain on good terms with another Tungus group.

3 Cf. E. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 121. We do not know who the Sian-pi were. In the western part of the Tung-hu territory they were their successors. J. Klaproth connects them with the ancestors of the Koreans. It is curious to note that their ethnographical complex included (about the beginning of the Christian era) horse breeding, some agriculture, "nomadism," the tent facing south and belonging to the woman, matrilineal kinship system, levirate, "marriage by service," survival of dog's religious function, weaving art, etc. Blended character of this complex is evident, as is, practically speaking, among most of the Far Eastern ethnical groups.

sheep, as marriage gifts." We do not yet know whether the Tung-hu were the Tungus, Mongols, or Palæasiatics, but there is no doubt that they were neighbours of the Southern Tungus.[1]

Intermarriage with Other Ethnical Groups. The Tungus intermarry with their neighbours: the reasons for it are manifold. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia the women sometimes go to the Nomad Tungus and the Buriats, and also, though rarely, to the Russians. The Tungus then receive very high kalym, and maintain good relations with their influential neighbours, but the non-Tungus women do not usually intermarry with the Reindeer Tungus, for living in a wigwam and dressing skins is not attractive for women who are accustomed to a regular nomadic and comfortably settled life. I know of only a few occurrences when Nomad Tungus women married Reindeer Tungus. These marriages were not happy ones, and usually the women ran away. I know a few incidents of Russian women, or more exactly Russianized Tungus, who were married to the Nomad Tungus. Among the Tungus of Manchuria the women marry the Dahurs rather often, very rarely marry the Manchus, and never marry Russian or Russianized Tungus.[2] Marriages with the Chinese are rare and usually against the will of the girl's parents and her own. The Chinese usually take the Tungus girls for the debts of their parents. It is curious to note that the women after marriage usually refuse to speak Chinese and their children speak Tungus. The Birarčen in former days used (rarely) to exchange women with the Goldi and other Tungus groups, the Dahur women also occasionally marry Tungus young men of distinction. This practice is, however, rather implied by close relations, owing to the common military organization.

Divorce. Divorce is an exceptionally rare occurrence among the Tungus. There are three occasions, namely, when the woman requires divorce; when the husband requires it; and when both of them require it. The matter has to be settled in all three cases by a clan meeting, or a meeting of two joint clans. Let us examine the details. The woman may require a divorce when the husband uses her badly, beats her, fails to provide her with food and skins, gets drunk or runs away, or leaves her altogether and lives with another woman. Then the woman first asks her husband's clan to intervene. If clan intervention is not successful, and the husband does not change his habits, she may ask for a formal divorce, and the kalym is not then returned. In a particular case, when the wife is left by her husband, she may require a divorce, but her husband's clan may either require her, according to the principle of levirate, to stay in the clan as the *inan's* wife, or if she does

[1] Among the Oroči (S. Brailovskiĭ) for the first night the young couple leave the wedding in a canoe and return the next day as husband and wife. This practice perhaps is a capture in a developed form transferred into the wedding ceremony, or, may be, it symbolizes (the rite of transition) the starting of a new family.

[2] In this case, the main reason is that the Russianized Tungus are Russian subjects. The same should be stated in reference to intermarriage with the Chinese, whom the Tungus consider as an alien group, politically and absolutely disconnected from the Tungus.

not consent she may be set free to return, but the kalym is not given back. Among the Tungus of Manchuria the act of divorce must be sealed by the finger prints of the people of the husband's clan, husband and wife.[1] The children naturally remain in the husband's clan. Divorce due to the husband's misconduct is very rare, for the Tungus usually treat their wives very kindly. It is rarer still, owing to the custom that requires the woman to leave her children in the husband's clan.

A husband may require a divorce when the woman is systematically betraying him in a scandalous manner, drinking wine, and naturally if she elopes. If she is wrong, the kalym must be returned, fully or partly, and she loses her dowry. The children naturally remain in the husband's clan. Among the Tungus of Manchuria the same formalities are required as when it is the husband's fault. When a woman is barren it does not give the husband the right of divorce,[2] but he is allowed to take a second wife.

When both husband and wife want a divorce, the matter has to be settled by their respective clans, and the latter confine their influence to a formal admonition, for the unfortunate husband and wife may leave one another at any moment, and the clans will have to settle the case of elopement.

Among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia I observed only one divorce. Very few divorces also have been observed among the Tungus of Manchuria. The most common reason for a divorce is due to the wife's elopement.

Match-Making. There are three instances in match-making: (1) when the children are so small that they are not consulted, and the question is settled by the relatives of the young boy and girl; (2) when the girl and the young man of adult age are consulted, and the question is settled by their relatives in the same way as in case 1; and (3) when the girl and the young man are in love, and the initiative of the match-making is taken by them; the formal side is again settled by their relatives. Match-making, preceded by capture, may be related to case 3. If the relatives — the father, mother, or *aki* — do not consult the young adult girl or young man, they take on themselves a great responsibility of the possible opposition on the part of persons directly affected by their decision. As a rule, these persons are usually supported by public opinion, for, generally speaking, the Tungus customs require the consulting of such interested persons. Among the Khingan Tungus the girl is not consulted on principle. She may thus be married against her will. The usual way is, however, that the young man asks her himself and if she consents he asks her in marriage through match-makers and usually abstains from it if she refuses to marry him.

[1] The finger prints are required in all very grave cases. Cf. *supra*, p. 199, e. g., in the case of the death sentence. This practice is borrowed from the Manchus. It is known among various groups and particularly it was practised in olden days in Europe.

[2] As a matter of fact, if a woman is barren it is quite evident, for they usually have sexual relations with other men apart from their husbands, as shown, with their *inan* and guests, and when the husband is impotent it is also usually well known. (Cf. among the Buriats, B. E. Petri, p. 17.) A formal reason, "the children of the woman are the husband's children," as it is observed among the Buriats, is not counted true among the Tungus, who do not need to have heirs for the religious reasons well developed among the Buriats.

The reasons why the relatives in all cases take such an active part in match-making are twofold: match-making and marriage are not private and personal affairs, but a clan affair, and the kalym constitutes an essential element of marriage, and an important event in the wedding. The kalym is received, among all Tungus groups, by the father, or mother, or, if they are not alive, by the closest *aki*, but never by the *noku* or *ama*. The kalym is paid by the same relatives of the bridegroom's clan. If the girl has been brought up in another family, and not that of her father, the kalym is received by the people who have the right, according to the system of kinship.

Match-makers are called *kuda* (plur. sometimes *kudasal*, Barg. Nerč.) (Barg. Nerč. All Tung. of Manch., Nom. Tung. etc.).[1] Before they visit the person, who has the right to discuss marriage arrangement, the ground is prepared by rumours of the project. If there is no negative reaction on the part of the girl's relatives, the match-makers visit them. There are usually two, and they must be married people belonging to the young man's clan or to any other clan if they possess certain diplomatic ability: it is even desirable that the match-makers belong to a foreign clan. This practice excludes certain relatives of the young man from this function, viz., the father, his elder or his younger brother, if the latter is married. Thus, the choice of match-makers is limited by no regulations except that referring to persons belonging to the family. This seems to point to a relatively recent origin of this institution. The match-makers have to discuss the matter with the girl's father or his substitute in the latter's house, and never in any other place.[2]

First the visitors start a neutral conversation, and the host must not show that he or she understands the purpose of the visit. Then the visitors take from their clothing a bottle of wine — *araki* — and pray the host to take it. The wine may be Mongol (made of milk), Russian (*vodka*), or Chinese (made of a kind of millet). A bottle of wine does not sometimes suffice to start the discussion, and then the match-makers take out another bottle. Without wine, no match-making discussion is possible.[3] The girl's mother and other relatives are also present, and take their part in the discussion. The formal consent of the mother is obligatory among the Khingan Tungus. If she does not consent, the match-making cannot be concluded. According to these Tungus, if her husband, the girl's father, even beats her in order to force her to consent, he usually does not succeed, and the whole affair drops. The girl may also be present, but custom requires that she must not show that the discussion concerns her; in the presence of the match-makers nobody consults her at all.

[1] This term is borrowed from the Mongols, — *xut ‖kuda* (Lit.), the wife's relatives *xod(o)*, *xodoγoi‖ huda* (Lit.) — the husband's relatives; *xuda* of Buriats (*Podg. Petri, Castr.*) and *xodoγoi* of Yakuts (*Pek.*) — the wife's relatives. But in Manchu, *sadun* — the match-maker — is different from the Tungus, and has been borrowed by the Birarčen, who use both terms.

[2] Among the Birarčen match-making is very much simplified if the young man and young girl's fathers are on friendly terms. The matter then is settled between them. These Tungus, however, generally prefer to have a match-maker of a foreign clan, for "he is not personally interested in the matter" and his weight as a witness is much higher than that of a clansman. Another match-maker may be a person belonging to the young man's clan for the better support of the clan interests. Such mixed embassy is preferred, for the sides sometimes refuse to fulfil the obligations of the agreement.

[3] It is interesting to note that during the experiment of prohibition in Russia (at the beginning of the last war) the lack of wine was a great impediment to the normal functioning of match-making. Some marriages, as a matter of fact, were postponed, owing to this prohibition.

The Kalym. The main matter of discussion is the kalym, which is called *tōri* (Barg. Nerč.), *tori* (Bir. Nerč.), *turi* (Bir. Kum.),[1] which perhaps may be connected with the Mongol word *tür‖türu* (Lit.) — law, etc., as it is perhaps in Manchu.[2] It does not mean "the price of the bride," but forms a complex custom. I therefore propose to use[3] a conventional term adopted by Russian ethnographers — *kalym*. With a good reason, B. E. Petri points out that among the Buriats their term does not mean "the price," as some ethnographers have suggested to interpret this custom.[4] The conventional questions (among the Tungus of Manchuria) as to the kalym are these: "How much *turi?* How many bridles? (i. e., How many horses?)" and then the discussion starts.[5]

The kalym varies as to its value, which depends upon many conditions. If the girl is a child, the kalym is low; if she is an adult, it is high. The value of the kalym also depends upon the personal qualities of the girl, viz., her handsomeness, her skill in sewing, housekeeping, skin dressing, and the social position of her relatives. Among the Reindeer Tungus, the kalym is always high if the bride has a child who follows her mother to the husband's clan. In this case, the kalym is higher than is usual, for the bride has a proof of her fertility, and brings with her a new member for the husband's clan: if she leaves the child in her father's clan the kalym is usually reduced.[6] This custom distinguishes the Tungus ideas from those of the Buriats[7] and the Manchus, among whom, under these conditions, the kalym may not be required. In exchange no kalym is required. Yet, in marriage by service, the bridegroom either gives no kalym or it is reduced to a mere formality.

[1] According to E. I. Titov, in the Irk. Gov. dial. *torim*, the bridegroom's property(?), goods paid for the bride as ransom(?). The suffix *m* is not clear. The translation is wrong. According to N. N. Poppe in Nomad Barguzin it is *tori*.

[2] Among the Goldi and the Oroči it is known under the Tungus form *tori*. It cannot be connected with the Manchu *turimbi*, to pay rent, to rent, etc. In Manchu the kalym is called *doro*, which also means custom, law, etc. In Buriat (*Petri*), *aduu*, a drove of horses (*adu*, a drove of horses, and *mal*, the cattle, Podg.). In Yakut, *sutu*. In Tungus Lam., *tabiraxi tamani*, the meaning of which is not clear, but *taman* is price, money, etc.

[3] Cf. my "S. O. M."

[4] It has become a common-place in ethnographical treatises (e. g., R. H. Lowie, taking one of the latest) to identify the custom of kalym with marriage by purchase correlated "with an extremely uniform treatment of women, who are everywhere regarded as inferior." This interpretation, at least in reference to the Tungus, the Manchus, and the Buriats, is wrong in the meaning and idea of this custom, but only partly true, from a formal judicial European point of view. Yet it does not correlate with the "inferiority of the woman," for this notion, as will be shown, being of European complex, has no equivalent in the Tungus complex.

[5] Among the Tungus of Manchuria two parts of the kalym — *turi* — are distinguished: *čaŋtu*, which consists of wine, things ("goods" of E. I. Titov), pig, etc., and *silbur*, the bridle (i. e., the harness for a horse). However, *čaŋtu* and *silbur*, each, separately, may be called *turi*.

[6] This may be interpreted by some ethnographers as the "purchase" of a new clan member (in this case, sometimes a male and not a slave!) or as "compensation" for the clan that loses a member educated by it. These interpretations do not suit, it seems to me, the Tungus idea of this practice. In fact, the difference in the kalym for a woman with and without child is so small that it may not be regarded as a business proposition — for the Tungus a couple of reindeer is not equivalent to the loss of a young member. It is like an act showing a change of clan belonging. The Tungus need to perform some act, some *rite de passage*, for a formal recognition of the change of clan. The child born to a girl naturally belongs to the girl, therefore to her family, and to her clan. When she leaves her clan in order to join another clan, she performs certain rites and she is paid. What is done with her child? The child is too small to perform the rite of its adoption by her mother's husband's clan, but the business transaction by which the clan of the mother gives its right of child "possession" to another clan serves as the *rite de passage*. There may be no doubt that this practice ought to be established, together with the elaboration of the complex of the patrilocal marriage and the patrilocal clan.

[7] Cf. B. E. Petri, p. 21.

The usual kalym consists of domesticated animals, from twenty-five to sixty reindeer among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia, and somewhat less among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria; about thirty horses among the Tungus using horses; sometimes some horses, from four to seven, other things, and pigs — among the Tungus influenced by the Manchus; and of cattle and horses among the Nomad Tungus. Among the Khingan Tungus the usual kalym consists of six or seven horses, a cow, a sheep, a pig (alive or slaughtered), and Chinese wine. A part of it is paid at the match-making and the remainder at the wedding.[1] Among this group, kalym is obligatory in any case, though it is sometimes reduced. The animals must be paid in heads, this group being rich in horses. Among the Birarčen and the Kumarčen the usual kalym consists of a horse and about four bottles of Chinese wine at the match-making and a treble or quadruple quantity, together with other gifts and a good boar, at the wedding. As a rule, a part of the kalym among all Tungus groups is always paid at the match-making. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia, it consists of a reindeer and some *vodka*, taken at the feast, while among the Khingan Tungus it consists of half of the kalym, and among the Birarčen and the Kumarčen it consists of a quarter or a fifth of the kalym. Among the Birarčen, however, rich people sometimes pay the whole *silbur*[2] at once to those who are poor. The latter practice is not quite regular from the Tungus point of view. Let us also remember that among the Manchus the kalym is calculated in the same way — in pigs, cash money, gifts, etc. Among the Goldi the kalym is paid in cash and sometimes in pigs, and wine for the feast, the total amount of expenditure being a few hundred roubles. Among the Oroči it is calculated in cash and some obligatory presents: at least harpoons and Chinese wine cups. Usually it is from fifty to a hundred roubles in value and some furs and materials for clothing. Among the Nomad Tungus the kalym is usually paid in heads of live cattle besides some presents and wine.[3]

From the facts stated above it is obvious that the value and mode of payment of the kalym depends on the relative wealth of the groups and their economic system. Some hint as to the previous economic system may be seen in the units adopted for the calculation, e. g., among the Manchus, pigs; among the Reindeer Tungus, reindeer.

In spite of the fact of the large quantity of heads calculated among certain groups, namely, the Reindeer Tungus, the actual quantity of the animals paid never exceeds a few reindeer. The same ought to be referred to the Tungus of Manchuria except the Khingan Tungus. The rest of the kalym is paid in clothing and cash. The calculation of the value of the clothing is quite conventional, for they calculate, for instance, a woman's cotton coat worth, say, five roubles or dollars a head, which is sometimes worth fifty roubles or dollars, and not lower than twenty-five. The animals paid as kalym among these Tungus are very often returned on the spot as dowry. So that high kalym is rather a conventional form, for it is considered good manners and makes the wedding more "expensive."[4]

[1] If the young man is poor he pays the kalym by small instalments.
[2] See footnote 5, p. 225.
[3] As far as I know from the Tungus and Manchus, the kalym among the Dahurs does not include domesticated animals, and is not calculated in heads. The term *tori* is also unknown.
[4] Cf. Chap. I, reindeer breeding and the transmission of property.

If the bride's relative does not want to give her away, custom requires that he (or she) must bargain as long as possible. Sometimes match-making, or the arrangement about the kalym, takes over five years, if the bride's relatives want to keep her with them: disputes at match-makings are, however, exceptionally rare.

Match-mak ng may be arranged at any age of the interested persons. I recorded among the Reindeer Tungus the following incidents: (1) a girl of eighteen months with a boy four years old; (2) a girl of nine with a boy of eight years; (3) a girl of thirteen with a boy of eleven. Marriage is usually postponed till the fifteenth year or more; or to a definite or indefinite date. So, for instance, in case 2 the marriage was postponed for five years, when the girl would be fourteen years old. Among the Kumarčen match-making takes place sometimes soon after the birth of the children; if the betrothed girl or boy dies before the wedding, another girl or boy of the same clans are given instead of the deceased. Match-making before the interested persons are born, as happens among the Manchus and the Buriats (B. E. Petri), is unknown among the Tungus. It should be pointed out that the idea of marriage and partly of match-making among the Manchus is somewhat different when compared with the Tungus ideas. The Manchu conception, however, is gradually beginning to penetrate the Tungus of Manchuria.

As soon as the matter of the kalym is settled the match-makers prepare a feast, on which occasion either a reindeer or other corresponding animal is slaughtered. At this feast the first place belongs to the person with whom the matter has been settled, or to the betrothed husband and wife, if they are present. Tungus custom requires that the girl does not express her own feelings as to the fact of her engagement. The custom of the feast for the bride's father or his substitute among the Tungus of Transbaikalia is called *sata*, which the Tungus derive from *sato* — to give something for food and drink.[1] Generally speaking, the Tungus like to show that the match-making and the wedding are acts of a business character and above all of great profit.[2]

If the father or his substitute has eaten and drunk well, he considers it his duty to return the feast to the match-makers. These feasts sometimes take two or three days and all clansmen of the bride and bridegroom take their part in the pleasure.

Although very rarely, it sometimes, however, happens that the arrangement between these people is broken off by a categoric refusal of the person betrothed to marry. The sides interested in the arrangement, being ashamed of the fact, try their best to admonish the young man and girl. If they fail, and do not want to cancel the arrangement, the thing may turn out badly for the young people and the interested clans as well. The most tragic ends, as suicide, capture, sometimes follow such conflicts. Therefore, the clans usually meet the young people's desire and formally cancel the arrangement.

When the match-making is completed, the preliminary act of the wedding is finished. During the period between this and the wedding both sides are interested in keeping on good terms with each other. Moreover, sometimes a part of the kalym may be paid during this period, as it is among the Manchus and the Goldi, and before the formal wedding. This practice as an institution, however, is unknown among the Reindeer Tungus, except

[1] Perhaps this term ought to be connected with the Yakut term for kalym — *sūlu*. In other Tungus dialects, this feast is called by the general term for "feast."
[2] This attitude of the Tungus has deceived some ethnographers.

as assistance, in a private way to the bride's father or his substitute. Among the Manchus a new custom has been established, viz., supplementary kalym, which I shall speak about when the wedding ceremony is discussed.

The Dowry. The dowry is also a very important matter among wedding customs. No discussion as to the dowry is allowed. The honour of the clan requires the dowry to be as rich as possible. As a general rule, the dowry is considered as the private property of the woman, which she may dispose of almost without any control. It follows her if she leaves the husband's clan, unless she commits certain crimes,[1] and her daughters inherit it.[2] The dowry is called *suruvuk* (Barg. Nerč.), *suruk* (Bir. Kum.),[3] *hürükulkan tard'in* (*tard'in* is not clear) (Tum.). This word is not, of course, of Tungus origin, the root being *suruk*. In Mongol (Podg.) *sürük* is a drove of horses (herd); however, *suruk* (*Rud.*, according to Potanin) is the fire put in the front of the house by the bridegroom before the bride's arrival. In Yakut, *sürük* is used with *ürün xara sürük* — horse and cattle (together) means a herd of domesticated animals.[4] The meaning of *suruvuk* in Tungus ought to be connected with the idea of domesticated animals (horses, cows, reindeer) given to the bride. The dowry consists of two parts: (1) reindeer, horses or cattle, and (2) cash, implements, instruments, clothing, kettles, and other utensils used by the women, called *ǯori* (the same word for "private property"),[5] clothing, etc., presented to the husband ought to be considered as her gifts. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the dowry is called *an'o*, a term evidently from the Yakuts: *ănjä* (*Pek.*) [*ăn'ă* — S. Sh.], and consists of two parts, namely, *abdu* [a herd of horses and cattle (derived, probably, from the common root with the Manchu *adun*, Buriat *adu*, *adun*, in the same sense), also *abdü* (Ur. *Castr.*)], and other property *sāvas*, which does not seem to be a Tungus word.[6]

The value of the dowry varies among different groups. So, for instance, among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria it must be equivalent to half the kalym. Among the Tungus of Transbaikalia it is equivalent to the kalym,[7] while among the Tungus of Manchuria it is somewhat less than the kalym,[8] but there must be some horses included.

[1] In case of divorce when the woman is guilty.
[2] Cf. details about inheritance, *infra*, Chap. VII.
[3] The woman calls it *aurkam* (Bir.) — a verb: to give a present, a gift, etc., never *suruk*.
[4] In Buriat, the dowry is *javyĕ* and *enžĕ* (*Petri*) [*inži*, *indĕ*, (*Podg.*)].
[5] It has been borrowed from Mongol-Buriat *ǯöri*, *zori* (*Podg.*); cf. also *doori*, Rudnev, p. 90. E. I. Titov gives an extraordinary translation of this word: the capital.
[6] In Yakut, *sābas*, etc.—household things, property.
[7] The following kalym was agreed upon (among the settled Tungus, formerly Reindeer Tungus of the Nerchinsk *taiga*): forty-five roubles cash, two horses, four cows, and an unfixed quantity of clothing, in total — forty reindeer. Of this kalym some furs worth thirty-five roubles had previously been paid ten roubles cash, five rugs of elk-head skin, three women's coats, one woman's velvet coat, one man's velvet coat, two women's and two men's winter coats, nine belts of Russian origin, seven shirts, two or three men's light coats, ten handkerchiefs, and three pairs of skin bags for horse loading. Two horses had been given, but as to the cows, they had not been given; besides, I believe the bridegroom's father possessed only three cows. The kalym was valued as equivalent to thirty-seven heads and three heads were lacking. After the first ritual bargaining, six roubles cash had been paid: and after the second bargaining, two bottles of *vodka*. The dowry rendered by the bride consisted of the same four cows, something like fifteen pood (a pood is about sixteen kilograms) of flour (worth about eighty roubles), ten men's coats, seven women's coats, ten shawls, many handkerchiefs, two shirts, and five pairs of loading bags. So that the value of the dowry was about the same as that of the kalym. In three other cases recorded the same relations between the dowry and the kalym had been observed. In another case, according to the estimate of the bride's clan, eighteen heads had been lacking for which ten roubles cash and a young reindeer had been paid, though the bride's clan requested twenty roubles and a horse.
[8] Among the Dahurs and the Manchus, neither cattle, pigs, nor horses are included.

3. The Wedding

There are two kinds of weddings among the Tungus of Transbaikalia, namely, that found among the Reindeer Tungus and another one found among the Nomad Tungus. I shall give the accounts separately. In spite of the long time I lived among the Tungus of Manchuria, I had no opportunity of observing a wedding ceremony. According to these Tungus, their wedding ceremony is mostly borrowed from the Manchus, but simplified. They assert that they have preserved some of the "genuine *evenki* customs." According to the Birarčen they have given up all old-fashioned wedding customs, but the Kumarčen have preserved some of them. As far as I could ascertain, the wedding customs of the Kumarčen resemble those of the Reindeer Tungus. Comparative material as to the Manchu wedding complex may be found in my study on the Manchus.[1]

The Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia. As a rule, weddings are carried out at seasons when the Tungus do not hunt, i. e., either between the hunting of the maral reindeer and that of the squirrel, after the hunting of the squirrel when the Tungus gather at the yearly markets, or after the winter hunting before the hunting of the maral reindeer begins. A wedding among these Tungus is a complex of customs slightly varying in dependence on incidental conditions and different fashions adopted in some groups and not in others.

The wedding ceremony in Tungus is known under different names. Among the Nerchinsk and Barguzin Tungus it is *kurim*; among the Khingan Tungus, *kuru*, *korum*, which ought to be connected with the Mongol term *xörim*, *xor'm*‖*kurim* (Lit.); also the Buriat — *xurim*, *xorim* (*Podg.*), the Bargut — *kurim*, and the Yakut — *kurum* (*Pek.*). Yet the Manchu verb *kurimbi* (Lit. Manchu — *gurimbi*, to go from one to another place, to "nomad," to be advanced in office, to change one's mind, etc.) means to "nomad," to remove from one place to another with cattle and family. The Manchus say *mon'i sargandi ba gurum bade kuribuγa*, i. e., our daughter to foreign people "was nomaded," and the term *kurim* refers to that part of the wedding when the bride is brought to her husband's father's house. It is obvious that this term is connected with the idea of the bride's journey as an essential part of the wedding. It is what might be expected of a nomadic people. It seems to be very old and was probably borrowed by the Tungus from the Turko-Mongol groups. Another term used by the Tungus is *sarin* (Bir. Kum. Khin.), borrowed from the Manchus — *sarin*, a feast; *sarilambi*, to feast. It has no specific meaning of "wedding," but "feast" in general. It may here be noted that the Goldi[2] use entirely different terms, except that of *sarin* referred to in the third part of a wedding taking place in the bride's house.[3] Among the Tungus of the Yakutsk Government (Tum.), a special term is used for a wedding in the Orthodox Church — *xuptun*, and among the Nerchinsk Tungus the term *sala* is also sometimes used.

[1] Cf. my "S. O. M.," pp. 76–89.
[2] Cf. I. A. Lopatin, *op. cit.*, also my remarks in "N. T. M.," p. 144–146.
[3] I. A. Lopatin wrongly compares this with the Russian custom *d'evič'ik* (the eve before the wedding when girls, friends of the bride, have their last meeting in the bride's house before the separation). Except in the sequence of customs in time, there is neither analogy nor homology with the Russian complex of the wedding.

The day of the wedding is fixed a long time before the ceremony, sometimes more than a year before. The choice of a particular day is of no importance, for the Tungus do not distinguish any happy or unhappy days, as the Manchus do. I think, among the Manchus this is a result of Chinese influence. Days are recognized according to the lunar months and the four solar positions. As tally, a device, triangular in section, with marks on it, serves as a calendar. One or two days before the wedding ceremony, or sometimes earlier, the Tungus begin to gather at a place fixed in advance for the meeting and well known to all people interested in the ceremony.[1] The bride's relatives come first: afterwards, other people join them. The bridegroom with his relatives arrives the day before the wedding. If he is late, or even misses the day fixed for the ceremony, which happens rarely, this is not regarded as an offence or lack of politeness, for one cannot be absolutely strict with people of the *taiga*, where incidental difficulties of the journey cannot always be foreseen. The people wait very patiently till the bridegroom comes: as soon as he arrives, the Tungus form two camps, so that if the wigwams have previously been placed without any order of clans, they are re-arranged by clans into two groups in such a manner that some definite object lies between these groups. A small rivulet or a long pit, but by no means a path, may show the line of demarcation. The clansmen of the bridegroom are not allowed to stay in the same camp with the bride's clansmen, and vice versa. The violation of this custom may result in intervention of a dangerous character by the spirits. People belonging to neutral clans may camp either with the bride's or the bridegroom's clansmen, but must always preserve a balance of about an equal number of wigwams in the opposite camps. The wedding is sometimes attended by a hundred or more people, without counting children. The women are usually in the minority, for the Tungus who come from the remote nomadic regions do not always take their families wi'h them. I observed the following numbers in four weddings: ninety-five, about a hundred, a hundred and twenty, a hundred and fifty, adult persons gathered together for the ceremony. People sometimes come from regions located as far as three hundred miles from the place of the wedding, not only for the pleasure of having a good time, but for the reason of the social importance of the wedding, which, according to the Tungus idea, must be attended by a numerous crowd of people. It is considered as a "happy sign" if there are persons from far-off regions, even if they are not Tungus, as Russians, Buriats, etc.

Before the day of the wedding the bridegroom is allowed to visit the wigwam of his affianced wife's parents. He presents some gifts to them, and remains there with the bride for the night. It is not convenient, according to Tungus fashions, to speak about it, and every one shows that nothing is known. No other customs are connected with the first night. Owing to the great importance of this custom as a historic proceeding, let us dwell

[1] The Tungus know perfectly the regions they live in, and it is not difficult for them to find a small rivulet or locality fixed for a meeting, just as there is no difficulty for the inhabitant of a big city to find any house if he knows the name of the street and the number of the house. Some European writers who do not know "primitive people" personally, as they are, but use second-hand sources, and accounts left by unreliable travellers, have oftentimes been inclined to see in this peculiarity a special trait of "primitive mentality," being surprised at their own inability to orientate outside big cities. In my other work, I hope to return to this problem in the study of the Tungus mentality.

a little longer on it. First, let us remember that among the Khingan Tungus custom allows the young man, after the match-making is over, to visit his affianced wife. Among the Udehe (S. Brailovskiĭ), if the bridegroom is not a rich man, the ceremony of the wedding is carried out in the bride's father's house, and after the ceremony the bride's mother invites the bridegroom to go to a bed, made by her, where the bride joins him.[1] I have already pointed out[2] that the custom of the first night just described as practised among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia may be connected with that observed in the Goldi wedding complex. The third part of the Goldi wedding, the *sarin*, takes place in the bride's father's house. After the wedding one prepares with certain ceremony the nuptial bed in a modest corner of the house and the bridegroom passes the night there. His affianced wife follows him, and they remain for the night in the same bed. According to I. A. Lopatin the girl is forced and compelled by her mother and other senior women to join her affianced husband, but no actual consummation of the marriage takes place on this night. The bridegroom after this leaves the house, without his affianced wife, so that the fourth part of the wedding takes place in the bridegroom's father's house. As shown, among the Manchus the bridegroom stays the night, before the conclusive part of the wedding in his house, in his affianced wife's father's house, but according to the Manchus he never sleeps in the same bed with his affianced wife. The consummation of the marriage takes place with certain ceremony in his father's house. Historic evidences help us. Among the Mu-ki (the sixth century after Christ) the bridegroom used to stay the first night in his affianced wife's house (J. Klaproth). It may be added that among the Yih-leu (the third century after Christ), who are supposed to be of certain connexion with the ancestors of the Manchus, the husband lived for a certain time in his wife's family,[3] as is still practised among the Manchus. The Tungus, however, assert that their custom is an innovation, for it is not commendable, according to the Tungus fashions, to visit the affianced wife before the end of the wedding ceremony. In spite of this Tungus assertion and an evident disgust shown by I. A. Lopatin of this practice, facts and survivals seem to point to an old custom of the consummation of the marriage in the affianced wife's house, i. e., formerly in her mother's clan.[4]

Let us return to the wedding ceremony among the Tungus. From early morning the preparation for the feast goes on. Reindeer, one and sometimes two, are slaughtered by both sides. Vessels and wine are prepared, meat is boiled, delicacies, like very poor candies, and cakes of Russian origin are served. Before noon, about ten o'clock, negotiations about the kalym open the wedding ceremony. For this purpose the bridegroom's clan charge two or three honourable members, among whom a woman must be present, to bring the kalym loaded on the back of reindeer. This is obligatory as an important rite,

[1] It is, of course, possible that this is an innovation under the inference of the *poverty factor*. On the other hand, the coincidence of some other customs in this particular case is not incidental, for all of them point to an early complex which allowed the bridegroom to pass the *prima nox* in his wife's house.

[2] Cf. "N. T. M.," p. 144.

[3] The ethnographical connexion between the Manchu custom and that of the Yih-leu may also be suspected in the mentioning of the basket used as a seat by the Yih-leu. In the Manchu wedding ceremony (*fè mandu*, only), as I have pointed out ("N. T. M.," p. 144), the basket is still used as a traditional seat for the bridegroom.

[4] It may also be noted that in Manchu customs the bride's father's house is always called the "bride's mother's house" and the young couple visit the "mother" and not the "father," while a different set of customs concerns the "father" and "his clan."

even if the bride's wigwam is only at a distance of a few yards from the bridegroom's wigwam. After the usual greetings, the go-betweens are invited to take the best and honourable places. They are served with reindeer meat, wine, and tea. A short sacrifice[1] is given to the spirits, whose names are mentioned, and especially the one who lives in fire.[2] In the meantime, the women and girls of the bride's clan unload the kalym, which is immediately taken into the wigwam to be shown to the bride's clansmen for a checking and last bargaining. All these people are extremely excited, especially the women, who are in a hurry to see the contents of the kalym. After the examination of the kalym, during which it is severely criticized, especially by the women, and according to the estimate of the bride's clansmen, it is always insufficient, so that the bride's relatives refuse to give her away. Then the go-betweens go back to the bridegroom's clansmen, who are also very excited about the result of the negotiations, and are waiting their return. Supplementary kalym is sent a little while later, and the go-betweens return to the bride's wigwam. A second bargaining follows with the same result — the supplementary kalym is insufficient. The go-betweens once more return to the bridegroom's clan and bring back some wine, cash, or animals. This time an agreement is reached at once and the bride's relatives present some new clothing to the go-betweens, who put it all on, one garment over another.

If the go-betweens cannot succeed in the negotiations, the bridegroom's clan sends some other more gifted people. Though the kalym, from the point of view of big city life, is not very high, it is so for the Tungus. As a matter of fact, the reindeer, as shown, are not numerous ; so one or two heads, more or less, are of great practical value; cash is very rare, for the fundamental principle of the system of Tungus exploitation by their neighbours is to deprive them of their cash, so that the Tungus must make great efforts to collect money; manufactured material for clothing in the regions inhabited by the Tungus is certainly much more expensive than it is in big cities. The issue of the bargaining is thus certainly of some practical importance to both sides and constitutes one of the most exciting moments of the kalym delivery. As shown, however, both sides desire to show their liberality in giving good kalym and a good dowry, so that the bargaining is rather a point in the new business-like spirit introduced among the Tungus by their neighbours, whom they want to imitate as culturally superior people: bargaining implies the custom of reducing the value of the kalym in order to leave the possibility of giving supplementary kalym.[3]

[1] This sacrifice consists of small pieces of food and the sprinkling of wine around oneself, and directly into the fire.

[2] This spirit has the greatest importance among the Tungus. It is a spirit whose " placing " is fire. It is said to be a small old red woman, when she takes human form, called *golumta* (Bir. Kum. Mank.), *golomta* (Khin.) [sometimes *gataγan* (Bir.), evidently connected with the Mongol term *gal*, the fire], which ought to be connected with the Mongol *golomtan* and the Yakut *xolumtan*, the fire-place ; *toγo-on'in* (Nerč. Barg.), i. e., the fire-mother (generally, an old woman). Two other spirits, namely, *toγoldzin* and *toγoman*, are also connected with the fire and at the same time, as messengers, with the ancestors. Details concerning these spirits will be discussed in a study of them.

[3] Supplementary kalym among the Manchus has now reached the high value of from four hundred to six hundred dollars. The giving precedes the day of the wedding. Details are given in " S. O. M.," p. 74. Sometimes, according to the Manchu custom, the father may refuse three times to give his daughter, but at last he must give her, even without the supplementary kalym. Once, among the Tungus, the father, in categoric form, required such big supplementary kalym that the bridegroom's clan could not afford to pay it The moment was very important (the transition to a new custom !), but the man at last yielded. True, he was himself highly indignant.

The psychological reason of bargaining that the Tungus give, is that the father (or another relative of the bride) wants to keep the girl with him and tries to detain her by increasing the kalym. This is, however, merely a rationalized explanation of the custom borrowed from an alien complex. During the kalym delivery, wine plays a very important part as a means of conciliation of both sides, so that the go-betweens and the responsible people of the bride's side at the end of the bargaining are very drunk.

When the kalym is transmitted to the bride's clan, the latter loads the dowry on reindeer-back, which is also obligatory, as in the case of the kalym transmission. As a rule, the dowry must include everything necessary for starting a new economic unit — the family. Kettles, teapots, knives, cups, a knife with a long wooden handle (used as an axe, for bear hunting and formerly for war), a set of instruments for skin work, her own clothing and some clothing for the husband, some flour (in former days meat-powder), and delicacies, like candy, wine, etc., cash, and lead and powder, which are obligatory, are placed in the loading-bags. These articles are sufficient to fill from four to five pairs of loading-bags.

At this time the bride's clan women dress the bride for her wedding. They put her best coats on, three or four at once, and several shawls on her shoulders; she must have a handkerchief attached to her belt. She receives, then, gifts from her relatives, and some cash. When she is ready, her relatives perform the farewell and leave-taking ceremony. She is usually joyful and happy, but if she cries, it means unhappiness in her husband's clan. She is helped on to a reindeer, which is saddled with her own saddle: the reindeer must be a good one. An old woman gives her a good staff, used by women for reindeer riding. An old man of her clan, though never her father, takes the reindeer bridle, and the caravan leaves for the bridegroom's camp.[1] Just before the caravan approaches the line of demarcation, dividing two encampments, a group of young people of her clan run round the caravan and quickly return to their camp. At that moment, near the line of demarcation, the people belonging to the bridegroom's clan are hidden behind the shrubs or trees. When the bride's clansmen run round the caravan and approach the line of demarcation, the hidden people jump out of their shelters and capture one of the bride's clansmen. According to custom, the bride may not be captured. The person captured shows all signs of resistance and self-defence, but very soon submits and follows his captors.[2] The bride is met by a group of the bridegroom's clansmen. The old man leading the reindeer gives the bridle to an old woman of the bridegroom's clan. The old woman then leads the reindeer, which is followed by the caravan and other people, three times round the bridegroom's wigwam. Then she helps the bride to descend and leads her into the wigwam. She is placed on a skin rug, at the right hand from the entrance, the place usually occupied by the

[1] The journey on reindeer-back is compulsory. In an instance, the bride, however, arrived on foot, which happened just in the above-mentioned case of a difficult father who did not want to give his daughter without the supplementary kalym. Her coming on foot was commented upon as a violation of the old customs. This also strengthened the hostile attitude towards the reformer of old practices.

[2] I once observed young men who ran round the caravan, but nobody tried to capture one of them. According to the Tungus, it was a mistake, for the people who did it were the Nerchinsk Tungus, among whom, as a matter of fact, no old man familiar with the customs was present. This seems to be quite probable. This time the Nerchinsk Tungus caused a lot of trouble. Cf. the above-described case of capture, *supra*, p. 221.

wife of the family chief: places of honour are given to the go-betweens [1] of both sides. Meat, wine, and tea are served to these people. The bride is handed some meat and wine, which she throws to the fire spirit, i. e., into the fire which is placed in the middle of the wigwam, in which some twigs of heather are burning; these twigs are used on all religious occasions. This is the bride's sacrifice to the bridegroom's clan spirits.

Immediately the bridegroom appears in the wigwam. He puts on new clothing, brought by the bride, and when he is ready, the bride and he greet everybody sitting round the fire-place. The people present in the ceremony kiss the bride's hand and mouth, while the go-betweens spit on her hand three times. The bridegroom follows the bride, but nobody kisses him, and nobody spits on his hand. When this rite is over, the bride and bridegroom are formally husband and wife. They eat some meat together and take some wine without any special rite. The attention of the meeting is transferred to the go-betweens. If a shaman is present at that time, he or she sings, and expresses various wishes as to the happiness of the new couple. The shaman, however, acts as an artist who knows how to sing, but not as a shaman. Other people who can sing may occupy his or her place as well. In the meantime, the bridegroom's clans-people, assisted by the opposite side, open the dowry. As in the case of the kalym, the people are excited: they criticize the dowry, and they may be either satisfied or not.[2] Then the young men and women prepare everything to be ready to start the great feast. With skin rugs they make seats in a big circle, in the middle of which they make a large fire. By the side of the fire they put boiled reindeer meat, wine, kettles with tea, candies, and cakes. The men and women sit down separately on the rugs so that the places of honour for the men are facing the north-west, and those for the women, the south-east. These places are occupied by the match-makers and the close relatives of the bride and bridegroom, and also the guests of honour. These people are served from right to left by the young men and women, including the bridegroom and bride. At the beginning of the feast they drink wine and then some old man, a good speaker, starts a speech, which is replied to by other people. The speeches are devoted to the event of the day. The old man first of all expresses his great satisfaction at a new marriage, which will result in the increase of the Tungus people, and their further prosperity. The style of speeches made in reply is similar to that of the first; the social importance of the fact of marriage is always accentuated by the speakers.

When the meat is eaten, the wine drunk, and the speeches made, the people leave their places and, taking one another by the arms and hands, form a big ring for dancing the famous ring-dance, well known among Siberian groups. The dancers move from right to left, singing certain words, the meaning of which is not understood. When the complete

[1] I. e., all people who have taken an active part in the bringing of the bride, kalym, dowry, etc.

[2] According to I. A. Lopatin, this criticism among the Goldi may take such a rough form that the bridegroom expresses his dissatisfaction with the bride's father and sometimes may kick him out of the house. Indeed, this custom is peculiar to the Goldi only. Among the Tungus, first of all the father and mother do not follow their daughter to the bridegroom's house; second, among all other groups such a rough attitude because of a poor dowry is not practicable (cf. *supra*, p. 228). The criticism is of rather a mild and inoffensive form.

round is made, they leave the place to attend in a half an hour a similar feast in the bride's camp. During this feast the same order is preserved — drinking wine, eating, speeches, and the ring-dance. The bride and bridegroom, who are already husband and wife, do not play any special rôle in this part of the ceremony. Sometimes, however, they are required by the guests to join the convivial ring and use this occasion for an extra speech.

The whole ceremony takes about seven hours.

There are some omens which are considered either bad or good. I have already mentioned that if the bride cries at the moment of her leaving for the bridegroom's clan it is a bad omen; rain is a good omen. Yet, if somebody unexpectedly comes from the east this is also considered a good omen.

This complex set of customs may be simplified in cases of (1) marriage by service; (2) marriage of a widow with a widower; (3) polygynic marriage; (4) violation of customs, e. g., the capture preceding the wedding; (5) poverty of the bride's and bridegroom's relatives, etc. The simplifying of the ceremony does not, however, allow of the exclusion of the two acts of importance: the formal delivery of the bride and her adoption as symbolized by the sacrifice.

After the wedding the people visit one another till sunset, when the young men and women, and old men as well, go ring-dancing, which lasts throughout the whole night till the next sunrise. Next morning day-visits and small feasts continue and at sunset the same ring-dance lasts throughout the second night, and so on. They spend at least three days and nights so, and sometimes even more than that, at a wedding.

The young wife is now called *asi* or *nulgi* instead of *unat*, and usually the new couple start a household and a new family. They leave the camp as a new economic and biological unit. The two clans then separate, every one returning to his own territory.

The performance of the wedding among the Tungus, where two clans are copulating units, is perhaps the most complex form of producing a new living unit, which may develop, as we have seen, into a clan. This is not a simple analogy, for the purpose and the essentials of the process remain the same in biological units.

Let us now summarize the wedding ritual, including match-making with it:

(1) Match-making takes place soon after the birth of the interested persons or later, the main point of discussion being that of the kalym; (2) the consummation of the marriage takes place at the bride's house; (3) kalym and supplementary kalym must be transmitted; (4) the bride and the dowry must be transmitted; (5) a sacrifice is made to the bridegroom's clan spirits, by which act the woman joins the man's clan; (6) the wedding feast is held in the bridegroom's and the bride's clans.

To the list given above it may be added that (1) there is the custom of capturing a member of the bride's clan during her journey to the bridegroom's clan; and (2) the clan and the guests separate into two encampments, divided by a line of demarcation.

On this I leave the account of the Reindeer Tungus wedding, and pass to that of the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, as I have observed it among the Urulga Tungus.

The Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia. Match-making customs on main lines are similar to those observed among other Tungus groups. The wedding consists of two important events; the transmission of the kalym to the bride's father or his substitute and the wedding ceremony. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity of observing the transmission of the kalym and I do not know whether the bridegroom visits his affianced wife together with the go-betweens and transmits the kalym, or whether the whole ceremony is carried out without the bridegroom's taking an active part, as is observed during the wedding ceremony. Yet I do not know if there is any ceremony connected with the consummation of marriage. In spite of my lack of observations, I give the account within the limits I have observed, for even in an incomplete form the complex in many respects is different from what we have seen of the Reindeer Tungus, and previously with the Manchus.

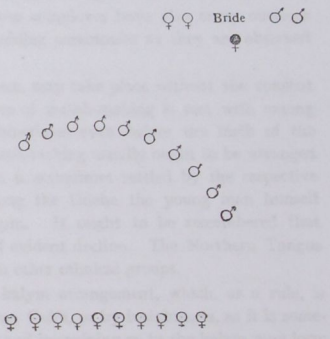
The day before the wedding the bridegroom puts a felt tent inside the camp enclosure of his father, or that of the relative acting *in loco parentis* in the wedding. The tent must be of the common Buriat type: semi-spherical, with a transportable and light frame-work made of pliable wood, covered with felt. In the middle of the tent a fire is made as usual; around the fire skins and felt rugs are placed. On the day of the wedding, outside the enclosure several piles of fuel are prepared.[1] By the side of the fire boiled meat, tea, and milk-wine are prepared in enormous quantities. Several skin and felt rugs are spread around the fire, forming a huge ring. From early morning the bridegroom's clansmen, and, I think, the go-betweens, sit in a tent specially prepared and take tea and milk-wine. The bridegroom is not to be seen; at this moment, as later, he does not take any part in the ceremonies, but is busy with other things — cooking and serving. It ought to be noted that this Tungus group is in process of losing its original clan organization. During the wedding the *udus*, i. e., the territorial unit which has originated, I think, from the clan territory, acts. There are two variations: (1) the bride is met by the bridegroom's people outside the enclosure which surrounds the *udus*, territory,[2] and (2) the bride goes straight to her relatives' house or tent. In the latter event, the formal meeting of the bride takes place later.

A little time before the bride's arrival, two men belonging to the bride's *udus* (they may also be the bride's relatives) arrive in a cart with the dowry, which this time consists of a pillow, two big trunks with vessels and utensils, her own and the man's clothing and shoes, some candy, grape-wine and milk-wine, nuts and other things, some cash, several handkerchiefs (*xadak*), also several sheep- and goat-skins. They are met by the bridegroom's people in the front of the gate (of the bridegroom's father's camp), which they open. The bridegroom's people ask them who they are, from where they have arrived, and whether they did not mistake the house. The men answer the questions and add that if they have been mistaken as to their mission they can go to another house. The bridegroom's people

1 The same may be done inside a fence if the place permits of it.
2 The enclosure is made in order to keep the cattle and the horses from going out of the territory reserved for them. It naturally is the boundary of the *udus*. This is an innovation due to the lack of territory divided between the Russians, the Buriats, and the Tungus, who all live side by side. The enclosure in Russian is called the *poskot'ina* (from *skot, skot'ina*, cattle).

assure them that they have arrived at the right place and bring out some wine. The bride's people first refuse, but after a short discussion — they are still sitting in the cart — they take the wine. They also receive, each, a silk handkerchief (*xadak*) and some boiled mutton, which they eat. In the meantime, the bridegroom's people unharness the horses, though the people who have arrived are still sitting in the cart. After the horses are unharnessed and the mutton eaten, the bridegroom's people bring the dowry and the bride's people into the bridegroom's tent, where they again are served with wine and mutton. Here the custom of fighting for the pillow takes place. The bridegroom's men take the pillow brought by the bride's people and show it to other people. The bride's men oppose this, and try to take it back. After a short dispute the bridegroom's men are supposed to be victorious and recover the possession of the pillow.

In the wedding observed, the bride, surrounded by her people, had arrived directly at her people's house, so that the formal meeting took place later. The bride, with her face covered by red silk material, with two others of her *udus* women, and two men, all go on horse-back out of the village. Several men and women, belonging to the bridegroom's *udus*, all on horse-back, follow the bride at a certain distance. This group of people stops and the men descend and form a semicircle, while the women on horse-back form a row. The bride on horse-back remains at a certain distance with her followers, as shown in the figure. The men sit and take wine and boiled mutton. A man holds up a cup of wine and goes to the bride. He prays her to take the wine, which she refuses. Then all the men jump on their horses and gallop without looking around[1] directly to the bridegroom's tent and cry: "Take the sun! Catch the sun!" This custom is called "catching the sun," and according to the Tungus explanation "the sun" is "happiness."[2] When this ceremony is over, the women follow the men, and the bride, with her four people, rides direct to the place reserved by the fire-place, prepared for the feast outside the bridegroom's enclosure. The men and women, again on horse-back, arrive and form a ring, in the centre of which are piles of fuel and the bride with her people. The men and women ride round at great speed and shout loudly. This custom is called "the fire-ring." After this



1 During this galloping, a man having been pushed by other riders fell from his horse, was badly injured, and could not follow the ceremony.
2 This custom, although there is a possibility of mistaking its meaning, may perhaps be regarded as a survival and adaptation to a new idea of happiness, beyond doubt borrowed from other ethnical groups, of an old custom of the capture performance, when the bride used to run away and the bridegroom had to pursue her till he caught hold of the bride's horse's bridle. In a developed form, this performance is known among the Kirguiz. Among the Nomad Tungus, the bridegroom is absent, and the place of the bride is taken by her relative. The "pursuit of sun-happiness" has taken the place of the "pursuit of the bride." But this is a mere guess on my part.

performance the women descend from their horses and, forming a ring round the fire-place, eat mutton, and drink wine and tea. Just after the fire-ring performance two women and two men take the bride into the bridegroom's tent. Before the gate of the enclosure they are met by the bridegroom's mother, who has a cup of fresh milk in her hands. The woman from the bride's suite takes it from the mother in a very rough manner and gives it to the bride. The bride takes the milk, the mother goes away, and the bride, with her people, enters the gate and the bridegroom's tent. They put the bride behind sheep-skin curtains which conceal a portion of the tent. In this portion the dowry is put and the nuptial bed prepared. The women and men who came with the bride eat mutton, and drink tea and wine. This time some other people of the bridegroom's *ulus* join them. After this short meal, the bride's women perform the custom of the change of the bride's clothing and put up her hair. They place the bride on a skin rug and untie her small plaits, seven or eight, as used among these Tungus, and worn by girls. Drenching the hair in water the women carefully comb it and tie it in two big plaits as women dress their hair. Then they take off the girl's clothing and put on new, and a special woman's dress, *ōǎ'i*, a kind of open waistcoat. The ceremony of dressing takes a long time, during which the bride sheds tears. Nobody consoles her, nor speaks.[1] When it is over, the women take the bride out of the tent and the bridegroom's people surround her closely. They all go to the bridegroom's father's tent. A senior relative of the bridegroom takes the sapling used for opening and shutting the aperture in the tent top, and bars the entrance to the tent with it. The bride's people ask him to let them go in, but he refuses. This gives a good opportunity for discussion and wit. Then one of the bride's men attaches a handkerchief (*xadak*) to the sapling and gives a present to the man who is holding it, who at first refuses to receive it, but later takes it. As soon as he receives the present, the bride's people push him away very roughly from the entrance, and break into the tent. They present gifts to the bridegroom's father, but the latter refuses to accept them. After a short ceremony of admonition he takes the present. Then they put some new clothing on his neck and give him a handkerchief. A handkerchief, some meat, sour cream, butter, and milk-wine are thrown into the fire in the middle of the tent. The bride kneels before the bridegroom's father (or his substitute) and all senior relatives. The bridegroom appears for a short time there and stands behind his mother. He receives a handkerchief and then disappears. This ceremony is concluded by throwing white cheese, sour cream, and meat, at the father, senior relatives, and especially the mother of the bridegroom. When it is over, the women take the bride back into the bridegroom's tent, where an old woman hands to her the most appreciated mutton delicacy — the tail with a rib put across it. The bride takes it, changes the position of the rib, and gives it back to the old woman. Then she eats mutton and takes some milk-wine. After this ceremony the formal part of the wedding concerning the bride is finished: she then occupies her place in her husband's tent. The guests, and all people, are invited to feast outside the enclosure. Two rings are formed there: a ring is

[1] This ceremony has an excellent analogy among the Manchus.

formed by the men and another by the women. Mutton breast — the dainty of honour — is served with the usual ceremony to the man of honour who may not belong to the groups of relatives, and a short sacrifice is given to all the spirits. After the feast, several groups of deeply drunken people remain on the spot.

The next day a similar feast is given by the bride's *ulus* people.

Let us now summarize the wedding ceremony as we did before. It consists of (1) match-making, sometimes settled when the persons concerned are small children; (2) the delivery of the kalym, some time before the wedding ceremony;[1] (3) the bringing of the bride and the dowry; (4) the meeting of the bride; (5) the introduction of the bride into the bridegroom's clan(?) (family?), preceded by a change of clothing and hairdressing; (6) the introduction of the bride into her new functions.

Comparison of Wedding Customs and Conclusions. As may be seen from the accounts of the wedding ceremony among the Reindeer and Nomad Tungus and also the Manchus, the customs are different in many respects, but these complexes have also many customs absolutely similar. Let us now compare the wedding ceremonies as they are observed among different groups.

During the childhood, match-making, in all cases, may take place without the consent of the persons concerned. The most developed form of match-making is met with among the Manchus and Goldi who settle the matter sometimes even before the birth of the persons to be married, as the Buriats also do. Match-making usually ought to be arranged by go-betweens. Among the Birarčen the question is sometimes settled by the respective fathers of the children to be married, and among the Udehe the young man himself sometimes settles everything concerning the kalym. It ought to be remembered that among this group, clan organization is in a state of evident decline. The Northern Tungus terms concerning match-making are borrowed from other ethnical groups.

The essential event in match-making is the kalym arrangement, which, as a rule, is paid into two parts, among the Tungus, Manchus, Goldi, or by instalments, as it is sometimes allowed among the Buriats. Match-making and bargaining as to the kalym may form a separate ceremony, as is observed among the Goldi; the contents and value of the kalym depend upon the economic condition of the groups.

The kalym transmission constitutes the most important part of the wedding. It may be included in the ceremony performed on the same day that the woman goes to the man's clan, as may be seen among the Reindeer Tungus, or it may constitute a separate ceremony, as among the Nomad Tungus, the Manchus, and the Goldi. The full payment of the kalym gives the right to the one who pays (clan, family, or person) to consider the woman as contracted for, in joining the betrothed husband. The Northern Tungus terms concerning kalym are borrowed from other ethnical groups. Marriage by service among some groups is a form of the kalym payment used among all groups.

[1] The data concerning the *prima nox* custom and the bridegroom's visit are lacking.

The survival of the consummation of the marriage in the bride's father's or mother's house after the payment of the kalym is observed among the Manchus and the Goldi, while among the Northern Tungus the actual consummation of the marriage may take place before the kalym payment, but this is not so among the Nomad Tungus, I believe, and the Buriats, who do not allow the bridegroom to sleep in the bride's father's or mother's house before the wedding ceremony.[1] The consummation of the marriage in marriage by service is subject to great variations among different groups — it is not allowed among the Manchus and the Buriats till the formal wedding takes place, but it is not prohibited among the Northern Tungus.

The delivery of the bride is always by her clanspeople; and among the Manchus she is accompanied to the bridegroom's clan by the bridegroom; this constitutes the formal act of the fulfilment of the match-making agreement, and it is found among all groups. The bride's father and mother (or their substitutes) do not follow their daughter to the bridegroom's clan. Among the Goldi, however, the mother, together with her daughter, goes to the bridegroom's house, where she stays for about a fortnight (I. A. Lopatin). Among the Udehe the bride's mother has also some functions in connexion with the *prima nox* custom.

Among all groups, the dowry consists of personal clothing of the bride, clothing for the bridegroom and his clansmen, some cash and, except among the Manchus, household things, and utensils used by the women, so that a new family-unit may be started at once. All groups recognize that the dowry must be equivalent or at least proportional to the kalym. Among some groups, in case of the abbreviation of the marriage ceremony, violation of the marriage regulations, or sometimes when a widow marries, the dowry is sometimes not paid at all. Northern Tungus terms concerning the dowry are borrowed from other ethnical groups.

The act of entering the bridegroom's clan is the essential part of the wedding ceremony, for when the woman joins her husband's clan,[2] this is expressed among all groups, either by a sacrifice sometimes given by the bride, as it is observed among the Tungus (except the Nomad Tungus) and the Buriats, and sometimes given by other persons, as is observed among the Goldi and the Nomad Tungus; or a complex ritual including a visit to the ancestral tombs, as is recorded among the Manchus (borrowed from the Chinese together with other elements of the complex, e. g., drinking wine, etc.).

The wedding, consisting of the kalym, bride, and dowry delivery, and adoption of the bride into the husband's clan, may take place on one and the same day, as is observed among the Reindeer Tungus; or it may be divided into independent parts, as among the Goldi; or the several parts may be performed on consecutive days, as is so among the

[1] In connexion with this, it is interesting to note how the Buriats have found a solution to the problem when the value of the kalym is too high and cannot be paid at once. The wedding takes place if it is partly paid, but till pregnancy the wife from time to time visits her husband, but stays in her father's house.

[2] The Buriat practice of keeping the wife at the father's house till pregnancy if the kalym is not paid in full is an innovation due to the adaptation of the idea of the consummation of marriage to that of the kalym, for the wife is permitted to visit her husband in his clan.

Manchus and the Nomad Tungus. Among all groups, the wedding ceremony may be simplified if the persons getting married are poor, or if previous to the formal marriage they have violated customs, or if a widow, widower, or a divorced person is one of the contracting parties. It depends also on the degree of loss of the old complex. However, certain rites must be performed, especially that of the adoption of the woman as a new member of the unit.

Among all these groups one finds some customs either unknown or unpractised among certain of them. So, for instance, the pillow custom, the fire-ring, the throwing of sour cream, meat, and white cheese at the bridegroom's relatives, and also the starting of a new household, are confined to the Nomad Tungus complex.[1] The division into two encampments by something, spitting into the bride's hand, and kissing her hand, are confined to the complex of the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia. The division of the wedding into two distinct parts[2] and the bride's mother's rôle after the wedding, are confined to the Goldi complex. A formal journey to the "mother's house," and the ransom paid by the wife's mother for the son-in-law's ear-ring, are confined to the Manchu complex. The going away of the bride with the bridegroom from the bride's house (if the bridegroom is a poor man and marries in the bride's mother's house) or from the bridegroom's father's house for the performance of the *prima nox* custom is known only to the Udehe, or at least to some of their groups. So the elements constituting the wedding complex may grow (1) in different degrees among certain groups attaining to some great importance, as a separate part of the wedding, while among others they are reduced to a state of survival; (2) they may originate from different sources of borrowings, e. g., from the Mongol complex, the Chinese complex, and the Palæasiatic complex, which sometimes approach one another in formal similarity, though they are genetically of different origin; (3) they may be adapted to the original complex of the group which borrowed the wedding elements, and modified them according to the original complex; and (4) they may originate and grow spontaneously under particular conditions, sometimes temporary, of the given ethnical unit.

From the accounts given above of the Tungus wedding customs and the comparative analysis given it may be inferred that among others, there are three principal conditions influencing the variation of the elements constituting the wedding complex, i. e., (1) the economic position of the groups which, e. g., defines the quantity and the value of the kalym — cash-money, reindeer, horses, pigs — and the mode of payment — by instalments; (2) the separate villages or camps of the bride's and bridegroom's clans which implies, e. g., the division of the wedding into different parts, performed on different days, and sometimes forming distinct and disconnected parts of the wedding; (3) the growth of the family, as a social institution, which takes the place of the clan, and, generally, the variation of the

[1] Some of these elements belong to the Mongol complex.

[2] Indeed, I. A. Lopatin is wrong when he includes match-making in the wedding, which depends on his (and many other observers) ideas as to the Goldi marriage, which is considered as a simple purchase of the woman. In this, as in many other instances, the author, together with many others, is deeply and emotionally impressed by the difference in the Goldi customs as compared with his own ethnographical complex. Owing to that, he does not very often see the essentials of the customs, and misses several important points in the wedding.

original ethnographical complex or its elements results in the adaptation of certain old and new practices to the corresponding stage of variation.

On the other hand, every ethnical unit needs a certain wedding complex as a formal rite of transition[1] to a distinct position of the clan members, so that in dependence on the particular conditions of the group, the wedding complex may take a very complex form, while in other cases it may be simplified, different elements being sometimes of distinct origin and meaning. In fact, if an ethnical unit *needs* some new element in the wedding complex, either it invents it, or borrows it from neighbours, without thinking about the purity of the original complex, so that some elements are sometimes preserved, only because of the necessity for having certain ritual forms; if these elements are not in crying contradiction to the whole complex, they are preserved by tradition, inertia, and may sometimes spontaneously grow into an important component of the wedding complex, if the general conditions favour such a secondary growth. Thus an element may pass through stages of original invention or borrowing, decline, anabiotic state, and secondary re-growth. It is obvious that under such conditions of variation of the elements constituting the wedding complex, these elements may have different ages — some of them may be old, preserved by tradition, or inertia from times immemorial, while others may be recently borrowed, or invented, or merely rejuvenated. It is not surprising that one meets with elements constituting the wedding complex which can be explained neither from the point of view of their practical rationality, nor from the point of view of their origin.

I have shown that most of the terms used by the Tungus are borrowed from the Mongols and other ethnical groups. Yet some practices are borrowed direct from the same sources. This is quite comprehensible, for, as I have shown, the matrilineal system of the clan was probably used by the early Tungus and Manchus, or perhaps even by the pro-Tungus. As a matter of fact, the kalym, the dowry, the journey of the bride, and her adoption by the husband's clan are absolutely useless in the matrilineal clan system and the matrilocal marriage. It is thus natural that the terms concerning all these elements of the wedding have been borrowed, together with the new customs.[2] The fact of the Turco-Mongol origin[3] of most of the terms of relationship adopted by the Tungus, when they had already adopted the patrilineal clan system, is beyond doubt. Yet the family growth among the Manchus and some Tungus groups has implied the adoption of a series of terms of Chinese origin. It is thus natural that some customs have been borrowed, together with the new

[1] "Les rites de passage," of A. van Gennep.

[2] Sometimes new terms may also be invented, as has happened with the Goldi, who distinguish four events in the wedding (match-making is included) by terms of a recent origin: *mederku*, the announcement: *toktolku*; the reaching of an agreement; *sarin* (borrowed probably from the Manchus), the (wedding) feast; and *dyra očini* (of I. A. Lopatin corresponds possibly to the Manchu term, *doro ombi*; in Goldi *oč+o*, to do, to make) which means, I suppose, "to act according," "to follow the law, custom," "to perform a ceremony."

[3] I use the compound term Turco-Mongol without presuming their common origin, but considering them as a complex resulting from long intercourse either of a common or a distinct origin. The analysis of the Mongol system of marriage as compared with that of the groups speaking Turkic dialects perhaps will also permit one to discover whether the original wedding complexes were similar or not. The problem of the common or distinct origin of the Mongol and Turks by the establishing of the common ethnographical complexes cannot be solved, for the ethnographical complexes are very often borrowed, and the separation of these groups might have taken place before the borrowing.

system from the same source. It is very likely that the wedding customs practised before that time are now entirely forgotten; and some customs persisting in the Mongol complex have also been borrowed, with the whole system of marriage and wedding complexes, so that the seemingly old Tungus practices are not really of Tungus origin. Therefore I am attempting to form some conclusions as to the early forms of the wedding complex among the Tungus, as far as we recognize the pro-patrilineal system of the Tungus clan to be a genuine Tungus system, or at least one which existed previous to the patrilineal system. Here I must point out that some elements of the would-be old Tungus system also bear features of common origin with the system characteristic of the Palæasiatics, e. g., the Gilaks, as they have been described.[1] Yet we do not know what kind of ethnographical complex was characteristic of those groups which have been assimilated by the Tungus, when the latter came to Siberia. Another consideration is that even when the old system has been restored, it should be shown whether this system was previously borrowed from the Palæasiatics, perhaps without the respective terms or perhaps with them. So the maximum result of the analysis may be that, at certain periods, the matrilineal system was a widely distributed ethnographical feature, characteristic of different groups, just as nowadays the patrilineal system is that adopted by almost all groups of Asia. The succession of forms will not, however, show the evolutionary succession of the variations of this phenomenon, but the historic sequence of ethnographical complexes, within the ethnical units and geographical areas. These remarks are necessary before we go any further.

If the fact of the hypothetical previous forms of the clan based upon the matrilineal system of kinship may be agreed upon without great hesitation, it cannot be so with the early forms of marriage. Let us see which elements of the wedding ceremonies may be considered as belonging to the former wedding practices, or at least those which were previous to the present ones.

The bridegroom's visit to the bride's clan before the wedding and the consummation of the marriage in that place; the ransom for the man's ear-ring, also the prohibition and later obligatory visit of the newly married couple to the wife's mother's(?) house among the Manchus; also, perhaps, some particular cases of violation of the normal course of wedding, marriage by service, as an adaptation of the kalym institute to the practical needs of marriage under conditions of declining clan connexion; the survival of the practice of capture in the wedding customs, and the present practice of capture, all seem to point to a different wedding complex connected with the monogamic matrilocal marriage and wedding in the matrilineal clan.

The distinction of the father and mother, and also of direct progeny going back as far as we may see, points to the fact that the family, based upon the monogamic principle, has been known since the earliest times. On the other hand, the practice of sororate and levirate, which, let us remark, may also result from the patrilineal system, the right of the junior husband's brothers to sexual relations with the women, woman's freedom as to her

[1] Cf. L. von Schrenck, L. Sternberg, *op. cit.*

intercourse with foreigners, and also the idea of potentiality of intermarriage between two definite groups (the clan, or class), seem to point to the fact that group marriage preceded the monogamic form. In the wedding ceremony, however, no traces of this form of marriage are found, except the fact of the wedding ceremony itself, which become necessary with the transition to the monogamic (also polygynic and polyandric) marriage, for the wedding complex, if it also existed during the period of the matrilineal clan system, points to certain transition to a certain distinct system. So it may be hypothetically supposed that the Tungus have passed throughout three stages of the wedding, before reaching the present practice of the church and other forms of marriage, which is generally registered by some authorities beyond clan control. These forms are: (1) the early form of the wedding in the mother's clan (the matrilineal system of kinship and matrilocal marriage), (2) the wedding, including the kalym and the going away of the woman from her father's clan (the patrilineal system of kinship and patrilocal marriage), (3) the transitory form from the second to the family marriage (the family bilateral system of kinship and family marriage) combined with the first. They mark four stages which have implied the practice of different wedding ceremonies, i. e., (1) perhaps the group marriage, (2) the monogamic marriage between matrilineal clans, (3) the monogamic marriage between patrilineal clans, and (4) the monogamic marriage between persons belonging to different families, based upon the principle of the bilateral system of kinship.[1] The polygynic and polyandric forms as variations of the monogamic marriage might have resulted either from the conditions of transition, when the social organization was shaken by a process of variations, or from the practical need of the normal biological functioning of all clan members, or from both.[2]

Let us try to answer the question as to how long ago these stages might have been reached by the Tungus, remembering that they might have occurred at different periods among different Tungus groups, and presuming that the succession of the stages among the same Tungus group might have been incomplete. The process of transition from the stage of the system of the patrilineal clan wedding to the system of the family wedding is just now going on, mostly as a result of Chinese and Russian influences. The transition from the matrilineal to the patrilineal clan wedding system occurred mostly under Turko-Mongol influence, but after the separation of the Northern and the Southern Tungus from the original pro-Tungus stock, which might have occurred before the beginning of our era. The transition, if it ever took place, to the matrilineal clan wedding system or to the establishment of the wedding institution, took place perhaps under the influence of the Palæasiatics or other early groups, including the Chinese, before or during the first pro-Tungus migration.

The influences exercised upon the Northern Tungus by the population of Siberia, which lived before the Tungus migration from the south, and also the relatively recent influence

[1] This might result both from the confounding of the two systems (patrilineal and matrilineal) and the further development of the primary family system as opposed to the clan system and based upon the principle of consanguinity.

[2] I do not intend to show that the possibility of a spontaneous development of these forms from group marriage is excluded.

of the Yakuts, ought also to be taken into consideration. As we know, the Southern Tungus (the ancestors of the Manchus), who lived in close proximity to the Palæasiatics, in spite of strong Chinese influence, have more strongly preserved the practices characteristic of the matrilineal clan system of the wedding and marriage, than the Northern Tungus. The latter living in close proximity to the Turco-Mongols show the practices of the patrilineal clan system in a more definite and a stronger form, which is also of more recent date than those of the Southern Tungus. It may be thus inferred, from these facts, that the Northern Tungus have also been influenced by their neighbours. This is almost certain, since in Siberia they have changed their original ethnographical complex and adopted reindeer breeding, which has certainly influenced the equilibrium of the former ethnographical complex with which the pro-Tungus appeared in Siberia. Unfortunately, however, for the time being, the tracing of these influences cannot yet be ventured.

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

1. Organization and Functions: General Definition and Description; Variations of the Family Forms; Place and Position of the Members. 2. The Woman's Position: Prohibitions and General Characteristics; The Woman's Position in the Family and Clan; The Biological Activity of the Woman — Pregnancy and Childbirth. 3. Children: The Cradle; Education; Position of the Children; Diseases and Mortality.

1. Organization and Functions

General Definition and Description. The Tungus family is the unit of which the clan is composed. This unit is called in Tungus *ǯu* (Barg. Nerč. Bir. Kum. Khin. RTM), *ǯo* (Mank. Bir. Kum.), which also means a habitation (tent, wigwam, house, building,[1] and is similar to *ʒo*, *ʒou* (Mank.), *ʒu* (Ur. *Castr.*); *ǯo*, *ʒo* (Neg. *Sch.*), *ǯu* (Tum.), *ǯo*, *ǯog* (Goldi). Without connecting these words let us remember that *ǯiā* (*ǯjiā*) of the Yakuts (*Pek.*) is the house (tent, etc.) in which the family lives. In Birarčen the house with its inhabitants is called *awu ǯu*; and a family that the speaker does not belong to, *ǯuŋga*. The frame-work of the wigwam that remains in a camp left by the Tungus is called *ǯuk'ijan* (Nerč. Barg.), *ǯukča* (RTM), *ǯukčam'i* (Bir.). Moreover, *ǯukta* (Bir. Kum.) means to pray to the family spirits, to sacrifice to the family spirits.[2] These facts point to a very old use of this root (*ǯu*, *ǯ'u*, *ǯo*, altered with ʒ; perhaps, even *ǯuk*, etc.). The Tungus dialects possess a number of special terms of "the wigwam," "the house," etc., but this term means the family and habitation. It is very tempting to connect this word with an old Chinese word, 居 (*ǯ'ü*), and especially 家 (*ǯ'a*), the family-habitation (from the idea of a roofed dwelling), which was later increased by 眷 (*ǯ'a*), with a special meaning, "attachment, adherence." It ought to be noted that in Manchu the old term has been thrust out by a new term *bō*, *ƀao* (derivative *boǐgon*, where *-gon* is a suffix) from the Chinese word 堡 (*bǒū*), which means a walled place.[1] The reason is that the ancestors of the Manchus at a certain period began to live in well-protected *walled* mansions inhabited by numerous families, which could not be called by the old term of the root *ǯu*. In spite of a coincidence in meaning and the possibility of the borrowing of the root *ǯu* from the Chinese I do not insist on this etymology till the analysis of the Tungus roots quoted permit establishing the limits of Chinese influence.

Besides these terms, the Tungus use some others: *boǐʏun*, derived from the Manchu term given above and used only among the settled Birarčen; *gārgān* (Mank., *Castr.*), *kergen* (Tungus, *Sch.*), and *keigen* (Negid. *Sch.*), borrowed from the Manchu term *gargan*, the big

[1] *Vide* Supp. Note XI.

[2] In Manchu *ǯukten*, the sacrifice; *ǯuktembi*, to sacrifice. This root, perhaps, is independent from that meaning "the family-habitation." However, in Goldi (Sungari) *ǯok+du* is "in the house" (cf. W. L. Kotwicz, pp. 10, 12).

family,[1] derived from "the branch" (of a clan); *bulā* (Ur. *Castr.*), borrowed from the Buriats (*bule*) (*Castr.*); *nulgi* (Neg. *Sch.*), which is not quite right, I think, for in other dialects (e. g., Bir. RTM), it means "a nomadic unit" [from *nulgi* (all dialects), to roam, nomadize; also *nulgi* (Ner. Barg.; cf. *supra*, p. 177), the wife]. So we have the root *ǯu*, etc., and some other terms, all of which may easily be connected either with terms borrowed from other groups or with the terms of different meaning.

The biological need of the reproduction of the Tungus species and the economic functions of its maintenance form the basis of family organization. The process of reproduction, though controlled by the clan, goes on in these units, so that if the clan has orphan children, after a deliberation on the matter by the clan it distributes them according to custom: that is, the children are taken care of either by brothers of the defunct person, or they are given to existing families. On the other hand, the work is divided between man and woman in such a manner that the unit-family cannot exist without at least an active woman and an active man.

The family functions which result from its biological basis are: (1) reproduction of the species — childbirth; (2) bringing up children; (3) marriage of the family members for further reproduction; and (4) the transmission of knowledge (culture) to the succeeding generations, which may be called education. The principal economic functions are: (1) the creation of the self-sustaining unit able to nomadize; (2) hunting as a means of the supply of food and partly raw material; (3) the manufacture of clothing, utensils, etc.; and (4) the transmission of the acquired property to succeeding generations. In all these functions, the family is controlled by the clan, of which it is a unit, so that family jurisdiction is naturally limited. The starting of a new unit, satisfying all conditions, and its liquidation in the form of divorce or division of property, belonging to the unit, depends upon either stabilized customs or the decision of the clan. If the conduct of a husband or wife does not satisfy normal requirements, as is usual in the given ethnical unit, the clan may intervene. Yet it may increase or decrease a family in order to assure the normal functioning of other similar units by the removal of relatives to other units and the distribution of orphans among families.

Thus the family may consist of two persons, but it sometimes attains a number as high as eight, and in exceptional cases even more than eight persons. The limitation of the number of family members depends upon the mode of life of the Tungus. (1) Hunting territory is usually divided among these units, and every section must be large enough to maintain the existence of a unit; so that every unit occupies a certain region according to the season and meets other units for coöperation in hunting and, mainly between the hunting periods, for social functions. (2) The Tungus wigwam, from the architectural point of view, cannot be constructed large enough to contain more than about eight persons; hence, if the hunting territory is spacious enough to permit a larger number of people than that comprising a family, a numerous family divides itself into two units, which

[1] Cf. my "S. O. M.," pp. 92 and 18 *seq.*

live together, but each of them in a separate wigwam. However, this may happen only (1) if there are the economic elements for forming an independent unit, i. e., first of all a woman who can keep house and a man who can hunt and provide the unit with food and raw material; (2) if the hunting territory is very rich in game and fur a compound unit consisting of two wigwams may live on one man's product of hunting; (3) or if the economic system of hunting is changed, but this is not typical of the Tungus complex. Thus it happens often that two units nomadize together, but being divided into two independent families they cannot exist separately. Then other methods must be adopted. Two such units, for instance, take meals together, as I saw among the Khingan Tungus;[1] or the incomplete unit marries a girl or a widow remaining in it;[2] or an incomplete family marries a young boy to a woman who is a good worker.

The family usually consists of a husband and wife and their children. When the children attain an age when they may be married, the women belonging to other clans may be adopted by means of marrying them to the son. Such is common when a young wife is not yet able to start an independent unit, or the mother is too old to carry out her duties alone. This may also happen when the young husband cannot yet maintain a family as an independent unit, and can only help his father. If the father is too old and cannot subsist when left alone with his family, the married son remains with him. So that in a family there may be three generations of relatives. Also, it often happens that the old man takes his brother's son to live with him and the same relations are established between him and his nephew as between father and son. If the unit lacks a working man or woman, different solutions of the problem may be found: (1) one of the men may marry a woman; such a man may be either an active hunting man (in polygyny or a widower), his son, or the son of his brother, who is sometimes younger than the woman; (2) an adult man may join the unit, e. g., the brother's son, or even a foreign man belonging to another clan may be taken as a future son-in-law (marriage by service); (3) any single man or woman, who remains after the disintegration of a unit, e. g., a widower, a widow, sometimes with children, an unmarried young man, an unmarried woman, may also join the family-unit. The unit may also be increased by the adoption of single old men and women or young children if they cannot subsist alone. The children then are very often adopted without consideration of a practical utilitarian character, but owing only to a feeling of moral duty. Sometimes the clan compels rich units to adopt old persons and children.

As a rule, a unit usually consists of persons belonging to the same clan; but, as we have seen, a man belonging to another clan may join the unit either to work out his kalym or as a regular son-in-law. Among the Reindeer Tungus, under pressure and owing to the decline of clan organization, the practice of the adoption of persons belonging to foreign clans, and apart from the idea of marriage, is also sometimes, though rarely, practised.

[1] In this particular instance, the family chief was not a common man, but a Tungus official, appointed by the Mongol authorities, and, as far as I could see, his principal income was based upon horse stealing. So this by no means can be taken as characteristic of the Tungus system.

[2] It usually happens when a widow has a daughter to be married, and possesses reindeer. The man also sometimes joins a widow who remains connected with another family.

However, it is much more common among the Tungus of Manchuria than among the Reindeer Tungus and is sometimes facilitated by the fact of their having settled villages. Among the groups where the process of decline of the clan system is advanced, units adopt foreign men of non-Tungus origin, e. g., Chinese, as may be seen among the Udehe, and among some groups of the Goldi, where the family system is slightly different from that of the Tungus, and permits of the inclusion of foreigners.

The two main reasons of family existence, biological and economic, are so closely bound together in the Tungus idea and system, that there are no units based solely upon economic reasons, and the founders of a unit are always bound in marriage; although at a given time, the unit, as such, can perhaps produce no more children.

The unit, among the Nomad Tungus, approaches that of the Reindeer and the Manchurian Tungus, though there is a very important difference, due to the different economic position of this group compared with other wandering groups. The Nomad Tungus live chiefly by cattle breeding and partly by horse breeding. At the present time they do not wander very much, for their territory is limited and distributed by the authorities. During the cold season they live in dwellings built at their winter stations, and during the summer season they use felt tents of a Mongolian type, or a kind of simplified house, so they have no stimuli to separate. In fact, the new units — husband and wife — separate from the unit where the husband was born, to have a tent of their own; but they stay by the side of the old unit within the same enclosure, so that one may sometimes find within an enclosure three or four units (tents) bound by common origin from the same old unit. Horses and cattle, except those used personally, usually belong to the old unit, and the products of cattle breeding are used by all units from a common stock. During the winter, these units gather together sometimes to live in a dwelling of non-Tungus and non-Mongol type. But as soon as the cattle and horse stock is divided between these units, for instance, when the chief of the old unit dies, or does not want to direct the young units any more, the latter separate and form independent units.

The system of the unit among the Manchus is entirely different. It is based, as the Manchus explain, upon the economic need of having a numerous unit for agricultural work, and economy in buildings, cattle, etc., all the biological units being included in a big family. Such a big unit sometimes includes four or even five generations, and reaches nearly a hundred persons, all of them belonging to the same clan except the slaves, sometimes the workmen, and also the future sons-in-law. Such a unit is always controlled by a chief, whose power is much more real than in the Tungus unit. The new unit may start its independent existence, only after the division of the old unit, which involves the unit in heavy expense, for every new unit must have its own house, implements, cattle, horses, and hands. Such a large family usually descends from a couple of remote ancestors and has its own spirits, different from those of other units of the same clan. Yet, sometimes, such a big unit may become an independent exogamic unit, a new clan — *mokun*. It sometimes happens that such a unit may dissolve altogether, but it occurs rarely, for the unit has a mansion which, even in the event of division, remains to some of the members of the old unit, usually the youngest son of the chief. It is evident that the large Manchu family has grown from a small unit-family. I think that this may have resulted from the conditions — the first may be because of the pressure of self-defence behind walls; it may be due, also, to

economic conditions. No doubt, also, it has been strongly influenced by the idea of a family which developed in a perfect form among the Chinese.[1]

It is curious that the large Goldi family living in a spacious house, as can be seen among the Manchus,[2] has not passed into the condition of the large Manchu family. It is composed of the biological units descended from their chief. Every unit has its own place in the house, and its separate food is supplied both from the common food stock and from the personal efforts of the head of the small unit. The duties of the small and large families are strictly regulated. So, for instance, some kinds of hunting and fishing are obligatory for all members of the large family, while other kinds of hunting and fishing are reserved for the members of small families, and their produce is not included in the food stock of the large family. I. A. Lopatin, I think, quite rightly supposes it to originate from the difficulty of building new houses and the need of co-operation in hunting and fishing. Thus the large Goldi unit may be regarded as a colony of small units gathered together both by economic need and by common origin.[3] Its internal bonds, naturally, are stronger than those of the Nomad Tungus family, which is maintained by the will of the old unit chief, and becomes practically useless if the cattle and horses increase rapidly. The large Goldi family is less economically bound than the large Manchu family, for the latter has organically grown from a small family, and its existence is still maintained by the practical needs of agriculture in Manchuria. Moreover, the common ancestors' spirits bind the members of such a unit very closely, while a new biological unit among the Goldi may join any other co-operative organization for fishing and hunting, the house being reduced to a small underground dwelling. So the similarity of the large family among the Goldi and the Manchus is rather confined to the fact of their living together than to their historic formation and economic reasons characteristic of the Manchu's agriculture.[4]

[1] As a matter of fact, the similarity of the large Manchu family to that of the Chinese is really striking. The former, however, has grown up on a different principle, so when it attains a certain number of members it tends to form an exogamous unit (clan — *mokun*) by itself, while the Chinese family always remains a large unit of a numerous clan. A number of investigations of the Chinese family has been published, but only lately D. H. Kulp has shown that the family exists by the side of the clan (after some authors he calls it *sib*). Owing to the fact of taking up certain clan functions by state, and owing to the migrations (resulting in the formation of the local clans with identical names in different regions of China, just as is observed among the Manchus), the functions and organization of the clan are not so definite as is found in the Chinese family, the latter being the actual unit of the Chinese, the clan being preserved within limited functions.

[2] The Goldi houses are not walled as they are or were among the Manchus. The families are not so numerous as among the Manchus. According to I. A. Lopatin such a unit sometimes reaches the number of twenty-five persons. In this respect, the Goldi live like the poor Manchus.

[3] An interesting parallel with the Kamchadals may here be pointed out. According to E. Krašeninnikov (Vol. II, Chap. IV, p. 109 *seq.*) the underground houses of Kamchadals included several units which lived separately, i. e., just as is now observed among the Goldi.

[4] D. H. Kulp, in his description of the South Chinese family, gives a picture approaching that observed among the Goldi. He shows three independent family formations, namely, the natural family (corresponding to the biological unit), the economic family, and the religious family. Some Chinese families include several biological units, such as are found among the Manchus and the Goldi, and in several economic families included in a religious family, all living together in the same house. (In this way, among the Manchus new clans are sometimes formed. New clans among the Chinese take peculiar forms in units without names, — just as has happened among the Manchus, — closely bound by property and religious relations, also the village-complex, which confuses the sociological meaning of the clans. As a matter of fact, the Chinese have well-developed clan organizations with all typical characteristics of this institution, but they are camouflaged by some peculiarities, mostly due to the existence of written records, enormous numerical growths of the Chinese, migrations, property, land-tenure, etc. I hope to return some day to this problem.) Among the Chinese, economic-families use different sets of stoves. Among the Goldi, however, the economic need compels the co-operation of small units (biological and semi-independent economic units) in certain kinds of economic activity. Are there really no economic bonds in the Chinese "religious family"? Living together in the same house may be one of the reasons of the existence of such units, for religious families may very easily live (as they do) in different houses.

S. Brailovskiĭ has recorded among the Udehe large families of sometimes as many as thirty members, but he does not give any details as to their organization. In the list of families recorded by him those with ten or more members are common, while the average is estimated at ten, six, and five in different regions. According to this author, the Udehe once had large families, and their present state is that of decline. This supposition is admissible, if the Udehe in former days had been agriculturists as the Manchus were, but this is not probable if they were originally hunters and fishermen like the Goldi.

We must add to this the fact that the population of the Amur River basin (Southern Tungus or Palæasiatics?), according to the Chinese records, lived before the rising of the Nuichen in large units in underground houses: this information is confirmed by excavations. On the banks of the Amur I saw hundreds of sites of underground houses, spacious enough to shelter numerous families. This seems to point to the existence of large families among these people. It ought to be noted, however, that these underground houses were not large enough to shelter the biggest families known among the Manchus.

Among the Tungus, in certain specific instances, the chiefship is subject to certain particular conditions. The active hunter of the unit; the founder of the unit (father or father's brother); the ablest man, sometimes very young, who takes upon himself the responsibility of direction; or the female founder of the unit; any one of these may become chief. The chief of the unit has no special authority as to rights, but he or she controls and directs through his or her own influence. If he is a junior, and the senior members are dissatisfied with him, they may compel him, through clan intervention, to submit to their will. In such an issue the chief has to impose his power by a convention of seniors, and not by his own social position. Indeed, if he is senior in the unit, his position as chief is reinforced by his relationship, and vice versa; conflicts between young chiefs and seniors occur rather often. They naturally result in conflicts between the two systems: the group and the individual the clan and the unit-family, the latter being successful when directed by the ablest man, who takes upon himself the responsibility of action. Among the Tungus of Manchuria, especially those settled in villages, the power of the family chief has significantly increased; this is due partly to particular economic conditions, and partly to Manchu influence.

Among the Tungus the number of members forming a family, as shown, cannot be lower than two, a woman and a man, and does not exceed eight. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia the average unit has 4.2 persons, only.[1] The number is a little higher among the Tungus of Manchuria — about 4.5. It is even higher still among the Tungus of Manchuria who live in villages, but it is difficult to distinguish the actual members in their units from outsiders using a house in common. From the data given above, it may be inferred that the average family consists of a married couple and two or three children. Among the Tungus of Urulga, whom I have statistically investigated, the unit is

[1] This average seems to be somewhat lower than the actual one. The reason is, perhaps, that I recorded my data during wedding meetings so that the families could not perhaps come in full. E. I. Titov found among the Nerchinsk Tungus 69 families with 315 members, which gives the average of 4.5. Among the Kalar Tungus he found only 21 (?) families with 43 active hunters and 173 members, which gives the very high average of 8.3. This is improbable, unless the units recorded include more than one wigwam, or these Tungus had given temporary shelter to some strangers.

more numerous than in other recorded instances. On account of the particular conditions of investigation among the Manchus statistical data concerning them are lacking in my observations. Some idea may be formed, if one takes into consideration the maximum and minimum fluctuations, i. e., about a hundred persons and two persons. The Goldi unit is probably similar to that of the other Tungus, if one considers the large families as composite units. Among the Udehe, according to S. Brailovskiĭ the average family seems to be somewhat larger than that observed among other Tungus groups; different approximations are given — five, six, and ten. It is quite possible that the large families of the Udehe are organized on the same principle of co-operation, as among the Goldi.

The number of persons composing a family unit, as shown, depends upon various conditions of an economic character and, in a lesser degree, on the historic formation of this institution among different groups.

From these facts it may be seen that the Tungus family is not a stable unit, for, first of all, there is no land, or no property to be handed down to the succeeding generations. Clothing, utensils, and reindeer or horses depreciated to the point of uselessness or extinction during less than a generation, or the domesticated animals die and multiply like man. As will be shown, reindeer may belong to a person, but the idea of a herd as inheritable property is not yet stabilized.

The family always changes with the birth of new members, with the death or with the marriages of others. It also changes under the pressure of economic needs. Such a unit may exist from a few months to several generations. There are naturally no family traditions, for the family has no name and the living generation does not naturally remember the former family chiefs, if such a family has passed through several generations. Their names may not even be used by juniors. They are styled "ancestors," or by their classificatory names. The clan covers the need establishing connexion between the people and transmitting tradition and territory to the succeeding generations. As already shown, a new unit may be formed as soon as the economic conditions and the elements to form it allow — that is, when the married couple is ready. The formation of new units is controlled by the clan through the control of marriage, and in some cases through that of inherited property. Although the formation of a new unit concerns, first of all, the old unit which must provide a young man with a wife, a young girl with a husband, and the new unit with property in the form of dowry and kalym,[1] the clan interferes when the old unit cannot do its duty.

The dissolution of the unit may take place because of (1) the death of the active and economically indispensable members of the family, e. g., the principal hunter or the principal working woman, or both of them; (2) the age or deficiency of the active members; (3) divorce (very rarely); (4) the impossibility of assuring the normal functioning of the unit, owing to conflicts between the members (juniors and seniors); and, exceptionally rare, (5) the dissatisfaction of the clan with a family which systematically violates customs (e. g., when the death punishment was inflicted on all members of a family, which occurred among

[1] A part of the kalym is used for dowry.

the Birarčen). In almost all of these possibilities the clan is the authority that chooses the methods of the dissolution of the family, and sometimes even takes on itself the initiative of dissolution.

Among the Manchus, as shown heretofore, the problem is much more complicated by the fact that the stability of the unit is based upon land property, living in houses, and the religious complex.

Variations of the Family Forms. From the facts we have studied and the conclusions at which we have previously arrived, let us now try to see what may be inferred, as to the sequence of the family forms among the Tungus. Under the conditions of hunting, and rather poor reindeer breeding, we have seen that the family, as a unit, cannot be numerous. Yet before the discovery or borrowing of reindeer breeding the family could not be more numerous. It may thus be supposed that the family, based either upon the matrilineal or patrilineal filiation, might have been known to the pro-Tungus — the terms for "the mother" and "the father" being of common origin. In the previous chapter, I have admitted that group marriage might have been a possible form among the pro-Tungus. If so, then the units ought also to be rather numerous, and the region of habitation rich enough to suffice for maintaining numerous groupings. The big rivers, sea-coasts, regions naturally rich in vegetation and animals, favour the formation of large units. It does not mean, of course, that small units under similar conditions might not increase as well. On the other hand, the northern regions, except along the sea-coast and very large rivers, are not favourable for maintaining large units, unless culture is sufficiently complex to allow of the increase of population per square mile, e. g., by cattle breeding and agriculture. We have seen that living by hunting, combined with reindeer breeding, does not allow the formation of a permanently large unit, but, on the contrary, implies the formation of small units which nomadize without difficulty on the reindeer, after game or wild reindeer. This shows the formation of a nomadic unit, composed of at least a man and a woman and, at most, of a few more members, including children. This character of the unit has naturally caused either the formation or the maintenance of the monogamic unit, if such existed at the time when the pro-Tungus reached the northern regions. It is likely that the family at the beginning was based on the bilateral filiation. The transition from the matrilineal to the patrilineal clan system did not, of course, affect the family based upon the counting of direct progenitors and progeny. According to my previous hypothesis, the pro-Tungus knew of the monogamic unit, whence it may be supposed that the Tungus appeared in Siberia already organized into clans consisting of small family units. The adoption of reindeer breeding has also influenced the family organization. If it were successful, it permitted of the extension of the unit, so that it is admissible that the Tungus unit passed through stages of being a more numerous unit than it now consists of, and that its present state is a secondary reduction of the family, connected with the decline of reindeer breeding, at least in regions unadapted to such an industry.

The Manchu family shows distinct features. Let us remember that their ancestors, i. e., the Southern Tungus, have, since the earliest times, lived by fishing which, as previously shown, does not imply the formation of small units; the early clan organization, in all probability, was based upon matrilineal filiation. The early form of the unit might thus have been either a group or a number of small units living together or separately. With the transition to agriculture, which occurred probably relatively soon after the pro-Tungus migration, the large family might have been preserved, for this kind of economic activity does not imply, under the conditions common in Manchuria, the dissolution of large units. Moreover, during the endless wars and rivalry that prevailed between various ethnical groups and clans, the large unit was much better protected than the small ones. Yet the transition to the patrilineal filiation did not destroy the large unit, but on the contrary gave it new support. The present Manchu family might thus have originated from the early large family, or even group-unit, i. e., a clan using group marriage, and for this reason the Manchus have perhaps better preserved their surviving customs of the mother right system.

The Goldi system of the large family has developed from small patrilineal units, which was partly due, perhaps, to imitation of the large family of the Southern Tungus. Moreover, a new system of housing compelled them to adopt it, and fishing, as a principal occupation, maintained large units.

From the analysis of the Goldi complex, I have inferred that this group originally belonged to the Northern Tungus, and appeared in the basin of the Amur River before the tenth century. It is very likely that they were at that time organized into small patrilineal units, hence contact with the ancestors of the Manchus found them in this stage. Some terms of relationship, which seem to be connected with the matrilineal system of kinship, were borrowed from the Mongols by the ancestors of the Manchus before the latter entered into contact with the Goldi, so that the Mongol influence upon the ancestors of the Manchus perhaps dates back to a period long before the tenth century. On the other hand, the Northern Tungus waves descended south, as has been shown, about the beginning of our era, being already organized into patrilineal units. They fell under the influence of the ancestors of the Manchus, and borrowed some terms of Mongol origin from them. So that the first Mongol influence over the Northern Tungus was not perhaps a direct one, but one through the Southern Tungus. This is, of course, quite natural, for the Southern Tungus and Mongols or perhaps Turco-Mongols had been in contact since the earliest periods, and the Mongols, as to their system of family, marriage, and clan, have always been more advanced than the Tungus, who perhaps were not influenced by interethnical pressure to such a degree as the Mongols, being, as they were, surrounded by alien ethnical groups. Hence, the process of variation in the ethnographical phenomena among the Mongols was much more intensive than that among the Tungus. The transition to the bilateral family as now observed is a recent phenomenon, due to the combined influences of neighbours. Among the Manchus and their ancestors it dates at most to a few centuries ago and to a much later time among the Northern Tungus.

Place of the Members in the Wigwam and Their Position in the Family. Though the size of the Tungus wigwam sheltering a unit varies, as has been stated, it cannot pass certain limits. A small wigwam may shelter four persons with their belongings, but the biggest one cannot shelter more than ten persons — adults and children. In the Tungus wigwam one may distinguish the following places: the place in front of the entrance is called in all dialects *malu* (*malu*) (*maro*);[1] two places near the entrance — right and left — are called *čoŋoko* (Barg. Nerč. RTM), *čoŋgo* (Bir. Kum. Khin.);[2] two places between the *malu* and the *čoŋo* are called in all dialects *b'e*.[3] There are also two other places sometimes distinguished between the *malu* and the *b'e*, — *oŋgon* (Khin.), *oŋgan* (RTM), and *nō* (Bir.).[4] These places correspond to the supports forming the frame-work of the wigwam and called by special names. All of them have different constructive importance.

The right-hand side (when one enters the wigwam) is reserved for the chief of the unit, with his wife, who is located near the *čoŋo*. She usually keeps all things for personal use with her and also has her small children near her, the place *čoŋo* being free. The left side is reserved for the seniors (not the chief) and for children over a certain age. The place *malu* usually remains unoccupied by the family members, except for single and honoured old men. The "placings" for the spirits are kept in this place, and the women, during the period when they may have menstruation, are strictly forbidden to go near them, while old women and young girls are not restricted. During a guests' visit, places are given them according to their respective position, in reference to the family chief, so that sometimes the guest (male) occupies the *malu*. Yet if this place is occupied, the chief of the unit and his wife sometimes move to another place, e. g., the left *b'e*, or even the *čoŋo*.[5] It sometimes even happens that the chief of the unit sleeps outside, as all places are occupied by guests. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria people not belonging to the unit are not allowed to pass along the right *b'e* and women not belonging to the unit are not permitted to cross the line parallel to the place *malu* passing through the centre of the wigwam, so that only the first left sector of the wigwam is accessible to them. There are, however, certain taboos for men too. For instance, among

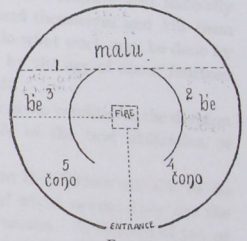


FIGURE.
THE NOTHERN TUNGUS WIGWAM

1 *Maro* (Khin.). Among the settled groups the place located in front of the entrance of the principal room (the Chinese house of reduced type) is also called *malu* (Bir.). The same term is used for a class of spirits.

2 Among the Nomad Tungus (Mank.) the left-hand side is called the *čoontáth'i* (Mank.) and the right-, the *barontáth'i* (Mank.), borrowed from the Buriats *baruntе* (Alaš. *Podg.*) — the left side of the tent. Cf. the Mongol *barān‖baraγun* — western, left (*Rud.*); the Buriat *barun* — western (*Podg.*), whence the Tungus *barotáth'i* (Nerč.), westward; *baronta* (Mank.) (Ur. *Castr.*), west. *-thi* is the suffix of direction. But *zonta* (Mank.) is "left," corr. to *zun* of Buriat, left (*Podg.*). *čoontáth'i* (Mank.), cf. Mongol *čun‖degun* (Lit.), eastern, right; Buriat *-zun*, the east, left, whence *čoonta* (Mank.), also *zun*, *zunta* (Ur. *Castr*), the east. Cf. my "North. Tungus Terms of Orientations."

3 Except the Khingan Tungus, who call them *oldon*, i. e., the side.

4 It means merely "corner" adapted to the square form of the Chinese type of house.

5 Among the Birarčen living in houses of Manchu type (Chinese) places in the house are distributed among the guests, according to the Manchu system. Cf. "S. O. M."

the Birarčen a man may remain in one spot only with his wife.[1] Among the same group, women of stated age are not allowed to sit down in places on the right-hand side — the *b'e*.[2]

The places (see Fig., p. 255) are usually distributed among members of the unit in such a manner that old persons, or better, generally the seniors, occupy the best places (1), the *malu*, the right *b'e* (2), as a rule, being occupied by the chief of the unit. The young children up to a certain age sleep with their parents, after which they move on (3) the left *b'e* and sometimes the *čoŋo* (4 and 5). The members adopted by the unit occupy places according to their relationship to the chief of the unit. Foreigners — other clans-people — adopted by the unit, e. g., sons-in-law and others, occupy places according to their age, except naturally (1) the *malu* and (2) the right *b'e*. The old men and women (widowers or widows) keep their places on the right *b'e*, the son-in-law or the married son, the actual chief, being placed on the left *b'e*, for old people are supposed to be the chiefs of the unit. Place-distribution among all groups is more or less uniform except among the Birarčen: the principle of place distribution in this group is entirely different, which, beyond any doubt, is due to Manchu or perhaps Dahur influence. Places in the wigwam are classified as shown in the figure. The best place is that designated, "1," then "2," and so on. The place *malu* is reserved for the male guests; the other places are occupied according to the system of kinship. There is thus no fixed place for the actual chief of the family, his wife, or children.

The Tungus family consists of at least two active members: a hunter and a working woman. If there are old men still hunting, or old women still working, they help the principal workers. The children after a certain age begin to help the adults: boys — the hunters, and girls — the working woman. In the family there are thus two groups between which the work is divided on the basis of sexual difference. Within these sexual groups the distribution of work depends exclusively upon personal ability — efficiency.

Man's activity comprises hunting, the defence of the unit against dangerous animals of prey, and, in war, against foes, and the manufacture of certain utensils and implements requiring man's strength and skill, sometimes the leading of the nomadic unit, loading and saddling of reindeer and horses, camping in a new place, preparation of fire-wood, care of reindeer and horses when it requires a man's hand. Woman's activity comprises child-birth; the dressing of skins, the making of clothes and covers for wigwams;[3] the manufacture of utensils made of birch bark and skins; cooking for the whole unit; education of children, males within the limits of woman's competence, i. e., up to a certain age; the loading and saddling of the reindeer and horses, and work while travelling and camping, when the men are absent; the preparation of fire-wood, the carrying of water and other household work; the collecting of edible roots and plants in general, which is not so common among the

[1] The reason is of a purely religious order: a married man must avoid places where women have their "placings" for spirits (*nâdⁿil burkan*) (the women themselves may happen to become such a "placing"), and that of other clan spirits (*malu*).

[2] The same reason as shown in the footnote above. These facts show that religious avoidances sometimes cause peculiar positions for the women, which produce the impression of a "subjugated social position" of women, in general.

[3] The manufacture of the covers for wigwams both from birch bark and skins requires certain ability. The birch bark, before being used as material for covers, is carefully prepared by steaming.

Northern Tungus as it is among the Manchus and Palæasiatics; the care of the reindeer (not horses); and milking. It ought to be pointed out that the division of work is not so strict as it is among the Manchus. If a working woman is sick or cannot carry out the work to be done, the man helps her in everything except, naturally, those duties which require special training, as, for instance, skin dressing and sewing, and also the care of small children. However, it is customary among the Tungus that the old men sometimes do women's work, including the repairing of clothes and the care of small children. When the men or women get old they usually do what work they can. During hunting periods the man does the work that is not usually his, as, for instance, sewing and cooking. When the unit arrives at a new camp, the preparing of fire-wood, and supports for the wigwams, etc., is done by the man. As a rule, the women do not hunt;[1] they do not castrate reindeer and naturally they do not fight, but in case of danger from animals they defend themselves and kill them if they attack the unit in the absence of the men.[2] Children do what work may be done by them: little by little they learn what their seniors do, so that by the age of about fourteen they become not only useful, but necessary members of the unit.

From these descriptions it may be seen that, under certain given conditions, the division of work practised within the unit is based upon the principle of the best utilization of human energy.

The active life of the Tungus begins from the moment when the children are able to do something useful. The boys begin hunting birds at the age of about seven: they use the bow and arrow and also catch the birds by various systems of snares. At the age of ten or eleven, they begin to shoot, and at the age of fourteen for the first time they go hunting for squirrels. Two or three years later they become actual hunters. The active period lasts up to the beginning of physical deficiency — practically speaking, at the age of about fifty-five years. The woman's activity begins at the same age as that of the man. At the age of seven, the girl helps her mother by looking after small children, caring for the reindeer, carrying water, and other similar work. At the age of eleven or twelve, she starts sewing, and at fourteen, she does some light work, including skin dressing. The woman's full activity begins with her marriage and childbirth. It continues, if not interrupted by malady or physical deficiency, up to the age of about fifty-five years. The active period thus in man and woman continues for about forty years.

The place in the wigwam and the economical activity of the members of a unit has thus been defined; the relations between the members in the system of kinship, taboos, and customs of avoidance have been shown in previous chapters. The relative position of

[1] The case of the three hunting girls which has been described was, indeed, an anomaly. To this case another one known among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria may be added. An old woman hunted after her husband's death, which occurred when she was fifty-five years old. As her family was at that time in rather a difficult position, she started hunting. Owing to her age, nobody could interfere. During her twenty-five years' experience she killed several big animals, including elks and reindeer: she is still hunting. In 1914, being about eighty years old, she killed forty squirrels; she likes hunting. This is not, of course, characteristic of the Tungus system and ideas, but it also shows that the woman is not prohibited from man's work, if she wishes to perform it.

[2] Occurrences when women defend their families or themselves against bears, wolves, and tigers are known among all Tungus groups; the women then show great ability and cold-blooded determination.

every member regulates the function of the unit. All members recognize the authority of the chief who, in accordance with the interests of the unit, directs their wanderings and general activity. The Tungus family chief is not like a *pater familias;* he acts with the consent of other members of the unit, so that sometimes members of a family are as influential as the chief. The children naturally obey their parents and generally obey their seniors according to the general principle of relations between seniors and juniors. The seniors, if they are not chiefs, recognize the authority of the chief, even if he is a junior. The same is true in reference to the relations between the principal working woman and the principal hunting man. Their activities are always combined, and the woman's will has to be counted on, especially when questions concern her own field. These relations are sometimes disturbed by the fact of property possession, e. g., reindeer or horses which do not belong to the active members of the unit. I recorded a case, among the Khingan Tungus, of a unit composed of two persons — an old woman and an old man — over seventy years old, both blind and absolutely helpless, who possessed eight horses. The other two units that nomadized with them used the horses and in return looked after the old people and the horses. Yet, sometimes an old woman who is in possession of domesticated animals maintains her personal influence in the unit. Among the Khingan Tungus I recorded a case of an old woman who possessed four horses and gave the young to her relatives, who in return helped her. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia I recorded another case of an old woman who possessed several reindeer, but would not give them to her daughter and husband who lived in the wigwam of the old woman.

Relations between parents and children, and also those between men and women, will be discussed in special sections dealing with the position of women and children. I shall now add only a few remarks in reference to the relations between seniors and juniors. The juniors, as a rule, must obey the seniors, but when the latter become old and cannot work they fall under the control of the juniors. Moreover, due attention is always paid to seniors, and the juniors must look after the old people. Good portions of food, good horses, and reindeer are given to them. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria have great esteem for the old men and usually pay *jasak* for them. Signs expressing the esteem for old people are obligatory and are usually practised until the old men fall into a state of *senile marasmus* and complete physical debility. I have recorded this among the Tungus living in villages, for I think that under the conditions of a nomadic life a man who falls into such a state cannot really survive for a long time. In spite of this, the old custom of leaving old men alone (fathers, never mothers, let us add) without food or means of communication has existed till now. So, for instance, among the Barguzin Tungus[1] I recorded a case of a man who left his father alone without food, reindeer, and fire in the middle of the winter season, so that the old man died. This practice is known among other Tungus groups.[2] The Manchus assert that it was also known among them. However, the ritual of leaving

[1] I have not recorded any facts of this kind among other Tungus groups visited by myself.
[2] E. g., among the Enissy Government Tungus, according to Ryčkov, *op. cit.*

old people alone when they attain the age of sixty, I am inclined to consider, is a mere transference of the old Chinese customs, recorded in Chinese books, to somewhat different Manchu customs. The practice of leaving old men alone and sometimes killing them has been recorded of many other ethnical groups, e. g., the Chukchis, in Borneo, also among the early population of eastern Asia. It may be thus inferred that this practice was once very common, and was usually carried out with the old man's consent, as an act of ritual (e. g., among the Chukchis). Among the Tungus, however, it is not so — the old men are left alone without their consent, and this act (among the Barguzin Tungus) is now considered a crime. Such an attitude does not exclude great esteem and even love on the part of juniors towards their seniors.

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2. The Woman's Position

Prohibitions and General Characteristics. Four elements create a special position for the woman as regards her status in comparison with that of the man, namely, (1) the woman has menstruations, which are regarded as something dangerous; (2) the woman does not belong to the husband's clan and sometimes possesses spirits of her own clan who are dangerous and hostile to other people; (3) the woman has to give birth to the children; and (4) the woman being physically weaker than the man cannot do certain work, and being passive, attracts the man, as all females do.

Among the Tungus women menstruation begins at the age of fourteen. Sometimes, however, it begins earlier — in exceptional cases, at the age of eleven — and sometimes it is delayed to the age of seventeen (e. g., among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria), twenty years, and, in exceptional cases, twenty-five years (recorded among the Birarčen). These extreme deviations are rare and the majority begin this function at an age between thirteen and fifteen. Menstruation usually lasts from two to five days except in abnormal cases when it lasts over five days, or is lacking altogether. The climacterium begins at an age between forty-five and fifty. Sometimes menstruation ceases at an age before this limit, and sometimes later. During the period of life when the woman is having menstruation she is called *ak'ipču* (Bir. Kum.), *ačuke* (Khin.) *ačuk'i*, *ačuči* (Kum.), *ač'ike* (Khin.), *očak'i* (RTM), *ačaka* (Nerč. Barg.).[1] Menstruation is called by the same terms. They are used also for clothes, and things which are used during these periods or during childbirth. Generally speaking, this term, as such, has something bad in itself, offending and insulting to the woman. It is rarely used in public, though it is very important in Tungus life.

Sexual maturity and the moment of the consummation of marriage is not defined by the appearance of menstruation, but by the girl's "getting fat," and by the appearance

[1] *Ak'ipču* and *ačuk'i*, etc., according to the Tungus, are absolutely equivalent. However, it seems to me that the meaning of *ak'ipču* is somewhat wider than that of *ačuk'i*. Yet the terms *očik'it*, etc., among these Tungus are not usually applied to things concerning the period *ak'ipču*, but are mostly applied to man's prohibitions, and taboos, though they have no specific meaning as *ak'ipču* has. In the same sense the Manchus use *jatka*, absolutely equivalent to *ak'ipču* (cf. "S. O. M."). E. I. Titov has recorded the verb "to menstruate" — *akapču* — among Irk. and Kalar Tungus.

naturally of her sexual instincts.[1] The same conditions are indicative of the beginning of sexual intercourse among girls. By the interruption of menstruation pregnancy is suspected. Irregular menstruation or its complete disappearance, except owing to age, is considered as an abnormality due to illness, for, according to the Tungus, without menstruation no conception may occur. The Tungus thus have a very correct and definite idea as to the physiological side of this phenomenon, which again is not surprising, for they are good observers and generalize from their observations of animals, both wild and domesticated.

Women protect their clothes by putting a piece of skin or cloth between their legs, which after use must be buried far away from the wigwam. They do not wash it, as the Manchu women do, for if a woman's blood, mixed with water, is poured on the soil, the woman, according to the Tungus, may fall ill. Yet it must be buried, for it is very dangerous for a man to touch such a thing. The Tungus women do not use any water for washing themselves, for again water with woman's blood may unintentionally drop on the soil and the vessels used for this purpose also become *ak'ipču*. Washing in lakes and rivers during menstruation is strictly prohibited.[2] After menstruation, the woman must purify herself by smoking herself with *saŋk'irâ*, *čaŋkró*, or *árča* (laedum palustr.), plant generally used for religious purposes.

Woman's blood is considered to be a very powerful and dangerous thing, so that the period when she has menstruation and is *ak'ipču* divides her life into three parts: childhood, when she is not specially restricted; the period of *ak'ipču;* and the period after menstruation is over, when she is only partly restricted. There are three kinds of restrictions: (1) for all females; (2) for all women during the period of life when they have menstruation; (3) for women who are having menstruation, for those who have recently been delivered of a child and sometimes for those who are pregnant. According to the Tungus, prohibition 2 is a mere extension of prohibition 3, for one cannot be sure whether the woman has menstruation or not.[3]

To the first class of prohibition the following taboos may be included. The woman is not allowed to sit down under the "placings" for spirits, in the place *malu*, where the "placing" for spirits is kept. She is not allowed to mount horses or the reindeer *oŋgun*, i. e., those which are destined to carry the "placings" for spirits and are sometimes used as messengers from man to the spirits. She is not naturally allowed to possess these *oŋgun*. Such prohibitions are general, and common among all Tungus groups. It is evident that in all these prohibitions they are connected with the idea of different spirits which enter women and men. The question is, however, complicated by the fact of the spreading of

[1] For instance, a girl was married at the age of sixteen years and began sexual relations at once, and, according to her, with pleasure. At the age of twenty years she had her first menstruation, and at the age of twenty-four years her first child (Birarčen).

[2] As far as my observations go, the Tungus women, except groups which live on the banks of the Amur, do not bathe. Among the Tungus living on the banks of this river the women bathe very rarely, and most of them never; for, according to them, they get ill after bathing. From time to time they wash their hair with cold water, and without any soap. In spite of this the Tungus women are not dirty to such a degree as the European imagination may picture.

[3] I only once heard the term *ač'ike* used in public. Among the Khingan Tungus it happened once that a young woman was present at shamanizing. Somebody exclaimed, "She is *ač'ike!*" The young woman was indignant and denied it, in a categoric manner: "*m'indu ačin!*" (to me not). Anyhow, she had to leave the wigwam.

these prohibitions to girls born in the clan. Among some Tungus groups, e. g., the Kumarčen and the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, the prohibition of fishing is confined to all women, while among some other groups, e. g., the Birarčen, it is not prohibited at all. Among the first-mentioned groups, the woman is not allowed to cross (especially up-river) at a short distance from the place where the nets are laid, or a special construction barring the river is erected; there is no prohibition among the Tungus living on the banks of the Amur.

Among the second class of prohibition, besides the restrictions of the first class, the following taboos regarding hunting and fishing are included. Among the Birarčen the woman is not allowed to sit down on a skin not yet completed; to eat tiger meat, and the anterior part of the bear;[1] among the Kumarčen the above prohibitions are increased by the following: the woman is prevented, not only from eating bear's meat, but she is not allowed to touch bear's skin or work on it (the same is true among some Tungus groups of Transbaikalia); she is not allowed to touch the harpoon for fishing, to cross a river bar or especially to go along the bar; among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the woman is absolutely prohibited from approaching fishing places or touching fish till it is handed to her by the man. To the same class of prohibitions the following may be added: the woman is not allowed to sit down and stride across a man's clothes, and she is not allowed to sit on a man's saddle; she may not approach the "placing" for spirits and especially the *malu*, in spite of the fact that they are sometimes manufactured by her (among the Khingan Tungus); she may not go behind the wigwam; she is strictly prohibited from stepping across a lying man or his hat. (Owing to that, the Tungus are always very careful to keep their hats in their hands.)

To the third class of prohibitions, besides the restrictions of the first and second classes, the following are related: the woman is not allowed to assist at any sacrifice or shamanizing; if she is a shaman, she is not allowed to deal with her own or any other spirits, consequently—shamanize; if she is pregnant, the prohibition is maintained during the whole period; moreover, the woman is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with her husband and other men.

If a woman violates these prohibitions she may attract misfortune through the malevolence of the spirits. If a man violates these prohibitions he will have bad luck in his hunting, fishing, and other enterprises. The same may happen if a woman's violation of these prohibitions affects the man. The violation of prohibitions thus may affect persons who are not at all responsible for it.

As we have seen, a woman is adopted by her husband's clan, but she still belongs, as originally, to her father's clan. The latter always has certain rights, and can interfere if the woman needs defence. Prohibitions and customs of avoidance resulting from her belonging to another clan have already been discussed in the previous chapters. Moreover, a woman brings with her her spirits, called among the Tungus of Manchuria *náď'il burkan*. The managing of these spirits constitutes one of the most difficult problems for the husband, who always has to be ready to take action against their malevolent activity. Thus a woman

[1] Among these Tungus, men must also avoid bear's meat. They are allowed to eat it only in case of starvation. Among these Tungus a ritual of eating the bear is also practised

accompanied by her own foreign spirits, and living side by side with the spirits of her husband's clan, is naturally a possible source of complications. Her spirits, for instance, may mix themselves with the others entering the "placings" belonging to the husband's spirits, and, not being discovered at once, may act as the husband's spirits disguised. This may happen without any intention on the part of the woman. Yet sometimes the woman and her husband do not know whether her spirits or those of the husband are acting till a sacrifice is made to the wife's spirits. If it is found that the woman's spirits are responsible for the trouble, she must be especially careful in observing all prohibitions and regulations If these spirits do not manifest their activity their "placings," after a satisfactory sacrifice has been made and a prayer offered up after the spirits have entered the "placings," the spirit "placings" may be put in a small birch-bark or wooden box and left to descend some river. But such an issue of the relations between the wife's spirits and those of the husband's clan is not frequent. It is much more likely that the spirits remain active up to the woman's death. It may be supposed that menstruation has a certain relation to these spirits, for most prohibitions concern the woman during this period of her life.[1] It is quite possible that during this period, and especially at the beginning and the end of it, women are susceptible in a much greater degree than during other periods of their lives of maintaining relations with the spirits. The same idea, but developed to a lesser degree, perhaps forgotten, perhaps unrecorded, is found among other Tungus, so it may be considered as one of the important sources of various prohibitions in general.[2] In fact, the woman quite unconsciously avoids causing injury to other people. On the other hand, people avoid her, not because of the woman's inferiority, but to escape the malevolent activity of her spirits. The same may happen to any man carrying spirits with him, especially foreign ones — *dōna*.

The Woman's Position in the Family and Clan. The peculiarities of the woman's position resulting from her principal function — childbirth — and her physiological and psychic characters and physical inferiority, as compared with man, are evident. Let us look at these peculiarities from the Tungus point of view. During pregnancy and child delivery the woman's position among the Tungus is much more different from that of the man than among ethnical groups living in a settled manner. The woman cannot naturally follow her husband when he is hunting, and risk being killed by animals, and generally she cannot follow him in dangerous moments when the man goes ahead to protect and preserve his females. This is also characteristic of other animals. The man thus goes to

[1] Here I should like to warn ethnographers who are inclined to broad generalizations that I understand the connexion between the spirits and menstruation as a purely psychological result of the nervous excitability of women during such transitory physiological periods. The Tungus do not connect woman's blood with these spirits.

[2] Here I mean the complex of secondary prohibitions. Generally, this class of prohibitions probably consists of (1) the primary complex of prohibitions, explained by the theory of spirits adopted by the Tungus at a period when the prohibitions were already in practice; and (2) the secondary complex of prohibitions, resulting from a further extension of the theory of spirits. To this question I shall return in my further studies on the Tungus ethnography.

fight, to meet dangerous animals and foes. Moreover, some physiological peculiarities in woman make her psychologically adapted for this purpose in a much less degree than those of man. A practical calculation of the relative utility of man and woman compels the Tungus to eliminate all functions which require concentration of energy, and fighting spirit. Yet, to feed her children during long years of childbirth the woman is required to stay at home with them. The same elimination of other kinds of work occurs, owing to the relative physical weakness of the woman. The division of work in the family, as shown, leaves suitable work to her, and when it is necessary the man helps her. At the same time, the woman is protected, as far as possible, by man. All this is stated in reference to the average case. Among the Tungus, as everywhere, deviations are also observed, but they do not very strongly influence the system as a whole.

The difference in the sexual attitude of the woman as compared with that of the man also produces its effect on the woman's position. The man's active part in sexual relation and the relative passivity of the woman make her attractive to the Tungus man, and at the same time liberates her from responsibility in many cases.

It is thus natural that the Tungus woman, generally speaking, is very womanly and quite distinct from the man. Owing to the normal sexual functions of long generations being a social institution, and as this social system does not impede the formation of her personality distinct from the male, instances of semi-masculine spinsters, manly women, and womanly men with homosexual inclinations, are, practically speaking, unknown among the Tungus investigated.[1]

When a woman enters her husband's family, she takes on herself certain work in the unit. If she is very young she is not charged with any special work but that done by the young girls of the family: the principal working woman teaches her. If she is an adult she may take up the works of the principal working woman or that of her assistant. In the latter event, she is under the orders of the principal woman. The assistant woman usually prepares the meals, carries water and fire-wood, looks after the animals, and also makes skins and does some sewing. If she is alone, the whole woman's work has to be done by her. When she has children, her life becomes the common life of a Tungus woman with all the responsibility implied by her position. She is thus the nucleus of the unit: she possesses the house and household things. Among the Birarčen a very characteristic saying expresses this idea: *n'irai bojedu ǎ'uja ǎči, akta mur'indu kurgán ǎči*, i. e., the man has no home (family, the wigwam), and the gelding has no *kurgán* (a *kurgán* is a kind of enclosure, pen-fold, where the mares are kept, with their colts).

The Tungus woman does not get up very early. The man, when he has to go out early, sometimes gets up first, prepares some food for himself, and goes away without disturbing his wife. She has to dress the children, prepare food for herself and the children, and also

[1] Homosexual practices among men described among some Palæasiatics, e. g., Koriaks, Chukchis (cf. W. Jochelson, W. Bogoras), and other ethnical groups of Asia, may depend upon two different conditions, viz., (1) religious ideas, naturally grown in the soil of sexual deviations and sometimes being merely borrowed; and (2) sexual deviations as such unrestricted by the acting moral complex and favoured by peculiar bio-social conditions characteristic of these groups.

the other members of the unit. She has to maintain order in the wigwam, and look after the reindeer, cattle, or sometimes horses. She has to dress skins, make clothing, and carry out the necessary mending for all members of the unit. She must combine ornament and design, for almost all things the Tungus woman makes are ornamented. Good work and æsthetic ornamentation is the field for woman's competition. With the extension of business relations with neighbours, woman's activity has grown. The women now dress the skins and the fur, and make skin clothes and moccasins, also rugs, for sale; these sales sometimes constitute an important source of the family income.[1] When the husband returns home, the woman must give him some food at once, and she does not eat until the husband is satisfied. The family, however, usually takes its meals together. The customs of ceremonial feasts require that the women must be served and must eat after the men. The serving of men by the women is more frequently practised among the Tungus who have been influenced by the Mongols and Manchus. If the husband has some delicacies, like wine or candies, he divides them with his wife. When the husband is away, the woman after the day's work puts her children to bed, and goes out to visit her neighbours, if there are any, or she is visited by them. When the husband is at home she remains with him, goes with him, or separately visits her neighbours.

During the nomadic periods the woman plays a very important part. Before leaving camp she has to find where the reindeer are, and saddle and load them. If the husband happens to be in camp he helps his wife. When the children and luggage are loaded, the woman mounts her reindeer. Other reindeer with the children and luggage are attached by their bridles to the saddle of the preceding one and the leading woman holds in her hand the bridle of the first reindeer. In her other hand she has a long stick; then she starts. She must be quite sure of the way and the place to where she is leading the caravan. She must know the place for meeting her husband and other men, who are by this time far away from the caravan and hunting in the mountains. She must know where she may find pasture for the reindeer, good water, and fire-wood. She has to look after the children and the loaded reindeer, and above all she has to smoke her pipe. Those Tungus who use the horse travel in the same manner. The men sometimes go by canoe along the rivers that the women with their caravan cross from time to time when marshes and rocks bar the way. So the woman, besides all else, must have special ability at orientation, for sometimes she has to change the direction, if the path is barred or washed away by the river. Indeed, only a long training from early childhood may produce an ideal leader such as the Tungus woman is. If the men are journeying with the caravan, they do not usually lead it, except when the region is absolutely unknown to the women.

Sometimes the women go far from the camp for several days to gather fruits, berries, mushrooms, and nuts, for their own use, and especially for sale. The selling of these

[1] For instance, the work of a pair of long moccasins made of elk skin (from the legs) among the Tungus of Manchuria is valued at five dollars. The making of an overcoat costs about six dollars; the dress of an average skin costs one dollar. The same prices are roughly known in Transbaikalia.

products among some groups also constitutes an important source of the family income.[1] The women usually go on such expeditions without men and arms but carry along a knife with a wooden staff, used by the Tungus as a universal weapon and instrument, — as a big knife, axe, spear, and hatchet, called *utkan*.[2] They usually take with them a small tent, sleeping bags or covers, kettles, and other usual utensils. During these expeditions they sometimes meet bears which are very fond of fruits and berries. Bears, practically speaking, never attack the women, but sometimes continue to eat berries side by side with the women, without paying any attention to them.[3] If a bear attacks them the women defend themselves with great alertness.

Among the settled Tungus groups, the scope of the woman's work increases, especially if they have cattle: the care of the latter is the woman's duty. The women also mow grass for stock, for instance among the settled Nerchinsk Tungus, formerly Reindeer breeders, just as the men do.[4] However, the care of horses among the Tungus of Manchuria is reserved to the men, but it is not prohibited to women.

Women very rarely carry out men's work — hunting. The cases I know of are, beyond doubt, anomalous ones.[5] Indeed, under the conditions of developed clan life, it is not really necessary, for a woman is never left without support when she needs food and skins.

As shown elsewhere in this chapter, the woman occupies a place in the wigwam according to her position in the unit and remains always with her husband: she keeps her personal things there. Her place is avoided by other members of the unit, especially men. Towards the members of the unit, she behaves according to the customs described. With the juniors she behaves as their senior: she calls them by their personal names, orders, and jokes. But with the senior males she is always very reserved: she does not call them by their personal names, she must avoid addressing them directly, she must not look at them, touch them or their things. With the senior females, she behaves without any special restrictions, just as she would do with the senior females of her father's clan. The same friendly and unrestricted relations exist between herself and the junior females. Among all Tungus groups the daughter-in-law is usually loved by the mother-in-law, which cannot be stated as correct in reference to the Manchus.[6] Among the Birarčen and the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria old women very often discuss between themselves the high qualities of their daughters-in-law, sometimes exaggerating their qualities, starting this topic just after the usual and conventional questions concerning news, weather, and others. To have a good daughter-in-law is the family's pride.

[1] In Manchuria, for instance, in 1915, a pound of nuts was quoted at seven or eight cents; a pound of black mushrooms, growing on fallen oak-trees and very much appreciated by the Chinese, at fifty cents; other kinds of mushrooms, at twenty cents, etc. The woman thus may sell these products for a relatively large sum.

[2] Among the Russians it is known under the name of *pálma*.

[3] Such an idyllic picture is common, but I know a case when a bear could not stand the women's fearlessness, went to one of them, spat into her face, and then left the place. As a rule, the bear does not attack unarmed Tungus. However, bears' attacks have been recorded in almost all regions (cf. *supra*, Chap. I).

[4] Their efficiency is twenty-five or thirty per cent below that of the men.

[5] Cf. *supra*, p. 257.

[6] As a contrary instance I may quote a case among the Birarčen when an old woman disliked her daughter-in law to such a degree that she used to get nervous upon seeing her son and his wife on friendly terms. She was always very glad when some difficulties arose between them. This was an exceptional case not characteristic of the Tungus, indeed. Perhaps a particular love of the mother for her son was the cause of this attitude.

Junior males have certain rights as to her, e. g., according to the principle of levirate. She may be given to another man as wife in case of her husband's death and if she consents. If she re-marries into another clan her kalym is naturally received by her late husband's clan. When she does not want to leave her late husband's family she may stay there for any length of time. The woman does not inherit her husband, but if she does not leave the husband's clan and has children, she takes up the direction of the property which is supposed to belong to the children. The Birarčen dislike it when the widow re-marries outside her husband's clan, for she must leave her children in their father's clan. If she leaves her late husband's clan, the kalym is very often returned to her husband's family, but her own clan may take another kalym if she re-marries. This time, however, both the kalym and the dowry are not high.

The woman does not call her husband by his personal name, but uses either a term of relationship or a teknonymic or a general designation, e. g., "my children's father." The husband does the same in reference to his wife.[1] The woman does not usually sit down before her husband takes his seat.[2] Besides the customary regulations the relations between the husband and wife naturally depend upon their personal characters: they present a good many variations. Generally speaking, the woman is rather independent in her own sphere of activity, and the husband does not interfere in her affairs. She also does not push herself into her husband's affairs. However, sometimes the woman takes the habit of interfering, with or without good reason, into her husband's business. Then the issue of their relations depends exclusively upon their respective characters and mental ability. So there are some cases when the wife is the real head of the family and vice versa — the most common occurrence, however, being that of equality and independence.

[1] This custom is especially strict when the wife or husband is speaking to foreigners, which is also characteristic of Europeans who address the wife and husband as "mother," "father," "mistress," and "master," and when speaking to foreigners: Mrs. and Mr. So-and-so are more "polite" than "my wife," or "my husband." The same is true in reference to superiors and seniors who may not be called by their personal names among the Tungus. This custom is also known among Europeans. If the wife is younger than the husband or if she belongs to a junior group (of another clan) she may be called by her personal name, but not when speaking to foreigners or to children. Unfortunately observation of married couples in their intimate life is difficult and it is not easy to know how they address one another when they are not speaking to foreigners. R. Lowie has quoted the case of the Goldi, among whom the wife does not call her husband by his name (in the presence of investigators) but "Father of So-and-so" and the sister may not call her brother by his name, and he explains it as a result of the "very low esteem" in which the female sex is held. As a matter of fact, the information of R. Lowie as to the relations between sister and brother are not complete enough, for among the Goldi, as among all Tungus and Manchus, the sister, *being younger*, is not allowed to name her elder brother, but the same rule of politeness holds when the younger brother addresses his elder sister. Moreover, among the Goldi, when the woman addresses her husband she uses the terms: *pari* (Ussuri), *modafu*, and *n'uan'i* (Amur) before the birth of a child (I. A. Lopatin, *op. cit.*, p. 170), while the husband uses either her name (I think when she is younger) and *mama*. It is natural that after the birth of the child the father may be called "Father of So-and-so" by all juniors including his wife, brothers, and sisters, who before that moment had no definite name for him but "husband" and "elder brother" *age*, who may be numerous, indeed. The new names are also employed by the seniors when they speak about the man with juniors who are not allowed to use his name, but between themselves they continue to name him by his personal name. With foreigners they will probably use the new name, because it is "more polite" and raises the social prestige of the man. After all, the "low esteem" (by-product of European complex) of the woman has nothing to do with these customs. If the Goldi had official grades they would do just the same as the others do when they speak about the bearers of some social distinctions with juniors and inferiors. Among the Goldi and the Tungus the birth of a child changes the social position of the person (cf. also R. Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 262). At the same time, the person may be addressed in a definite manner by juniors.

[2] One must remember that she is owner of the wigwam (cf. *supra*, p. 263), so this practice may be due to the mere politeness on the part of the "mistress" to her guest-husband.

As a rule, the husbands like their wives. They are attentive to their demands and needs, cherish them, and use very polite and tender language to them. Sexual relations, which play the most important part, are laid down as the basis of these relations. If both of them are satisfied with one another, and love one another, then their life runs very smoothly. If it is not so, conflicts follow one after another, and life sometimes becomes unbearable for both of them. Rough manners towards the women and beating them have been only once recorded by me among the Reindeer Tungus. If a woman is arrogant, the husband finds some method of neutralizing her attitude. If a woman is drunk and behaves in a wild manner, the husband does not use any force, but tries to manage her quietly. However, if she behaves too badly, the husband, helped by other people, very carefully ties her up and puts her to bed till she gets normal: the same method is also applied to drunken men. Among the Birarčen and the Khingan Tungus I observed some cases of woman beating, but the public opinion was decidedly against the husbands, and the women were recognized to have the right to leave their husbands. Such dissatisfaction with the husband may also occur if the husband is unable to feed his family properly or runs away altogether. Under such conditions, among the Tungus of Manchuria, the woman is authorized to demand of her husband's clan to secure her freedom or to put her husband in the right way. If the clan does not pay due attention to her request, her own clan interferes. The latter inquires into the situation and, if the woman is right, asks the husband's clan the formal question: "Why do you treat our woman badly?" This clan must investigate the matter, and usually the husband is severely punished. The woman's clan never refuses her request of inquiry. Among the Khingan Tungus, if the husband's clan does not call the shaman to the sick woman, her clan may also intervene: if she dies without the shaman's help which has not been requested by the husband or his clansmen, the woman's clan may avenge her death — life for life.[1] Among all Tungus, if a woman is badly treated, or is not sufficiently supplied with food and skins, she is also allowed to leave her husband, which naturally implies clan intervention. However, both clans, before agreeing upon this, try to settle the situation in a friendly fashion and admonish the woman to return to her husband. In many instances, of course, after the first departure, especially soon after marriage, the young woman returns to her husband and lives with him in a most peaceful manner. But if she has serious reasons for leaving her husband, the clan arranges a divorce. The return of the kalym, which is obligatory for her clan, restrains the woman from running away. It sometimes happens that a woman runs away with her children. A Reindeer Tungus woman who was married to a man of the *maakagir* clan (Birarčen) who lived in the basin of the Zeia River, in the Russian territory, ran away with her children in a small canoe. After a long journey she appeared among her husband's clansmen, who lived on the banks of the Amur: the man who was wrong did not require her nor his children to return.

[1] According to a young man, the woman's clans-people "will eat the meat" of some member of the husband's clan. This is, perhaps, an exaggeration. Among these Tungus bad treatment on the part of the husband is submitted to the Tungus officials or even brought before the *amban*, the Mongol chief residing in Hailar. This practice is, of course, an innovation. These cases among other groups are usually settled by the Tungus themselves.

Upon bad treatment, the woman (among the Birarčen) sometimes commits suicide in order to make difficulties for her husband, whom in this case, it may be supposed, she loves. If this happens, the husband has to take care of her soul, which naturally becomes an evil spirit. This practice seems to be borrowed from the Manchus, who were also influenced by Chinese ideas.[1]

If a woman loves her husband, she does not behave indifferently on seeing him run after other women. She tries her best, if she can, to attract him back. She intrigues against the women with whom her husband is in love: she fights for her rights. But if she does not care for her husband, she is rather indifferent as to his conduct, though well informed of it. It is obvious that the most complicated love relations and tragic situations originate from the conflict of passion, duty, and social control of the family-unit. If a woman falls in love, the same problems trouble her mind as among other peoples. It is especially evident that when the Tungus woman gets old, she behaves just like any other woman described by European and especially French writers. The Tungus woman begins to lose her attractiveness soon after forty: she gets thin, the breast becomes weak, and the skin wrinkled. According to an old woman (Birarčen) "the man does not get old, but the woman does" — "at the age of forty-four the woman gets old." A man married to an elderly woman sometimes begins to look at young women and girls, which causes his wife to suffer very much if she loves him and needs his attention as a woman. In order to give a picture of Tungus family life when the husband and wife do not agree, I shall give an account of a case observed by me at intervals for practically a year[2] which may be considered as a typical one.

This couple were married when the young man was thirteen and the girl sixteen. Her parents lived far away from the husband's region. They did not have sexual relations at once, but some time after they were married. In the meantime they played together, fought and quarrelled, just as all children do. She became his actual wife before her sexual maturity. Long after that she had two children with four years' difference between them. At the time of observation she was about thirty-six and her husband thirty-three. From the Tungus point of view she was not attractive as a woman: she was not sensual, but rather reserved in her attitude and usually was very sad and rather pessimistic. She thought very often about suicide, but her great love for her children prevented her from doing so. She was especially unhappy, owing to her long separation from her mother. She loved her children and lived for them. There was no doubt that her love for her children was very pronounced. She worked hard in making skins and clothes, which, together with her husband's activity and sober mode of life, permitted them to live above the average. The husband had a rather attractive personality. He was tall, well-educated, from a Tungus point of view, spiritual, and usually joyful. Owing to his personal qualities his income was much higher than the average. The household was her business and he did not interfere with it, but she sometimes tried to interfere in his affairs. Neither of them knew how to

[1] See also *infra*, p. 290, the suicide of children.

[2] The man in question was a great friend of mine, who confessed all his troubles to me. On the other hand, his wife was on the best of relations with my wife, so that my observations could always be checked.

control their feelings. Very often they would get excited by their own discussions and attitudes. Their love relations were shaken two years after the first child was born, about ten years ago. He, at that time, fell in love with a girl of nineteen, who very soon consented to become his mistress. Their love, however, did not last long, owing, I suppose, to strong intervention on the part of his mother and his wife. The girl was soon married to a man of rather poor physical aspect and she became a shaman. At present she is fine-looking, even handsome, and physically a very healthy woman, but too much concentrated in herself, as often happens with shamans, and seems to be dissatisfied with her present life. Soon after this the man fell in love with a young widow, but a month later the widow ran away with a non-Tungus man and disappeared for ever. During that month he used to leave his home for a long time and when he came back treated his wife badly. Once, when his mother objected to his conduct, he got very angry, knocked her down, and ran away. Afterwards, he returned home and for several years he was tenderly attached to his family. They had a second child. Not long ago, he again started to court a woman who was exceptionally inclined for love with all men, perhaps, except her own husband.[1] From time to time he saw her, made her gifts, and maintained sexual relations with her. Relations between the man and his wife have changed so that he had no more intercourse with her. When he was at home conflicts and discussions started. Sometimes she reproached him for his absence from the family, where things according to her were going wrong; sometimes she reproached him for not paying attention to her and their children. When he got excited by her reproaches and his difficult position in this discussion, he would say something like this: "Look for a new husband," to which she would reply by a refusal unless he found her one. This was, of course, pure argument. Then, he ordered her to remain quiet, but she replied that she would not, and, while she was alive, she would criticize him, and afterwards she would commit suicide and then he would be happy. Such discussions sometimes were concluded by his declaration that he would run away and find "a really good wife." Once the discussion excited the man to such an extreme degree that he badly hurt his wife. Then she took her children and moved to the exit. The husband seized a rifle from the wall and was ready to shoot her at once, but he did not. The next morning she returned home, and for the whole day she sat in her place with her face turned to the wall. The day after, she reproached him for his ways. This time he recognized that he was wrong and "stupid." He promised to change his life, and for the time being to go away for hunting and other outside work. Then she prepared cakes with sugar for him and the children, and he left after this meal. The woman also became calm, for home life was restored. The crisis passed, only to recur some time later. There is no doubt as to the actual motives of conflict in this instance.

Generally speaking, among the Tungus the woman's conduct ought to be in accordance with custom and current ideals. As has been shown, a woman is free to receive any

[1] However, I once observed her to be very happy in seeing her husband return after a long absence: she was not seen by her husband: she was jumping and clapping her hands. But according to Tungus manners, when he entered, she behaved in a very reserved fashion without asking him any questions, and started straightway to prepare some food for him.

Tungus man in the absence of her husband, so that she, formally, is free. But this custom does not exactly define the personal attitude of the husband to the wife: often, the man does not permit the woman to enter into sexual relations with other men, even during his absence from home. The conflict here arises from the collision of customs with passion and duty. The issue of the collision also depends upon the individual inclinations of both man and woman.

There are different types among the Tungus women: there are women with an inclination for home life, others with an inclination for hand-work, and others again who like children and nothing else, but there are also women who like most of all love distractions in all their various forms. This type is very common, though not very frequent, but known among all Tungus groups. For instance, a woman did not wish to live with her husband, who, let us add, was a young and rather handsome man, but liked better to stay in camp with other people, so that the husband used to leave her alone for months. During these periods she gave herself up to her love passions. She had as lovers almost all men who were more or less attractive. The senior women tried several times to exhort her to change her ways, but it was in vain, as she did not wish to do so. The husband, according to the Tungus, was not informed of her conduct. I must add, however, that he probably was informed, but he did not object to it — perhaps, for the reason that he did the same during his absences from home. This type of woman is marked among the Tungus, as among other ethnical groups, through the same external signs of behaviour. Generally speaking, if a woman does not pass beyond the limits permitted by custom, the husband may not formally object to his wife's conduct. However, it is quite different when the woman transgresses these regulations, and the husband may require a divorce. If a woman does not work, and leaves her husband and children undressed, if she does not take care of children, which also happens among the Tungus, the husband may require the intervention of her clan and sometimes may ask for a divorce. As has already been stated, among the Tungus, elopements of women, which are recognized as legal elopements, are rather frequent and very often precede divorce: elopements under the love stimulus are fairly common, though the Tungus like to forget such facts. They are especially common when the woman has no children. Among the Birarčen, a woman ran away with another Tungus to Russian territory. They were discovered in a city by the husband's clansmen, but as they refused to return and were protected, from the consequences of this violation of custom, by the Russian authorities, the relatives returned home without the woman.[1] Being outcast she and her lover naturally remained in the Russian territory. However, when relatives interfere they usually force the woman to return. When divorce results from an elopement the woman sometimes marries her lover legally.

Summarizing the above-mentioned facts, it may be stated that there are very few Tungus families in which the relations of husband and wife have not been disturbed by love affairs, as either the wife or the husband, or both of them, usually pass through periods of love troubles.

[1] Owing to this fact, the Tungus women usually run away with the non-Tungus.

The custom among the Tungus of Manchuria may be productive of very severe punishment towards the woman, when she systematically transgresses regulations, especially prohibitions, and does not wish to change her habits. If clan intervention does not alter the situation, she may be called upon to submit to a mixed meeting of the two clans for judgement; then the meeting has to choose between two sentences: guilty or not guilty. If the sentence is guilty it means capital punishment.

The influence of the woman in affairs outside the scope of the family is also sufficient to be taken into account. The woman takes a very active part in discussions concerning match-making, kalym, marriage, and other social functions, of the family members. Her opposition to her husband's opinion, if reasonable, may sometimes define the final issue of the discussion. She may also veto a decision taken without her consent. Old women especially enjoy great esteem. Among the Reindeer Tungus the woman chief of the unit, or any woman whose husband is absent, is allowed to assist and to discuss any questions in the clan meetings, and even in the meetings of the administrative units. The women sometimes speak as men, as absolutely equal with them, and with the same art and success. But the art of speech requires certain practice and certain special psychological dispositions, and thus naturally speech-making is not within the sphere of the average Tungus woman, so that she very often has some man to speak for her. In the clan meetings the men pay due attention to women speakers and never interrupt them, which cannot be stated as true in reference to the men. Among the Tungus of Manchuria, the women have their own meetings, as it is practised among the Manchus. The young women, and the young men as well, are naturally not yet experienced in solving the problems of Tungus social life, and are not very much interested in them.

In religious matters the women also play a very important part, though during certain periods of their life they are partly prohibited from such. Women-shamans are met with among all Tungus groups which, let us add, does not show any peculiarity in the woman's position, for among the Manchus, the woman, who is in a different position as compared with the Tungus, may also become a shaman. The same is true in reference to the Buriats, among whom women-shamans are numerous. Among the Tungus, however, the woman is allowed not only to perform as shaman, but also during shamanizing she is permitted to assist the shaman absolutely on an equal footing with men. Yet as to the possibility of their benevolent or malevolent influence on living people the spirits of dead women do not differ from the spirits of dead men. They sometimes protect their children, especially their daughters, and are therefore treated in the same manner (sacrifices and prayers) as dead men's spirits.

The practice of prostitution has not been recorded by me among the Tungus groups investigated. In fact, sexual intercourse between Tungus women and non-Tungus men is, if not formally prohibited, regarded as a shameful act. Under Tungus conditions there is no practical need for prostitution, for the unmarried man has always a chance of getting a woman or a girl who consents to meet his physiological needs. The custom of giving presents to a woman or a girl, though not always practised, I observed only among the Khingan and

partly the Birarčen Tungus, who are, perhaps, influenced by other ethnical groups. Cases of prostitution or sale of wives as recorded among the Udehe are unknown among the Tungus. I think S. Brailovskiĭ, with good reason, has denied this practice as a general one, but he considers it exceptional and due to the condition of the decline of the original Udehe social organization and ideas.

The Biological Activity of the Woman. Woman's activity as to childbirth covers the period from the first child up to the moment when age or premature physical unfitness proves the limit. The first child is rarely born soon after marriage. Two or three years, and sometimes more, usually elapse before the first pregnancy, supposing the woman has reached her maturity before marriage. The facts of young unmarried girls' becoming pregnant and the marrying of girls before their sexual maturity is reached, make any generalization very difficult, indeed. It cannot be stated whether the Tungus woman may not be prolific at the beginning of her sexual activity, or whether delayed pregnancy is connected with late maturity, or whether at the beginning of marriage it depends merely upon statistical phenomena, for the Tungus woman's pregnancy is usually spaced between four or five years, but rarely less than that.[1] The Tungus woman usually becomes a mother after the age of twenty. The end of childbirth activity among the Tungus of Manchuria occurs sometimes as late as the age of fifty. Among the Barguzin Tungus in sixty-seven cases, the youngest mother was seventeen years old and the oldest was fifty-one, the average being 29.9 years. During this period, the Tungus woman usually has four or five children, and sometimes even over ten. One or two children are common, but childless women are very rare.[2] Preventive methods, abortion, and the killing of children (when the mother is alive) are unknown among the Tungus.[3] Generally speaking, the Tungus woman

[1] The Tungus assert that it is always very difficult for their women to become pregnant. One of the important causes of delayed pregnancy, some Birarčen say, is the practice of the long suckling of children. Pregnancy, according to them, may occur only after suckling is over. According to some other Birarčen, however, milk disappears with pregnancy and owing to it.

[2] Among the Nomad Tungus investigated by me, the economic condition is different from that observed among other groups, for they live by cattle breeding. Moreover, from the anthropological point of view, they differ from other Tungus groups — they include a good deal of the type *delta*, which is rather rare among other groups. However, some statistical data are of certain interest. For 97 units (families) I found the average to be 3.6 children per unit, including 1.3 dead. The latter, perhaps, ought to be regarded as below the actual number, for women, sometimes, do not tell the truth (or merely forget). Of 97 units 9 units had no children; in 18 units there were no children alive; and in 31 units there were no children dead (the latter perhaps ought to be reduced). In one case, the mother had had thirteen children. The mode falls on a family with two children alive. Considering the fact that in many of the 97 units the women are still active (the average age of the woman is 37 years and 9 months), in order to form an idea as to how many children a Nomad Tungus woman may have it may be inferred that these averages ought to be increased.

[3] As will be shown, the new-born are often left to die, if their mothers die during the delivery. Among the Birarčen the practice of killing children borne by girls and widows was recently borrowed from the Manchus. It is not, I think, always practised. Such a woman is called *niγilā*, which is a very bad word, used only by drunken people. It does not seem to be of Tungus origin (cf. "The Northern Tungus Terms of Orientation"). The woman must throw away her child, according to this custom. The explanation is also borrowed from the Manchus, namely, such a child has no father, ergo no clan, which does not fit in with the idea of girls' liberty, with the Tungus love for children, or with the common practice of adoption. Among the Khingan Tungus the brother is allowed to kill the children of his unmarried sister. Perhaps, this was somewhat exaggerated by my informer. Among the Manchus, however, it is true. This Tungus group seems to have borrowed an alien idea and practice from the same source as the Birarčen have.

likes to have children; but some women, however, prefer to discontinue their activity after having had three or four. According to the Tungus, the reason is that numerous children require such tremendous work from the mother — to feed them and look after them — that she gets exhausted before the time. This is, of course, a personal point of view (that of the woman). The Tungus woman, after the third child, which is usually born after the age of thirty, as a rule, becomes thin and old-looking, while girls and young women are usually rather fat. Cases of extreme exhaustion are characteristic of the women who have many children. The same, however, may be stated in reference to the Tungus men, who, after a certain age, become slender and thin.[1] The Tungus hypothesis as to the women's exhaustion, owing to childbirth, does not explain the fact of the relative thinness of the Tungus men after a certain age.[2] I am rather inclined to consider the relative thinness of the Tungus woman, and also the man, after a certain age, to be due to the particular physiological and inherited condition, characteristic of the Tungus who are mostly composed of the type *gamma*.

When a woman becomes pregnant it produces general joy among the members of the family and clans interested in the matter.[3] If the woman can, she does her usual work. If there are any other women, belonging to the family, or merely neighbours, who may help her, they do the heavy work for her. During this time, she is prohibited, as during menstruation, except from sexual intercourse, which is not formally prohibited. Prohibitions from all kinds of food are not practised, so that the woman eats together with other members of the family. If she has an aversion to some kinds of food, which is very common among the Tungus, a special food, if possible, is supplied for her.

Pregnancy is first suspected by the interruption of menstruation, and other indirect signs, including aversion to certain food, vomiting, which is very common, and swelling of the breasts. It is recognized as a fact by an examination of the matrix, and the mother's perception, usually during the fifth month of pregnancy. According to an old woman of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria a young woman's pregnancy is not difficult, but delivery is; while an old woman's pregnancy is difficult, but delivery is easy. According to another old woman (Birarčen), the duration of pregnancy varies: in first pregnancy it is nine

[1] Among all Tungus groups investigated by me, I recorded only two cases of an old woman and her husband who were fat.

[2] The theory (proposed by several travellers) of general under-nourishment among the Tungus is also rather doubtful, for the Tungus live in the same manner now as they have for thousands of years. If under-nourishment is a fact, one would expect that the Tungus during this long period would have adapted themselves to this condition, or be extinct altogether. Moreover, the metabolic processes among the Tungus are not yet investigated, and we do not know the quantity of food they need. Yet the actual quantity of food consumed by the Tungus is also unknown. By this remark, I do not intend to generalize. Indeed, starvation of certain Tungus groups, under pressure from other ethnical groups, is well known. Moreover, starvation, owing to temporory factors, as exhaustion of game, etc., is also known. These conditions are, however, lacking among the Tungus of Manchuria, who are as slender and thin as other Tungus groups. Cf. my conclusions as to the under-nourishment of the Chinese, a theory very fashionable among foreign political and religious propagandists in China (cf. "Process of Physical Growth"). Travellers have been impressed by the difference in the Tungus mode of preparing their food as compared with their own habits, and before carrying out a scientific survey, they have hastened to their conclusions.

[3] A pregnant woman is called by two terms defining her prohibited status: among the Birarčen and the Kumarčen, *jata*, from the Manchu *jatka*; and among other groups, *ačak'i*, etc. (see *supra*, p. 259 *seq.*). A pregnant woman as such is also called by different terms, e. g., *čulongo* (Nerč.), sometimes *baldimača* (Nerč.), which may also be referred to all females [*baldiča* (Khin.) is referred to a mare only]; *urgogdi* (Bir. Kum.), i. e., heavy; *odin* (Khin.); *daphur* (Khin.), i. e., doubled, surrounded, protected by several walls (from the Mongol).

lunar months; later, it lasts ten months; and in old women, sometimes eleven months. This tendency is confirmed by observations among European women.[1] During pregnancy it is not good to disturb the woman with anything which may frighten her. Kind treatment is customary among all Tungus groups. Among the Birarčen I recorded a prohibition of bringing a hare into a house or a wigwam where a pregnant woman was, for the child when born might have a hare-lip.[2] If the father (husband) sees a bird in his dream it shows that a girl will be born; if he sees a snake, a boy (Birarčen).

With the process of **delivery** a complex of customs and methods, slightly varying among different groups, is connected. The act of delivery is called by the verbs: *baldi* (Bir. rarely, Nerč. Barg.) (Neg. *Sch.*), *baldĭxa* (Goldi), *baldukan* (Yakut Gov.), *bagdihana* (Oroči), connected with Manchu *bandimbi*; *baka* (Khin.), to find; *ičča* (Bir. Nerč.), *isa* (Bir. with reference to man), to see; *ju* (all dialects), to go out; *niraila* (Ur. *Castr.*) [from *nirai*, the male (?) or Manchu *n'arulambi*, to lie down in bed after childbirth (?)] and *unkina* (Ang. *Tit.*), the etymology of which is not clear.

Before the time of child delivery, the woman usually makes a small wigwam of the usual shape near the big wigwam occupied by the family to which she belongs. This small wigwam may be made either by the husband, if he happens to be home, or by other women. The woman herself does not usually make it, for she is usually unable to do so if pregnancy is advanced. In the wigwam a kind of stand is prepared, made of two poles vertically fixed in the ground, about seventy centimetres high, with a crossbeam attached to them. No "placings" for spirits or other religious preparations are made. Such a wigwam has no special name, as far as I know. Among the Tungus of Manchuria it is called *jata ău*, *jatka* (cf. *supra*, p. 273); among other groups it is merely called a "small wigwam," sometimes explained by the derivatives of the quoted verbs. Among the Nerchinsk and the Barguzin Tungus the preparation of a special wigwam is now practised no more, so the woman has her baby in the family wigwam: this is an innovation, indeed. No special clothes are put on the woman and she usually uses the old ones, which must be buried before the woman returns to her normal life. Among some groups clothes used during delivery may be carefully washed, smoked, and used again.

In former days the woman was usually left alone and no one was allowed to help her. At the present time she is assisted by the old experienced women of her husband's clan, or by any other women. Among the Birarčen and all the Reindeer Tungus semi-professional midwives now exist. These women are merely experienced old women who receive no remuneration for their services. According to an old woman of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria this practice disagrees with the old customs. According to her, her husband died prematurely because of the fact that she had been helping other women. A woman among the Birarčen and the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria is sometimes helped by several women: no men are allowed to be present, and the husband is very often far away from the place of delivery.

1 Cf. *Revue Anthropologique*, 1924.

2 Some of the Manchu ideas as to pregnancy are also known among the Tungus of Manchuria. Cf. "S. O. M.," p. 112. However, the Tungus are sceptical.

The woman enters the small wigwam just at the last moment before delivery takes place. Her transference to this wigwam is usually delayed, for she sometimes, especially during the winter seasons, suffers from the cold. The temperature in the wigwam is just the same as that outside, i. e., sometimes 70° F. below zero. Sometimes, but not always, a small fire is placed in the wigwam.

Delivery takes place while the woman is in a semi-inclined position. The woman leans forward with her chest on the stand, the crossbeam being under her arms, so that she supports her body by the crossbeam and her knees or feet are placed in the position required. The assistant women sometimes support her by the arms. Delivery is usually very painful: it sometimes lasts for two or three days, yet the Birarčen assert that cases of five days are also known. If the position of the child is abnormal, the assistant women turn the child by successive movements, in order to give its head the right direction. In difficult cases of first delivery among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia, the assistant women sometimes open the wigwam cover. Among the Birarčen they make soup of tiger's liver, which, according to them, marvellously hastens the process of delivery. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, if the placenta does not emerge, the assistant women put a kettle with hot sand on the woman's abdomen. The shamans do not approach the suffering woman as a rule, but among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia they are sometimes required to shamanize outside the wigwam, while among the Tungus of Manchuria they are not even allowed to approach it. I have recorded no other practices regarding relief in the process of child delivery. Abnormal cases are not frequent. However, death owing to loss of blood and due to the impossibility of delivery in due time is known. This, according to the Tungus, is very rare. In sixty-seven cases observed among the Barguzin Tungus only one woman died; this case was owing to the abnormality of the position of the child. Monstrosities also happen, though very rarely, but the Tungus do not like to speak about them: twins are considered as an abnormality, a bad sign.[1] Twins are, however, rather common among all Tungus groups. In sixty-seven births, there were three twins, which is perhaps a mere statistical chance, for, generally speaking, twins among the Tungus are not so common as that. Triplets are unknown among the Birarčen, but they know of their existence from Manchu books. I do not know of any triplets among other Tungus groups.[2]

1 Among the Tungus of Manchuria twins are called *adaku* from *ada*, to be together. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia they are called *ăurm'in*, derived from *ăur*, two. There is thus no special term. The Tungus of Manchuria dislike twins for the same reason as the Manchus — a woman is not a bitch or a pig, and must have only one child. From a woman who has had twins, and from her husband, nothing may be borrowed, bought, or taken, for the same may happen to other people. The birth of twins by a mare is also a bad omen. This is, I think, a further extension of the Manchu theory. Women dislike twins for the reason of the difficulty of their education and feeding. According to the Tungus, the death of one child is always followed by the other's death. The theory of the soul explains it in a perfect manner. According to the Tungus, the twins have only one soul. To this question I shall return later in my study on the religion of the Tungus. As far as my observations and enquiry permit me to conclude, twins are buried either together if they die simultaneously, or separately. No special rite is used in connexion with the death of twins, nor during their life.

2 The occurrence of triplets among a few thousands of the Northern Tungus investigated, statistically speaking, is naturally reduced to a little chance. In fact, taking as a basis the European statistics, one may expect only one triplet in about sixty-four hundred births. The yearly number of births among all Tungus groups investigated is below five hundred cases, the number of cases among different groups being reduced to a number below a hundred, so that the occurrence of triplets among a given group is reduced to a small chance — roughly speaking, once in every sixty-four years. Moreover, as stated, the Tungus do not like to talk about abnormal cases, so they also do not like them to be remembered.

Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the child falls to the ground, if there is no assistant woman; if so, the latter receives it in her hands. It is considered to be better if it falls down, for it cries at once. The umbilical cord is cut off, about three centimetres long, with a pair of scissors, by the mother, or the assistant woman, and is tied with a tendon string. The mother is at that time rather indifferent to her child. The child just delivered is covered with skins or cloth by the mother or the assistant woman. Three or four days later it is washed in a special vessel made of birch bark. The end of the umbilical cord among some groups is preserved; among some other groups (the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria) it is buried. The placenta among all groups is buried. After delivery the mother usually lies down for several days — from two to ten. She does not perform her usual work during this time. Food is prepared for her by other women, and water and fire-wood carried as well. During the summer season the mother remains in the small wigwam for about a month, but during the cold season — for only about ten days or so. She does not enter the family wigwam till the performance of purification takes place. Purification consists of the burying (the Barguzin Tungus) or burning (Birarčen) of the clothes used during delivery and her living in a separate wigwam,[1] washing herself and her child, all utensils used, and smoking herself and the child and things with smoke from certain plants.[2] Among the Birarčen, after her removal to the family wigwam, a part of the latter is reserved for her personal use and is separated with a string. Custom is especially strict in reference to the men, who will have no luck in hunting if they transgress this prohibition, and children whose souls are under the protection of the shamans. According to custom, the husband is not allowed to see the mother and child for a month. As shown, this restriction is very often neglected, for the woman returns home before the expiration of the term. After her return to the family wigwam she is supposed to be restricted by no prohibitions,[3] and she takes her meals with the family. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria it is usual to supply her, if possible, with fresh meat.

As previously shown, the father (the husband) does not play any part during childbirth, and is even forbidden to approach his wife and child for a certain period. The reason of this prohibition lies, I think, in the relations between his and his wife's spirits. This idea is much more developed among the Birarčen and generally among the Tungus of Manchuria than among the Reindeer Tungus. The period of a month seems to have been borrowed from the Manchus.

Among the Birarčen, according to their recent practice, borrowed from the Manchus, a girl is sometimes left alone when she has her baby somewhere far from the wigwam. They also practise killing their children. This practice is unknown among other groups and

1 At present among the Birarčen and Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the clothes are not buried nor burned, but sometimes washed and used again. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria the woman sometimes stays in the small wigwam for only three days. As stated, among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia she is delivered of her child in the family wigwam, so that the customs of purification and restriction are reduced to a formality.

2 The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria like to have a Russian steam bath instead of smoking.

3 The separation of the woman in the family wigwam is a correction of the violation of the prohibition of the mother and child's entering the family house during the first month.

seems to have been borrowed from the Manchus.[1] Children delivered before the normal term are left without assistance and food and naturally die (Birarčen).

The Northern Tungus methods of child delivery in many respects are similar to those observed among the Manchus, but there are, however, certain differences. The woman has her child among the Manchus[2] either in the same house, behind curtains, or, if the house is too small, in a separate house reserved for other needs. The position of the woman when lying-in is also different — among the Manchus she is delivered in a sitting position. The husband in difficult cases is allowed to pray to the spirits. The midwife's part is much more active among the Manchus than that of the assistant woman among the Tungus. As a rule, among the Manchus, the placenta and the clothes are buried. According to I. A. Lopatin, among the Goldi the small wigwam is made in a conical shape.[3] The woman may be assisted by her mother, which is not practised among the Tungus, and which is strictly prohibited among the Manchus.[4] The Goldi woman remains prohibited for a month, as is observed among the Manchus and the Tungus of Manchuria. According to P. P. Šimkevič, among the Goldi, the placenta and the clothes of the mother are hung up on a tree, and never buried nor burned.[5] According to S. Brailovskiĭ among the Udehe the woman is delivered in a separate and specially made dwelling. She must not be helped except by her husband, which seems to be an innovation.[6] She is delivered while lying on her side: the placenta and clothes are buried, and the woman remains in her dwelling from four to fifteen days.

Without going into further details of comparison, let us conclude that there are certainly different complexes inter-mixed among the various groups which show distinct influences. The term of a month seems to be confined to those groups which are directly and indirectly influenced by the Chinese. The burying of the placenta is a general practice, except among the Goldi, according to P. P. Šimkevič.[7] The semi-erect position is characteristic of the Northern Tungus.

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1 Cf. *supra*, p. 208.

2 Cf. "S. O. M.," pp. 113–115.

3 It points to an old form of their wigwam.

4 Let us remember among the Goldi the wife's mother remains in the husband's house with her daughter for a while after the wedding ceremony, a custom which is unknown among other Tungus groups.

5 Cf. "Moments of Life," etc.

6 It is, however, quite possible that this is a survival of an old non-Tungus practice. W. Jochelson, who gave (cf. *op. cit.*) a detailed description of childbirth complex among the Yukagirs, the Yakuts, and the Koriaks, mentioned a special rôle of husband whose presence and assistance to his wife are required by customs. In a case of the unmarried woman the man responsible for the pregnancy may also be required to assist the woman at labour. It may also be noted that the methods practised among the Yakuts in many respects are similar to the above-described Tungus methods. It is, however, difficult to state whether the Northern Tungus have borrowed the Yakut complex, or the Tungus methods are as old as the pro-Tungus complex. In fact, the Manchus, who were never in contact with the Yakuts, might adapt the old complex (pro-Tungus) to the requirements of a settled life. W. Jochelson unfortunately was so impressed by the difference of customs among the groups investigated by him and that with which he was familiar in his own ethnical environment that his description (as in many other instances of his accounts) sometimes turns into a passionate criticism of "barbarous methods." These descriptions, generally speaking, sometimes suffer from an accumulation of critical remarks from the point of view of his ethnographical complex which confuse the actual picture, especially when incidental elements are not sharply distinguished from the usual, common practices. It mostly depends upon his method, quite unusual in descriptive ethnography. He recognizes two struggling principles of the nature: destructive and constructive principles, negative and positive in reference to certain ideals which he seems to adopt and which "are not realized in actual life," as he says, for instance, in one of his general remarks. This point of view is, of course, characteristic of certain groups of intellectuals of the middle class in Russia, at the end of the last century.

7 Perhaps it is one of the oldest forms of this custom.

3. The Children

The Cradle. During the cold season, the new-born child is put in a fur bag, and, during the summer, in a piece of skin; it is then put into a cradle. The Tungus cradle is called *omkō* (RTM. Nerč. Barg.), (Ang. *Tit.*) *omkā* (Bir. Khin. Kum. RTM.), *ämkā* (Mank.) (Ur. Castr.).[1] The Tungus cradle has a definite form, which may better be seen from the figures. It consists of two equal parts — the upper (*B*) and the lower (*A*). The bottom is made of birch bark or two thin wooden planks joined together in the middle of the cradle to form an angle, which among different groups varies: it is small among the Reindeer Tungus, and that of Manchuria approaches one hundred degrees; it is large among the Manchus, and approaches one hundred and eighty degrees among the Dahurs. Among the Reindeer Tungus the material used is birch bark and the bottom consists of a piece bent to form an angle. The birch bark is covered with soft reindeer leather, ornamented and coloured in different shades of red, brown, and black; furs are also used for a covering. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and other Reindeer Tungus the bottom (*D*) of the upper part is short, so that when the child is in the cradle the hard bottom does not hurt the head of the child; the open part is covered with a piece of soft leather (*C*) in order to protect the child's head. The height of the border also varies: it is about twenty centimetres high among the Reindeer Tungus and the Manchus, and is much lower among the Tungus of Manchuria expecially among the Dahurs,[2] so that in the first case the cradle is very deep, and in the second, shallow. The border is made of two wooden curved pieces (Manchus, Dahurs, Tungus of Manchuria) or of birch bark (all Reindeer Tungus) joined together in the middle of the cradle (*E*). The border is attached to the bottom. A wooden hoop (*F*) is loosely

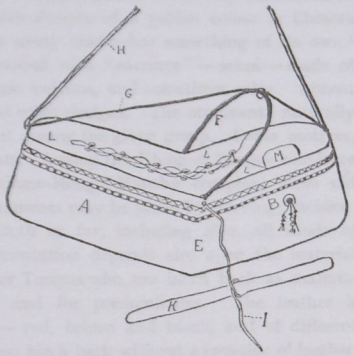


Fig. 1. Tungus Cradle

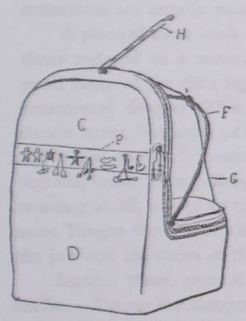


Fig. 2. Tungus Cradle

[1] *Dui, bōbōuvi* (Neg. *Sch.*), *bōbāhu* (Goldi), the latter two of which may be connected with the Manchu ***bebu***, the lulling [*baba* (Tum.), *bä* (Bir. Khin. Kum.) (Tum.), to lull].

[2] Among the Dahurs one meets with two forms of cradles, a fact of great ethnographical importance. In my "S. O. M.," p. 118, I omitted to mention that the Tungus form of cradle is known among the Dahurs. This form of cradle has been described by me in a diary dealing with the Northern Tungus and thus escaped my attention when I was preparing for publication the material concerning the Manchus. In the Manchu home-made cradle, the border is also very low and the cradle, consequently, shallow.

attached to the border at the junctions of the lower and upper parts, so that it may be inclined at any angle one desires. This wooden hoop is used for leaving free room for the child, when the cradle is covered either with skin or cloth. Among the Tungus a thong (*G*) attached to the lower and upper edges of the cradle passes through the top of the hoop. To the same edges a strong thong (*H*), about a metre long, is attached directly or with metallic rings (among the Manchus and some other groups). This thong is used for hanging the cradle up; and among the Reindeer Tungus for attaching the cradle to a loading bag to balance it when loaded on the reindeer's back. Another long thong (*I*) is attached to one of the sides for rocking the cradle when it is hung up. The same thong is used for attaching a narrow wooden plank (*K*) to the borders of the lower and upper parts of the cradle during travel in order to protect the child from being hurt by the branches of trees. The same plank and thong serve for strengthening its position in regard to the loading bag. This plank is lacking in the cradle used among the Manchus, Dahurs, and Tungus, who do not load the cradle containing the child on horse-back.

Among the Tungus of Manchuria, the open space between the upper border and the bottom which does not attain the upper edge of the border is protected by a piece of soft leather or cloth. It is the same in the Dahur cradle. Among the Northern Tungus along the border of the lower part of the cradle a piece of soft leather (*L*) is attached. The free edges of the leather are tied by means of a system of loops and thongs in order to protect the child when it is in the cradle. Among the Manchus, the Dahurs, and some Tungus of Manchuria the skin border is lacking and the long thong is directly attached to the wooden border of the cradle. Sometimes the leather border is also lacking in the cradle of the Reindeer Tungus: a system of loops and thongs then form the protecting network for the child, which is covered by a piece of leather or put in a fur bag. Among the Khingan Tungus a very important element of the cradle is a hook used for hanging it up. The hook must be made of the antler of a young elk. During the preparation of this material the antler should be boiled in a clean kettle without mixing other things which need preparation by boiling.

At the bottom of the cradle the Reindeer Tungus put powder made of rotten wood. The Tungus of Manchuria use rotten wood and dry grass for the same purpose; besides this material, the Manchus also use saw dust. All these hygroscopic materials are used for keeping the cradle bottom clean from urine. In a cradle (Birarčen) I saw a fishing net that had been put for the first child: this net cannot be taken away. It has a certain religious significance which the mother could not explain. Among the Birarčen some rags or old covers are first put at the bottom, and then covered over with a piece of birch bark and the usual hygroscopic material, just under the child, the latter being protected by a piece of cloth. The free ends of the cover, placed at the bottom, are used to cover the child, while the urine is absorbed by the hygroscopic material. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria a layer of long elk hair used for a protection for the child is put on the layer of hygroscopic material. The hair must be dried as soon as it gets wet, so that there is always some dry hair.

The inner sides of the upper part of the cradle are sometimes provided with small cushions (*M*), in order to protect the child's head.

Different ornaments, "placing" for spirits, animals' bones, hoofs, teeth, and other things, cover the back of the cradle. Among the Manchus, cradles are usually manufactured by the Chinese, painted red, and ornamented with designs of a golden colour in Chinese style. This is not so among the Tungus, where every cradle has something of its own.[1] Usually both external sides of the cradle are provided with "earrings"—*sekaṅ*—made of narrow leather or skin straps, glass pellets, brass buttons, and sometimes coins. Almost every cradle is ornamented with the swastika and other designs. The ornaments naturally vary according to the general idea of an ornament among the given group. Some motives, however, are preserved as special cradle ornaments. Among the Khingan Tungus who have adopted the ornament from the Manchus (Chinese-Mongol-Manchu complex) some old ornaments are preserved on the cradle. The ornaments may be made by burning, incision, painting, or cut out of leather, birch bark, cloth or fur, including also, all kinds of embroidery. The choice of the method of ornamentation depends also upon the material used for the cradle borders. Among the Reindeer Tungus who use birch bark as material for their cradle, ornamentation with leather and fur predominates. The leather is ornamented with designs of combined colours: — red, brown and black, and of different shades. Among the Tungus of Manchuria who use birch bark without a covering of leather, burning and painting of ornaments is preferred for the cradle, while among the Manchus ornaments are usually painted only.

A piece of birch bark or leather (*P*) is attached to the back of the cradle (it is sometimes reduced to a narrow strap) for hanging various objects. Such are roedeer hoofs, small bones of the elk's leg, boar's teeth, pieces of ornamented bone (very typical and of old ornamental design) (Khin.), the back leg bones of the sable, the jawbone of the lynx, duck's bones, bustard's (*Avis tarda*) bones (Khin.), the claws of the lynx, the sable's jaw (Bir.), the roedeer's hoofs, iron rattles (conical) (Barg.), and various things like brass buttons, coins, glass pellets, beads, etc. According to the Tungus all these things have no meaning at all, except to make a rhythmic noise to lull the child to sleep. According to some Tungus the spirits (those which are malevolent) fear the bones of certain animals, e. g., the jaw and the claws of the lynx, and the sable's jaw.

Besides these, several "placings" for spirits and animal images are attached to the cradle. Among the Barguzin Tungus, the following articles are found: either two or four or eight anthropomorphic objects made of skin, leather, or cloth with mouth and eyes made of glass beads; they are called *mok'i*, plur. *mok'il*, i. e., clever, sly, intelligent; their function is the protection of the child; very often, but not always, the images of the cuckoo, *kuku*, which accelerates the growth of the child: and images of the screech-owl, which calms the child when it cries. Among the Tungus of Manchuria *kaŋan*, *kaŋŋan*, *kahan*, *kaan*, correspond to *mok'i*. They are in number two, four, or eight, as among the Reindeer Tungus,

[1] Among the Manchus home-made cradles are very poor, and lacking in form and æsthetic requirements. Among them only very poor people cannot afford to buy a proper cradle in a Chinese shop.

but they are usually carved from wood and ornamented with leather. These important "placings" are from time to time put under a kettle when food is boiling, in such a manner that they cannot be burnt. According to a Tungus "it is," he told me, "I suppose, a kind of small bad spirit." As soon as the child begins to walk, these objects are taken away from the cradle and attached to the back of the child's coat. Among the Kumarčen and the Birarčen two other "placings" for spirits are attached to the cradle, — *an'ikán*, — small assistant spirits forming with other principal spirits, "spirit complexes." They are for calming the child. They may be made from different material, e. g., leather, fur, birch bark, lead. The following images are also found: one or two small wooden images of birds— *činaka*—all small migratory birds are called by this name; the toad (*erek'i*, etc.), frog (*wera*, etc.), which is to protect the child against stomach troubles and is made of leather or wood; sometimes a turtle shell with small different pendants is used. I once saw a small wooden canoe made according to the shaman's prescription. Another time I saw a skin which had been taken from the nose and foremost part of the head of the otter (RTM).

Among the Tungus of Manchuria one may also sometimes see small bags attached to the cradle. These bags usually contain some hair of older children and sometimes the dried umbilical cord. Every child thus leaves something of its own in the cradle, which he has used. The most important thing, however, is a "placing" called *an'an*, which literally means "a shadow." It is made of leather, which is painted black. According to the Tungus, the child's "shadow," i. e., its own "shadow," from time to time appears before the child's eyes, which frightens the child and makes it cry. This "shadow" is no other thing but the child's soul, which, according to the Tungus, does not stabilize itself in the child straight after the birth, but little by little. From time to time it leaves the child. The *an'an* is made thus for a place for the child's soul when it is wandering about. The Birarčen also sometimes attach a small wooden horse to the cradle, which is supposed to be used by the female spirit[1] *n'aŋn'a* (which corresponds to the Manchu *oŋos'i mama*), who distributes souls among the new-born children, — *om'is'i murin* — i. e., the soul (or spirit ?) horse.[2]

Among the Reindeer Tungus, the cradle is made by the father, and among the Tungus of Manchuria, by any man who knows how to do so, except the Khingan Tungus, where, according to a doubtful source (a young man), it should be made by the woman, as the men are neither allowed to touch it nor to speak about it. Among some Tungus (e. g., the Khingan Tungus, the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria) the first cradle is made somewhat smaller than the second when the child grows big. They also make a large cradle for the winter season, when the child is protected with several layers of furs. The first cradle is then put in the storehouse for the next child. The same cradle, as before stated, is used

[1] This female spirit is borrowed from the Chinese among whom a group of female divinities have to look after the normal functioning of child delivery, the production of posterity, and fecundity. Besides the personal name, all of them are called *niang niang* (*n'aŋ-n'aŋ*) (娘娘). Cf. H. Doré, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 2; also J. de Groot, *op. cit.*

[2] This is also borrowed from the Chinese complex. I shall return to this question in my study dealing with the religion of the Tungus.

for several children, so that among the Birarčen, it sometimes contains several bags with hair, umbilical strings, and several *an'an*— "shadows."

During the winter season the child is put in the cradle in its fur bag. During the summer it is usually covered with soft leather; among the Tungus of Manchuria the leather is sometimes replaced by a cloth. The face is never covered, hence the child may breathe comfortably, the mouth being free. A piece of soft leather also covers the child, leaving its face uncovered, and the leather borders are tightened with thongs. In such a position the child cannot fall out of the cradle, even if the reindeer falls together with its load. As stated above, the whole cradle, when loaded on the reindeer back, is covered with soft leather or cloth.

Owing to the general form of the cradle, the child may be placed in a semi-sitting or a lying position, depending upon the inclination of the cradle. When the cradle is in a standing position, the child, naturally, is in a semi-sitting position; when the lower and upper tops of the border are at the same level, the child occupies its almost regular prone position. Among the Manchus and some Tungus, the cradle may easily be hung on a tree, or a rafter of a house, or on the poles of the wigwam. The mother may suckle the child without taking it out of the cradle. She may easily rock the cradle to lull the child to sleep. The child, through being placed in a semi-sitting position, becomes accustomed little by little to an independent existence, for the high border protects the child from falling out of the cradle, so it is often left alone.

During travel, the cradle is loaded, as has been shown, on a reindeer's back. This is not so, however, among the Tungus, who use the horse instead of the reindeer. Generally speaking, the horse, when carrying a load, is not so accurate an animal as the reindeer, and does not take care to carry it without damage, as the reindeer does.[1] The Tungus who use the horse have a kind of wooden frame for carrying their children. Such a frame among the Khingan Tungus is called *turö* and among the Kumarčen *èlbală̆in:* these terms do not seem to be of Tungus origin. This frame, together with the child, is attached to the saddle: it is naturally used only for growing children and not for infants. The latter are usually attached in front of the mother, so that her hands are free, and at the same time the child may be suckled when necessary. Among the Kumarčen, in order to alleviate the difficulties or inconveniences of the woman leading the caravan, small children are put in the cradle and sometimes transported in canoes by the fathers or by other men.

Among the Goldi the cradle is constructed according to the same principle as among the Tungus and the Manchus: the same type of cradle is also known among the Udehe. Among both the Goldi and the Udehe, the cradle is much shallower than among the Tungus and the Manchus. It rather looks like the same type of cradle which is in use among the Dahurs. Moreover, it ought to be emphasized that the Udehe have also another type of cradle, i. e., a flat one used at night. It is provided with a duct for urine, and seems to have been borrowed from the Gilak system.

1 This fact may be added to those facts which have been quoted for showing that the reindeer, at least among the Tungus investigated, is not a "tamed," but a domesticated animal.

Thus the Tungus type of cradle comprises two sub-types, namely, the deep cradle and the shallow cradle, the latter being of somewhat simplified make. The first type is common among the Reindeer Tungus, where it is met with in its most developed and complex form, and among the Tungus of Manchuria, where it is somewhat modified and simplified owing to the material used (wooden planks), and also to the fact that it is not loaded on horse-back; it is also in use among the Manchus; here it is found in its most simplified form, due to the material used and the limited use of the cradle in houses. The second sub-type is met with among the poor Manchus, Goldi, Udehe, and perhaps Dahurs who do not systematically nomadize. Both sub-types show that this cradle has been invented by people who used to journey on reindeer or wander on foot, for it is best adapted for the nomadic mode of life and at the same time is good for universal use: it may be hung, put on the ground, carried on the back, and even loaded on reindeer. The fact is that this type of cradle is confined to the Tungus groups and partly to the Dahurs, while the Mongols and the remainder of the Palæasiatics have a flat cradle, while the northern Chinese do not use any cradle at all. The Tungus who have fallen under Mongol influence sometimes use a cradle of Mongol type. It may also be noted that the Tungus groups now living in contact with the Palæasiatics (formerly this contact was of course much closer than it is now) used a cradle of the second sub-type and the Udehe have borrowed (or preserved?) the flat cradle met with among the Palæasiatics (the Gilaks). It may be noted that the Dahurs, who, according to their tradition, have absorbed some Northern Tungus groups, also use a cradle of the second Tungus sub-type. Thus we may suppose that the Northern Tungus who have been absorbed by the Dahurs used the same kind of cradle as is now used among the Goldi, the Udehe, and the poor Manchus. According to my hypothesis the Northern Tungus absorbed by the Dahurs belonged to the first Tungus wave to which the Goldi also belonged. Some other Tungus groups which belonged to the same wave have lost their cradle of Tungus type. Whether the second sub-type of cradle is a reduced form of the cradle of the first sub-type, or is the earliest form of the Tungus cradle, cannot now be stated with any degree of certainty. The fact of the co-existence of the two sub-types among the Manchus is a fact of great interest, for the cradle of the first sub-type among the Manchus is simplified and manufactured by non-Manchu artisans. Moreover, the cradle of the second sub-type is not properly adapted for loading on reindeer back, while the first sub-type looks as if it might have been invented for this purpose. It is thus possible that this sub-type is a further adaptation of the second sub-type of the old pro-Tungus cradle for the needs of reindeer nomadism. The Manchu cradle of the first sub-type (reduced) may be regarded as a recent development, an improvement of the old type and absolutely independent of the parallel development of the cradle among the Reindeer Tungus.

In order to complete the discussion of the question as to cradles among the Tungus, I wish to mention some rare cases of borrowings. For instance, the cradle used among the local Russian settlers has been adopted by the Nerchinsk Tungus who have settled in villages. Among the Birarčen I once saw a cradle of Russian type: according to the owner

of this cradle for settled life it is more comfortable than the Tungus cradle. This man was generally inclined to borrow ideas from the Manchus, Chinese, and Russians.

Education. Its name is given to a child soon after birth. The giving of the name is a very important matter, for, according to some Tungus, the name by itself has certain influences on its bearer. This idea compels the Tungus if misfortune (especially malady) befalls it to change the child's name. This practice is also very common among the Manchus.[1] Among the Manchus the names for males and females are different in their ideas, the names for males expressing physical and moral power, while those for females express womanly traits. There is no such custom among the Tungus. The names are sometimes borrowed from folk-lore, sometimes they have a jocular meaning, sometimes they denote some event during birth or in early childhood, sometimes they point to some peculiarity of the bearer, they are sometimes the names of spirits protecting the child, and there are some names without any or if any, a forgotten meaning; these are transmitted from generation to generation. Moreover, the name is sometimes given after the first noun pronounced by the mother. To this question I shall return in my other studies on the Tungus.

Suckling is the mother's duty: if she dies during, or soon after, child delivery, the child dies without its mother's milk. Contrary to the Manchu practice among the Tungus no other women may suckle the child.[2] Among all groups suckling may last sometimes up to the age of six years; but, practically speaking, it is usually interrupted only by the mother's pregnancy. After the birth of the succeeding child the first one is sometimes allowed to suckle too. Suckling usually covers about three years. Among the Reindeer Tungus, if the mother has not sufficient milk, the children are fed with reindeer milk diluted with water. The mother begins regularly to give the child milk with tea when the child attains its sixth month. Soon after that the child is fed with meat which is not swallowed, but sucked. At the age of a year and a half the child has the same food as adults, but after meals they always want their mother's breast.[3] The mother, if she has milk, never refuses even big children, even if six years old. Suckling for a long time among the Tungus, and among the Manchus as well,[4] is the mother's pride, for it shows her high qualities as a mother and a woman. Drinking of wine and smoking are practised from an early age; the children are usually quite accustomed to smoking tobacco before the age of ten.

Children begin to walk after a year of their life in the cradle. However, up to the age of two or two and a half they always return to their cradle and sleep in it. After leaving the

1 It is also known among the Chinese (e. g., Fukien province), where the new name is given by a kind of shaman. Generally, this practice seems to be borrowed from the Chinese.

2 However, the education of children belonging to other people is very common among the Tungus.

3 I once observed a girl of two years old who was suckling her mother's breast and a piece of sugar at the same time.

4 The same practice is observed among the Goldi and the Udehe, and also among the Chinese (*n'ihan*), cf. "S. O. M.," p.

cradle, the children sleep in a fur bag, which they use up to the age of about eight years. When the child begins to walk, the mother makes a full dress of the same shape as that used for adult people, but with open trousers and otherwise simplified. Among the Reindeer Tungus young children are dressed in a special fur-combination, — *mukulm'i* (Barg. Nerč.) — provided with an aperture in the back protected with a piece of fur attached to the waist. The trousers and the sleeves are not open, so the child is protected in a perfect manner against the cold — the hands and feet cannot be frozen. Some modifications of *mukulm'i* are also known and used for children of five or six years of age. The Tungus of Manchuria accustom their children to the cold temperature by exposing them, absolutely naked, in the open air, though of course for a short time. So one may very often see the father or mother with a child of one year old in their arms, absolutely naked, in a temperature of air far below zero Fahrenheit. Sometimes the children are only partly dressed and sit in front of the fire on the knees of adult people, while the temperature in the wigwam is about the same as that outside. The Tungus say that this training makes them stronger and produces no harm nor illnesses. During the summer months, the children are very often entirely naked or dressed very slightly. Boys are usually naked up to the age of seven years, while girls are always dressed a little, but do not wear trousers.

When the child leaves the cradle and begins to wear its coat, *moki'l* (Barg. Nerč.), *kaŋan* (other groups), together with different rattles, are attached to the back of the coat. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia the children wear the "placings" and rattles up to the age of three years, while among the Tungus of Manchuria the period is extended to the age of five. These Tungus say that the spirits calm the children. For instance, once a boy was very nervous and capricious, but his mother hung a *kaŋan* on his back and told him: "You now have your ancestor on your back, feed him well, and honour him," and the boy was quite soothed.[1] Sometimes the Tungus hang on the neck or attach to the back of the coat, various amulets, e. g., double nets, monstrosities (plants), and generally extraordinary things which may give good luck to the child.

The cutting of the hair is prohibited up to a certain age: for, according to the Tungus, it may produce bad effects on the growth and health. The length of prohibition varies, sometimes up to two years, and sometimes longer. Among the Tungus of Manchuria the cutting of the hair has been adopted under foreign influence (Chinese through the Manchus), but the hair ought to be cut off by sections and carefully preserved. Among them, before being shaved with an ordinary knife the hair is wet with water and ashes. The washing of the hair is also prohibited up to the age of two or three years. Owing to this custom the Tungus children's heads are usually covered with all kinds of dirt resulting in skin maladies, and with all kinds of parasites. The insects are from time to time cleaned out by the mother, but it does not suffice to keep the hair free of them — the mother has no time to do it often. The bathing of children during the early period is also rare, so the body also is

1 In order to warrant against possible speculation as to the meaning of *kaŋan* I must point out that the mother wished to explain to her son, not the idea of this spirit, but to give him some comprehensible explanation, and at the same time to occupy him with some duty.

usually very dirty. During travel, when the child cannot be watched by the mother, the hands are covered with soft leather or cloth in order to prevent the child from scratching its face and body, while branches with leaves are used to cover the cradle and protect the child against mosquitoes and other insects. After this period the child passes to a stage when it does not sleep in the cradle, does not wear spirits' "placings" (among the Tungus of Manchuria the period is sometimes extended), and it may be washed, bathed, cleaned, and the hair and nails cut when necessary. At night, when the child needs to go out, it does not awake its mother, but leaves the sleeping bag and returns without any help from the adults. Small children, sometimes two and a half years old, who are not able to stand properly, especially when half asleep, crawl outside on all fours. At this age children are attached to the reindeer saddle with leather straps. After the age of about five the children are no more attached to the saddle, either of the reindeer or of the horse. This, however, must be asked for by the child, who must be sure to be able to ride properly. At this age some tattooing (among the Tungus of Manchuria) is done to the girls. Among the Birarčen, at the age of three they put a string round the lower part of the body in order to accustom the child to trousers.

Parents and other relatives make toys for the children. Dolls and small cradles are preferred by girls, while the bow and arrow is preferred by boys. Symbolic toys, like a stick representing a reindeer or a horse, a piece of wood representing a pipe, a small piece of skin or cloth representing a dress, and at the same time, also, loading bags, and a lot of other things, are sometimes preferred by children to realistic toys. Small animals, like puppies, sucking-pigs, and birds, are sometimes bought or caught for the children. Reindeer are also given to them to look after them. The making of dresses for dolls, the manufacture of knives from roedeer ribs (the seventh rib is preferred, which is, I think, probably a survival), also bows and arrows, by boys, accustom them to useful work. When the boys begin to use the bow and arrow, adults make different types of arrows for them, e. g., whistling arrows, wooden arrows, arrows sharp and blunt, and other types. The boys thus learn the difference in the efficiency of the various types of arrow. The art of shooting is one of the fundamental elements of education and life-experience. Children, both boys and girls, are accustomed to saddle and to load animals, and to pack things into the loading bags. The children naturally like all kinds of exercise, as jumping, throwing stones, running, also big and small ball games, and others. Girls take their part in these games, but it may be noted that they prefer to be near their mothers and to do something with them or for them.

At the age of seven or eight, boys and girls have already distinct inclinations. They have also different functions in their play when they pretend, for instance, to nomadize, hunt, and fish. Boys and girls have their own toys. All of them at this age know how to make and keep a fire, and to cook cakes. Their duty is to bring water and look after the fire, and also sometimes to take care of the domesticated animals. At this age the girls begin to help their mothers make skins, do a little sewing, look after their small sisters and brothers, while the boys help their fathers, who accustom them to the work

they will have to do during their life. At this age boys begin to hunt small birds with the bow and arrow. At the age of about twelve, boys begin to shoot with a small gun of old type. The next year the boy begins to hunt the squirrel and other animals, except the big ones, like the elk, the reindeer, the bear, or precious ones, like the sable and the fox. He already knows how to skin animals. He is allowed to go alone for a short distance, i. e., about fifty miles on reindeer and horseback, or in a canoe. He sometimes goes as an active member with a hunting company. So he passes through a period of hunting experience, and at the age of sixteen he is a man. Different inclinations and specializations develop later. A young man sometimes prefers hunting big animals or bears, or sometimes small fur animals. At this age girls also attain the necessary skill in skin making, sewing, and general housekeeping; they also know how to bring up and educate small children. So they are ready for an independent life.

Adult persons tell stories and teach the children what they themselves know about the world, their own history, and traditions; children are very fond of stories and can listen for hours. Little by little they learn to do the same. Story-tellers of nine or ten are common among the Tungus. The system of spirits and their classification and the fundamental principles of shamanism take a very important part in the education of children. They are naturally very fond of shamanizing and other religious performances. At the age of ten they usually know their religious duties. For instance, small boys, sometimes not yet ten, before mounting the reindeer or horse reserved for the spirits (*oŋgun*), perform with great punctuality the rite of purification.[1] Yet adult persons gradually accustom the children to their social duties and position, for in the Tungus social system the children sometimes have to perform certain rites according to their social position; so, for instance, if a boy is senior to persons who are older than he is, he must know how to behave towards such persons, — esteem for age and life-experience does not make him forget his position as a senior to juniors.

During childhood and youth, the Tungus gradually learn a great deal of what adult persons know about things. The naturalistic spirit characteristic of the Tungus in general is learned little by little by the children, according to the periods of their mental development. Problems concerning the reproduction of the human species also disturb the Tungus children's mind. Before the age of eight or nine their curiosity as to their own origin is satisfied with any explanation understood by them; e. g., children are given by the *buɣa*, i. e., the highest spirit, or are found in the forest. The observation of domesticated animals' habits does not help them to understand things[2] till a period occurs when they learn from adult persons the meaning of these facts. However, as soon as the understanding

[1] The purification of the penis with the smoke of ritual plants.

[2] Among the Birarčen I once observed a boy of five playing with another boy three years old. The first one was performing as a stallion in action, while the small one was supposed to be the mare. The boy was imitating the stallion with all possible details, — he was beating the "mare" with his legs, neighing, biting, except, of course, the essential of the act, which had evidently escaped his understanding and attention. His partner in play was really suffering and crying, which according to the first boy's idea ought probably to be included in the performance.

of the physiological side of the problem and the observation of animals' life permit the child to conceive of the relations between man and woman, adults do not refuse to explain the mystery: children, however, are not practically interested in these things till they attain the age of the awakening of sexual instincts, which, as stated, sometimes occur among the Tungus after marriage.

Among children different characters as to their inclinations and reactions are observed. As a rule, the children imitate their environment. As the result of recent influences children sometimes commit acts in conflict with the Tungus ideas as to morality. So, for instance, among the settled Birarčen I know of a boy thief who stole a fine sturgeon from a fishing hook which had been put into the river by an old Tungus. The boy sold the fish, but he was severely punished by his father. Generally speaking, adults educate their children in accordance with their own ideas and do not permit them to transgress customs. The methods used are that of persuasion, explanation, and beating in exceptionally rare and serious cases. However, the Tungus sometimes use slight beatings in order to stop at once certain bad actions or manners, or just to show the children that they have to obey. Two sticks, one for dogs and another for children, famous in the Manchu household, are unknown among the Tungus. Among the Reindeer Tungus, practically speaking, education beyond the Tungus environment was unknown, but of late years Chinese authorities have already started schools with Chinese teachers among the Tungus of Manchuria. In these schools children are taught in Chinese and according to the Chinese methods. As far as I could see, this education does not influence the children very much and they remain Tungus in their customs and ideas. It is perhaps due to the great difference between the Chinese and Northern Tungus complexes. Manchu influence is, as a matter of fact, much more effective than Chinese. With the passing of time and with persistence on the part of the Chinese, this education will produce its effect upon the Tungus youth; for the Tungus, generally speaking, are very much inclined to learn something new from other people. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Siberia, as has been stated above, some schools were already functioning in 1915.

Position of the Children. Relations between children and their relatives, including the far senior relatives, are naturally defined by a system of customs and their excessive great love for children, which has already been noted by all travelers among the Tungus. The Tungus like children and consider it their duty to become parents. They believe married couples who have no children to be wrong, dangerous, and influenced by malevolent spirits. The production of numerous children is considered real happiness. The Tungus love children without making any distinction between boys and girls;[1] they like them just as children — small members of the community. From the first day of its life the Tungus

1 *Vide* Supp. Note XII.

child knows that it will not be refused anything by its mother. Yet the love of children, as a psychic attitude, sometimes makes them real tyrants. Incidents of a mother's leaving her children are very rare and occur only from passion for another man, with whom she runs away or if life with the husband is absolutely unbearable. It may also be noted that the love of children is not confined to one's own children, but it also covers all children in general, so that when a child cannot be brought up by its father and mother, it is taken with pleasure by other people. Moreover, exchange of children is also sometimes practised (e. g., among the Khingan Tungus). Foreigners are allowed to touch and fondle children. The care of small children is taken over by parents, senior sisters, and brothers, who love them very tenderly, and especially old men and women, who usually give all their time to bringing up small children. If a child is sick the mother and sometimes the father do not leave home; for, according to the Tungus, "a sick child must not be left alone." Adult people devote a good deal of their time to talking to their children, telling them stories, or just distracting their attention with play. The kissing of children is a common expression of tenderness on the part of adult people. The children may be kissed without distinction of age or sex up to the age of maturity. Among the Tungus of Transbaikalia, the bride, for instance, as previously noted, is kissed by all relatives. Generally speaking, the Northern Tungus do not regard kissing as a sexual act, as it is regarded among the Manchus. In order to give pleasure to the children adults sometimes scratch the head and body, and also tickle the sexual organs.[1] Sometimes the children's enjoyment carries more weight than any other consideration. When the children want something the Tungus spend money without any hesitation.

Parents and relatives, who take the care of children, do not like to separate themselves from them and remain with them as long as possible. So when the daughter is to be given in marriage the parent usually delays the days of separation. When the girl is going away, the parents very often cry very bitterly. A child's death causes great suffering to the parents, especially the mother. Such a misfortune may sometimes result in a long illness of the mother.

The burying of children is different from that of adult persons. According to an old Tungus practice, sometimes still met with among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia, children are buried on trees: the Manchus have also preserved this practice for burying their children.

On only one occasion are children left without attention — the moment of arrival at a place where the Tungus intend to camp. The woman and men, and also the children who can help, prepare the ground and poles for the wigwams, carry fire-wood, and water, take off the saddles from the reindeer or horses; the small children in their cradles, who are hung

1 I did not observe among the Tungus, the sucking of the penis of small boys, as is common among the Manchus. Among the Birarčen I saw a mother who was tickling the sexual organs of her small daughter. In another case a girl sixteen years old was tickling the penis of her brother who was about four years old. These practices are very common among them.

up on the trees or placed on the ground, cry, but nobody pays any attention to them till the wigwam is ready: this has impressed many a traveller.

I have already mentioned suicide of children among the Tungus. Among the Tungus of Manchuria, sometimes, but very rarely, suicide occurs, if the mother dislikes her daughter and the latter systematically suffers: more rarely the same happens to boys. In all these cases, however, the children's idea is to make trouble for their parents. Such is not characteristic of other Tungus groups, and I think relations of this kind between parents and children, and the reaction of the children in the form of a desire of vengeance through suicide, are borrowed from non-Tungus groups. First of all, the Tungus mothers are very tender to their children, and bad treatment of children may be observed but very rarely, and never in systematic form. Moreover, when such bad treatment occurs, other relatives will, to be sure, intervene, for the children belong to the clan, as well as to the family. The idea of suicide for revenge is not a Tungus idea, and it is in contradiction to typical Tungus behaviour. I think these practices are borrowed from the Manchus, who themselves have perhaps been influenced by the Chinese.

Diseases and Mortality of Children. The conditions of a nomadic life are such that without speaking of maladies, children's lives are always menaced by different kinds of accidents. Frozen hands and feet are common, especially in children who do not wear *mukulm'i* (see p. 285). If the mother fails to look after the child, it sometimes puts its hand out of the gloves,[1] and the fingers get frozen in a short time. I have seen among all Tungus groups adults with fingers lacking, owing to such accidents which had occurred during early childhood. It is obvious that, owing to a general infection of the organism, many children die after being frozen. Deaths from general freezing are common, falling down rocks, being killed by falling trees, being drowned in the flooded rivers, and other accidents are frequent. The burning of small children, also dogs and drunken men, is well known among all groups. In fact, during the great frosts, children, adults, and animals approach so near the fire that the clothes of men and the fur of the animals very often take fire. Even in slight burning, the chance of general infection is very high, indeed.

Infectious maladies are common among all Tungus and especially among those who live in direct contact with the Russians and the Chinese. The most dangerous maladies are small-pox; measles, which is very often followed by death; influenza, which also affects adult people very badly; typhoid fever; pneumonia; and dysentery. No medical treatment is applied, and vaccination is not common to all groups. These maladies, according to the Birarčen, are caused by different spirits, which may be classified into two groups: (1) small-pox, measles, and chicken-pox are controlled by a female spirit which protects small children

[1] A special kind of long fur glove, with an aperture for allowing the whole hand to be released. These gloves have only one finger for the thumb, the other fingers being together.

and is considered necessary for every child; and (2) all other (infectious) maladies are caused by a complex spirit *ain'i burkan*.[1] No shamanizing can help the child, no medical treatment is considered useful, but sacrifices to the spirits and efficacious prayers are performed. People who know "good prayers," e. g., the Dahurs, also know how to cure these maladies.[2] The Tungus therefore are very anxious to learn these prayers which they do not know. Methods of influencing the spirits will be described in another study. It is obvious that under such conditions infectious maladies cause great injury to children.

If the child is weak and inclined to sickness the Tungus sometimes invite a good shaman who takes the soul[3] of the child and keeps it till the child's recovery, sometimes even up to the age of thirteen. The shaman leaves the child a small ball bell and a brass mirror — *tōli* — largely used in shamanism. The bell and the brass mirror must be returned to the shaman when he returns the soul. It ought to be noted that the bell and the mirror are placings for the shaman's spirits, which are charged with looking after the child without a soul. The bell and the mirror are kept in a box made of birch bark and hung above the child's bed (place) or cradle. Different preventive and curative methods of the same nature are used. For instance, a bracelet made of hedge-hog skin protects the child against some illnesses. The whole skin of this animal and the bear's paw are sometimes used for the protection of the child against some spirits: a wild reindeer tooth is used against toothache; small pieces of wild pig's skin and other amulets are used against various maladies.

Besides these methods the Tungus also use some medicines. They know (among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia) the "white stone" and the "black stone,"[4] used by women and men, respectively; these "stones" are also used for children. The mixture of the "white stone" with bear's hair and bile, and in recent time, with ammonia, is used for scrofula. They also know some plants and roots used as medicine. Some European medicaments have also become known among the Tungus. Those of them which have a drastic effect, e. g., iodine, mustard plaster, etc., are preferred. Among the Tungus of Manchuria, Chinese, Manchu, and Mongol, and also even Russian, medicines are known, and sometimes applied to children. The use of medicaments is not contradictory to the Tungus theory as to the origin of maladies, but they prefer to study the effect of any new medicine on adults before applying it to children.

It is not surprising that mortality among children is very high as compared with other ethnical groups. Beyond doubt, more than fifty per cent die in early childhood; this has been recorded by many travellers. I gathered some statistical data, but they are so incomplete that I shall refrain from publishing them. Some material gathered among the Nomad Tungus as to age groups is more satisfactory, so I shall give it in the following table:

[1] This theory is borrowed, in a modified form, from the Chinese, indeed.
[2] The intervention of a shaman may sometimes cause a child's death.
[3] According to the theory adopted by the Tungus the soul consists of three different elements, or, rather, there are three souls with different functions. The shaman takes one of these souls. If he takes two souls or three souls the child dies, and that is what may sometimes actually happen if the shaman is a bad man.
[4] Some minerals which I failed to analyse at the time.

Age	♂	♀	Together	
			N	Per Cent
0–5	36	38	74	13.8
5–10	29	36	65	12.1
10–15	28	17	45	8.4
15–20	21	24	45	8.4
20–25	22	20	42	7.8
25–30	18	20	38	7.1
30–35	22	17	39	7.3
35–40	20	19	39	7.3
40–45	21	11	32	6.0
45–50	10	14	24	4.5
50–55	12	12	24	4.5
55–60	3	10	13	2.4
60–65	13	12	25	4.6
65–70	4	6	10	1.9
70–75	9	5	14	2.6
75–80	3	—	3	.6
80–85	1	3	4	.7
85–90	1	1	2	.2
Unknown	7		530 7	100.0
Total			537	

We have already seen that 1.3 child per family dies, i. e., about 37 per cent (3.8 born per family). But, as stated, the actual average is much higher, for some cases have been forgotten. Though almost all the population of the group here called the "Nomad Tungus of Urulga" has been recorded, the material from a statistical point of view is, of course, not sufficient for final conclusions. Some tendencies, however, may be seen quite clearly. In fact, the class age 0–5 includes 13.8 per cent, while the class 10–15 shows a reduction — 8.4 per cent; in other words, a loss of 39 per cent. Moreover, the age class 0–5 includes children only alive, and the percentage of children of the age class 0–1 must be much higher than that of the classes from 4 to 5 years. As a matter of fact, in the given series the age class 0–1 includes 3.5 per cent, in which children who die between this period are not included. Taking into consideration the above calculation, it is absolutely evident that more than 50 per cent of the children, perhaps even 65 per cent or more, die before reaching the age of sexual maturity. Let us now bear in mind that among this group, compared with the Reindeer Tungus and the Tungus of Manchuria, the general economic and other conditions are much more favourable for child growth and for preservation of child life. All travellers certify to an enormous mortality among the Tungus children, particularly of the Goldi, the Udehe, and other groups. Among the Manchus child mortality is also very high, in spite of the fact of their settled life and living by agriculture.

Indeed, in order to maintain the Tungus population at the present level the Tungus woman must produce a large number of children. On the other hand, the maintenance of the same fecundity with the reduction of child mortality would result in a catastrophic growth of Tungus people who would have to live in the same territorial area; so that the present mortality of children is one of the conditions resulting from uncontrolled childbirth, slow variation and change of the cultural complex, and limited territory.

CHAPTER VII

PROPERTY AND ASSOCIATIONS

1. Property: Kinds of Property: Tribal, Clan, Family, Individual; Acquisition of Property; Inheritance. 2. Relations Originating Beyond the Clan and the Family.

1. Property

Kinds of Property. Among the Tungus different kinds of property may be distinguished: tribal property, when several clans possess common territory; clan property; family property; and individual property. The idea of property shows different variations among the groups; this is due principally to alien influences and changes in the mode of life, so that this idea is not stabilized in Tungus common law. As far as I know, the Tungus language does not possess any general term for property, which does not mean, of course, that property does not exist. Relations as to property are expressed either by possessive pronouns, or by special terms for particular kinds of property.

Strictly speaking, the idea of property does not extend over territory: the clan, the family, or the person does not possess land or territory. In spite of this, the idea of hereditary possession of areas used by a group of clans, forming Tungus ethnical units, is well developed. This possession may be called "tribal property," which is, of course, a conventional term, for the unit "tribe" formally does not exist. Yet, as shown, the units are subject to great variations as observed among the Tungus, and they are sometimes not stabilized at all. Territory belongs to or rather is in permanent use by a group of clans which occupies it irregularly, and as far as the clans may defend their right of occupation when other clans, or other ethnical units, desire to take it from them by force, or slow penetration. The clan then defends its right to live in the given territory. The form of defence may take that of a purely juridical character, i. e., in reference to the right of long use, as supported by tradition or force; the clan, or group of clans, may also cede its territory to any other clan which has no place to occupy. It is evident that this problem implies the establishment of good relations with neighbouring clans. The fact that a clan, being an exogamic unit, cannot function alone, implies the use of territory in common with other clans, connected by marital relations. As shown, many clans are bound together in pairs, for marital purposes, so that if clan property of territory ever existed, it has certainly passed through a stage of transition when two clans, intermarrying between themselves, used territory in common. Intermarriage between more than two clans has caused extension of the right of the use of territory, so that at present territory is irregularly distributed by the clans between the units forming the clans that are also united into bigger units (ethnical and administrative). At present, the idea of clan territory is already superseded by the idea of territory possessed by ethnical units and conventionally called by me "tribal territory." Without going into detail as to the reasons for the existence of such units, let

us take instances. The Barguzin Tungus, for instance, oppose themselves to the Nerchinsk Tungus, and support their rights as to certain territory by tradition: such and such a territory belongs to the *nerčugan*, while such and such another territory belongs to themselves. The same may be stated in reference to groups like the Birarčen, Kumarčen, and others. All these groups recognize their rights to some territory, which, however, does not impede others—e. g., the Nerchinsk Tungus from penetrating the Barguzin Tungus territory, and the Kumarčen from penetrating the territory recognized by tradition as belonging to the Birarčen. But such penetration is usually preceded by the consolidation of friendly relations by intermarriage.

The distribution of territory among families is still a clan function, except in cases of newly discovered territory good for occupation and controlled neither by other clans nor by ethnical units. Nobody then may oppose the occupation of the territory, and the clan does not interfere. Yet the granting of hunting or pasturage rights—the actual use of territory—to other clans, is also a clan affair. So there are thus two kinds of territory in use; territory used by a man, or group of men,—a family or families—for hunting, pasturage of reindeer, hay and pasturage of horses, which is either distributed by the clan, or occupied by the people who need it; and territory used by the clan for nomadizing, hunting, and fishing of the whole unit, the latter being distributed by the clan among clan members. The possession of both kinds of territory is not at all stable. There is thus no idea of private land-ownership, but only that of use of territory. However, the idea of the possession of territory by ethnical units is quite definite. Again, when the ethnical unit enters into contact with other ethnical units, especially units of common origin, the territory must be given up, for this land, according to the Tungus idea, belongs to the *buγa*, the highest spirit, and not to man. The land is called by the same term as the spirit, which also means place, territory, world. The idea of the possession of territory by ethnical units has received a strong stimulus from interethnical pressure, which has caused the distribution of territory between the units. Since the Russian intervention into Tungus affairs, and their organization of the Tungus into administrative units, the idea of territorial possession or at least territorial use has become stabilized. The Russian authorities had arranged possession of territory by clans, which resulted, as has been shown, in the creation of several new units among the Tungus, called by the Russian authorities *rod*.[1] In this way some new Tungus units have been formed, e. g., the *rod* of the Upper Angara River. It is curious that an analogous process has taken place among the Tungus of Manchuria, where groups have been allocated and territory divided between them, as among military units. As already shown, however, the Tungus groups still cede their territory to other Tungus, which produces great confusion in the system of the Tungus administration, both

[1] Ethnographers and travellers, as I have pointed out, have been often misled by the functions of these *rod*, referring to them as clans. It has also happened with other ethnical groups of Siberia, and in other regions.

among the Tungus living in Russian and in Chinese territory. In this case, as in many others, alien influence did not essentially change the fundamental ideas of the Tungus.[1]

Although the reindeer belong to unit-families, when epidemics rage among them the clan may divide all the reindeer belonging to the members of the given clan among all the unit-families. This happened, for instance, at the end of the nineties, among the Barguzin Tungus. Owing to this practice, units possessing over sixty animals have not been recorded: it happens too often that the reindeer are divided among the poorer members of a clan. Among some other groups, e. g., the Tungus of the Kalar River, where the breeding of numerous herds is possible, ownership is much more definite than among other Tungus groups. This is natural, for among this group, reindeer do not only form the means of communication, as for draught and riding, but they also form a means of accumulation of personal wealth, as is so among their neighbours, e. g., the Yakuts.[2] In this case, however, the idea of clan property has, perhaps, nothing to do with the practice of the equal distribution of the reindeer in periods of economic stress, implied by the principle of mutual assistance in misfortune. As a matter of fact, the equal distribution of reindeer has not been confined to the clans, but to the whole of the unit affected by misfortune, and it has operated only through the clan. Yet it is customary among other Tungus groups that a group assists another if the latter loses its reindeer, owing to epidemics. Reindeer are not always bought, but are usually given as gifts or loans. It is curious that private ownership of cattle and horses is quite definite. It is, however, difficult to say whether this practice is based upon the borrowing of ideas as to cattle and horse ownership, together with the breeding of these animals, or whether it is a purely Tungus idea, but it may be noted that settled groups of the Reindeer Tungus, who have given up reindeer breeding, do not transmit their former ideas as to reindeer ownership to cattle and horse ownership, and as a rule do not practice the division of them in case of epidemics and generally the accidental loss of animals.[3]

[1] From the ethnographical point of view it is very interesting to see that the present government controlling the territories and population formerly belonging to Russia, in spite of the fact of its opposition to the idea of private property, has undertaken, as far as I know, the reform of the right of territory used by the Tungus. This territory is disposed of among the Tungus groups, so that the Tungus idea of denying the right of land-ownership has again received a great shock. It is beyond doubt that under this pressure the Tungus will soon reach the following stage, i. e., the assignation of territory between the clans and, further, between families. It may be supposed that this process will be simplified by measures of Tungus denationalization carried out under a new form and a new pretext, this time elaborated by the help of professional ethnographers.

[2] Such was the position of this group at the period of my investigations in Transbaikalia. As far as may be seen from E. I. Titov's account, this group has now also fallen into a state of economic stress.

[3] The fact that the idea of the equal distribution of reindeer occurs at a period of catastrophic economic stress must warn one against generalizing on the Tungus idea of property. As a matter of fact, among the ethnical groups organized in a more complex manner than the Tungus, the idea of the unstability of property occurs at periods of economic disturbances, famines, floods, earthquakes, revolutions, and wars. The instances of the last European War, when the private property of persons belonging to the powers that lost the war were sequestrated, shows that the idea of private property may be violated by ethnical groups that base their own system on this principle. Instances of revolutions, on the other hand, show that a whole unit may sometimes be gained by the idea of the equal distribution of the property, and this process sometimes makes all people equal in reference to poverty. This idea is dependent upon the conceptions prevailing among the given unit at a certain moment, which may take various forms: religious, political, or economic. It may also be noted that after a period of unstability of property, a period of stabilization follows. Among the Tungus, periods of unstability and stability are very frequent, which depend, of course, on the loose character of the Tungus economic system and its great dependence upon temporary factors, as epidemics and like factors.

The property belonging to the family consists of reindeer, or horses and cattle, storehouses, sometimes food stock, furs, also wigwams and utensils of common use, e. g., kettles and loading bags. The reindeer, as a rule, cannot be of private or individual property. The reason is this: reindeer breeding requires a certain organization of the economic unit, consisting of at least one adult male and one adult female. It is thus evident that only such a unit may become the owner of reindeer. This condition explains the existence of the practice requiring a single reindeer owner to join some unit-family to which reindeer must be given. Horse breeding, however, as an economic system among the Tungus, is different from reindeer breeding. Practices as to horse ownership are also different. Owing to the peculiar character of reindeer breeding as a system, two kinds of property may be distinguished in the dowry — the part which is called *ǯōr'i*; and another part, consisting of domesticated animals, belonging to the family the woman enters. If the woman leaves the family through divorce or being a childless widow the matter concerning the reindeer and other domesticated animals, brought by her, must be settled between the clans that defend the interests of the families involved.

The chief of the unit is not the owner of the animals. He or she may dispose of them freely; but formally, according to the practices, they have to consult other members of the unit. There are, however, some variations as to these regulations, which are not alike among all Tungus groups. Among the settled Nerchinsk Tungus, formerly Reindeer breeders, I saw a girl who possessed three reindeer, while the family she belonged to possessed horses and cattle. The Tungus were proud that the girl had personal possession of the reindeer. This family, as a settled one, needed no reindeer in the case of the girl's marriage; but, according to the Tungus practice, these reindeer ought to be given, perhaps as her own property, to the unit that the girl had to enter. In this way, reindeer possession may stabilize as the private property of the woman. In fact, the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria recognize reindeer to be the woman's property, while the horses belong to the man. There is, however, a rule among the Birarčen that the part of the dowry called *suruk*, which consists of animals, follows the woman if the unit divides.

Storehouses are also family property, food and dried skins as well. Every member is allowed to use them, as much as he or she wants, considering, of course, the needs of the other members of the unit. More than that, several families sometimes join together and make in common a storehouse or several of them in different places. This practice is especially common among the Kumarčen, who, let us remember, are in a slightly different position as to the possibility of food transportation. During the winter season, owing to the lack of food, the horses cannot go into the mountains except for short trips, and the rivers are frozen. Thus these Tungus must store much more food and other provisions than the reindeer groups. There are two types of storehouses, namely, (1) open storehouses, a platform mounted on poles, where the food supply and other things are covered with

birch bark; and (2) closed, well-roofed wooden storehouses built on high poles.[1] The first type of storehouse is, I think, a reduced form of the second type. It is a fact of great importance that among all Tungus groups every man, when he needs food, clothes, or any implements, is allowed to take anything he wants from the first storehouse he meets. However, among the Birarčen this custom is limited: taking food and other supplies from storehouses is allowed only to persons known to the family to whom the storehouse belongs. This limitation has been implied by the necessity of hiding storehouses in places which may not be found without an exact knowledge of their location. At the present time, among this group, storehouses have gone out of fashion altogether, for the Chinese trappers and hunters have abused this Tungus custom too much and being numerous in this part of Manchuria they have caused the Tungus to store their food, skins, and other commodities elsewhere. Persons who borrow something from a storehouse usually leave some mark on a wooden tally. Among the Birarčen, before they gave up storehouse keeping, a person who borrowed from a storehouse had to leave a detailed account of what had been taken, his reasons and his name (they sometimes used the Manchu language for the purpose or making of special marks on the tally according to a well-elaborated system of signs). This innovation was an attempt at the preservation of the old practice under new conditions and preceded their giving up storehouse keeping. As a rule, among all Tungus groups the things taken from the storehouse by a person not belonging to the family are usually restored, except naturally meat, which may become bad during the hot season.

Family property also includes the product of the hunting of all members of the unit, namely, skins, furs, antlers, and meat, except the part offered to clan members, if they, and their neighbours act according to the principle of *n'imadif* (see *supra*, p. 195).

Individual property consists of clothes, implements personally used, as knives, small bags, boxes, guns, and, very rarely, horses and reindeer belonging to the man; clothes, implements personally used, sometimes wigwams, all implements and utensils used by women and sometimes a part of the dowry, except animals, which belong to the woman. This is not, however, uniform among all Tungus: for instance, among the Birarčen the man always possesses his own horse and the cover for the wigwam belongs to the woman (this is so also among the Kumarčen), so that even among the settled Birarčen who live in houses of Chinese type the woman says "my house" and the man says "my wife's house," or simply "the house," but "my family," so the above-quoted Birarčen saying: *n'irai bojedu ǎuja ǎči*, etc. (see p. 263), has a quite definite meaning.[2] Together with the wigwam, the

[1] This type of storehouse is met with in the enormous territory occupied by the Northern Tungus, the Goldi, the Udehe, and various groups of south-eastern Asia, also the Polynesians, including the Maori of New Zealand. It ought to be connected with the neolithic dwellings on piles which are still used in south-eastern Asia. It shows, by the way, that the Tungus know quite well how to construct square wooden houses, when they need them. In fact, among the Tungus who stay during the winter-time at fixed camps, the building of these square wooden houses is very common.

[2] The Tungus woman's expression "my house" is not equivalent to the expression of the European woman when she says "my house," "*ma maison*," "*mein Haus*," "*moj dom*," etc., for to the Tungus woman the house belongs to her as her property and the man is in the position of the European woman who does not usually possess the house or the building. In many languages, however, the ideas of "household," "family, house, home," in the colloquial, everyday language overlap one another.

woman also possesses the bed, i. e., rugs, cushions, sleeping bags, and among the settled groups, covers and other things composing the bed. As we have seen among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, the reindeer are also the woman's property. This kind of property among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia is called *ǯōr'i*, both woman's and man's. It forms a part of the dowry, which among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria is called *sǎvas*. The person possessing these things is relatively free as to the disposal of them. But as a rule, the Tungus always consult other members of the family if they want to sell or exchange things that other members may be interested in. Among all Tungus groups the product of the woman's work belongs to the family, just as that of the man does. However, the woman sometimes possesses some money of her own, usually a few coins brought by her with the dowry, but I know of no incidents of a woman's increasing her own capital.[1] Articles manufactured by the woman may also belong to her personally, if they are used by her. The same holds good in the man's work and things manufactured by him. The individual ownership of reindeer may also occur, as stated, among the groups that do not recognize this in principle — as has been shown of the Nerchinsk Tungus.

As a rule, the increase of cattle, horses, reindeer, hens, and generally domesticated animals belong to the owner of the female. Owing to this, the Tungus of Manchuria abstain from having stallions. The Birarčen in connexion with it say: "Among men it is different, and it does not seem to be right." It may also be noted that among all groups, as a rule, the owner is not responsible for the damages caused by animals, for "they are animals" and as such do not understand what is forbidden.[2] A Khingan Tungus once tried to convince me that if my dog bit him he would be allowed, according to the Tungus customs, to beat me and I could not protest.[3]

Among the Reindeer Tungus and the Tungus of Manchuria, a camp left by a family is not considered to be its property, unless some special marks are left, e. g., a part of the family belongings[4] or a tally.[5] After leaving camp, the Tungus do not carry poles for the wigwams and kettles, also fences for the reindeer enclosure, which may be used by anyone who likes.

The Tungus common law also recognizes the right of the use of territory by private persons. It is supposed that any place, i. e., region, river, rivulet, may be occupied by a

[1] I think that this money in the dowry is a custom borrowed by the Northern Tungus from the Mongols and the Manchus. Among the Buriats (B. E. Petri, *op. cit.*) the woman may increase this money.

[2] Cf. conflicts with the Chinese, pp. 101, 102.

[3] This group and particularly the clan to which my informer belonged to, and especially the young man, my informer, in question, have quite peculiar (cf. the clan *bajagir*) ideas as to their rights. My dog, as a matter of fact, once bit one of his clansmen and nothing happened to me. The young man's warning was not, I think, in accordance with Tungus practice, but he wanted to produce a certain impression on me.

[4] Among the Khingan Tungus I observed several wigwams left behind, but the household things had not been taken. It meant that the camp and the poles for the wigwams must not be taken by other people.

[5] The Goldi practice (cf. I. A. Lopatin, *op. cit.*, p. 190) of using houses together with the utensils left by the owners, may be, perhaps, connected with the Tungus practice of occupying camps left behind. However, among the Goldi the house belongs to the unit. This practice results, I think, not from communistic ideas, as I. A. Lopatin believes, but from the Goldi mode of life; as they still persist in roaming but combine this tendency to roam with their living in dwellings of settled type, and, as a matter of fact, the Goldi, when nomadizing, need some shelter, but among them one finds no inns or hotels. A nomadic family that has just left its own house is allowed to occupy any other empty house belonging to another family, without interfering with the principles of private property. At the same time its own house may be occupied by another nomadic family.

hunter if such a place is not occupied by somebody else. However, it is customary that hunting grounds are occupied by hunters without any previous announcement; if the place is already occupied, it may not be occupied by other persons without asking formally for permission. The territories for hunting sable and other animals with snares and traps are considered to be in use by the owner of the hunting appliances. Practically speaking, sections of hunting ground are distributed on the principles of justice among the members of a group. In fact, if the hunter cannot get any game or fur animals, if they are scarce, he joins other people who divide certain territory among themselves or form a hunting company. In Transbaikalia the division of the hunting territory is very widely practised, while in Manchuria the clans do not usually intervene.

If a hunter passing through territory occupied by another hunter or hunting company kills an animal, the latter belongs to him. Killing is not thus prohibited, but any animals escaping from the hunter and taken in traps or snares, belongs to the owner of the hunting accoutrements.

Acquisition of Property. Property, as has been shown, may be acquired in different ways, i. e., in the form of (1) dowry and kalym; (2) donation, as when reindeer are equally distributed by the clan and all gifts; (3) personal work; (4) exchange and buying; and (5) inheritance.[1] We have already seen instances of the first three groups, so let us now discuss the exchange and purchase of property, leaving inheritance for a special section.

The Tungus use the principles of exchange and practise them sometimes, perhaps, at a loss. However, exchange of reindeer as compared with that of horses and dogs is rather rare: the selling and buying of reindeer does not agree with Tungus ideas. It is very rarely, if ever, practised among some groups. The same is true in reference to all household articles. According to an old custom of the Birarčen, anything belonging to the household may not be sold. It may be presented as a gift, it may also be taken without the permission of its owner, but it must never be sold or bought. The best way, according to the Tungus, is "good words and some wine" as compensation.[2] Exchange of the same kind of things or animals (except reindeer) is very common. Horses and dogs very often change their masters,

[1] In former days, the war booty was also one of the legal ways of acquiring property. But since the colonization of the Tungus territories by the Russians, Manchus, Mongols, and Chinese this way of acquisition is naturally out of practice. The stealing, e. g., of horses, by the Khingan Tungus, is not considered as a legal act, though the robbers are not regarded as actual criminals, at least among this group. They are, however, considered to be criminals by their Tungus neighbours.

[2] Sometimes I had great difficulty in collecting specimens from the Tungus household, on account of this custom, without speaking of times when the Tungus did not like to become separated from things to which they were accustomed, or from some family remembrances which they were bound up with. Such an attitude may sometimes be mistaken for religious prohibitions, especially by ethnographers who are inclined to see mysterious elements in the "primitive mentality."

sometimes with an evident or seeming loss for one of the transactors.[1] No difference in values is ever added. The exchange of different kinds of things is also practised, and forms the basis of their commerce with other ethnical groups; however, exchange with an evident or seeming loss is common among the Tungus[2] and well exploited by those who trade with them. The last form of exchange, which has existed since the earliest times among the Tungus, who did not know iron, but got it from their neighbours, and who generally had some goods appreciated by their neighbours, has resulted in a new form of wealth — furs and skins which may be exchanged and sold for cash at any moment. This kind of wealth has especially developed with the intrusion of foreign traders — the Chinese and the Russians — and it now forms the basis of the distinction of the personal wealth of the Tungus families. Among the Reindeer Tungus investigated, it is rather difficult to see a sharp distinction between poor and rich people, called (Nerč. Barg.) *oruma*, bad, and *aja*, good, presuming ability and diligence in hunting, for the accumulation of property by unstable families is limited by the periodic division of the reindeer, and the obligatory assistance of clansmen in need. To that, one may add the custom of presents to relatives, so that property belonging to unit-families does not vary much among them. As a matter of fact, a man who is rich to-day may to-morrow be as poor as any other man of his clan. It is not so, however, among the Tungus of Manchuria, who accumulate horses and furs belonging to the men or their families. Among the settled Birarčen the distinction of poor and wealthy people is especially accentuated, for all of them live in houses and sometimes possess land.[3] As we have seen among the Khingan Tungus, some incidents show that the idea of the exploitation of horses as property (for instance, the case of the blind woman) has already penetrated this group. Such cases, however, have not been recorded of other Tungus groups. It is interesting that the terms for "rich," *bajan* (known among all groups), is borrowed from the Manchus-Mongols and the terms for "poor," *jadau* (Khin.), *edau, jadavu* (Bir. Kum.), *zedang'i, d'adana* (Neg. *Sch.*), *ǯedaŋe* (Tum.), are borrowed from the Mongols,

[1] The love of exchange, as such, perhaps, does not exist at all, but is sometimes mistaken for a simple practical calculation on the part of the transactors. I give an instance of my own experience. During one of my expeditions after a certain experience with my horses, I found that a good mare I had could not go into the marshy regions. Being too nervous and rather inexperienced in the *taiga*, she was always falling down. The Tungus (Khingan) needed a mare and I needed a horse experienced in the marshy regions. The old stallion they had for exchange was not worth half the price I had paid for the mare, but this stallion was the best horse I had for the expedition. The exchange was carried out to the great satisfaction of all, including myself, though in this transaction I lost money. As a matter of fact, without knowing the real motives of exchange in every particular case, it is difficult to make conclusions as to the Tungus inclination for the transactions. After my own experience with the Tungus I found that their love of exchange seems to be rather a mistake on the part of observers.

[2] In order to illustrate this kind of transaction I shall give another instance. During my stay among the Kumarčen I had two dogs which I used as watch-dogs. According to my idea, both of them were ordinary common dogs, especially one of them. One day an old Tungus came to see me and proposed a very advantageous exchange of this dog against a good bear-skin. According to the Tungus the dog was good for hunting badger. I, had paid nothing for the dog, for it was not worth anything in the Argun River among the Cossacks; but I liked it, for it had been with us in the most difficult part of the expedition and was a good-natured animal. After some hesitation I proposed to the Tungus that he take the dog as a present, but he refused, pointing out that I needed a bear-skin rug during the cold weather, which was absolutely correct. The transaction was then carried out satisfactorily.

[3] Among the Birarčen land is allotted by the government to persons who settle down in the villages. Some of them in the village *Cel* started farms and the land allotted became worth something. Two families gradually extended their farms. I know no possession of land in other places, so that these cases are not typical of the Tungus ideas as to property.

the Yakuts, and the Manchus,[1] or some other terms merely meaning "lacking," "exhausted," "suffering," etc.[2]

Inheritance. One may naturally distinguish succession and inheritance. Shamanism, and the functions of the shaman, are usually among the Khingan Tungus handed down from a man to his grandson. Official functions, controlled by the Mongols among the Khingan Tungus, are succeeded to by the eldest son of the first wife. The same rule holds good among other Tungus of Manchuria who are controlled by the Manchus. Belonging to a clan is defined by that of the father, or better of the mother's husband, so that if the child is born a few weeks after marriage (the wedding), it belongs to the clan of the mother's husband, even if he is not the physiological father of the child. If a girl before marriage gives birth to a child, the latter usually belongs to the clan of the man who marries the girl. Let us remember that the kalym is somewhat higher if the girl has a son.[3]

In dependence upon the origin and character of the property, the latter may be inherited in different ways. If the family chief dies, the new chief, either a male or a female, succeeds to the whole organization. With the succession of the chiefship certain kinds of individual property are also inherited — e. g., the best gun, by the man; the best cover for the wigwam, by the woman. As regards reindeer, horses, and generally domesticated animals, they remain family property. In case of the dissolution of the unit, the property is distributed, as in the case of the division of the family: if the family wants to divide itself — defined by the verb *julda* (Bir. Kum.), i. e., to separate, to go away in different directions — if several sons want to separate after their father's death, all property, except that brought by their mother as dowry, is divided among the newly formed units according to the principle of providing all of them with everything that is needed to start a new unit. If the first heir is the son or the sons of the deceased man, they receive equal parts. If there is no adult son, the heir is the young brother of the deceased man, who, according to the principle of levirate, has to take care of the widow and her children, or even to marry her if she consents. The next heir is the son of the deceased man's brother. After these heirs, any other man junior to the deceased man may inherit if he consents to take care of the widow and children and he may marry the widow if she consents.[4] But if the widow has

[1] *Jadu‖adaγu* (Mon. *Rud.*); *ǎdaai* (to become poor), *ǎdany* (poor) (Yakut. *Pek.*); *jadaxun* (poor), *jadambi* (to become poor) (Manchu); all of them are of common origin, from the Mongols, I suppose.

[2] E. g., *uγeītu* (Tum.), *ugaǐtu* (Ur. *Castr.*), borrowed from the Mongols [cf. *ugeitei* (Buriat, *Podg.*), etc., from *ugei* (not): *ačča* (Tum.), *ačimboje* (Bir.) from the Tungus *ā*+*č* (V) cf. "Notes on Bil."]. There are some other words of the same meaning — poor, — which have been adapted from other words with a distinct meaning: *ǎbai*, *ǎbei* (Neg. *Sch.*), *ǎogboi* (Goldi), *ǎboi* (Oča, Goldi) (*Sch.*), connected with *ǎogo*+suff. (Nerč.) — to become poor, poverty, from the verb *ǎoγo* (Bir. Nerč.), to suffer through misfortune, ruin, etc. [f. *ǎow*, *ǎob*, *ǎop‖ǎoba* (Mong. *Rud.*), to suffer, etc.; *zoboxo*, *zoboxo* (Buriat, *Podg.*, the same), *jobumbi* (Manchu), to suffer, to be in great need, etc.].

[3] See *supra*, p. 208.

[4] As shown, the juniors (the younger brother, his sons, and others) may inherit from their deceased senior clansman, only if they take care of the widow and her children. This is absolutely natural, for the man becomes the active one of the unit, so the obligation of taking care of the widow and her children underlies his right of inheritance, but not vice versa. If none of the junior clansmen of her deceased husband marries her, she is allowed to join any other family of the same clan, the active man of which — being even older than the late husband — enters into possession of the late husband's belongings, which cannot be used by small children or herself, e. g., the gun, clothes, personal horse or reindeer.

small children, and takes on herself their education without marrying another husband, the children inherit from their father, and the mother, in her quality of family chief, directs the unit and disposes of the property. If she has no children, theoretically speaking, she also inherits from her husband, if she remains in his clan.[1] She may not, however, leave the clan alone, or with her children, or take the property with her if she re-marries into another clan, without submitting the matter to her late husband's clan. The man's property thus always tends to remain in the same clan. However, there may be a case when the property leaves the clan, namely, if the woman who remains the chief of the unit (after her husband's death) has no son but a daughter. She marries her to a man belonging to another clan, and her property, after her death and that of her late husband, passes to her daughter and the son-in-law, i. e., a man belonging to another clan. In this case the son-in-law enters into possession of the property as chief of the unit. Thus the unit may change its relation, but the property remains with the unit.

It is a little different with the woman's property. As we have seen, in the division of the family, the part of the dowry which consists of domesticated animals, and the woman's personal things as well, remain with her. After a woman's death her domesticated animals are inherited by the children and husband,[2] or her sister if the latter marries the widower according to the principle of sororate, or by any other woman who marries him. If the husband is dead the woman's property is inherited by her sons and daughters — articles of the woman's use.[3] If she has no children, her property is inherited by her husband's junior clansmen: the animals — by the males and the articles of woman's use and ownership (e. g., the wigwam) — by the females, so that the property, consisting of articles of woman's use, is always inherited by women either adopted or born in the clan. The question as to inheritance is settled by the women: *as'i barg'ēran* (Bir.) — the women decide. From these facts, it is evident that the principal idea of the Tungus rights of inheritance consists of the maintenance of the units, protection of the children as clan members, and the rational use of the inheritance. From the point of view of inheritance the married woman belongs to her husband's clan.

Let us now examine the methods of reindeer transmission. Reindeer in the form of dowry are brought by the woman from another clan. These reindeer are inherited by her husband or sons, and given as dowry to the daughter by the husband or to sisters by the sons, and so on. Among the Tungus here described the number of reindeer, practically speaking, always remains at about the same level. On the other hand, the actual number

[1] Except the articles of the man's use. But, practically speaking, such a case is purely theoretical, for the widow, and the widower as well, has to join some other unit, or re-marry, in order to form a new unit, or re-establish the old one.

[2] It is called *bojo aurkāren*, the man inherits. Let us remember that the woman entering her husband's clan in reference to the dowry says *bi aurkam*, I bring the dowry, I give a present.

[3] A part of the articles personally used, which are buried with the deceased person: the clothes in which the deceased person is dressed, some implements, a kettle, boxes,—everything that is needed by the person, but in number not exceeding personal needs. Thus the things buried are not numerous, and do not very much decrease the inheritance. The reindeer and horse used by the deceased person is also sometimes slaughtered and its meat is eaten by the relatives of the deceased person; some part of it is left as a sacrifice, and the skin, sometimes with the bones, is left in the tomb, for the deceased person mounts the animal to reach another world. For this purpose, however, any other animal may be used. The same may be stated in reference to the things and clothes needed by the deceased person in the other world.

of reindeer given as dowry varies according to the wealth of the units, and is always below the average possessed by these units. Moreover, as a rule, the mother prefers to give her daughter reindeer from her own dowry, or, more exactly, their increase. There are thus three different groups of reindeer: one for providing the animals for the dowry, going from mother to daughter; another one remaining in the unit for the men's use; and the third one covering the needs of kalym, with the payment of which the reindeer also leave the family and clan, but usually return in the same form of kalym to the same clan or even family. Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria this is very typical. The women possess the reindeer, and the men the horses. The reason is simple: men do not use reindeer for riding, but they do use horses. If we agree to distinguish three groups of reindeer among other groups, among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria there are only two, which always change their unit-ownership, while the horses remain in the same clan, being naturally inherited by the men only. If we remember that among the Tungus the practice of the intermarrying of pairs of clans is still practised and it formerly was the only form of marital relations, one of these groups of reindeer, namely, that going as dowry, returns every second generation. The woman's granddaughter according to the old scheme of marriage, the daughter of the woman's brother, or his son, returns with the same number of reindeer, which is perhaps in good accordance with the practice of inheritance, based on the missing of a generation, well known in the succession of shamanism, e. g., as is observed among the Khingan Tungus. This among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria also explains why the men and not the women or the family of the Tungus of Manchuria are supposed to be the owners of the domesticated animals — horses. These Tungus have probably passed through a period when the women continued to use reindeer, while the men adopted the horse, just as it is now observed among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. In the mind of these Tungus the idea that the horses belong to the men has already been stabilized, and when they lost their reindeer the women also lost the privilege of possessing property. Owing to this, the number of horses included in the dowry has been reduced to a horse used personally by the woman for riding, though among these Tungus horses sometimes are very numerous. However, under Mongol influence, e. g., among the Khingan Tungus, the actual number of horses included in the dowry increased and the group of horses transmitted from one has also been augmented.

The third group of reindeer used for the kalym is different. The father or chief of the unit gives the reindeer to the bride's family, clan. In times of economic stress, the same animals may be returned as dowry,[1] or they may be returned to the same clan when the

[1] The Tungus liberality in the matter of the kalym and dowry, economically speaking, has its root in the system of the three groups described, one of which is a mere means of exchange and another of which always returns after a generation. Two clans thus intermarrying never lose in increasing the kalym and the dowry. The situation becomes different when other clans enter into intermarriage and when the unit-families, with the loosing of the clan bonds, are left alone to overcome all difficulties. The custom of the kalym, nominally consisting of several animals, among the Tungus investigated, could never be afforded, for, as shown, these Tungus never possessed numerous reindeer, while the clans might do so, because the reindeer were returned in the form of kalym and dowry. By these remarks I do not intend to deny the possibility that in former days the same groups, perhaps, had more numerous herds when they lived in regions better adapted for reindeer breeding than the regions which they now occupy. But it was, as already shown, centuries ago, when intermarriage confined to pairs of clans was still practised.

other clan needs a bride for one of its members. In exchange no kalym is paid, so no reindeer is transmitted. If we also recall that there were originally two clans bound by marital relations, kalym was not practically needed, so then necessary reindeer served as a means of exchange. In fact, the clan, not only the unit-family, was interested in marrying young men and girls, therefore the units possessing reindeer in a number above the average must give some animals to other families which needed a bride. So the same animals, or a corresponding number of other animals, were returned to the first clan. It is natural that the reindeer used for kalym are not of the best, while those given as dowry and those which remain in the clan for the men's use are usually much better than the former. The group of reindeer for kalym payment is thus a current means of exchange.[1]

Under Chinese and Russian influences, Tungus ideas as to property, as previously stated, began to change: agriculture and permanent houses accustom the Tungus to the Russian complex in Transbaikalia and the Chinese-Manchu (through the Manchus) in Manchuria.[2] Individual ownership and inheritance practised among the neighbours have also penetrated the Tungus. Another source of change is the Mongol (Buriat) system of cattle breeding resulting in a more elaborated institution of property customs as compared with the customs of the Tungus.[3] Moreover, among the Tungus groups, who have numerous herds of reindeer, as is observed in the Yakutsk Government, new principles of property adjustment better adapted to large reindeer breeding have spread, thrusting out the old Tungus system.[4]

From the exposition given above it may be seen that the Tungus common law concerning property is very flexible and the Tungus adapt it to their needs, changing it together with the variations of their economic system.

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2. Relations Originating Beyond the Clan and Family

Among the all Tungus groups different kinds of relations originate from the intercourse and coöperation of persons belonging to different clans, and clans as units. Hunting and fishing should be said to belong to this class of social phenomena. As a rule, the Tungus usually hunt alone, but sometimes several hunters, belonging to different clans, join together in order to form temporary associations. Such associations are usually formed of five or more hunters. The product of hunting is divided into equal parts among the members of the association. The work, too, is usually divided among the members distributed so that every member can give the maximum of his efficiency. One of them is elected as chief, one

[1] Cf. Note 1, p. 304.

[2] Among the Tungus of Manchuria living in the settlements the complex customs of inheritance known among the Manchus (cf. "S. O. M.," Chap. V) are not yet known, for the Tungus clans are not numerous. As far as I could judge from the facts, property is not inherited by seniors, not because of certain customs, but because of the fact that there are always some young male relatives, who start new unit-families, while among the Manchus the family is a stable and self-continuing unit.

[3] Cf. W. A. Riazanovskiĭ, "Common Law of the Mongols," where the right of property and inheritance among the Mongols and Buriats is given.

[4] Cf. E. K. Pekarskiĭ and V. P. Cv'etkov, *op. cit.*

cook and camp keeper, a third for communication with other Tungus camps and fur merchants. Sometimes these functions are performed by all members, one after the other. Then, of course, the hunters must be of more or less equal ability and experience. However, they also sometimes include as cook and camp keeper a young boy of about fourteen who cannot yet hunt by himself and has a mother (usually a widow) or father (usually old or invalid) who cannot obtain their own living. The region occupied by such an association is usually divided among the members, or they have several traps and snares in common, which they have to look after, i. e., to check the number, repair when necessary, provide them with bait, and collect the animals.

This form of association is rather a recent phenomenon,[1] but very fashionable among the Tungus of both Transbaikalia and Manchuria. The Russian hunters (in Transbaikalia) are also sometimes permitted to join these associations on the principle of equal shares with the other members.[2] In Manchuria such associations are sometimes joined by Dahurs and Manchus, though very rarely.

Such associations are sometimes formed for a special purpose, namely, setting traps for sable and other animals; the care of the snares is allocated to some other people. Members of the sable-hunting association must have, according to the technical conditions of this kind of hunting, at least a hundred traps; they must bait the traps with fresh meat and collect and carry the skins to merchants, so that in such an association there must be at least one man experienced enough to deal with merchants, for selling the sable. Thus the hunting of the sable is usually organized by associations.

A less durable association is that organized for battue hunting, collective hunting, when a numerous group of hunters surround certain areas and kill animals found in them. This kind of hunting is known exclusively among the Barguzin Tungus and is called *junat* (Barg.).[3]

Associations formed for fishing are also common among the Tungus. They are organized for a special kind of fishing in small mountainous rivers; this is done by damming them, or by making a kind of "pocket." The method requires the coöperation of several men: this has already been mentioned in previous chapters. The product of the fishing is also divided in equal parts and distributed among the members of the association.[4]

Another temporary association is that of collective nomadizing. If there are several families which wish to journey in the same direction for a long distance, they form a group of units. This is caused by the need of sending a part of the men hunting, and having some others for helping the women and protecting the caravan. Usually the caravan moves

[1] The terminology is borrowed from other languages, e. g., a share is called *obu* (Bir. Kum.), borrowed from the Manchu; *paï* (Nerč.), borrowed from the Russian, etc.; to go with the association: *kandaldi* (Bir. Kum.), from the Manchu *kanilambi*, to form an association, to agree, etc.

[2] The reason why the Tungus adopt foreigners into such associations is that the Russian hunters usually credit the association with powder and lead, — with enormous benefits for themselves, indeed. As far as I know the Chinese were not adopted on account of the hostility to them by the Tungus.

[3] Collective hunting was one of the fundamental institutions of the Buriats, and also of the early Manchus.

[4] Collective fishing is also practised, for instance among the Goldi. Co-operation is especially necessary, because the salmon travels up-river during a limited period, and must then be caught and prepared for preservation.

along the rivers, while the men-hunters perhaps travel along a mountain chain where they hunt. If there are several families, they usually form small groups, and travel at a certain distance from one another, so that one may easily see how many units form the temporary nomadic association: thus the units preserve their independence. The hunters divide the product of their hunting into equal parts among the families forming the association. At the camps, the units do not mix together. According to custom units which have started their journey together must reach their destination in company. Yet sometimes, for some practical purpose, several families stay together for a long time; e. g., in autumn they remain in company to take particular care of the female reindeer, for autumn is the reindeer mating season.

To the same class of temporary associations the grouping of several clans for war or defense purposes may be assigned; the clans then elect a military chief. At the present time impulses for forming such associations are very rare, and since the establishment of Russian, Mongol, and Manchu control over territories occupied by the Tungus, these practices have never been indulged in.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TUNGUS

1. Characteristics of the Tungus; 2. Customs Regulating Social Relations; 3. Criminality Among the Tungus; 4. Reaction of the Tungus Groups to Alien Influences and Remark on the Comparative Characteristics of Tungus Groups.

1. Characteristics of the Tungus

This description of Tungus social relations is not complete, as it is confined mostly to facts illustrating Tungus social institutions. In this chapter will now be given a short account as to the phenomena resulting from reciprocal attraction, and the maintenance of personal relations. Though Tungus social life, as any other, is regulated by a complex of customs, the discussion of which might occupy the whole of the present chapter, yet these customs do not cover all relations, and are not always comprehensible without a commentary as to the mentality and psychology of the Tungus. Hence, first, as far as possible, a description of the Tungus as personalities will be given.

This task is very difficult, indeed. First, an enquiry on general average characteristics of the Tungus does not cover the ground; second, a detailed analysis of the Tungus attitude, both mental and psychic, requires a special study, supported by experiments which have not been carried out; third, the description of the Tungus mental and psychic peculiarities may be given comparatively, but it is not easy, if at all possible, to find the actual relative position of the phenomena compared. I shall do it by means of basing my conclusions on facts gathered, and my own impressions, which may not be as complete as is desirable, for many a situation and many a fact often escape the observer's attention. On the other hand, personal impressions are closely connected with the personal reactions of the observer, who is always dependent upon his ethnical *milieu*, which is permanently changing. For instance, for nearly a century the Tungus were characterized by a short definition—"*noblesse de la Sibérie.*" This general characteristic at that time was probably quite comprehensible to all readers, who were mostly of the same social position and cultural complex; but now this short definition is absolutely misleading, for many a reader does not understand what the complex *noblesse* signified at that time.

In former days travellers, as a rule, gave the general characteristics of the ethnical groups they encountered. Some of these accounts are most valuable, while others are interesting merely as instances of the observers' reactions. Their value, however, may be disclosed only in the future, especially when the ethnical groups which have been observed disappear or lose their original complex. Under the influence of severe criticism as to the methods and value of these observations many recent ethnographers who want to be "scientific" exclude from their accounts everything which may be criticized by rigorous and frequently short-sighted writers who have never seen any people other than those in whose

midst they were born, or those writers who compile new hypotheses from others' books. It is really a great pity that ethnographers, personally familiar with the subject they describe, are afraid of such critics and confine their descriptions to those facts which may be recorded almost mechanically. However, there remain useful observations and simple impressions which later, perhaps, may be much more valuable than the selected facts gathered in support of various theories.[1]

I prefer to meet the severest criticism of such writers than to omit the facts observed, and I arrange my facts in as complete an account as possible. It is probable that some of my impressions are nothing but my own reactions to the facts observed, but later they can be very easily distinguished and classified, while ethnographers who abstain from giving full accounts of their observations depreciate the future value of their work.[2]

To the problem of Tungus mentality I shall return in my study dealing with this subject, so that I shall at present confine my description of this branch of my work to general remarks in order to facilitate comprehension of other facts. It is beyond doubt that the Tungus groups show certain differences as to their mentality and general attitude; sometimes these differences are perceptible even to superficial observers. These peculiarities I shall stress when they are of importance, but otherwise the descriptions will refer to all Tungus groups, or may refer to the Tungus in general.

All Tungus groups investigated recognize human nature, human mentality, human psychology and reactions, to be very variable as they are observed by them among themselves. They distinguish the difference in men's, women's, and children's mentality, their psychology, and their reactions. They distinguish bad—*oruma*—and good—*aja*—persons; they also distinguish intelligent and unintelligent persons, so that the categories of various types are rather well defined in the Tungus mind. However, the complex, "man, good, intelligent"—does not exactly correspond to the same complex among other ethnical groups. I shall therefore portray the Tungus ideas, as far as it is possible to express them, in European terms.

The mentality of the Tungus is variable—I have met exceptionally intelligent persons, both men and women among all groups, who are able to understand and assimilate, not only common ideas of non-Tungus complex, but also those, within their observation, in complex theories.[3] On the other hand, persons of inferior mentality have also been met

[1] Some investigations of the present time are carried out with the intention of discovering facts for supporting certain theories, while subsequent visits to the same ethnical groups may perhaps prove impossible. More than that, some theoreticians say that we need no more facts, no more original investigations and descriptions. Indeed, at present they are perhaps absolutely sufficient for making up certain deductions, but one cannot conclude that we need them no more. First of all, even though the deductions were made, we cannot foresee how and when the same facts, the new ones as well, may be used for other deductions. Second, the ethnographical and ethnical phenomena sometimes disappear with no chance of being repeated, and thus not recorded they may be lost for ever. For instance, it may be agreed that the facts concerning social organization are sufficient for some sociological conclusions, but they are not yet so for ethnological ones.

[2] Moreover, there are other negative sides of publishing full accounts. As the publications of new material are few and those of a critical and theoretical character numerous, the former being interpreted very often in different ways, even frequently misunderstood, and according to the ready-made theoretical patterns, are often presented to the public in a distorted form. It is true that most of these interpretations, together with their authors, are usually soon forgotten, but this incorrect interpretation often has effects upon those who are unable to study from first-hand sources.

with; but they are not, of course, as common as among those ethnical groups, where the protection of the weak and mentally inferior element is a principle of the national or governmental policy.[1] The reason is simple — feeble-minded persons, or even persons mentally inferior, perish at different ages, and especially during childhood, without leaving any posterity. As a matter of fact, I have never met idiotic and semi-idiotic Tungus. The conditions in the struggle for life, as is observed among the Tungus, at any moment present occasions for such individuals to be conveniently dispensed with. The Tungus language, however, does not possess any special term for the idea of high mentality, in spite of the fact that all Tungus appreciate it very much: the terms are either borrowed from other languages or express qualities resulting from a superior relative mentality. As pointed out, comparatively by the Manchus, the cases of negative deviations from the average, among themselves, are much more frequent than that among the Tungus. This fact may be explained by the mode of life followed by the Manchus, among whom settled life in villages and farms assures the protection of the feeble-minded in a manner superior to that found among the Tungus. As will be shown later, the Manchus themselves recognize the mental superiority of the Tungus. Russian settlers, from dealing with the Tungus, recognize also their high mental qualities, though the Russians consider them absolutely inferior, as to culture, and somewhat of a "savage" character. The opinions of travellers vary in accordance with their powers of observation and often depend upon the preconceived ideas with which they approach the Tungus and also upon other considerations which have nothing to do with search for impartial truth, e. g., when an investigator gives reasons for depriving the Tungus of their territory on behalf of the Russians, or wishes to establish control of their economic activity.

Generally speaking, the Tungus may be considered as people of high mental power which may be indirectly confirmed by the fact that strong Tungus personalities are found among the Manchus, as Nurxači, K'ang Hsi, and others, and many such personalities are to be found among the Nuichen.

The Tungus formally do not distinguish the ability of utilizing things or making use of certain situations for personal gain, i. e., the utilitarian practical application of mentality, from the mentality as such. Generally speaking, they appreciate this quality as a factor of success in intercourse with foreigners, but they do not trust such persons.

A love of knowledge, inquisitiveness, and curiosity are characteristics of the Tungus in general. These qualities are a necessity for them, both male and female, for all of them live under equal conditions in the struggle for life, and they must know as much as possible about their environment. Their mind, however, does not remain indifferent to things which do not concern them, or their interests, directly. The Tungus, without considering the practical value of such, are fond of assimilating all kinds of knowledge. Thus they may be characterized as a broad-minded people, not confined to certain spheres of knowledge and interest. This characteristic of Tungus mentality is considered natural and necessary for

[1] These persons are not mentally inferior to those who have been observed, for instance, in America during the army mental tests.

every one, and persons lacking it are considered by the Tungus as mentally inferior. These peculiarities of the Tungus mind make them patient and accurate observers. A Tungus, adult or child, may spend hours observing the life of the animals they hunt, also those which they do not hunt they may observe as well, for instance, insects and plants, — sometimes without any practical purpose in their observations. However, they do not confine such observations to the gathering of facts, but arrive at conclusions and generalizations. These characteristics put the Tungus above the average of ethnical groups possessing a highly developed culture. Many a writer has been struck by the fact that almost all so-called "primitive people" are excellent observers, and the Tungus are not an exception. This Tungus peculiarity is recognized also by all neighbouring ethnical groups, which, when necessary, use the Tungus ability of observation for practical purposes. In this instance again this peculiarity among them is better developed, owing to the individual and actual responsibility in their every act; a Tungus lacking the qualities of attention, observation, and power of correct conclusion, has a great chance of perishing when he or she meets animals of prey, also during nomadizing and hunting. They must know the habits of the animals, which are numerous, the changes of weather, the actual degree of danger from fire, floods, falling trees, and other happenings.[1] It is not surprising that the Tungus are very able in studying foreign languages,[2] borrowing alien knowledge, alien institutions, and other ethnographic elements, I think I shall be close to the truth if I conclude that the average Tungus, individually, is superior to the average of many other ethnical groups. It is therefore natural that a Tungus, before allowing himself to be observed, observes the observer, and sometimes refuses altogether to be observed.[3]

Moreover, these conclusions ought to be amended by mention of the Tungus individual fitness for the struggle, which is due first of all to the conditions of their life — a sparse population scattered over a huge territory. The Tungus cannot allow themselves to specialize for observing different branches of nature, sometimes in a perfect and exhaustive manner, or for studying various branches of technology, as all of them, in order to survive, must be well versed in practical knowledge of their environment. To compare the Tungus

[1] Indeed, from the point of view of people who, from books and by theoretical reasoning, realize the conditions of life in the midst of nature, the danger from fire, rivers in flood, falling trees, etc., may oe calculated and prevented very easily, but the Tungus wants more than that: he must know the degree of danger and practical ways to avoid it without *exerting* energy which may be needed for other purposes. A mistake in calculation very often costs the Tungus his life. On the other hand, his being too careful and too full of fear will result in his expending his energy without practical results, and he naturally starves. To this question I shall return in my other study.

[2] Among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria who do not meet very many other groups I have met some persons who can read, write, and speak Manchu, Mongol, and speak and read Russian as well. Of course these persons did not study these languages in schools, so the knowledge is not of a high standard.

[3] When I became acquainted with their ideas and manners I very often saw instances of how they avoid an observer: they do not deny this themselves and give reasons why they act in such a manner. But the situation is different when one treats them as equals and in a friendly fashion. They feel, perfectly well, that peculiar attitude by "friendly disposed" people belonging to "civilized nations" who treat them as people of "primitive mind" who need help like children. As a matter of fact, they are the real masters of the situation when they are in their natural environment, and they realize this, while the "civilized" observers annoy them with childish and fantastic questions. The Tungus sensitiveness and ability in observation permit them to divine at once the real feelings and attitude of the observer. They have told me a lot of amusing stories of their experiences with "civilized" people. Sometimes they merely laugh within themselves at these observers, though in accordance with their manners they do so without showing it. There are also many other difficulties in dealing with "primitive" people.

mentality with that of other ethnical groups, especially with that of ethnical groups which have developed to a high degree the division of necessary work, one must take ethnical units and not individuals, and must introduce certain corrections as to the relative mental power of individuals in proportion to the population. The general conclusion as to the Tungus mentality is that the average Tungus personality is perhaps much more superior to that of other ethnical groups living under such conditions of assured preservation of life, and complex division of work, but in reference to absolute mental power, the Tungus are naturally inferior to other ethnical units. Their relative mental power in proportion to population is, perhaps, superior to that of other ethnical groups, and especially to those which are numerous and well organized in large and complex units. It does not mean, of course, that every Tungus is able to do work that is carried on by specialists, e. g., among the Europeans. The complexity of this phenomenon explains why certain observers belonging to other ethnical groups dealing with "primitive peoples" (including the Tungus) are sometimes inclined to represent them as semi-idiotic and childish; while still others are inclined to see in them nothing but highly endowed geniuses. No semi-idiotic and childish state is observed among the Tungus — these persons quickly perish — no genius is observable among them, for the Tungus are not numerous and their clever men work on problems long ago solved by other ethnical groups, or on those which are beyond European comprehension.

The Tungus is a social animal *par excellence*. This trait of the Tungus psychology is apparent in all manifestations, all phenomena of Tungus life, and the Tungus considers every act an act of social importance. The reasons for such an attitude, as a distinct ethnical character, are manifold, but the principal reason is that the Tungus live in clans, and no life is possible beyond the clan; so that the Tungus, being closely bound to the clan since early childhood, cannot conceive of the idea of independent existence. As we have seen, the Tungus living entirely to themselves are doomed to perish, either physically or by non-procreation. On the other hand, the Tungus are not numerous and owing to economical necessities are forced to live in groups not exceeding two or three families; owing to the limited number of such units, the Tungus cannot, naturally, change their personal friends very often. This condition implies the development of characteristics productive of personal intercourse, and friendship, — adaptability among neighbours and the compulsory relinquishment of particular interests to the general good of the unit as a whole; courtesy in personal behaviour, in not exciting others; ability of proving attractive and polite, not by conventional phraseology, but by actual personality, and social service. A particular form of this characteristic which the Tungus have developed, is the custom of unlimited hospitality when a guest becomes a member of the unit; this is, of course, necessary, as the Tungus during his roaming often needs the assistance of his tribesmen.

The Tungus strongly dislike flattery. They do not like to flatter nor to be flattered, so that the Tungus, for instance, dislike the Buriats on this account. From this point of view they might appear, among ethnical groups accustomed to this practice, as very rude and uneducated. In this connexion it may be pointed out that all varieties of hypocrisy found among other ethnical groups and professions have evolved into a system of a natural and

permanent attitude not noticed by themselves, but this attitude is unknown among the Tungus. They consider these pretences as a form of falsehood and may thus be classified as "simple-minded people." It does not mean, however, that in the expression of their opinions to other people, they are rude. They are reserved; either they do not speak at all, if the criticism is not convenient or practically useless; or they present their opinion in a simple and unoffensive manner. Owing to this, a good report of somebody or a good account of some act is always very much appreciated. Tungus women and men like to be praised by other people, as it stimulates their activity. At the same time, the Tungus do not spend their time and energy on flattery and hypocrisy which do not have any effect, since these attitudes become stable and permanently manifested. The Tungus are not haughty; they treat everybody in a very simple manner, though they show, at the same time, a certain pride and self-confidence. The Tungus dislike the Manchus and the Buriats for their haughtiness: this trait has been and still is a source of many political mistakes on the part of the Manchus.

Under the influence of neighbours, however, some Tungus (as among the settled Birarčen) try to imitate other groups in inventing complicated combinations and intrigues: though they experiment largely in such, they do not succeed in competition with their neighbours, and are usually fooled by others acting in the same fashion.

The formation of these peculiarities of the Tungus character has been greatly favoured by the system of Tungus social organization, which, as shown, leaves no opportunity for the development of covetousness, of desire for the acquisition of private property, or the amassing of personal wealth at the expense of their neighbours.

Owing to this, the Tungus is usually very correct, polite, attractive, attentive, rarely rude or rough, very rarely tiresome, never greedy, never cowardly, and never treacherous. Incidents of personal insult, offence, or outrage are exceptionally rare, unless when the offender is drunk; but even in such a state, the Tungus act true to their original nature, and are not disgusting and disagreeable to persons who are sober. It is also natural that this complex results in the development of a consciousness of duty, love for truth, faithfulness, and honesty, a great discipline among individuals, as well as among collective units, self-sacrifice and self-denial when such is required in the interests of the unit — small or big — as family, clan, Tungus group — or those whose authority the Tungus recognize, as Manchus, Chinese, and Russians. This has facilitated success in the colonization of eastern and northern Siberia by the Russians, and the control of Manchuria by the Manchus and later by the Chinese.

This picture of Tungus personality will not be complete if I fail to mention that the same peculiarities of Tungus character have resulted in the stabilization of the ideas of right, conception of justice, highly developed consciousness of personality and sometimes pride, though never aggressive impertinence. So, if a Tungus feels himself to be in the right, he will continue in his project in spite of all pressure. He will yield to an oppressor with the consciousness of inevitability, but his feeling of justice will be offended. Revolts against unjustifiable, from a Tungus point of view, oppression were very common among

them, when they were not yet convinced of the physical power of other ethnical groups with whom they had not before come into contact.

The Tungus show, of course, certain variations,—deviations from average behaviour,—which extreme forms they designate as bad—*oruma*—and good—*ajama*. The lack of certain traits, or the presence of some peculiarities, opposite to the general type of Tungus complex as disclosed by them among other ethnical groups, defines their attitude and feelings towards these groups, which are, as far as I can judge, very correctly understood. Variations of the average character are also distinguished among different clans, and the Tungus are thoroughly cognisant of them. Also foreigners can recognize them in striking forms. The variability of the Tungus character has been intensified by alien influence; I shall not, however, try to reconstruct hypothetically the Tungus character that may be supposed to have existed before intercourse with their neighbours (Manchus, Mongols, Yakut, Chinese, and Russians) introduced new elements.

The attitude of the Tungus is also defined by bonds of relationship, personal acquaintance, and friendship. Indeed, the relations between the members of a family, if we put aside the customs of avoidance, are much simpler than those in vogue among persons belonging to different clans. However, simple relations never take the form of neglect, which is a characteristic common among close relatives in other ethnical groups. In case of personal friendships[1] the Tungus behave as with their near relatives. But they never abuse the terms designating friendship, as has become customary among, for instance, European ethnical groups. Under the influence of the Chinese — direct and through the Manchus — a new form of friendship is at present spreading among the Tungus—the custom of brotherhood. The Tungus pray to the spirit of heaven — *burya* — and take an oath of fidelity. This is due, of course, to the influence of an alien idea, for the Tungus complex regulates quite definitely and well the relations of persons belonging to different clans.

As stated before, the average character varies and the differences in character influence greatly the personal relations between groups and individuals. Among the Tungus, all types of deviations are met with at present, especially among those who have fallen under foreign influences. I have, for instance, met persons who show a definite inclination for intrigue; others who take advantage of their official positions under the Mongols to become arrogant (the Khingan Tungus); some who wish to increase their own property at the expense of their tribesmen, and in contradiction to the spirit of clan organization (the Birarčen); and yet others who are not faithful to the Tungus traditions, and still other deviations. However, all these people are severely blamed by the Tungus, and, when a long accumulation of reciprocal dissatisfaction overcomes the Tungus power of self-control,

[1] The term used by the Tungus for the designation of friendship is *anda*. I do not think it is of Tungus origin, but has been borrowed from the Mongols, directly or through the Manchus. The Tungus complex does not require such a term. It is curious that, among the trappers and fur dealers who do business with the Tungus, this term has appropriated a new meaning to itself. In the Tungus mind these people, who very often live merely as parasites on the Tungus, are not real *anda*, but business friends. Owing to that they now use foreign terms instead of *anda*, e. g., *družja* (Nerč. Barg.), borrowed from the Russian Transbaikalian dialect (*drug*, plur. *druz'ja*).

discord sometimes originates quite suddenly.[1] I have been, though not very often, a witness of such conflicts originating from change of habits and manners, borrowed from alien groups. I have also recorded some cases of real aversion on the part of the Tungus towards some persons, especially those who have come under alien influence. Conflicts based upon competition before women, as the Khingan Tungus say, are unknown, and have never been recorded among other Tungus groups.

As a rule, the Tungus dislike persons who lie. Idle talk is considered to be one of the worst of crimes. A suspected liar is carefully questioned as to the details of the matter in question, is checked, and being usually discredited, afterwards becomes an object of general mockery. The reason is that the Tungus need to have correct information as to foes and animals they are hunting, and friends they want to meet, so that any false information may involve them in useless expenditure of energy. In the same way the Tungus dislike dishonest business transactions, for instance, when the goods do not correspond to the quality promised, but they are absolutely indifferent to the formal, or legal, side of the transaction. A love of gossip is not common among the Tungus, and gossips are usually disapproved of, although the universal type of gossiping woman is sometimes found among the Tungus. Any form of intrusion into the private life of other people, unless certain customs have been violated, and the person belongs to the junior class of the same clan, is prohibited.[2] Gossip is classed together with love of intrigue. However, to furnish correct information as to criminal conduct of clansmen is the bounden duty of everyone.

Though the Tungus know thoroughly how to control themselves, individuals who do not succeed are common among them. A curious case has been quoted as an instance of extreme excitement and lack of self-control. Two men (Kumarčen) were once out hunting: one of them saw an animal which he wished to shoot, but something went wrong with his rifle, and he could not push forward the cartridge. He suddenly pulled the rifle from his friend's hands and killed the animal, which, according to Tungus custom, must be divided between the two men. The man was wrong, because he should not have used a rifle belonging to another person. Among the Khingan Tungus I have observed people who could not control themselves, and were ready to commit various foolish actions.[3] Such cases are exceptionally rare among other groups: crimes committed in a state of excitement are also vary rare.[4]

[1] I once saw a conflict among the Kumarčen which was quite typical. The fight suddenly started because of a dog, which had stolen a piece of meat from another family. As we have seen, animals' owners are not responsible for their acts; but, in spite of this very obvious principle, the discussion was very long, and everything which might be disadvantageously remembered was said by the quarrelling men, and women, who joined the first participants. At the conclusion, one of these families went away alone, which was a great indignity to the two other families, for, according to Tungus custom, they had to roam together, as had been agreed, in the winter camp. The old man, leaving the other people, had tears in his eyes, and felt himself profoundly offended: he was very much dissatisfied with the modern ideas of the other families.

[2] I have known some cases where the husband had not been informed of his wife's openly compromising conduct, for the reason that there were no senior men who might do it, while all knew of the situation.

[3] One of my guides, for instance, after I had insisted that he follow a certain direction, refused to go forward. On my second order he approached me on horse-back and hysterically cried: "Kill me! Kill me!" He had lost control of himself for a while, but he soon calmed down and we later peacefully continued on our way.

[4] It sometimes happens when a psychic malady characteristic of the Tungus spreads like an epidemic: to this question I shall return in another study.

The Tungus, as a rule, are not atrocious. Any kind of atrocity, physical or moral, towards other Tungus, animals, or other people, disgusts them; they never torture animals or children, and any unnecessary killing of animals is considered as *oruma* — bad. But it does not mean that the Tungus are sentimental. In fact, as shown, they kill their clansmen without any hesitation if it is necessary and required of them as their duty. However, the Tungus do not kill for money or for personal gain. This instance may better illustrate what I mean: A Tungus was once present at the execution of a Chinese robber in Sansin (on the banks of the Sungari River). No one amongst the Chinese wished to perform the part of executioner. The Tungus was offered a large sum of money to execute the robber, but, though he needed the money, he refused, for "it is *oruma* [bad] to kill a man for money." The helping of ill or injured animals, especially tigers, is the most favourite topic in Tungus stories.

The Tungus are susceptible in a great degree to emotion. Emotion underlies the shamanism that attracts the Tungus by its very strong emotional influence over the audience. Emotion explains many attitudes among the Tungus, as it is evident, in spite of their self-control. Some travellers, e. g., S. Brailovskiĭ, among the Udehe, asserts that emotions cannot be read in Tungus physiognomy, but I think that this is not right. Emotions do change the expression of the Tungus physiognomy, but not in such a degree as is observed among Europeans. During my first experience among the Tungus I could not read their emotions as expressed in the physiognomy, but after some experience I could distinguish small changes in their expression. Lovers know how to read each other's feelings; children certainly know the expressions of their parents' faces; animals, such as dogs, also understand them. But, of course, to observers who are accustomed to sudden and sharp changes of expression the Tungus physiognomy may seem to be expressionless. Let us take, in witness, the Manchus, who assert that change of expression as regards Europeans, is not a change at all, but a disfigurement, or distortion of the human face, characteristic of the monkey and not the man.[1]

In connexion with the remarks given above it may also be noted that the Tungus have very abrupt changes of mood. They may sometimes remain quite motionless for a long time, which is perhaps characteristic of some of them; or, on the other hand, they may become restless, always fidgety, excited, as if intoxicated by some light narcotic: this is also true of some other types, as a permanent characteristic. It depends, perhaps, on some physiological peculiarities of the Tungus, permitting them at the same time to pass their life in an uninterrupted change of place, motion, and wandering, which certainly requires prompt reaction, also mental and emotional strain.

Among the peculiarities of the Tungus character, the love for good things may also be quoted. As a rule, the Tungus are very fond of good food, good material for clothing, good

[1] The Manchus, of course, know the Russians better than any other European group, and their opinion ought to be referred to the Russians. As far as I can see among other ethnical European groups the idea of a quite motionless face has not greatly developed except in the British ethnographical complex, where it is supposed to express self-confidence, independence, and a cold-blooded mind, and is believed to serve as one of the conditions of success in business transactions.

things in general, including good rifles, reindeer, and horses: these make them very much excited. This peculiarity is common to all Tungus groups. If a Tungus has to choose between two things which he does not yet know, he always takes that which is dearer, for he believes it to be better than the cheap one. I have seen hundreds of cases where Tungus refused to take articles which were not of superior quality. A man of the Kumarčen group, who lived by hunting in the mountains and was rather poor, came but rarely to the banks of the Amur River. During my stay in one of the local "civilized" centres — a small Chinese police post — he came there with his wife. As they were hungry, he asked the shopkeeper (a Chinese) to give him something to eat. There were some tinned goods, among which there were several kinds of sardines. Among these he chose, without asking the price, the best ones, "Canot Frères." The price for a small tin was three roubles (in 1915; i. e., about $3.60 Mex.), while the others were about three times as cheap. On my question as to why he chose such an expensive kind of sardine he simply replied: "They are the best I know." In the wigwam of an old man belonging to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria who live mostly by hunting for good sable, I once found a gramophone, a clock, and other similar things. This old man did not like these things, for they were not good enough, so he ordered his "Russian friend" (a fur merchant) to supply him with good ones. The same man preferred certain brands of champagne, — which are, as a matter of fact, the best, — and he refused to drink bad champagne. It was, of course, that happy time when the yearly income of a family sometimes mounted to several thousands of roubles. The Cossacks I had with me in my expeditions used to take a kind of tea, preferred by them, at a price much lower than that of the tea I used. Naturally their tea was not so good as mine, and I have never seen a Tungus who did not notice the difference in quality. They did not like to take tea with my Cossacks, but preferred mine. The local traders know that goods of an inferior quality, known by the Tungus, will have no success among them. When a Tungus cannot get good things he does not take any, if he can do without it. If he has a limited supply of money he spends it on good things or he takes nothing. According to many of them, good and dear things are more durable and consequently cheaper than cheap ones. This reasoning, however, does not explain cases like that of the sardines, champagne, and tea.

Closely allied to this flair for choosing the best is a love of beautiful things. These things attract the Tungus, and sometimes they do not care to sell them at high prices, for they consider the possession of such as a great enjoyment. I once saw an old woman who was in great need of money, but who possessed some beautiful things, which in her position she could not afford to keep; she was crying bitterly because she was forced to sell them. The choice of a camping place depends in a great degree upon the scenery in the vicinity of the wigwam and the camp. Handsome men and women are very much appreciated. The Tungus also have a great love for old things, and especially things of antique fashion. They sometimes keep them for years and years in spite of their being of no practical utility and of no religious meaning, for instance, old guns, old bone ornaments, and like things. They also like things manufactured by themselves in preference to those purchased outside. So the

Tungus, generally speaking, have a strongly developed love for things apart from their commercial value.[1]

I wish to point out another peculiarity of the Tungus character, which is their love of spending congenially the hours before retirement. As a rule, the Tungus like to pass the time at night in talk. The women very often work by the poor light of burning fire-wood or of small oil-lamps. Long stories and discussions sometimes absorb them till early morning, so that they usually go to bed long after midnight. In the morning they get up late, sometimes about nine or ten o'clock. It does not mean, of course, that they are neurasthenic and lose self-control. If they need to, they can get up at any time of night, at daybreak or early in the morning. From this point of view the Tungus have something in common with some Chinese, but the same does not hold good in reference to the Manchus, who usually go to bed much earlier than the Tungus, except of course under extraordinary conditions, as in cases of shamanizing. The prevailing conditions of Tungus life are perhaps partly responsible for this habit of retiring late: in fact, the Tungus is accustomed to stay up most of the night during the hunting for elk, maral, reindeer, and other cervines; yet in the summer-time, during their nomadic periods, the Tungus very often move at night because of insects. Moreover, they are very busy during the day-time with different kinds of work,—the manufacture and repair of traps, and snares, the cleaning of guns. The Tungus, who are a very sociable people, spend the night in social distractions. Above all, the best time for shamanizing is at night when, more easily than by day, the shaman gets into an ecstatic state. It is perhaps also possible that long life in far northern latitudes has accustomed the Tungus to long nights. Owing to this peculiarity the Tungus, as a rule, are not in their usual mood in the morning, but always somewhat depressed, unless they have to go off on early hunting or nomadizing.

The Tungus possess a great feeling of personal pride, so that a competitive spirit among them is developed to a high degree. A man's pride is in his success at hunting, in his ability in all branches of masculine activity, in his physical qualities as height, muscular strength, handsomeness, mental and moral superiority, and endurance. Tungus men realize their qualities, but do not show them before those who are lacking in them. A man of unusually fine qualities—physical, mental, and moral—takes a protective, but very simple attitude, towards other people. The Tungus are shocked and ashamed of persons who behave badly towards poor and ugly people. In order to verify my conclusions I have carried out several experiments for establishing their reaction. However, as a matter of fact, it has never been quite clear to me why the Tungus laugh at certain physical infirmities and very often call people by nick-names, designating such physical defects. For instance, the Tungus always find amusement in persons susceptible to the malady of *hysteria arctica* (impulsive uncontrolled imitation); they very often call infirm persons "one-legged," "one-eyed," "hunch-

[1] This Tungus peculiarity cannot be compared with that which at the present time is fashionable among uneducated Europeans and Americans whose vanity stimulates them to have "curios," the most important quality of which is their price. This attitude is well known and exploited by dealers and manufacturers of "curios" and various antique things.

back," and similar nick-names. On the other hand, the general conduct of people is never the subject of jokes or sneers, except in reference to a liar, as has been explained. Competitive shooting,[1] jumping, running, are very common, and the men, especially the young ones, wish to show their high qualities as sportsmen. So there are, for instance, champions of running and champions of wrestling. However, a championship is not profitable, for after success in a competition the Tungus remains always the same as before. Young men successful in competitions are naturally favoured by the women. The champion is praised, but no envy can be observed: the man who loses the championship tries to regain his former position, but if unable to succeed he yields it willingly without any feeling of irritation or desire to avenge his failure.

The women are proud of their feminine qualities,—good housekeeping, fine handwork, good children and daughters-in-law, good husbands, personal beauty, mothers' qualities. The competition between women is expressed, for instance, in the art of dress-making, skin-dressing, ornamentation. But successful women do not refuse to teach others who do not succeed; they do not laugh at them if the latter are not disgusting personalities. As among the men, no practical result follows from a championship. On the other hand, men and women who do not care for public opinion as to their skill are considered as *oruma*—bad people, inferior and unworthy of esteem; when lack of success is due to infirmity, they are courteously condoled with.

It is beyond doubt that pride and competition are very effective stimuli to personal effort in the attainment of a high degree of skill.

Generally speaking, the Tungus are predisposed to success in social life, as they are, mainly, cheerful and jovial in character. Men, women, and children look at life from the point of view of pleasure. They pass through periods of suffering with great moral strength,—fatalistically,—and do their best to forget their periods of hardship, and to remember the pleasurable moments of their lives. They do not forget useful experiences, and they do not repeat what has caused them suffering, as they have vivid recollections of such happenings. Some travellers among the Tungus have been inclined to see in the Tungus character a kind of carelessness and thoughtlessness. But this is not so, I think, for the Tungus do not show such an attitude when they are hunting or travelling, though they never lose their general attitude of cheerfulness and joviality. Joy in intenseness varies. There are persons in whom this joyous attitude is never interrupted, and there are others in whom this attitude is not stable; but I have never observed individuals who may be called pessimistic or morose. As an exception, I met among the Barguzin Tungus two or three men, who had lost their original characters after some catastrophic events in their life, e. g., eighteen months in a Russian prison; after having been struck by lightning. As a rule, the shamans are not so jovial as other people are. The crossing with other ethnical groups certainly changes this peculiarity of the Tungus character; for instance, the Tungus crossed with the Buriats are quite different from the Tungus of a more or less pure stock.

[1] As will be shown, shooting is not practised among all Tungus groups.

A woman whose mother was a Goldi I found rather pessimistic;[1] the Manchus and the Nomad Tungus have also lost something of their original Tungus character, and indeed, this remark might refer to all traits of the Tungus character in general.

The Tungus like all kinds of pleasure. Their general idea is that man should enjoy life as much as he can, but they also apply limits as required by necessity or social regulations. The Tungus have the same deviations from the average as other ethnical groups, but some travellers have evidently been strongly struck by them. These deviations may be responsible for the general opinion as to Tungus inclination for intoxication. The Tungus drink wine on all occasions, and, when they desire it, under all possible pretexts. The fathers and mothers give wine to small children for the reason that "wine is a good thing." However, children and young men and women are not allowed unlimited drinking, as often happens with adult people who have attained a certain age. Among the Tungus of Manchuria, drinking is allowed, roughly speaking, after the age of thirty, when persons are not controlled by the older people. Several writers have pictured the Tungus as hopeless drunkards, but this is wrong. In fact, when the Tungus are far from "civilization" they do not drink at all, as wine often cannot be got. In the Tungus villages of Transbaikalia and Manchuria wine is much more common than in the regions over which the Tungus roam. On the other hand, in their villages the Tungus cannot obtain wine on limitless credit, but must pay cash. However, as a rule, they have no cash. As regards credit it is very limited — just what the Tungus can afford to pay. If a Tungus does not work, he can get no credit at all, and thus no wine. From my investigations I have found that the Tungus, who live far away from villages, have occasion to drink wine only two or three times during the year. Among the Tungus of Manchuria, for instance, some Tungus visit the villages just to have a good time and drink for several days. Afterwards they return to their hunting regions and re-appear in the villages six months later. Living for several months with the same families, I have not seen a drunken man or woman for months at a time. Yet during the hunting and the nomadic periods drinking is not indulged in at all. If one happens to be drunk, the chance of being frozen to death, burnt, or injured by similar accidents increases and is likely to destroy those who have violated these regulations. Such accidents, as a matter of fact, are common amongst almost all Tungus grougs. The occasions of drinking are much more frequent among those Tungus who live in villages, but I cannot assert that these people are always drinking, as, in fact, my investigations prove the contrary. Among the settled Birarčen I have observed that abuse in drinking is not common, as many of them do not drink at all, or very rarely. As a rule, when a Tungus living in the far regions sees a bottle of wine, he wants to finish it at once; while among the settled Birarčen, wine is sometimes kept intact for long hours or even days before the coming of guests. Four or five men sometimes sit together talking and drink only one bottle of wine during a whole night.

[1] She had some reasons to be so; according to I. A. Lopatin, the Goldi are rather jovial people.

The general impression as to Tungus drunkenness is based upon information gathered from wine-dealers, and also from travellers who had occasion to meet some Tungus in the Russian and Chinese settlements where they take their products, including wine, and buy goods from the merchants; and also from accounts of the great meetings, as, for instance weddings and yearly markets, which, as a rule, are always followed by an almost general intoxication. I must, however, state that a good deal of the Tungus income is consumed by this expense. As a matter of fact, the Tungus rarely buy anything but wine, except ammunition, flour, not generally used, cloth and other such material; these articles are, of course, cheap and used in a limited quantity, as the Tungus still use skins and furs very largely for their clothing.[1] The system of trade with the Tungus is based mostly upon the attraction which wine has for them; this facilitates business transactions for the traders. To this question I shall return in my other study, where the economic system will be explained.

The inclination for drinking any kind of wine is a characteristic trait of all Tungus groups, as stated by other travellers. Yet, I have seen hundreds of cases when men and women got perfectly drunk to a point where loss of consciousness ensued. Deaths following intoxication are recorded among all Tungus groups, and it is noteworthy that such heavy drinking does not leave in the Tungus recollections any regret or aversion. They remember with pleasure such good times when such and such a man or woman died — of course, deeply regretted by the relatives. Accidents due to intoxication are common. Usually drunken Tungus behave very joyfully and harmlessly, but sometimes they get wild and fight. Then they are usually tied up with ropes and leather thongs till intoxication has gone. Incidents of wild behaviour are most common among the Tungus of Manchuria; yet, generally speaking, women seem to be more susceptible to this mood than men. Among the Birarčen I once saw two old women who wanted to enjoy themselves: they bought a bottle of Chinese wine and finished it in a short time. At first, they sat together, embracing each other in friendly fashion and talking of good and kind things. Their mood soon after that changed and they began to fight But as both of them were old and drunk they could not hit each other and helplessly rolled on to a bed-stove, still continuing their argument. Among the Khingan Tungus I observed another case, also characteristic of this type of behaviour, but not very common among the Tungus. An old woman got profoundly drunk: after the first happy mood, she became very pessimistic and wanted to "kill herself with a long knife," or commit suicide by hanging herself. Her nephew, who was absolutely sober, tried to convince her that she must not do so, for she had to die very soon, according to the shaman's prediction, so she agreed not to commit suicide.

Among all Tungus, cases of alcoholism as a pathological state are well known. Sometimes a man or a woman may not be able to conquer the desire for drink and become real

[1] In certain regions, as, for instance, in the Irkutsk Government, the Enissy Government, and Sakhalin Island, skins give place to manufactured material for clothing, as is also partly true of all Tungus groups living in settled villages. The Tungus of Manchuria and most of the Reindeer Tungus still use skins exclusively for the winter season, and usually during the other seasons as well.

drunkards. Such cases are not frequent, but among some groups they are common among the major part of the adult population: such seems to be the case in some of the Udehe groups. In opposition to this phenomenon, or rather its by-product, the Tungus sometimes react by totally abstaining from drink. The direct stimuli are different. So, for instance, a man in a state of intoxication killed a Russian trader; after eighteen months of gaol, he was liberated, and after that time drank no wine. Another man abstained from drinking after being thunder-struck, as he was drunk at that moment. An old man among the Birarčen did not drink because he did not like the taste of wine, but he was fond of butter and sugar.[1] Another man among the Khingan Tungus did not drink wine, but ate pepper: the reason is unknown to me. Abstinence from strong drink is much more common among women than men. Some women, and sometimes men as well, do not like the taste of wine, and drink it only because it is required as a form of politeness and social convention. Men who get dangerous when drunk very often abstain altogether.

From the above-mentioned facts it may be inferred that the Tungus show very extreme deviations as regards drink; but, generally speaking, as far as the impression may be reliable,[2] the Tungus, as compared with other ethnical groups, may be classified with those who have some inclination for wine; but the average consumption per capita is probably below the average observed among most other ethnical groups.

Among other inclinations I may mention that of opium smoking, which formerly was rather common among the Tungus of Manchuria. However, this practice is now unknown to them; they say that opium smoking is a very bad habit. In so far as I could find out, on principle, the Tungus are against opium smoking, which cannot be stated in reference to drinking wine or smoking tobacco. The Tungus, with very rare exceptions, all the women and all the men, smoke tobacco from childhood. The smoking of tobacco was introduced through the Mongols.

The Tungus, in general, enjoy food. They have usually good appetites, and they like their eatables, especially when good. I have met some Tungus who are real connoisseurs of delicacies. Though the Tungus methods of food-preparation are very simple, — boiling and roasting on an open fire, — they know perfectly well the difference in taste of various parts of animals of different age and in different seasons. Some of them, as previously shown, have particular inclinations and are real gourmets compared to others, who prefer very simple, common, every-day food.

Among the passions which the Tungus are the most susceptible to is, naturally, love of sexual pleasure. Both men and women are subject to it, and the Tungus do not regard it as something blameworthy or reprehensible, but natural and normal if the social regulations are not transgressed. Young men and girls and also young women always find occasions to meet. Dancing, which sometimes lasts for hours at wedding ceremonies and other social meetings, permit not only approach of men and women, but also of isolation in the forests surrounding the camp if the passions are sufficiently excited. There are some young men

[1] Butter and sugar are bought from the Russians.
[2] Before forming a definite opinion about it, one must have proper statistics.

who prefer to spend most of their time in love adventures. They usually dress better than the average — as they want to be attractive to women. They meet women and girls, often preferring their society to that of men. Absolutely the same may be stated in reference to the other sex. I have already shown that in some cases women give themselves in passion in such a way that they transgress the customs regulating Tungus social life. Cases of great misfortune in person and family due to passion are known almost among all Tungus groups. Sexual passion sometimes takes the form of sexual perversity and self-abuse. Among the Birarčen I met a woman who was anxious to know the ethnical differences in *ars amandi*, and she never refused the pleasure of learning something new, so she wanted to have, as lovers, men of different nations who are met with in that region, — Tungus of different groups, Manchus, Dahurs, Chinese, Russians, and Koreans.[1] I have already mentioned cases of sleeping with several men.

The characters of persons, as sexual personalities, are subject to great variations. There are passionate and voluptuous persons, and there are rather cold and indifferent persons, both men and women. According to the Tungus, the love passion is sometimes characteristic of the family — hereditary. They quoted the case of a family where, during three generations, all women were affected by passion and another family where the men were all affected. Occurrences of homosexuality and other deviations, so far as I know, are unknown among the Tungus.[2] The Tungus of Manchuria know of these practices from other people, but do not practise them.

Under alien influences, a new passion has grown up among the Tungus, namely, gambling, particularly with cards. Gambling was introduced among the Tungus by the Russians in Transbaikalia, and the Chinese in Manchuria. Gambling, however, does not affect all Tungus; among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia gamblers are rarely met with, but those who begin to gamble usually destroy themselves, and their family life, altogether. Gambling is usually associated with drinking, which serves as a means of enslaving the Tungus. Among the Tungus of Manchuria, who, for special reasons, dislike Chinese, gambling has not greatly developed. Gambling among the Udehe and the Goldi, according to various travellers, who have spent some time amongst them, seems to be more developed than among the Tungus investigated by me.

The Tungus are very fond of all kinds of distraction, as sporting games, dances, and singing. I have already pointed out that most of the games are of a competitive character. During the meetings on various occasions, young men usually spend the day in games. The most favourite sport is wrestling in various forms. Wrestling is practised in sitting, standing, and prone positions and is regulated by various rules which must be strictly

[1] She had a very complex theory about different smells among different ethnical groups, which was in certain connexion with her sexual excitability. Before I knew her personal name I used to designate her, in my diary, under the name of Messalina. Later I knew her name — *sáks'a*, — which means "blood," which I had never before met among the Tungus. This woman was a rather industrious and good-natured person, and loved her husband. From a physical point of view she was very healthy: she was neither nervous nor hysterical, in the least.
[2] I have been told that among the Tungus of the Yakutsk Government during hunting at a long distance from home the reindeer female is sometimes used for this purpose. The source from which I received this information is not absolutely reliable.

observed. The throwing of heavy and light stones by hand, and with a kind of sling made of willow, is also a favourite pastime. Running in various forms, as with and without a load, with the legs tied, and on one leg, is common among all Tungus groups. Young boys are very fond of ball games, for which two kinds of balls are used, — a small ball for a game of the lawn-tennis type, where, instead of racquets, the hand is used, and a large ball which is propelled by the foot, or thrown with the hands. The balls are made of reindeer or elk hair covered with soft leather.[1] Competitive shooting among the Reindeer Tungus is confined to the bow and arrow; competitive shooting with fire-arms is not practised at all. The reason is that the Tungus consider that persons are lucky and unlucky in hunting, and that the art of shooting is of comparatively little importance. A person who can shoot well at a target may be absolutely helpless in hunting. Moreover, there are guns which are known as *mahin*, with which it is very easy to hit animals, and there are guns which are not *mahin* which are absolutely useless in hunting, but at the same time they may be good for shooting at a target. This theory explains why a young boy sometimes is much more lucky in hunting than an experienced adult hunter. For these reasons competitive shooting is of little use for a Tungus; however, this does not mean that he must not have practice in shooting, and must not look after his rifle, — he must choose his weapon properly, and take proper care of it. It is presumed that each Tungus must have a good gun and be able to use it.

Among the Tungus of Manchuria I have seen some games which seem to be unknown among the Reindeer Tungus. Among the Birarčen I have seen the game of "mounted horse": one man adopts a semi-prone position, hands and feet on the ground, with a rope passed under his arms; one or two men sit on his back — he is the horse — and three or four men pull the rope till the "horse" and "rider" fall down or beat the pulling party. Another game among the Khingan Tungus is this: two men sit on the back of a third one, whose position is the same as that of the man in the first game, the first two men hold one another by the legs and feet so that they form a "pair of loading bags"; the third man, being the "horse," must run as fast as he can till the "pair of loading bags" fall down. Among the Birarčen I have seen a form of tug-of-war between two men who sit on the ground, opposite each other, and place their feet together; they pull the stick till one is brought to a standing position. Skipping over a rope turned at great speed by two other men, and jumping over a rope fixed at different heights, is known among several groups. Among the Khingan Tungus I have seen two men taking each other by the shoulders and kicking each other till one of them fell down. Those of the Tungus who have passed through military training are fond of all kinds of military exercises which were current in the old Manchu army.[2]

Children have their own games, as mentioned in a previous chapter, and they also imitate the games of the adults. Sometimes wrestling turns into fighting and ends in

[1] These games are very old, indeed, and are not due to the influence of foreign propagandists of physical improvement not yet to be found in the Tungus territory.

[2] Many of the above-mentioned games have already been described among other ethnical groups of Asia. Such descriptions are found in the recent works of W. Jochelson, W. Bogoras, and others. Thus they are not characteristic of the Tungus only.

injuries. One of the games most attractive to children is that of "subjugation": a boy takes another and pushes him against a wall or tree, asking him, for instance, — "Am I lousy?" The other replies, "You are!" The pushing goes on till the boy can hold out no longer and at last he replies, "You are not lousy!"

Dancing in a ring[1] was very common among all Tungus groups, but it has now disappeared from among the Tungus of Manchuria, so that only old men and women dance it on great occasions. The Dahurs know this dance also, but they very rarely perform it, and consider it as the Birarčen do, as somewhat shameful and old-fashioned. The dance begins soon after sunset and usually lasts throughout the whole night. The men and women intermingle, take their neighbour's arms and closely press against one another to form a ring. There are different rhythms of one, two, and three steps. The men and women sing at the beginning in a low voice; with the acceleration of the tempo, the singing becomes louder and louder till at the culmination the men sing falsetto and the women are only able to yelp slightly from time to time. The movements are slow and moderate at the beginning, but at the moment of general excitement they attain a degree as of almost uncontrolled epileptic convulsions, though still rhythmic, and the women and men press against one another with great force. The sexual element dominates these dances; this is beyond any doubt and may be confirmed by the fact that after the dance men and women often look for intimate isolation. As a matter of fact, the Tungus, from this point of view, should not be considered as a primitive and backward people, for similar dances — though not performed in a ring — have lately developed greatly among ethnical groups of European-American complex; this kind of dance is well known among various European groups under different forms. The words used for singing in this dance cannot be understood; they seem to have been borrowed from other groups or else they are of Tungus origin, though the meaning has been forgotten. The Mongols, Buriats, and other ethnical groups of Siberia know this dance; I once observed some Manchu children dance it and use the same words.[2]

I have also observed dances performed by a single man or woman or by a couple of dancers, e. g., the wood cock and hen dance, performed by a male and a female; the bear dance, and others; but, all these dances are in a state of decline.[3]

Among the Birarčen I observed two games, which, according to them, were of great antiquity. In the first one, which is a kind of blind-man's buff, the man's eyes are covered

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 234, 235.

[2] The names of this dance are, for instance, from the verb *n'urge* (Khin.) [cf. Mongol, *Rud. n'irga‖najir(γa)*, among the Buriat, Xor. — to dance the ring dance, etc.], *ikan* (Bir. Kum.) — to dance (in reference to the shaman, also a ring dance, etc.), *ikon* (Nerč.) [cf. *ikan* (Neg. *Sch.*) (Tun.) — a song], *xaīxaī* (Tum.) (from the words used during dancing). The words used are, e. g., *h'ēgaī-h'ēgaī, hārda-hārda, hambúr-hambúr, hánda-hánda, hólga-hólga*, recorded of all groups and some other words recorded only of the Reindeer Tungus, e. g., *olōn'ja-olōn'ja, hurja-hurja, hugoi-hugoi, hōgyi-hōgyi, humgoi-humgoi, hakā-hakā, āhandō-āhandō, hārga-hārga*. Some of these above-quoted words are known among the Yakuts and the Yukagirs. The same words are used during the wedding dance, but the general excitement does not occur in daylight. It is very likely that this dance is not a Tungus invention, but just a fashion which spread over various north Asiatic groups at a certain period, as is true of some negro dances in America which together with their names will be perhaps preserved among some natives of Europe for a very long time.

[3] Such dances are also described among the other ethnical groups of Siberia.

by a hat and he has to catch somebody. If he succeeds, complicated inquiry follows, and he must guess whom he has caught. He is not allowed to ask the man's name, but only that of his wife. If he cannot guess he must continue to be the "blind man." This play is called *bolikāten*.[1] Another game requires fancy dress, and the faces are covered with something, or painted. Women's dresses are used for this play or those of other men; the players must recognize persons in spite of the dress. This play is known under the name of *sawkāten*.[2]

The Tungus are very fond of various social performances, as wedding, shamanism, business meetings, like the yearly market, and others. They use these opportunities for distractions and the old people have the chance of meeting one another and having a good time.

Singing is a favourite amusement of the Tungus. Men's, women's, and children's songs are different. Songs of love, hunting, and humour have several variations and are of different styles. Songs borrowed from other groups are also practised, especially those from the Mongols (Buriats). Chinese music, little by little, has penetrated the Tungus of Manchuria. Usually, women do not sing if some men whom they do not know are present. Choral singing, except in shamanism and ring-dance songs, is not practised. Good singers are very much appreciated by the Tungus: I recorded a man's name *ǯandačan* because of his good singing (from *ǯandan* — a song). Shamanistic practices, of course, provide special opportunities for the development of the singing art among the shamans.

Among the Tungus, story-telling is also a favourite pastime. There are story-tellers of different ages, sex, and style. There are naturally good story-tellers, much appreciated by the people, and there are those who are great lovers of this art, but who do not succeed in it. The latter type of story-tellers sometimes become the object of jokes. There are different branches of story-telling: — epic poems, more or less forgotten, historic traditions, hunting stories, love stories, stories concerning animals, and shamanism. Among their narratives the Tungus give a large place to indecent stories, which are enjoyed by all men and women, and even children. The most striking situations and expressions are repeated by the audience. The degree of indecency has really no limit in imagination and selection of terms. The stories are usually based upon the exaggerated size of sexual organs, and the energy of the heroes, in extraordinary and extravagant situations. As a rule, however, the audience for such stories is a selected one; young men, however, do not dare tell these stories in the presence of old people; women do not tell them except among themselves; men sometimes tell them in the presence of women, who, however, do not protest.

All kinds of jokes, sometimes indecent, riddles, and competitions in ingenious tittle-tattle provide a large field for both men and women, where they may show their spirit. These jokes are sometimes of a very high standard and may be understood by other people.

[1] Perhaps from *bali* (*boli*), blind. This game is also known among some Palæasiatics.
[2] Probably from *saw*, to be known or recognized.

The commonest joke is on word-play, based upon double meaning or the phonetic similarity of words. The Tungus sometimes choose persons present to become the object of their jokes. A person affected by the malady I have mentioned, of uncontrolled imitation of movement, is usually sure to become the butt of the audience.[1] The Tungus inclination for indecency sometimes takes the form of sexual exhibition. I once saw, among the Khingan Tungus, a man affected by the above-mentioned malady, who was compelled by another man to perform in public "*erectio penis*," which was a source of great pleasure to an audience composed of men and women. Adult people sometimes require small girls to show their nudity in public (as among the Kumarčen). The Tungus never miss an opportunity of laughing at the double meaning of words or their misuse, if there is any possibility of giving an indecent interpretation. Sometimes women joke about their inclination for sexual pleasure and their experiences (this is common among the Birarčen). Persons who can design sometimes make indecent drawings, especially of women's sexual organs (this is found among the Khingan Tungus). The use of indecent expressions and words is common among all Tungus groups, but the greatest art of abuse by expressions I found among the Khingan Tungus. Words of abuse, and especially those of anatomical meaning, have among almost all Tungus groups already been transformed into meaningless exclamations used by women, men, and children, as flavouring to common speech, or as a sign of surprise. Some expressions, however, are used only by drunken men and never by women. The Dahurs are real virtuosos in this matter : the Manchus are not so experienced, and use, mostly, translations of the Chinese complex formulæ mentioning the turtle. The Tungus, however, know very well the limits within which the use of indecent expressions and jokes is permitted by social regulations, customs, and taboos.

Children also contribute to the amusement of themselves and adults : they sometimes imitate drunken people, pretend to shamanize, and use indecent expressions.

In connexion with the above-quoted facts, it ought to be pointed out that sexual modesty is well developed among the Tungus. Though women sometimes work, semi-dressed, exposing their breasts as they also do when suckling children, boys and girls of sometimes twelve years old expose their nudity, and children of seven or eight years are very often absolutely naked when the season permits it, yet, as a rule, women and men are modest and strictly observe their manners when sitting or lying in public. As a rule, no indecent movements or nude appearances are allowed to men and women. I have never observed such among normal adult persons ; it seems to me that the Reindeer Tungus are a little more modest than the Tungus of Manchuria.

Fighting and the use of physical force in general, except when persons are intoxicated, are very rare. As stated, men never beat their wives, and, vice versa, the wives do not beat their husbands, even when drunk. This method of convincing persons happens only among men, but persons using it are disapproved of by the public. The use

[1] The malady is very common among the groups of Siberia and especially among the Tungus. The person affected by this malady repeats the movements and words of other people produced in an unexpected manner ; to this question I shall return in my other study on the Tungus.

of arms is rare, though the Tungus have knives and fire-arms always at hand. Among the Tungus of Manchuria a quarrel is sometimes settled by a regular duel, with rifles, at a short distance, and always without witnesses. When there is a great quarrel among the Birarčen, magic means are sometimes used in order to destroy the enemy. For instance, a man had had a dispute with a shaman (the shamans are in possession of powerful means to fight their foes), but could not overcome the shaman's intrigues. This man made a "placing," called in it the shaman's soul, and when the latter had entered, he blew up the "placing" with a large portion of gunpowder. The "placing" was naturally half destroyed and burnt down. Next day the man was very lucky in his hunting, and when he visited the shaman he found him lying in his wigwam badly burnt on the same side as the "placing" was burnt. Such proceedings, however, are not now common among the Tungus, who, generally speaking, dislike attacking their foes in a treacherous manner. In this particular exception the method was condoned, because the shamans themselves use magic in their quarrels.

The problem as to whether the Tungus are a lazy or industrious people has been several times discussed by travellers. Their observations, though, can often be amended, as has been shown in reference to drinking. Most travellers have observed the Tungus during their holidays, between the hunting seasons, at home when they take their rest, or else in places near "civilized" centres, where they sometimes live, when they are unable to maintain their existence in conditions characteristic of usual Tungus life. No traveller, however, has denied the Tungus ability of developing really astonishing activity during their seasonal fishing and hunting, when they work for extraordinarily long periods, frequently doing without food and very often without sleep, in order to do it in time. This may especially be referred to those groups which make their living from seasonal fishing, like the Goldi, or seasonal hunting, for example, of the squirrel, where men develop enormous energy for a limited period; the rest of the year they pass in idleness, which they do not deny before other people. The Tungus idea about work is not that of work, just for work's sake, but of productivity. A man who works hard, but does not get good results, is considered unlucky, and nobody looks on him as a model. On the other hand, a man who gets good results from his work without expending excessive energy is considered as really successful, and worthy of emulation. We have already seen that the Tungus system ordains a certain division of work, so that a man at home as a rule does not take on himself woman's work. No one has acclaimed the Tungus woman lazy. The women work, practically speaking, all the time, and very systematically; this depends largely on the character of her work. Housekeeping, which must be continuously done, care of the children, and domesticated animals, skin and dress making for the whole family, and sometimes the selling of home products do not naturally leave very much time for rest. The seasonal character of hunting and other work performed by the man and the prescribed division of work in the family leave some periods when the man has nothing to do, and these periods he, of course, takes advantage of. One must also keep in mind the fact that the Tungus like their mode of life, and do not want change, as some writers expect of them: when the Tungus has

nothing to do, it is supposed by these writers that they should do something to improve their "pitiful position." This conclusion as to Tungus laziness originates from the collision of two different complexes, namely, Tungus and European (particularly Russian). Within the Tungus ethnographical complex, the Tungus people are very industrious and active; they seek high productivity in their work, and do not wish, least of all abruptly, to change their mode of life, preferring to suffer a little more than those who have adopted a different mode, as long as they may preserve their own characteristics, more or less intact. Indeed, the Tungus may cultivate the land where it may be cultivated, they may manufacture goods, they may fish daily for the market, they may spend their income on goods produced by other groups, and may even improve their houses, but they refrain from it not on account of laziness, but because of their natural conservatism, love of their own mode of life, and general tendency towards the preservation of their original complex. The remark may be taken as true of all Tungus groups; I must, however, point out, as in other cases, that deviations from the average attitude are met with among all Tungus groups. So one meets with persons who are particularly industrious, and others who are particularly lazy. However, these deviations are not so wide as those prevalent among some other ethnical groups, where work without considering its productivity has become a kind of absolute virtue, or where laziness and pathological aversion to work may be condoned because of the possibility of living without work altogether. This is not so of the Tungus. Among them men and women who do not work are admonished by their clansmen, and sometimes are compelled to work by clan authority. On the other hand, the Tungus do not understand the idea of work just for work's sake; they prefer to have a good time, — to do nothing in preference to work without definite purpose, as prescribed by custom or habit. This is correct as to both sexes — male and female. As compared with other ethnical groups, the Tungus may mislead the observer, especially if the observation is confined to groups at certain definite periods of their lives. Information on the Tungus laziness is also partly based upon the dubious testimony of persons interested only in compromising the Tungus in the eyes of those who may object to these persons' sometime criminal activity. Persons who give such information include small officials, both Russian and Manchu, fur traders, and gold-mining adventurers. In the same class may also be included the naïve investigators who arrive at their conclusions from the misleading information of such persons; and those who publish the result of partial observation of Tungus life and who at the same time suffer from their own narrow-mindedness, which does not allow them to liberate themselves from their own ethnographical complex, sufficiently to understand an alien one.

From this rather long account and partial analysis of the elements forming the Tungus personality, it can be seen that the Tungus may have very distinct characteristics. As among other ethnical groups, these elements, in different degrees of development, form complexes, in which the Tungus may be classified. This, however, oversteps my intentions of giving a general characteristization of the Tungus. Before leaving this subject I shall give in rough lines the general characteristics of Tungus men and women as compared with those of other ethnical groups as far as it is possible, considering the length of my

observations, and the influence of general impressions brought out by personal intercourse with different Tungus groups.

In the characteristics of the Tungus personality which I have discussed I have pointed out the difference in character between men and women. In previous chapters I had occasion to formulate that men differ from women in a complex mostly defined by the recognition of physical, moral, and sometimes mental superiority of the male, as compared with the female: yet the male character is also dominated by the consciousness of responsibility. The women are very womanly and passive when they are in the presence of men, while the men may be characterized by opposite traits, and a well-pronounced attitude of activity. A man is not allowed to beg favours from a woman as regards personal service, especially from a shaman female. The man must firmly keep his word and promises: he must protect and defend the woman if necessary: he must allow her to speak when she desires to. The man is less regular in his work, and perhaps more impulsive than the woman: he is more inclined to drink wine, tell indecent stories, and jokes, and use abusive expressions. The man is not shy, while shyness is characteristic of the Tungus woman. The man's language in all dialects is slightly different from that of the woman; the vocabulary, phonetics, and general style of speech are distinct.

As to the behaviour of the woman, it depends first of all upon her age and her position in the family and clan. If a senior, who has certain authority, she speaks and gives orders with the consciousness of her right to do so. If a junior, she behaves according to her position: she does not speak much, and always in a low voice, without looking at the senior interlocutor. But when women meet for tea or on a visit to their neighbours, they speak as equals, they joke, sometimes sing, and generally behave in a free manner. There are certainly variations in the woman's behaviour depending upon personality. Some of them are very tender and womanly, and use a select vocabulary, while others are loquacious, inclined to gossip and tittle-tattle, and others, again, are aggressive, and are rough in their speech.

This is, of course, an average characteristic of the Tungus man and woman: the extreme variations of these averages overlap each other. Among the Tungus, especially the aged people, one also meets with the women who have a rather masculine character, but this is always coloured by peculiar womanly shades. The same may be stated in reference to Tungus men, but, as shown, no extreme deviations resulting in a complete change of either womanly or manly attitude can be observed among the Tungus.

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2. Customs Regulating Social Relations

The customs regulating intercourse between members of a family, a clan, and generally between persons belonging to a given Tungus unit are numerous and subject to variations. Generally speaking, every Tungus group believes its own customs to be the best and most

convenient; but the Tungus recognize the right of using different customs, though they do not treat people using such customs as barbarians. The Tungus are liberal, and they borrow fashions and manners largely from their neighbours. Let us examine some of the customs which may give an idea of the Tungus code.

When a Tungus arrives at his destination, he may not descend from the reindeer or horse in front of the wigwam, but must descend and approach it, passing the side of the wigwam on foot, as otherwise "the people will laugh at him." Among the Kumarčen, when the head of the family is absent, visits are not considered polite.[1] The questions addressed to the visitor vary. Among the Reindeer Tungus and the Birarčen the usual question is: "What have you seen?" i. e., "What animal or foot-prints have you met with, while on your journey?" Another question is: "Have you had good luck (*mahin*)?" "Did the mountain spirit send you anything?" Then a question on health follows: *abgara?* (healthy) (Tungus of Manchuria), also *aja?* (good) (Reindeer Tungus). This question is sometimes asked in Mongol *mèŋdow, mèŋdu, mèŋdu* (Khin. Nerč. Barg. Nomad Tungus), in Russian — *dorôvo* (Lam.) (from *zdorovo!* Russ.). According to the code of manners, the answer must be positive (among the Birarčen), even if, the day before, a person belonging to the family had died. So that this question has already taken the form of a mere conventional "How do you do?" "*Comment ça va?*"[2] The questions concerning animals and good luck are not, of course, meaningless among the Tungus, who are always roaming and live by hunting. The answer is always given in the most detailed manner. After this question among the Tungus of Manchuria, the person, if unknown, is asked his clan, and, if the person is younger than the questioner, his personal name is required, but always in the form: "*s'i ême ǰisuči?*" — i. e., "What colour have you?" and never in the form: "*s'i ême girbiči?*" (*girbi* — a name), which is very impolite. If the guest is older (senior), and belongs to the same clan, he gives his relationship term with reference to the person known to the questioner. If he is older in age, but does not belong to the same clan, he gives his personal name. He is, however, called by some kinship term, e. g., *ama, aka.*

If the new-comer is unknown, and does not belong to the same Tungus group, a detailed enquiry as to the purpose of his journey and intentions follows the customary questions. The answer must be given in a clear and comprehensible form.[3]

1 It is possible that this is an innovation adopted in order to suppress the old practice of woman's freedom during the husband's absence.

2 In a Russian village near Lake Baikal I heard Russians using the Mongol term (in a district where this language is hardly known) in a modified form, namely, *m'endu t'ol'en' ka!* which was not a joke, but a very polite form, something like the French "*pardon!*" among the people who do not speak French. I do not know whether this practice has spread over other regions or not.

3 Among the Russian population of Transbaikalia and eastward, no question as to name and purpose of travel is asked, for "it is not polite." The visitor must himself give the desired information within the limits prescribed by courtesy. This is, of course, quite natural, because many such visitors do not wish to tell their names and purpose of travel in consideration of personal safety. Many a traveller has had a criminal career, or expects to have in the near future. The right of remaining incognito is recognized by the usus. So among the Russians of Siberia the name of a person might remain a mystery for years. This custom is really a striking one for those who are accustomed to start intercourse by presenting their names (on a card or in verbal form). As to the Tungus custom, their way of self-introduction may also seem to be very striking to other ethnical groups possessing complexes which require a formal introduction by a third person, who may be sometimes absolutely unreliable.

The most important custom of welcome is that of smoking. If a person belongs to the same clan and is older, he gives his pipe to be filled with tobacco and lighted and receives it back from the host. Then the guest asks for the host's pipe, fills it with the tobacco, lights it, and returns it. When a senior person leaves he gives his pipe to be smoked by everybody present, at the ceremony of farewell. Among the Khingan Tungus the juniors (men) greet their seniors by kneeling or among other groups by a profound genuflection. Among the Kumarčen the woman brings her right hand in greeting to the forehead and makes a profound bow. Among all the Tungus of Manchuria, the men make a sharp genuflection. If the guest is younger than the host he must first ask for the pipe of the host. Among the Reindeer Tungus these customs are not so well developed as they are among the Tungus of Manchuria.[1] Generally speaking, the customs concerning meetings require great accuracy in performance. No expression of joy or surprise is allowed by politeness. I once observed a meeting of three Birarčen sons with their mother who had not seen them for several months. Without hiding her feelings she appeared very happy to see them, but as soon as they entered the wigwam, where the old woman was sitting, she observed a rather indifferent attitude. One after another the sons made a profound obeisance and she asked all of them separately *s'i abgará?* The wives usually meet their husbands outside the wigwam and take their saddles and loads without showing their joy or surprise. As a rule, when a senior person leaves the wigwam, the juniors make a movement to stand up, but stop half-way and sit down again. When food is served, a junior has to bring the right hand to the forehead. If a guest leaves the wigwam one must ask him to sit down: *tèγèkol* — "Sit down" — and other expressions; on which the guest replies, "I have already been sitting" (Tungus or Manchuria). Among almost all Tungus groups farewell is expressed by *ajakán'ǎi b'ikolló!* or similar wishes: "Remain! be good!"

A guest, if he is old or appears to be so, or is an influential person, is asked to take the place *malu*.[2] After the conventional questions and the pipe ceremony, with a moderate bow, he is served with tea and meat, if the latter happens to be ready, and if not some meat is prepared by the women. If the guest is a female, she is asked to take a seat not prohibited from women[3] and is served in the same manner. As a rule, the Tungus may not refuse to eat, as the refusal is considered as a great offence to the host.[4] If there is wine in the house the guest is served with a courteous bow with a short invitation: *umkal*— "Drink!" If there are several guests the senior males are served first, then the junior males, next the senior females, the junior females, and the children, the hostess being the last one to be served. In spite of this rule, the children are not served with the remainder

[1] These practices are, of course, recent ones; they were introduced among the Tungus, together with tobacco smoking, by the Mongols. It would be very interesting to have correct records as to these customs among other Tungus groups, for approximate datum as to tobacco introduction into Tungus use is known; some of the Tungus have received the tobacco, perhaps, from the Russians. This complex may give an idea as to the rapidity of diffusion of some customs, before the introduction of modern means of communication.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 255.

[3] Cf. *supra, ibid.*

[4] Among the Tungus groups who have fallen under a strong Manchu and Mongol influence the guest is allowed to refuse it.

of food, but the best pieces are left for them by all seniors. It is considered as a very polite form of attention when a junior refuses to drink wine and passes it to a senior. Generally it is considered good manners indicative of a degree of courtesy and high esteem to make old people drunk; then the juniors are also allowed to become so. The Tungus like to receive guests, to feast them with food and drink; but, as a rule, guests have to invite their hosts and return hospitality, though not strictly in an equivalent form.

As to the observation of the code of politeness, the Tungus differ in their courtesy to tribesmen and to foreigners, but they do like it when a foreigner knows their customs and observes them. The Tungus themselves like to be polite to foreigners and show them their own experience of foreign manners.[1] This politeness goes so far that the Tungus like to have foreigners at their ceremonies, e. g., weddings, and they naturally treat them as "seniors."

One of the most important customs among the Tungus is the presentation of gifts to the guests, who may not refuse to receive them. As a rule, gifts should be given in return, if not of equivalent value, then as a mark of politeness.

During meetings, when several wigwams of people stay together without distinction of clan, before a short visit is paid, young men and women are not invited by people belonging to other clans. The visits are performed in the same manner as if the visitor were a traveller from a far region. The same questions, sometimes without their actual meaning, are asked and replied to. The visitor is always somewhat reserved, and the whole ceremonial is very formal. After a short meal, oftentimes confined to a cup of tea, the conversation turns to general topics, and the visit ends. These visits should be paid in priority of social importance of persons, and not in order of the wigwams.[2] Seniors do not visit juniors first, but repay the visit after first having been visited by the juniors.[3] The knowledge of Tungus social customs constitutes one of the fundamental conditions of personal success both for the Tungus and the foreigners. Such a person is considered *aja* (good), unless the person in question has reprehensible characteristics or evil inclinations.

Visits to a clansmen are much simpler as to ceremonial than the visits already described, but at the same time they are sometimes much more complex, owing to the customs which

[1] One sometimes meets Tungus who have borrowed their manners and sometimes their language and ideas from the Russian and Chinese trappers and also from Buriats and Dahurs. It calls to my mind a foreign physician who had unwillingly passed three or four years in Siberia among the local population of peasants, farmers, and criminals. He had learnt the local dialect thoroughly and certain manners and expressions which enables one to conclude exactly in which locality and social environment he had been living. He sincerely wished to be agreeable to me and talked in this dialect, believing that he was speaking a good genuine Russian. Indeed, the most interesting instances of this kind are furnished, I suppose, by foreigners speaking English, who have studied it, together with manners, from particular social groups or localities, especially abroad.

[2] Without knowing these regulations I once omitted to follow the correct order in my visits according to social importance, but in order of the wigwams, so that my last visit was to a very honourable widow, with several children. She was naturally offended by my lack of politeness and I had to spend some time before good relations were re-established.

[3] The same rules are practised by some other ethnical groups. However, among the Manchus the seniors (some, not all) oftentimes pay no visits; this is observed among some other ethnical groups, where persons considering themselves of great social importance do not visit, but only receive visitors, and even then not everybody is received. As a particular case I may quote the practice in vogue in reference to a newly arrived married couple which is carried out without distinction as to social position or age, unless the married couple belongs to an "inferior race"; they are visited and made welcome by the people previously settled in the locality. I have observed this practice in some Far Eastern European colonies.

regulate the relations existing between seniors and juniors and the customs of avoidance and taboo.

There is also a kind of visit and meeting current among the Tungus. Every day, about four or five o'clock, certain families have a form of social reception, which is mostly attended by women, who take tea, sometimes work, pass their time in tittle-tattle, discussion of daily news, and new handwork, but gossip is rarely indulged in. These receptions call to mind tea parties which are well known among some European ethnical groups. Men very seldom attend these meetings or take part in the light conversation which ensues. At such functions, I could never succeed in turning the conversation into a serious vein, which would have been particularly useful to me for my diary, while, during other visits, any serious question might be discussed.

The rules of conduct in society are based on a code of manners, the general idea of which incorporates the principal trait of the Tungus character, i. e., to be agreeable to other people. The Birarčen have even a special verb for the designation of bad expressions and disputes with people belonging to the host's family in their wigwam — *ukčo* — which may also be used in regard to a dog which is accustomed to bite people. The code of manners concerning the visitor's behaviour permits one to blow one's nose (of course, without a handkerchief); to cough (protecting the mouth with the hand); to kill vermin if they appear on the clothes; to belch, which shows satisfaction at good food; but the breaking wind is not permitted, expecially to young women and girls — "the most inferior of women does not permit herself to do so," the Manchus say.[1] Postures, which may be standing, sitting, half lying, and lying, are regulated by certain rules, particularly for men and women according to their age and social position. These rules also vary as compared with different Tungus groups. To this it may also be added that the Tungus have special ceremonies, partly described, at weddings, shamanizing, and other performances, which make the Tungus code of manners, especially considering the Tungus character, as complex as any among other ethnical groups. The code is astonishingly difficult to follow, owing to the fact that the Tungus do not recognize the outer form of politeness as sufficient for smooth intercourse between people, and require, in a certain degree, sincerity of feeling and frankness in the expression of one's ideas and opinions. This is even obligatory when the questioner is a senior, — no manual of courtesy,[2] widely used by people not accustomed to the "best manners" adopted by influential social groups, may be prepared for foreigners dealing with the Tungus.

1 K. M. Ryčkov (*op. cit.*) has quoted a case (among the Enissy Gov. Tungus) of a young girl to whom this misfortune happened during her wedding ceremony, when she was kneeling, after which she ran away and committed suicide.

2 I have a good specimen of such a manual at hand by John V. Barrow, "Good Manners," "especially prepared for the use and education of the Chinese people," as is noted on the cover. It is published by E. Evans & Sons, Ltd., Shanghai, second ed., 1924, and it shows that this publication intends to portray the best manners, evidently for facilitating intercourse between Chinese and Americans (the auther is connected with the Canton Christian College, Canton). The sincerity and good will of the author of this manual is beyond doubt, so that it may be used as a genuine ethnographical document.

The meetings of the Tungus with people they do not know,[1] in a region where population is scarce, are not very friendly. The Tungus prefer, if possible, to avoid any such meeting, which is what usually happens, but their curiosity sometimes leads them to meet even dangerous foreigners. Being a foreigner among the Tungus, I had very often an opportunity of observing their attitude towards myself and my Cossacks, and also towards the Tungus belonging to other groups whom I used sometimes to have with me. When a new group is met with, one must show a friendly attitude, some signs of peaceful intention. Such signs at a distance may be shooting in the air, or blowing an instrument used for challenging the reindeer; or at a short distance such signs may be descending from horse- or reindeer-back and walking on foot with the gun at the back. When the parties meet one another they ask several questions according to the ceremonies described and special questions are put on certain occasions. At the moment the two parties behave just like two dogs who first meet, probably being interested to know each other, and perhaps wishing to be friends, though at the same time they are quite ready to fight at any moment. However, it ought to be pointed out that we usually travelled in such a manner that the Tungus might discover us first and thus choose any way of meeting us. Very often they told me the history of their meeting with us. For instance, for two days a group of Kumarčen was watching our movements from the mountains, and then, knowing everything about us, — the number of armed men and horses, — they decided to meet us by sending forward four men with rifles. It has also happened that I came unexpectedly upon some Tungus. I once arrived at a Tungus settlement (in Transbaikalia) and during my three days' stay I was unable to come into friendly contact with them at all. Another time, in Manchuria, being accompanied by one man only, I was taking some topographical notes and observations of altitude: the Tungus of that district knew nothing of our arrival. A group of Tungus men and women travelling by reindeer and horse suddenly discovered us sitting under a tree. The caravan hesitated for a moment; then the men separated from the caravan and came ahead to meet us. After the conventional questions and replies had taken place and everything concluded satisfactorily, we continued on our journey together.[2] If there are women in a group that the Tungus meet, friendly relations may be established much more easily than otherwise, for they believe in the peaceful character of people who travel with their families. Another means of establishing friendly relations is to speak to the Tungus in their own language.[3]

1 Cf. *supra*, where quarrels between Tungus on first meetings are described.

2 Cf. *supra*, an instance of their reaction in reference to the retreat of Chinese troops.

3 It is rather difficult to surprise the Tungus when one is travelling through their territory. They know everything that happens in their district through a system of messengers as to threatening danger and they gather news by occasional meetings. The news about my investigations among the Tungus spread widely through various Tungus groups and some of them were waiting for me before my arrival. Such communication of news is, of course, possible only if the neighbouring Tungus groups are in friendly relations to one another.

3. Criminality Among the Tungus

Crimes among the Tungus may be classified into two main groups: (1) crimes committed on Tungus ethnographical soils, as violation of customs by persons not influenced by alien groups, and (2) crimes resulting from intercourse with alien groups. I have already pointed out that the Tungus ethnographical complex is well adapted for prevention and punishment of the criminal; this system has been elaborated, to be sure, by long adaptation of clan institutions in regard to the conception of crime.

Among the Tungus who have not recently been strongly influenced by alien groups, the most common crime is that of violation of the customs regulating relations between the seniors and the juniors; crimes of violation under sexual prohibitions are not common; crimes against the rights of private property owners are absolutely unknown; murder in a state of excitement, of intoxication, or pathologically, happens from time to time, but no punishment is inflicted, for the murderer is usually considered as having acted while in a state of unconsciousness and under the influence of spirits;[1] intentional murder for the purpose of robbery is unknown among the Tungus. Generally speaking, the Tungus character on the one hand, and the Tungus social organization on the other, do not favour the perception of criminality as codified by the European and Chinese legislation, and which is recognized by local authorities, both Russian and Chinese, and also by travellers. Nevertheless, the fact of the existence of judicial clan functions and capital punishment should be considered as absolute evidences of criminality, though quite different from that codified under the European systems. The Mongol common law, as regards the comparative classification of crimes, though much closer to the European system than to the Tungus ideas of crime, is capable of shocking European mentality, while to Europeans the Tungus complex is almost beyond understanding. The crimes peculiar to the Tungus code and punishable by death are those mentioned in previous chapters: shameless conduct of a husband who does not work for his wife and children; bad conduct of a wife who violates the interests of the unit; systematic refusal to follow the orders of the seniors (not public authorities!), which, as a matter of fact, may include any command, for seniors have to intervene in every case contrary to Tungus practices. This "cruelty" of the Tungus code is, of course, beyond the understanding of ethnical groups, among whom husbands and wives do not sometimes work, owing to their principles, and have their own interests; and among whom young men hope to survive in the struggle for life, only in the case when taking on themselves the full responsibility of their acts before the public authorities, they do not follow the advice of seniors, who, owing to the great rapidity of change occurring in society, are very often unable to understand the "spirit of the time." Among other ethnical groups the Tungus liberalism in reference to the woman who is allowed to have as many lovers as she wishes while the husband may not obtain a divorce, or to the murderer who is left at liberty, can scarcely be comprehended.

[1] In my other study on the Tungus I shall have occasion to return to this question.

Tungus honesty, avoidance of intentional murder, punctuality in meeting all obligations, which sometimes appear absurd to non-Tungus groups, also many other practices, have produced a profound impression on travellers and investigators. The recognition by some of these investigators of an almost ideal character of the Tungus is, of course, a misunderstanding. These observers looked at Tungus criminality from the point of view of their own ideal on the subject, and naturally could not understand the Tungus crimes not included in their own and legal codes. As stated, almost uninterrupted activity of the judicial clan organs and the severe punishments meted out to culprits seem to point to a high criminality among the Tungus and their evident intention to fight crime by the most effective measures, possibly including capital punishment. This is, of course, quite natural, for the Tungus are inclined to changes in their ethnographical complex, and they are very often in a state of *impulsive variation*,[1] which naturally results in an enormous increase of unstable elements and subsequently criminality.

The experience of the local authorities has naturally convinced them of the necessity, practically speaking, of allowing the Tungus to preserve their system intact. Any attempt at codification of the Tungus common law could not naturally succeed, and the Tungus have been compelled to adopt systems, supplementary to their own systems, that are quite different from those required by their own complex. Particularly is this evident in Transbaikalia, where the Tungus have been put under the control of authorities familiar with the Buriat common law. In Manchuria the Tungus were first compelled to adopt the Manchu and Mongol systems, and later the Chinese system: this was absolutely essential, as with the development of intercourse the Tungus list of crimes, owing to their violation of alien codes, till that time unknown among the Tungus, enormously increased.

Let us now view the most typical cases of crimes, as they are observed among the Tungus, consequent upon their intercourse with other ethnical groups.

A Tungus in the Barguzin gold-mining district was once sitting on the top of a hill, hidden from view, watching Russian workmen quarrying for auriferous rock. One of the workmen found a piece of native ore of unusual size (according to the Tungus, over thirty pounds' weight). According to an agreement then in vogue amongst the gold-miners, this find ought to be divided into equal parts among all members of the given miners' association (Russian: *art'el*), consisting of several persons. The man did not mention his find except to two others, who had seen him secrete the ore. These three men concealed the gold under a big stone in order to cheat the other miners and went away for their midday meal. One of them soon afterwards returned and changed the place of the gold in order to cheat his accomplices. Then the Tungus descended from his shelter, took the gold, and disappeared with it. For two years he spent his gold mostly on drink and soon after the gold was finished he died. According to the Tungus this man was right in taking the ore, for the workman intended to cheat his partners, but he was not right to spend it in such a manner, and for this reason he was punished by a premature death, — it may be guessed, from drunkenness. His clan did not intervene, for clan interests were not affected.

[1] Cf. my "Ethnos" and "Ethnical Milieu," where the explanation of the principle of *impulsive reaction* is given.

Two Tungus school-boys, at a Chinese school, stole fish, and sold it to a Chinese shop-keeper. No punishment resulted, as the boys were protected by the Manchu chief, but one of them was punished by his father.

A woman (Nirgir clan), whose husband was frequently absent from home, fell into the habit of boarding Chinese trappers, which was prohibited by the Tungus authorities. As a matter of fact, her children looked like her boarders. The Manchu chief surprised the woman in *flagrante delicto*. She was handed over to her clan and sentenced to be beaten. The Manchu chief issued an order prohibiting the boarding of Chinese trappers.

Another woman, together with her lover, strangled her husband. A small boy witnessed the crime and gave evidence to the Manchu authorities. The lover was arrested and put in the gaol; but he was not kept there long, as the authorities, being bribed with three hundred dollars, liberated the man. After that the "father-mother" of the unfortunate husband decided to give the widow to her lover, but the clan protested against this decision, so the woman was given to another clansman.

Incidents of crime mentioned in previous chapters should be added to the foregoing information.

During my stay with the Birarčen I saw almost all the afore-mentioned criminals. All of them lived in settlements on the banks of the Amur River, were notorious for their aversion to work, preferred to maintain friendship with non-Tungus people, and spoke Chinese quite fluently. However, the Kumarčen and the Birarčen, who live far from the banks of the Amur River, and generally from "centres of civilization," as in the Chinese and Russian settlements, do not commit such crimes as have been spoken of; nevertheless, clan justice functions very energetically amongst them in order to combat criminality of a different kind, namely, that of the Tungus complex. On the other hand, among the Tungus living in the settled villages, crimes resulting from the Tungus complex very often remain unpunished.

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4. Reaction of the Tungus Groups to Alien Influences and Remarks on the Comparative Characteristics of Tungus Groups

The Tungus of Manchuria dislike non-Tungus in general; the reasons, as has been shown, are manifold. Whatever their feelings towards the Manchus and the Mongols may be, they are much better than those towards the Russians and the Chinese. In spite of this the Manchus did not know how to maintain Tungus esteem towards themselves, which may be illustrated by some facts. In the Birar yamen a Manchu was appointed as a kind of supervisor; though his duties were confined to the keeping of the yamen, and the military training of the Tungus, he took upon himself the position of judge, etc. Originally he was employed in the Manchu army as a trumpeter. He could read neither Manchu nor Chinese, and possessed a very limited knowledge of military training. As the chief of the

Tungus came but rarely to the yamen, the Tungus became accustomed to come to the trumpeter, for settling the quarrel between themselves, and for defending their interests against non-Tungus. In this case, two Tungus came to see him in order to settle some disagreement that they had had. The case was rather complex and the trumpeter was in a bad mood, after having been drunk the day before. A Tungus official who happened to be in the yamen, pointed out to the Tungus and the trumpeter that the case ought to be left to the Tungus chief for solution. However, the Manchu looked at the thing differently. He sat down in a chair and heard the evidence. After a short discussion, followed by his violent abuse of the Tungus, he decided to punish both of them himself, and that immediately. So he took a stick and beat one of them, but the other had by this time run away.

This is another case. A Manchu chief ordered two Tungus to be beaten for failing to come at the proper time for their duty in the yamen. After their punishment both of them ran away, and did not return to the yamen any more. The Manchu chief, during the punishment and later, was very nervous and pessimistic as to what effect the thrashing might have on the Tungus. The chief's order, and the Manchu's attitude, as first described, could not be understood by the Tungus. As to former Manchu administration, the Tungus do not remember it with favour.

In spite of this, a good education, a knowledge of the written language in Manchu and Chinese, a powerful military organization (as far as the Tungus could judge), attracted them under the Manchu administration, and filled them with a desire for imitation. The Tungus character, however, did not permit of their becoming Manchu slaves, and they have preserved their semi-independence.

Their feelings towards the Chinese are defined in the first place by the differences in character and customs of the Chinese as compared with their own. The women dislike the Chinese, owing to the "disgusting smell" which the Chinese have, according to the Tungus, because of the mixed food — meat, fish, and vegetables — that they use. Some others dislike the Chinese for their manners, dress, and other reasons. Once a rumour spread among the Birarčen that a Dahur shaman had arrived at the village. After a long discussion on the matter, it was decided to invite him to shamanize if he stayed with a Tungus family, and to avoid him if he stayed with the Chinese, for this reason: "If a man avoids the Tungus, he is a bad man."

In spite of this, some Tungus adapt themselves to Chinese ideas and customs. A Tungus, with two or three friends, who were not of the average type, for the sum of two hundred dollars agreed to help an old Chinese to find his wife, who had run away with another Chinese. The Tungus were blamed by their tribesmen for helping a man for money. A few days later, the Tungus returned, unsuccessful, I think, as they were afraid of being blamed. This is an instance of positive reaction. A Tungus woman was once invited by a Chinese woman, travelling on a river steamer, to visit her. The Tungus woman first refused, but being curious, followed the Chinese woman to the steamer. She was delighted in seeing it, especially the engine, the kitchen, and a very important person,

the Chinese cook, and "a good cooking grandfather," the captain, who was probably a Russian. She gave a full account of her experience, and wished to travel on such a wonderful boat; her story became most appreciated, especially by children. Since that time this woman is convinced of Chinese superiority.

Generally speaking, the Tungus of Manchuria react negatively to the Russian complex. This reaction, as I have shown, is due to the peculiar relations that have been created between these Tungus and the Russians during the Boxer trouble, and, perhaps, previously. This feeling is not an innate one, as the following illustration shows. A boy eight years old visited a Russian village with his father. The boy returned home very much excited, and told his mother that he wanted to marry, and at once, a Russian girl he had seen, for "she had very fair hair, pinkish skin, and grey eyes," he said. The mother objected to this by pointing out that the Russian girl would not know how to dress skins and do other work of the Tungus household. The boy was not convinced and declared that when he grew up, he would go to the Russians and live with them, so that he could marry that wonderful girl. The mother felt a little ashamed of her son's attitude. In previous chapters I have already given some other instances of positive reaction.

Among the Tungus living in Russian territory, reactions are different. The main reason is that these Tungus are more familiar with the Russian complex, and more accustomed to it, and Russian influence is stronger than any other, and exerts cultural pressure, as well. But it may be noted that this is not so with the Nomad Tungus who, in many respects, are still under a strong Mongol (Buriat) influence, opposite, in complex and reaction, to the Russian influence.

It may be formulated, I think, as a general principle, that, owing to the difference in character and ethnographical complex, the Tungus reaction to alien influence is negative, but as soon as the Tungus enter into close contact with an alien complex, and an alien group begins to produce a systematic pressure on the Tungus, the latter change their attitude towards alien influence, and the reaction becomes positive. Cultural pressure may be intensified by political pressure, which greatly accentuates positive reaction, but only if the change of Tungus complex is superinduced by the Tungus themselves, without artificial compulsion from alien groups. In case of compulsion the reaction may naturally become negative.

Characteristics of the Tungus Groups. In the above-mentioned characteristics of the Tungus, I have given a general description without outlining the typical deviations for different Tungus groups. These differences do exist. I shall conclude this chapter by some remarks as to these differences, for a detailed treatise of this subject requires a special investigation and much more material than that I have at hand.

The Tungus of Barguzin have preserved their original Tungus character far more strongly than the Nerchinsk Tungus. However, this is due to strong neighbouring influences which have affected this Tungus group. Russian influence now takes the place of the former strong Buriat influence. The Nerchinsk Tungus have partly lost their original features, mostly owing to periodic losses in reindeer, when many of them took refuge by settling in

the Russian, or better Russianized Tungus, and Buriat villages. During these periods they borrowed some of the features of these complexes. The same may be stated in reference to the Nomad Tungus, who have also lost a good deal of their Tungus character, and in their reactions closely approach the Buriats.

The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, under the influence of their Russian neighbours, have developed individuality in a higher degree than any other Tungus group. The ties of the individual to the clan are now rather loosely defined, so that the spirit of individual responsibility is much stronger among them than among other Reindeer Tungus. Together with this change, a new complex attitude has grown up: self-confidence sometimes passes the limits of correct Tungus behaviour and becomes annoying.

The same conclusions may, I think, be applicable to changes which have occurred among other Reindeer Tungus who have been influenced by the Russians and the Yakuts: all of them have suffered a decline in clan spirit and clan activity.

The Khingan Tungus, as stated, show many a deviation, which makes them hostile to all their neighbours — Tungus and others: they are not, however, all alike. As I have shown, only a clan — *bajagir* — shows such striking deviations: many people of this clan live by horse stealing. The characteristics given to the group by Prince P. Kropotkin may, however, be referred to this clan only, I believe. Once the head of this clan had been appointed by the Mongol authorities, as one of the chiefs of the Tungus groups, in spite of the fact that he had been more than once caught and beaten by the Russians for horse stealing, and the appointment encouraged his clansmen to continue in their ways. The men produce the impression of being lazy, for horse stealing does not stimulate the spirit of industry. They go hunting when they have nothing to eat; their wigwams are poor; they — women and men — do not miss an occasion to beg for anything which may be in sight, — wine, tobacco, tea, clothing, or even horses. If they are refused, they get angry, and threaten. At the same time they are arrogant in their manners and speech with other clans and foreigners, for they state that they are masters of the region, and if they like they may stop a traveller or kill him. They are very fond of official positions in general, and their officials require the absolute submission to their will of other people and smaller officials, which is not characteristic of other Tungus groups. They are boastful: their men pretend to know everything about hunting and nomadizing; they claim to be the best hunters and shooters, but when there is something to be done they make other people work and confine their activity to supervision. They also pretend to be the strongest people, while this is not so. They do not permit one to joke, or laugh at them, or to call to their mind by allusion their experiences in horse stealing. Their men and women are absolutely lacking in any sign of the shyness and modesty characteristic of other clans of the same group and other Tungus groups. Their women are very womanly, as all Tungus women are, but they do not behave in the same manner as other Tungus women. However, it ought to be pointed out that their women are not all born of this clan, but originally mostly belong to the clan *kaltagir*. These women are too sociable and too free in their manners; they are inclined very much to indecency and permit themselves expressions and attitudes not allowed by

other Tungus groups. The mentality of this Tungus clan seems to be inferior to that of other groups. They are also inclined to lie and cheat. These peculiarities and servility to persons of superior social position or superior will power are found as an exception of general characteristics of the Tungus groups, solely amongst this clan.[1] But it is curious to note that the clan seems to be very strict in the observance of Tungus customs and, as far as I could see and learn from other people, criminality (of the Tungus complex) is not common among them. The other clans, of the same Tungus group, are entirely different from the clan mentioned above. The clan *kaltagir* is connected by matrimonial relations with the clan *bajagir*, and thus the women of the clan *bajagir* marry into the *kaltagir* clan. A fact of interest is that these women change their attitude when they are married and behave in the same manner as the men of the clan *kaltagir*, which does not show any great difference from the average Tungus type. It may be inferred thus that these peculiarities are not inherited, but imitated by tradition.

The Kumarčen produce an entirely different impression. Though they also are influenced by non-Tungus groups, especially the Manchus and the Dahurs, their behaviour is rather like that of the Reindeer Tungus. There is, however, an essential difference between the Kumarčen and the Reindeer Tungus, namely, that, being incorporated into the Manchu military organizations of bannermen, the Kumarčen are much more self-confident and snobbish than the Reindeer Tungus. This trait in some individuals is distinctly marked. It is also possible that the admixture of some foreign blood may be partly responsible for it. As a matter of fact, intercourse with other ethnical groups has also influenced the physical features of the Kumarčen.

This is true, though in a greater degree, of their neighbours, the Birarčen. The latter have already passed through stages of intensive Manchu, Dahur, and even Chinese direct influence. They are not, at least in the settlements, so open-hearted as the Reindeer Tungus: they are inclined to flattery, true only moderately so, and other forms of ceremonial fashion, borrowed from the Manchus and the Dahurs, so that their present attitude shows very essential deviations from the original Tungus character. However, those who live far from direct alien influences are very much like the other Tungus groups.

From these remarks it may be seen that as far as can be gathered from the comparative analysis of ethnographical phenomena, the changes in Tungus character depend largely upon alien influences; the admixture of alien blood should be omitted as an important factor in change of character.

[1] During my two months' experience with this group I carried out a series of experiments as to their attitude under different conditions. Among these Tungus I succeeded in finding a man whom I convinced of the superiority of my will, and my knowledge of shamanism and its practices; he afterwards did his best to be in sympathy with me.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

CHAPTER IX

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

I. Name "Kilin." II. Dahurs-Targačin. III. Oroči Language. IV. Suffix -gir. V. Etymologies. VI. Central Asia and the Tungus Home. VII. Wu-tsi and Udehe. VIII. Shamanism. IX. Exogamy. X. Moieties and Clan Division. XI. Chinese Words for "Family." XII. Love for Children.

Note I. Name "Kilin" (*vide* p. 73)

In my previous publications I have already supposed ("S. O. M.," p. 10, footnote 3; "N. T. M.," footnote 35) this name to have originated from the local Chinese name for the Northern Tungus. As I have shown, the name *kilin, cilin, čilin*, is used by the Chinese and Manchus in reference to all Northern Tungus. It is also used by the Goldi, who for a long time were under the Sino-Manchu influence. This name is never used by the Tungus themselves, and in their mind, in the Manchu mind as well, it sounds like a *Chinese name*. Among the Goldi we know *kilör* (plur. from *kilön*), also altered into *kirol;* among the Oroči (and Olča) (a Goldi group)—*kilo ;* and among the Gilaks—*kil*. Thus, in the remote regions, this name has been modified. The question as to when and how this name might originate may be at present answered by hypotheses. The name *kilin-cilin-čilin* is sometimes referred by the Chinese to the Koreans, so in their mind there is some connexion between the Northern Tungus and Koreans. Such a connexion does exist not only in the Chinese mind, but also in the Mongol language (cf. *supra*, p. 64) where the name *solon* seems to be connected with *solonǫ*, the name for Korea. Thus, at a certain time, the Northern Tungus were living in the proximity of Korea, perhaps in Korea. This is very probable, for the Northern Tungus in the seventh century occupied a region north of the Tumen River. The same Tungus lived westward and southward from this region in a previous period and probably occupied the mountainous and forest part of the region, including that of the Girin (*kirin*) River basin. The Chinese migration was going, naturally, along the rivers, and they met first, the Northern Tungus, being in some connexion with the Koreans, in the first "wild," forest region of the Girin River. The name of the province, as the Chinese assert, originated from the Manchu name *ǧirin ula*. This name has been preserved as *kirin ula* (so understood by the Northern Tungus, who do not distinguish Manchu *ǧ* from *k*). The same name originally was received by the Chinese as *kilin*, but with the change of phonetics it has been modified into *č'ilin*. Such a change of phonetics in the Northern Chinese dialects occurred during the Ming dynasty. From the other evidences we may suppose that the Northern Tungus who lived in the forest part of Kirin and Korea migrated west and north before the Manchus came into power, i. e., during or before the Ming dynasty. On the other hand, we know that the Chinese during the Ming dynasty penetrated as far as the mouth of the Amur. On their way they met with different ethnical groups, among whom they also met the Northern Tungus first discovered by them in Kirin. They brought this name to the local population, viz., the Goldi and the Gilaks, and their neighbours the Oroči. In imitation

of culturally superior people these aborigines adopted the name *kilin*, but slightly modified it according to their own phonetics. Hence, *kilon*, *kilo*, *kil*, *kilen*, *kile*, for the first syllable was stressed. They needed, of course, such a term because the Northern Tungus of late migrations were different from themselves and the Gilaks. During the Manchu dynasty, the Chinese partly left the northern regions of Manchuria. At that time the change of the Chinese phonetics produced its effect on the initial *k* of *kilin*, which changed into *č'ilin*. In this form it was understood by the Manchus as *čilin* (the Manchus of Peking — *cilin*). The name of the province in Chinese characters was transcribed as 吉林, *č'ilin*. The Manchus, in imitation of the Chinese, often used *čilin* as a name of the people, instead of old *kilin*, but they also used and still use *kilin*. Later on, they changed *čilin*, preserving both *čilin* and *kilin*, into *čiliki* which in Manchu sounds like a joke. However, these names were not officially recognized, and in their business transactions with the Tungus they used a Manchu name for them — *oročun*, etc. All these small hunting groups did not attract the attention of the Chinese government during the Ming dynasty, and the Chinese dealing with these groups were not of the best educated class, but the same kind of people whom one now meets in the remote regions of Manchuria, i. e., small traders, trappers, hunters, and various kinds of adventurers attracted by the freedom of wandering. The name for the Tungus was stabilized in their mind and they did not know any other name for it had not existed in Chinese. When the Chinese needed to have some name for them they used those known among other groups, i. e., *solon*, 索倫人, and *oročun*, 鄂魯人 (in 滿洲地志), and their own name. However, it could not be connected directly with the name in a written language used for the province Kirin, and in order to have various shades of the same phonetic complex they used different modes of representing this name in their characters. So A. O. Ivanovskiĭ found two transcriptions, practically speaking, meaningless — 麒麟 and 齊淩 (the last of them has also been given to me by the Manchus and the Dahurs, and a third one — 旗林 — which has a definite meaning — "banner" and "forest," the same character as in Kirin, i. e., the bannermen of forests). It was quite right; for the Northern Tungus, after their incorporation into the bannermen organization, continued to live in the forests of Manchuria. Some data as to the group of people called by von Schrenck *kili* and their migrations will support the above-given hypothesis as to the origin of this name from a Chinese source. The people called by this name assert the Chinese origin of this name, call themselves *evenki*, and include several clans of different names. Yet, among the Goldi, it is not a clan in their sense of this word, but one of artificial units created by the Russian officials. Owing to the above-expounded reasons, I cannot agree with the opinion ascribing to *kili*, *kile*, etc., the value of a term which may help us in classification of the Tungus groups.

Note II. Dahurs-Targačin (*vide* p. 84)

The Russians of the seventeenth century living along the new Russo-Chinese frontier had introduced a new term, namely, *targač'incy*, *targač'iny*, *targač'in* (adj. *targač'inskiĭ*), which was later referred to the Dahurs. The history or this name is a simple one. The people travelling in carts in Tungus are called *tărgăči(n)* (in Manchu, *tergeči* means "the driver") from *terge* (Mongol-Buriat), *teryye* (Dahur, *Ivan.*) *terga* (Dahur), *tărga*, *tèrga* (various Tungus dialects) — the cart. Indeed, it is analogous to *murčin*, *oročin*, etc. The road, good for wheeled vehicles, leading from Staro-Curuxaĭtuĭ to Tsitsihar, was formerly largely used by merchants, and generally travellers, to go to Manchuria and China and back to Eastern Transbaikalia. The Argun Cossaks, who include a large number of Tungus, still call this road *targač'inskiĭ trakt*. This name is, to be sure, *tărgačin'i okto* of the Tungus (*okto*, the road, path, etc.; *tract* in Russian is "the highway, high-road"), which means "the road good for carts." At that time and later the Russians styled all peoples who lived east from their frontier, behind the Great Khingan Mountains, and visited them in carts, as merchants, *targač'in*, borrowed from the Tungus. In the seventeenth century the majority of these merchants were Dahurs from the Tsitsihar region, so this name happened to become connected with the Dahurs. Hence, *targač'iny* (plural), and increased with a Russian suffix — *targač'inec*, *targač'incy* — also adjective *targač'inskiĭ* — have originated. Also Isebrant Ydes and Brandt learnt these names from the Russians. Pallas's "Terguéezin,"[1] by an evident mistake referred by him to the Chinese, was borrowed from the same source. This name has been reproduced by several authors,[2] but it did not persist.

Note III. Oroči Language (*vide* p. 83)

The present study had been completed and the present chapter set up when two publications, one treating of the problem of the Oroči, by P. P. Schmidt, and another treating of the problem of the Negidals, by I. I. Gapanovich, came to my knowledge. Both of them treat these problems in a slightly different manner as compared with my classification of these groups. This may justify the note I give below.

The linguistic material worked out and presented by P. P. Schmidt consists of previous records, very incomplete and not always reliable, of several travellers and of some of his own material. The material is presented in such a way that even that which could not be used before, at present, being checked up, supplied with parallels from other languages, is of great value. According to P. P. Schmidt, the Oroči and Udehe dialects, from a linguistic point of view, are two dialects of one and the same language[3] which he calls "Oroche."[4] "The Oroches [one must understand, language], he says, belong, doubtless, to the Manchus or the southern Tungus family" which statement he supports by I. A. Lopatin's testimony.[5] P. P. Schmidt, trying to conciliate differences in the opinions about the origin and affinities of these two groups with other ethnical groups of this part of Asia,

1 *Op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 19 (French edition).
2 E. g., E. G. Ravenstein, *op. cit.*
3 This opinion annihilates that of V. K. Arseniev (cf. his "Ethnological Problems," etc.). In my "N. T. M." I have shown that this traveller's conclusions as to the Americanoid origin of the Udehe is not shown to be convincing.
4 P. P. Schmidt, quoting my etymology of the word *oroči* (cf. *supra*, pp. 54, 55) from *oro* (not *oron*) — the place, — and in the *Tungus mind* (Bir.) meaning "the one having residence," does not agree that it might be responsible for the name of the people Oroči, which he derives from *oron*, the reindeer. It is quite possible that this name has originated from the word *oron*, the reindeer. As shown, it could not be taken by these people themselves, but it has been given by some other people. *Oroči* from *oro*, the residence, place (Bir.), the top, summit (Khin.), referred to the name of a people, are certainly folk-etymologies.
5 Cf. supra, p. 82, footnote 4.

points out that in former days they might be non-Tungus people, and even partly Northern Tungus, so he admits their former reindeer breeding and some linguistic peculiarities typical of the Northern Tungus. Indeed, all these considerations are absolutely right. Moreover, from the anthropological point of view their mixed character does not raise a doubt.[1] Their culture also includes elements which are characteristic of local Palæasiatic groups. So the facts seem to show that they are a product of mixing up of the Northern Tungus with the local population, their original culture being overlapped by various influences, namely, Palæasiatic, Manchu, Chinese, at the last Russian, i. e., just what we can see among their neighbours, the Goldi. The Northern Tungus elements among the Oroči and the Udehe are even better preserved than among the Goldi. Therefore P. P. Schmidt's conclusion as to their present affinities with the Manchus cannot be agreed. The question, however, is not simple, for the linguistic distinction between the Northern and the Southern Tungus is involved.

I leave aside the testimony of I. A. Lopatin, which is a mere misunderstanding on his part. He himself did not speak Manchu and Oroči, and did not evidently realize that, as a rule, all these small Tungus groups usually speak several languages.[2] P. P. Schmidt is inclined to see affinities with the Palæasiatics in the shortening of words and a certain amount of Palæasiatic words. On the other hand, their lexic stock and grammar, according to him, are more Manchurian than Northern Tungus, so they are counted by the Manchus among the *ilze-mandžu*. The last argument has, of course, nothing to do with their linguistic affinities, for the Manchus, as I have shown,[3] have included into their political body ethnical elements of various ethnographical (language included) complexes and origin. The shortening of words, as instances quoted by P. P. Schmidt show, is really observed in Oroči and Udehe. This phenomenon had been suspected in Manchu by A. Schiefner and refuted by L. Adam[4] who quoted several instances of Manchu words shortened in Northern Tungus. He has even formulated a general tendency (in Northern Tungus) to the dissyllabism.[5] In Oroči this conclusion holds as well. There are numerous instances when trisyllabic Oroči words are dissyllabic in Manchu and Northern Tungus. However such a phenomenon is well known in many Northern Tungus dialects spoken by the Tungus living beyond the Palæasiatic influence. It is thus within the phonetic variations of the Northern Tungus language.

Generally speaking, the Oroči-Udehe phonetic system is much closer to that of other Northern Tungus than to that of Manchu. In fact, typically Southern Tungus (Manchu)

1 Cf. my "A. E. C.," p. 119.

2 Among the Tungus of Manchuria the Manchu language, also in some part the Mongol and Dahur languages, are so well known that they may suffice in interethnical relations. One should not conclude from this that the language of these Tungus is the same as that of the Manchus, the Mongols, or the Dahurs.

3 Cf. my "S. O. M.," p. 12.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

5 As a matter of fact, most of the Northern Tungus roots are either mono- or dissyllabic. Most of the instances quoted concern the increasing and the omitting of suffixes, which depends, of course, on the morphological characters of the dialects. However, the elision of vowels and the disappearance of consonants through assimilation is quite common in Northern Tungus dialects. This phenomenon is often connected with the existence of stressed vowels (expiratory and musical accent). The final consonant sometimes also disappears, especially when they are not components of roots but that of suffixes out of use at present.

deep velar *k*, *g*, *x*, also *w* and *f*, are lacking altogether in Oroči-Udehe, but the aspiration of the initial vowels, a phenomenon characteristic of the Northern Tungus dialects and unknown in Manchu, is very common.[1]

The morphological characteristics of the Oroči dialect point to its Northern Tungus origin. Though the texts we have are very scarce, one may clearly see that typical Northern Tungus *-du* (*dativus*), *-va* and *-ja*, also V (*accusativus*) and *-di* (*instrumentalis*) are used instead of Southern Tungus *-de*, *-be*, and *-či*, respectively. In verbs, the typical Northern Tungus *-ksa* (gerund. perf.),[2] *-ha* (*ho*) (imperat.),[3] *-da* (*ta*) (infinit.), the negative auxiliary verb, etc., are well preserved. Yet, the pronominal declination seems to be also preserved, though it is lacking in Manchu. Of course, the material we have is too limited to get a more or less complete picture of morphology, but the Manchu (Southern Tungus) borrowings are not probably numerous enough to be seen. The syntax is also close to that of the Northern Tungus language. Anyhow, the prayers reproduced by I. A. Lopatin will be understood by the Northern Tungus much better than by the Manchus.[4]

The vocabulary is naturally mixed with a good deal of borrowed words from Manchu. However, the Northern Tungus basis is quite evident. Moreover, it is interesting to note that there are many Northern Tungus doublets corresponding exactly to the Southern Tungus words, e. g., in many cases when P. P. Schmidt refers to the synonyms. If one excludes the Goldi words that have no corresponding equivalents in Manchu (i. e., the words, of course, of a doubtful Southern Tungus origin), then the number of Southern Tungus words in Oroči will be reduced to that which is usually observed in Northern Tungus dialects spoken by Tungus groups living in the proximity of the Manchus and where the recent borrowing may be still directly observed. Yet, the record of vocabulary by inexperienced observers is not reliable at all. The Tungus very often give the words in a language with which the observer is supposed by them to be more familiar than with their own idiom. Therefore these records must be checked up several times, and taken from different people, and, moreover, in some Tungus context. The records published do not satisfy these elementary requirements. Is it, after all, possible to form a definite conclusion as to the lexicological importance of the Manchu words?

It is not surprising that the Udehe dialect is much richer in Manchu and Chinese words than the Oroči dialect. This fact, however, cannot be used as proof of the Southern Tungus origin of the Udehe dialect. The Udehe lived much nearer to the Manchus than the Oroči did. The Palæasiatic elements of these dialects cannot now be established in a sure manner. This work cannot be carried out until we shall have a comparative dictionary of the Northern and Southern dialects. As to P. P. Schmidt's new contribution

1 Cf. my "Notes on the Aspir. and Bilab."

2 It is not the gerund. perf. in terms of Latin grammar, but it has been so styled and I preserve the old term. *-ksa* in Oroči is reduced: *-ksa→kha→xa*.

3 P. P. Schmidt has pointed out that it is a reduced Northern Tungus form of the suffix *-kal*.

4 The translation and the interpretation of syntax (e. g., full stop cutting the sentences into two independent ones) given by I. A. Lopatin are far from rendering the original sense. It may be guessed that the translation had been given by a Tungus who did not master Russian.

to the problem of the Altaic language, it does not change anything of what has been stated before.[1]

On these remarks I leave the problem of the linguistic affinities of the Oroči. Their Northern Tungus origin and present state do not imply the revision of my previous conclusions, which may now be supported by P. P. Schmidt's new publication. He has added a new fact of importance, viz., two clans which formerly belonged to the Oroči, namely, *belde* and *oninka* joined the Goldi, so they now speak Goldi. To that I may add that the *samagir* and *kile*, whose Northern Tungus origin raises no doubt, have also been included into the Goldi body. It shows once more how the Goldi have been formed. P. P. Schmidt's conclusion, "nevertheless the Oroches are at present Manchu tribes," is somewhat unexpectedly formulated.

In his previous work (Negid. Lang.), he has shown that the Negidals, whose language is typically a Northern Tungus one, and the Oroči were neighbours for a long time, being separated by the Goldi (Olča). Thus we have here three different waves: the Oroči had come with their reindeer (lost during the last century) before the Negidals, who still preserve their reindeer, but the Udehe migrated before the Oroči and spead farther south, whence we have different degrees of loss of the original ethnographical complex and different degrees of Manchufication and Sinofication, but more or less equal Palæasiatic admixture and early cultural influence in witness of historically established facts pointing to a non-Tungus population of this part of Asia in former days.

Let us now proceed to the Negidal problem. It may be considered as proved that the Negidal language, comprising four dialects, is the Northern Tungus language, which has been shown by P. P. Schmidt. On the other hand, we know that they include five clans[2] with typical Northern Tungus names, some of which are well known among other Northern Tungus groups. They call themselves, according to the oral communication of I. I. Gapanovich, *evenki*,[3] and, according to his publication, *olkan bojō*. According to him, this name means "men," which, he repeats an old belief, is common among the Siberian aborigines.[4] They have partly preserved the Northern Tungus cultural complex, but in most of their ethnographical features they are assimilated by their neighbours of non-Tungus origin.

[1] Cf. *supra*, Introduction; *infra*, Supp. Note VI; also my "Notes on the Aspir. and Bilab."
[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 134.
[3] Cf. *supra*, p. 83, footnote.
[4] I think that this is a misunderstanding. *Bojō* in Tungus means "man," but *olkan bojō* is not a plural. *Olkan* means something else, indeed. I have some hints as to its meaning, but I shall not venture any guess, for the Negidal dictionary published has no corresponding word. Except a few instances among the Palæasiatics, most of the names used as names of ethnical units, and which are supposed by the investigators to mean "men," have an entirely different meaning, or these names have been wrongly recorded as names of people. Such instances are numerous — *nani* for the Goldi, which means "local," *bojo* (cf. *supra*, p. 51, footnote 1) given by Georgi for the Tungus and which means "man," etc. A more careful investigation of this problem among the Palæasiatics will perhaps bring a new light to this problem. As a matter of fact, it was a theory that the so-called "primitive" ethnical units have no names but "man," supposing these people to have lived in a state of isolation nearly from the immemorial time of the "creation of man." The accumulation of the ethnographical material and its analysis in recent years lead us to another conception as to the interethnical relations in the past and the idea of "isolation," also the old conception of "primitiveness" of the mentality created in the soil of American-European ethnographical complex has been greatly endamaged. Anyhow, many ethnographers of the old school believed in the theory more than in the facts and did not investigate the matter in a more careful way, so they could soon get from the aborigines the word "man."

According to L. von Schrenck, from the anthropological point of view they include "Tungus" and non-Tungus elements. The latter is so largely represented among them that they produce an impression of a group distinct from the Tungus, as it has been found by T. von Middendorff and I. I. Gapanovich. I. I. Gapanovich asserts that they are Palæasiatics who adopted the Tungus language, the main reason given being that the terms concerning fishing and dog breeding are elementary notions and Palæasiatic. First of all, it ought to be proved that they *are* Palæasiatic, which is now not yet possible;[1] second, the local conditions of *milieu* do not leave great possibilities as to the choice of the mode of life, so the people coming nto this region with their reindeer almost fatally lose it and adopt the mode of life implied by the local conditions, viz., fishing and dog breeding. The newcomers naturally adopt this complex, together with terms. This complex and terms do produce an impression of primitiveness and archaism, but at the same time they may be a quite recent borrowed phenomena.[2] Let us suppose, together with I. I. Gapanovich, that the Northern Tungus language has been adopted by certain Palæasiatics, which would be the only instance I know, then we would have to reject L. von Schrenck's anthropological conclusions; we would yet have to explain the origin of the Northern Tungus clans among them, which is difficult; and at last we would also have to explain the origin of their name and to refute their tradition as to their migration from the north. If we do not agree with I. I. Gapanovich's hypothesis, then we have to solve two problems only, i. e., the origin of the Negidal cultural complex and the admixture of anthropological types which make them unlike other Northern Tungus. Both phenomena are absolutely natural when one has an idea as to how the migrations of the reindeer-breeding Tungus are going on, and what may happen with small groups meeting a more numerous and better adapted river population. They lose their ethnographical complex partly or completely, and gradually intermarry with the local population if the latter does not object to it. Hence the whole history of the formation of the Negidals is clear. Some details as to their formation are given in Chapter III.

I. I. Gapanovich suggests that I must more definitely mark the dividing line between the Tungus and the Palæasiatics, and he refuses to recognize in the Negidals a Tungus group. Unfortunately, it is very common in ethnic classifications to find it impossible to trace such a dividing line. Yet it is not always desirable. Let us take the instance of the Negidals. From the linguistic point of view, if we agree that the Palæasiatic terms might be borrowed together with the cultural phenomena, they are a Northern Tungus group which has enriched their language with words borrowed from their neighbours. But, from

[1] Cf. *supra*, the same Suppl. Note.
[2] I. I. Gapanovich points out that the Negidals do not look like a people who had previous hunting and reindeer breeder's habits. This statement shows one thing — that at present the Negidals are well adapted to the conditions of their *milieu*. It does not show that they always were fishers and dog breeders. If it would be otherwise, it would show either the transition from an old complex to a new one, which is very recent (e. g., the horse breeding among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria), or the Tungus are very conservative and cannot adapt themselves to new conditions. The ethnography abounds in facts of a very fast process of complete loss of culture. Former natives of Europe, transplanted to the United States, after a few generations produce the impression of being Americans for centuries. The Koreans now produce the impression of being a land people, while a few centuries ago they were famous for their navigation. The travellers' impressions in this matter, if they are not corroborated by other evidences, are not sure, indeed.

the ethnographical point of view, they have chiefly a Palæasiatic complex, only partly preserving the elements of what may be guessed to be the Northern Tungus complex,[1] so they can be decidedly classified neither as Northern Tungus nor Palæasiatics. Moreover, from the anthropological point of view, they are mixed; whether they are more Northern Tungus or more Palæasiatics, it is impossible to say, for there are no Tungus nor Palæasiatic types, but there are certain anthropological types unequally distributed in Asia. These fundamental principles have already been outlined in the Introduction. Supposing the anthropological investigation of the Negidals is carried out in an exhaustive manner, perhaps it will be possible to say how many per cent of different anthropological types they include, but it will not help us in solving the problem as to their anthropological origin; for, generally speaking, we know that the substitution of anthropological types and absorption are possible. At the beginning the Negidals might be a group mostly composed of a type common among the Northern Tungus, and afterwards their mixture with the local population, more numerous than they were themselves, resulted in a partial disappearance (a low percentage) of the original type. Are they, then, Tungus or Palæasiatics? Supposing the ethnographical investigation of the Negidals is also carried out in an exhaustive manner, perhaps it will be found out that the Northern Tungus elements are in the minority, but it will prove nothing; for the ethnographical complexes spread independently of the anthropological (physical) and linguistic groupings. Generally, the formation of ethnical units depends on a local combination of anthropological types, language, and culture in various degrees, adapted and adaptable to the local *milieu*, primary and ethnical. So the ethnographical features for establishing the origin of the groups may be used, but with all possible cautiousness, and in the case when other data corroborate in a perfect manner.

The classification of ethnoses of eastern Asia, and generally any classification, has as its purpose the shortening of our process in finding affinities and the keeping in memory various facts concerning these groups. In the case where there are objective characteristics for establishing affinities of an ethnos, e. g., a well-preserved language, a well-preserved anthropological type, or even well-preserved ethnographical complex and traditions, the classification does not present great difficulties. But in the case where an ethnos cannot be classified in such an easy way, we introduce an explanation, like "intermediary," "mixed," etc., merely showing the impossibility of putting it into a ready-made scheme. In such a case as the last means for establishing its affinities with other groups is to ask the people themselves what they believe as to their relations with other groups. Thus, the ethnical consciousness, based either on traditions or scientifically established facts, may be taken as a positive indication for their classification. Nobody would now contradict that the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, for instance, the Urulga Tungus, are a Tungus group, but they do

[1] Under the name of the Northern Tungus complex is understood certain ethnographical complex characteristics of the Northern Tungus living beyond the direct influence of neighbours. Whether it was originally combined by the Northern Tungus or not we do not know. Yet, the relationship of the pro-Tungus ethnographical complex, and what we suspect now to be the Palæsiatic complex, is not yet established, but one may suppose that there was some relationship. If it be so, then the adoption by the Northern Tungus of the present Palæasiatic complex should be a case of reverse movement to the old complex.

not speak Tungus, they have entirely lost the Northern Tungus cultural complex, and their original anthropological types are greatly substituted by the types common among the Buriats. The addition "Mongolized" helps us to find their actual place in our classification. The origin of the Prussians is a well-established fact. In spite of it, they are now classified as one of the German groups and their anthropological type is considered as one of the German types. An instance more: the Jews include various anthropological elements and some groups of them greatly differ one from another; their physical connexion with the original Semitic stock can hardly be shown; their spoken language is either Yiddish, a kind of German, or various languages spoken by the peoples among whom they live; their ethnographical complex is preserved in various degrees, sometimes disappearing altogether; many of them have even lost their ethnical consciousness; moreover, they have no fixed territory except for the last decade. In spite of it, every one non-Jew (supposing the ethnical consciousness is preserved) recognizes them at once as a distinct people belonging to a distinct ethnos, even though they deny their ethnical belonging. The ethnical classifications abound in such instances. Thus, (1) it is impossible to trace a sharp dividing line between the Tungus and the Palæasiatics; (2) we have no sufficient objective characteristics to deny the Northern Tungus affinities of the Negidals; (3) we have no anthropological data for our conclusion as to their *present* components; (4) their ethnographical complex as such cannot be laid down as the basis of their classification. The classification of them as a Palæasiatic group would require an explanation much longer than that when we classify them as Northern Tungus partly fallen under the Palæasiatic influence.

Note IV. Suffix -gir (*vide* **p. 122**)

The meaning of these suffixes is of great importance for us. I will therefore give here some considerations. We have, thus, the suffixes (1) *-nki*, (2) *-gir*, *-gi(n)*, (3) *-mni*, and (4) *-mgo* (*mgu*, *mγo*, *myu*).

1. As we know, the suffix *-nki* at present is generally used by the Northern Tungus for *nomen agendi*.

2. The suffix *-gir* (with its variations) is met with in the old clan names. There is no doubt that we have here two suffixes, namely, *-gi+n*, the second in plural alters into *r*. The first suffix, *-gi*, is never used alone as an independent one, except in the names of peoples for women only and not in all dialects.[1] However, the suffix *-gi*, which is perhaps of an entirely different origin, is met with in the "compound declination,"[2] where several suffixes are agglutinated in order to render the idea of a complex relationship. Particularly, it is used in the compound suffix *-git*, which gives the idea of *elativus* and where *t* is the same suffix as that used for *instrumentalis*. This suffix, at present meaningless, *-gi* (*ji*, *i*), seems

[1] In fact, besides *-gi+n*, *-gi+r*, we have *balika+gi+mni*, etc., of the Nomad Barguzin dialect (cf. N. N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 3, footnote 3).

[2] Of course, the term "declination" I use by mere analogy with Indo-European languages. They are suffixes showing relationship between two and more objects or subjects.

to be the old suffix of the *genetivus* or even the *locativus*.[1] Some time ago it took a new specified meaning of a suffix for the designation of belonging to a certain group of people. In this sense it is used in all old clan names, but never used as a suffix agglutinated to the new clan names.[2] However, it is still used, e. g., Nerč., to render the idea "women belonging to" or "women of." This is the tertiary meaning of this suffix.[3]

3. The suffix *-mni* is used, e. g., in Nerč. Bir. Barguzin Nomad (N. N. Poppe, *ibid.*). So we have in Nerč. *lučamni+gi+n*, the Russian woman; in Bir., *luča+mni*, the Russian woman; and in Barg. Nomad, e. g., *balikā+gi+mni*, the *balikāgir* clan woman. Whence it is evident that it, at present, at least, means "woman belonging to." The fact of a different placing of this suffix, before or after the suffix *-gi*, and a complete disappearance of the suffix *-gir* in Bir. seem to point to the fact that the suffix *-mni* came later than the suffix *-gir*. In all these cases it was necessary to introduce a new suffix, for the old suffix *-gir* in the meaning of "women of" began to lose this meaning. Of course, *-mni* is also a compound suffix, but its components now are not clear; *-m+ni* is probable, where *-ni* is, may be, the suffix of the *genetivus* (secondary), but *-m* is not clear.[4]

4. The suffix *-mgo*, etc., met with in RTM in the sense of "woman of" is a compound suffix. Its derivation is not clear, but it may be supposed to have originated from the above-analysed suffixes. It might come from *-mni+gi*, also *-m+ni→-m+gi→-m+go*. Both of them, *-mni* and *-gi(n)*, in this dialect are meaningless. It is quite natural, for this group is in an advanced stage of losing its former social organization.

Thus all these suffixes, except *-nki* in different dialects, have a definite meaning of "woman of." They did not all appear at the same time, however. I suppose that the suffix *-gi* first had appeared as that of the *genetivus;* increased with the pronominal suffix *-n*, changing into *-r* (and even under the Mongol influence into *-t*), it has produced *-gir* (also *-git*). As the clan system was based at that time on the matrilineal descent and the marriage was matrilocal,[5] the compound suffix *-gi(n)*, *-gir*, appropriated a new meaning "woman of," while

[1] This suffix, as that of the *genetivus* and the *accusativus*, seems to be met with in Mongol and Buriat (cf. A. D. Rudnev, Xori-Bur., p. LV; and Mong., p. 211), also in Yakut in a modified meaning (cf. Jastremsky, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *seq.*) of the *dativus* in combination with the dying out *locativus* rendering a definite meaning of "being in." In Tungus it has been substituted by *-ni*, *-n'i*, and *i* in the *genetivus*, while its presence in the *accusativus* is doubtful. If it were used for the *dativus*, its traces may be seen in parallel use with the compound suffix *-duk*, where *-du* is the *dativus* and the *locativus* and in *git* used parallel; *-k* is the *elativus*, or, better, the *separativus*. The compound suffix *-git* seems to be older than *duk*.

[2] I have pointed out that this suffix as that of clan names was used before the separation of different Northern Tungus clans, i. e., about the beginning of our era.

[3] I suppose that the first meaning of this suffix was that of a casual suffix; secondary, that of old clan names; and tertiary, thus, "women belonging to." The secondary meaning disappeared already in the seventeenth century in the dialects of the Tungus living in the Yakutsk Government, at least. I. I. Gapanovich wrongly asserts that the suffix *-gir* in the clan name *čukčagir* (cf. *infra*, p. 134, footnote) is Gilak *-gir* used for the *locativus* (according to W. Grube, "Gil. Wörterverz.," p. 20 — *instrumentalis*). This Gilak suffix is perhaps of the same origin as it is in modified form in Yakut, Mongol, and Tungus, but the Gilak language is not responsible for the Northern Tungus suffix *-gir* in the clan names. An instance more: The Mongol language possesses the suffix *-git*, used for the names of peoples. The Mankova dialect uses *-git* instead of *-gir* in the clan names just by analogy with the Mongol suffix. Yet, though the suffix of the old *elativus* (the *separativus*) *-git* has perhaps originated from the same common source as *-gir* (*-git* of Mankova dial.), both of them passed through a long history of changes before being adopted by the Mankova dialect as two distinct suffixes.

[4] There are some words with the suffix *-ma* showing "belonging to woman," but this discussion would lead us very far from our subject.

[5] This will be shown in the following chapters of the present study.

-nki was used in the sense "man of," as it is preserved in *evenki* of all Northern Tungus dialects, except the northern margin of the Tungus area. Later, with the change of the social system, the Tungus needed a new suffix showing the woman's belonging to a certain clan or even an ethnical unit, so they introduced a new suffix, a compound suffix, which little by little took a specified meaning they needed. So *-mni* began to play the same part as *-gi(n)*, *-gir*, did before. However, in the mind of some Tungus groups, the former suffixes *-gir* and *-mni* have partly preserved their former meanings and are still used simultaneously,[1] e. g., Nerč. Barg. Nomad; while in some other dialects the suffix *-gi*, *-gin*, *-gir*, had been entirely forgotten and used no more in the sense of "woman of," e. g., Bir. So a new suffix *-mgo*, etc., has been formed in some dialects, e. g. RTM. Furthermore, the association of the suffix *-gir* with the clan names was also lost, as it is sometimes omitted altogether or changed into *-git*, *-gat*, e. g., Bir. Mank. Nomad Barg., etc. In such a case the names of clans are explained by addition of a special term for "clan," e. g., *kala*, *omoγ*, etc. These facts show that the history of the suffix *-gir* and its meaning is extremely complex. It has grown in the Northern Tungus soil and it is dying out[2] in the same soil. It has never been used, I think, as an independent word for "clan," and it has been substituted by different suffixes and non-Tungus terms for "clan."

Note V. Etymologies (*vide* **p. 135**)

E. I. Titov[3] has proposed his own etymology from Manchu, namely, *čilči*, the teat, the dug—referred to animals. Since an abundant number of other instances shows a definite inclination of this author to translations, etymologies, and examples the choice and mistakes of which may be explained only from his idea as to dominating sexual complex in the Tungus language, it ought to be noted that he is not always right. In this particular case he has probably been misled by the Russian translation (Zaxarov's) *t'it'ka*, which among the low class (Russia) is used in the sense of "pap," whence "breast" in women, and which helped him to disclose "sexual complex" in the name of this clan. It is hardly admissible that the Manchu word had been used for this purpose. Moreover, in Tungus, and in Manchu as well, the first meaning of this root seems to be "swollen, protruded, to come out," etc., whence, e. g., *čilčikuma*, a place in plain slightly elevated (Bir.); *čilčin* (Man. Lit.), the tumour, gland (swollen); *čilčilimbi*, to rise (water in the river), etc.; the above-quoted *čilča* (RTM), dishevelled (hair), hair which rises over the head; perhaps, *čilda* (Bir.), conical, etc. The name of this clan, may be, has originated from this root, but we do not know from which word and in which dialect. One thing is clear, it has not originated from Manchu *čilči*, the dug, for in Manchu it is commonly used as a compound word, *jali čilčin*, the dug; i. e., flesh *čilčin*; and the Manchu language, the Tungus as well, possesses other terms for "teat,"

[1] The reason of it may be seen in the use of another suffix *-mna*, *-mn'a*, *-mni* serving to form the words with sense opposite to the diminutive form (suffix *-kan*, *-kakan*, *-čakan*, etc.), so without the suffix *-gi* in some dialects the suffix *-mni* may lead to misunderstandings, e. g., *lučamn'a* (Kum.) is "very large Russian man."

[2] At the present time this suffix in some dialects, e. g., Oroči, Udehe, is absolutely dead, if we give credit to travellers' testimony.

[3] Cf. R.-T. Dict., p. 171.

"breast," "dug," with direct meanings. Yet it is also possible that this name has originated from an entirely different word or name, which is now lost. I have detained myself on this etymology, because it is not incidental in this author's dictionary. As stated, he is inclined to find a sexual element in the Tungus mentality. He is partly right, as it will be shown in the last chapter of the present study, but in any language one may find a hidden sense in the most common expressions and phrases—it all depends on one's mind,—*esprit mal tourné*. Among numerous instances I shall quote a few: *gundo*, to fondle, kiss, etc., he translates simply "to masturbate"; *dilguǎija*, from *dilgu*, juice (juicy + suff. of accus.) referred usually to the birch in spring when it produces a sweet juice (poetically it may be referred to a young woman), he translates "virgin"; *dildi*, from *dil*, head, increased by a suffix, he translates "sexual organ of a horse," but not being sure this time he has put a question mark. These instances, added to his etymologies and examples, show how a wrong idea may affect the result of investigation. Other authors who have different presumptions as to the formation of Tungus words and particularly proper and geographic names fall into a different class of mistakes, the instances of which I sometimes give. Generally speaking, the Tungus etymologies, based upon our limited knowledge of dialects and their history, cannot be ventured before the principles of phonetic alterations and the original meaning of words is well established and the Tungus ethnographical complex restored, if it be ever possible. The Indo-European languages that have already been immeasurably better investigated than Asiatic languages do not very often permit the finding of right etymologies of proper names, which has led A. Meillet to formulate, true in too categoric terms, that *"les linguistes qui s'intéressent surtout á l'étymologie des noms propres sont souvent des avanturiers de la linguistique, et peu nombreux sont ceux qui ont toutes les exigences de méthode qu'il faut."*[1] I must, however, confess that these etymologies are sometimes very attractive.

Note VI. Central Asia and the Tungus Home (*vide* **p. 142**)

According to the Tungus tradition recorded by J. D. Talko-Hryncewicz, the Tungus at present living in the south-western portion of Transbaikalia came to this region three thousand years ago from a region where they were neighbours of the Soiots, and occupied forests in the mountains. The Buriats came later. This author has generalized this tradition and supposed all the Tungus (ancestors) to have come from central Asia. On the other hand, V. B. Šostakovič supposed many a river, in non-Tungus regions, to bear Tungus names, so he has shown in his map the Tungus former area spreading much farther in Mongolia than it is at present seen. Though V. B. Šostakovič's inference from the toponomic material needs great cautiousness when used and criticized,[2] let us give for a moment credit to his contention. It is not in contradiction with the Tungus tradition, nor with the hypothesis as to the original

1 A. Meillet, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
2 Cf. *infra*, p. 149, footnote.

home of the pro-Tungus, as it is expounded in the present study. It is absolutely credible that the Buriats came later into the Tungus region, for the Mongols as cattle breeders did not want to occupy the forest region of Transbaikalia not suitable for successful cattle breeding.[1] However, the fact of their coming after the Tungus does not imply the conclusion that the Tungus lived in these regions since their very origin as Tungus, and that they moved eastward from Central Asia, supposed to be their original home. These Northern Tungus may have come with the first migratory wave.[2] If this wave reached Manchuria at the beginning of the first millennium after Christ, Southern Transbaikalia and Mongolia might have been reached previous to that, let us say before our era. These Tungus might have come either with their own reindeer or they might have borrowed the reindeer breeding from the Soiots and afterwards they might have lost their reindeer during their migrations; it is even possible that their migration was implied by the loss of reindeer, which is commonly observed in Northern Transbaikalia and Manchuria. These Tungus might also come through the present Irkutsk Government and cross the Angara River before reaching the region where they met with the Soiots. Hence we have their tradition of coming from the west three thousand years ago.[3] Occupying the forest region they might live for a long time side by side with the Turkic-speaking people and the Mongols who occupied regions good for cattle breeding and agriculture. Thus their movement eastward corresponds to the similar tertiary migrations of other Northern Tungus groups, and therefore the migrations of these Tungus lie with the limits of Tungus migrations known from other evidences. Their coming to Mongolia may be thus regarded as a tertiary movement. The Tungus groups in question, as a matter of fact, bear some anthropological features which permit us to infer their having formerly lived with the Soiots and naturally Buriats.[4] Thus, J. D. Talko-Hryncevicz's hypothesis as to the Central Asiatic origin of the Tungus in general is not necessary for a satisfactory explanation of the origin of South-Western Transbaikalian Tungus and their migration from the west.

It is different with P. P. Schmidt's hypothesis, which is based on linguistic data. In the case of the common so-called Altaic words met with in Northern Tungus dialects we have probably a case of diffusion of a certain ethnographical complex, including their designations (words) in a language which was spoken either by the creators or the transmitters of this complex. It is absolutely common and natural that the words used for the designation of unknown ethnographical elements are borrowed together with the elements,—the invention

1 *Ibid.* The general tendency of the Buriats is their spreading north where they push out the Northern Tungus. Some of the Transbaikalian Buriats' traditions point to their coming from the west. Still there are traditions of Mongol origin which lead the Mongols from the south and mention their crossing with the local groups. The Mongol settlement in the Onon is referred to the eighth century of this era. Yet, some Buriat groups are believed to have formed from the mixing of the Mongols, coming from the south, with local groups.

2 Cf. *infra*, p. 148 *seq.*

3 It is, of course, very likely that the period of three thousand years is a mere tradition, and it may be somewhat reduced.

4 Partial substitution of the original anthropological type. I leave the discussion of the anthropological evidences for my further publications. Here I want to point out that the Soiots, from the anthropological point of view, are a blended group. Though they now speak a Turkic dialect, it is very likely that they spoke a different language. Yet they include a certain admixture of anthropological types which are common among the Central Asiatic groups, but which are not fundamental among them.

of new words is an extremely rare linguistic occurrence. Yet the toponomic evidences brought forth by P. P. Schmidt may also be of late origin and they must be carefully analysed, which has already been pointed out on several occasions.[1] So in this case there is no need to postulate the living together, in a certain definite locality, of a group of peoples using the same words, even languages. Before we know the pro-Tungus, pro-Mongol, and pro-Turkic cultural complexes it is very risky to make up hypotheses as to the Altaic common words. Thus, P. P. Schmidt's hypothesis must be supported by ethnographical and anthropological evidences. These data so far are in a crying contradiction with the hypothesis leading the pro-Tungus from Central Asia, while the early secondary migrations of the Northern Tungus to Mongolia and some historic data as to the early Tungus in Manchuria explain in a perfect manner the Mongol-Turkic borrowings in Tungus and toponomy in Mongolia if it be shown to be of Tungus origin. He points out that the Mongols came to Western and Southern Mongolia from the Argun River where they lived two thousand years ago in contract with the Palæasiatics, the remainder of which — the Gilaks — still preserve some Mongol words. The Xalxa and Selenga regions were occupied, according to him, by the Tungus, of whom the Manchus, "the only eastern Altaic people," were occupied with agriculture and left in Transbaikalia the irrigation work. Yet the Nuichen (Juchens) came from the west, which is shown, according to him, by the Chinese history.

We have seen that the Mongols lived in the basin of the Ingoda and perhaps Argun rivers, according to their traditions, during the first millennium of this era. It is, however, quite probable that their first appearance in these regions dates from a much earlier period. Yet it is probable that they spread furthermore along the Amur River, where they might be in direct contact with the Palæasiatics.[2] This event might have taken place before the Northern Tungus migration back, southward. One must not, however, forget that the Mongols originally were cattle breeders for whom the regions of Palæasiatic fishermen of the Amur were inaccessible, because the Mongol type of cattle breeding is physically impossible in such regions. So if we suppose their close relations with the Palæasiatics of the Amur we must also admit that they were at that time well organized — they might visit the remote regions only as merchants and variors well adapted to long journeys. Such an adaptation to the local conditions supposes a long stay in the region. The Mongol tradition says that

[1] Cf. *supra*, my reference to V. B. Šostakovič's attempt. Also Suppl. Note V, referring to the proper names in general. The names like *selenga*, *orxon*, etc., may also be compared with Turkic words. Are really *sele*, the iron, *k'axta*, a shellfish, *orxon*, a plume, etc., all pro-Tungus words? It is hardly believable that the Tungus discovered iron and invented a word for it. *k'axta* (Oroči, Goldi, Olča), *kâkta* (Tung. *Sch.*) [*ketta* (Khin.)], compared with Gilak *kâkta* (*Sch.*), seem to be of different origin when compared with Manchu *kaikari*, the ammonite, which is not the first meaning of the word. Moreover, the Tungus language has another term for "river shell-fish" namely, *takira* (Bir. Kum.), *taxura* (Manchu). Yet, *orxon* (Manchu), "the white and black feather attached to the tail of the hawk and other hunting birds," given by I. Zaxarov, has a very particular meaning. *Orxo šoforoku*, the long feather in a hawk's wing (used by the bird, when it is in the air, as a blade of an oar). No similar words are known in Tungus. It does not seem to be a Tungus word — it is confined to the Manchu language only, where it is used as a technical term of bird-hunting sometime fashionable among the Turcs, Mongols, and Manchu aristocracy.

[2] A. C. Haddon (*op. cit.*, p. 18), in his scheme of migrations, basing himself on the authority of H. Schurtz (it is not clear where and how this author has found his information about the Buriats) supposes the Buriats to have come, in the thirteenth century, from the lower course of the Amur to Northern Transbaikalia. What we know about the Mongol and Buriat migrations, also about the Tungus migrations and their former geographical distribution at that time, cannot support this supposition, indeed.

in the seventh century before Christ, after an unfortunate battle, they were compelled to retire into the mountains, but later they reappeared in the region.[1] The place of their retirement was not probably far from their home, somewhere in the basin of the Argun and the Ingoda. In the eighth century after Christ they lived in the same region. They often fell under the control of various ethnical groups, especially of the Turks, who are known since the third millennium before Christ. The Turks spread their control over Northern Mongolia. How far the early Mongols spread over Northern Mongolia we do not yet know, but it is possible that they formed the bulk of population at the time of the Uigurs' control of the Selenga basin. All these facts and traditions point to a long stay of the Mongols in Northern Mongolia, the western part of which was perhaps occupied by the Turks and the Palæasiatics, who fell under the Turkic influence. The hypothesis of the Central Asiatic origin of the Tungus thus involves another hypothesis, viz., the Tungus first had left their home before the Mongols, and naturally before the Turks, who entered into contact with the Chinese, as stated, in the third millennium before Christ, so that the Tungus left Central Asia during the fourth millennium at least. At that time, however, no iron was known and agriculture could not be the basis of the economical system. In spite of it, P. P. Schmidt supposes that the irrigation work in Transbaikalia was left by the Manchus. Historically speaking, we do not know who left the traces of a relatively well-developed agriculture, but I cannot agree with the above-mentioned hypothesis for many a reason. First of all, no such Manchu tradition is known. Second, besides the Manchus there were Dahurs, now Mongol-speaking people, who were also agriculturists, and whose tradition is quite positive in asserting that they carried on agriculture within the present Transbaikalia before the formation of the Great Liao; this tradition is supported by the Chinese; naturally, when the Nuichen power was organized, these people were also included in it. Third, so far as I know, there is no historic evidence as to the Manchu ancestors' coming from the north-west; the Chinese chronicles are very positive in asserting that the ancestors of the Manchus were Nuichens, and the ancestors of the Nuichens from immemorial time lived in Manchuria. Thus, this evidence cannot be considered as a valid one for supporting the hypothesis of the Manchus coming from Central Asia, and the linguistic evidences are left without support from the historic data and traditions. If it is so, then the whole hypothesis as to the common origin of the Tungus language and other so-called Altaic languages is confined to the problem, some time ago largely discussed, whether the ethnographical phenomena spread over independently of their inventors or together with their inventors. The evidences from all parts of the world have shown that they may spread in both ways, with and without their inventors. The language as one of cultural phenomena cannot escape the common fate of other ethnographical phenomena,—the common words may result from their spreading absolutely independent of the languages spoken by the local groups and without migration of large

[1] According to Rashid ed-Din, quoted by E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 204. If this tradition has any historic background, then it will be logical to agree that the Mongols before that battle lived in this part of Mongolia for a very long time.

groups of population. Yet the most elementary and common notions may sometimes be expressed with the words borrowed from other languages. Moreover, the social and so-called religious taboos underlie the psychology of borrowings, e. g., the anatomical terms, numerals, etc., without speaking of borrowed words used for the designation of cultural phenomena, like agriculture, cattle breeding, metals, social organization, etc., and words used for the designation of local animals and plants. Thus, the common origin of the languages and the people speaking these languages may be proved only by the corroborative evidences of lingistic, ethnographic, and anthropological data, supported by historic data, traditions, and archæological documents. The history of the formation of the Tungus groups, so far as it may be restored from their traditions, scarce historic records, migrations, anthropology, and indirect evidence of cultural complexes, point to an opposite conclusion, viz., the common Altaic words, morphological parts, and perhaps phonetic fashions have spread over Eastern Asia independently of the ethnical groups, including creators of the pro-Altaic language, if such a one ever existed.

Note VII. Wu-tsi and Udehe (*vide* **p. 145**)

It is a remarkable fact that all these names, according to the Chinese, are mere transcriptions of non-Chinese names. It is evident that before any attempt at the guessing of their phonetic equivalents can be made one must have a correct reading of the characters as were then in use at the moment of transcription. If we have such phonetic equivalents, it should be found out who gave these names to the groups. In spite of these elementary requirements of analysis when this problem is discussed it is taken for granted that these names were given by some Southern Tungus who communicated them to the Chinese. So it is presumed that the Chinese were separated from these groups by some other Southern Tungus groups. It is scarcely probable that the people called themselves, for instance, "inhabitants of rivers," "troglodites," "wild people," etc. Such names might have been given by the ancestors of the Manchus (if the language did not change) to some distinct people. But then it ought to be also supposed that the ancestors of the Manchus who lived south of these groups were culturally more advanced than their northern neighbours. The succession of various political units in this part of Manchuria is against this supposition. It seems to me that too many guesses and hypotheses are here involved. In spite of this, in the writings about the Tungus and the Far East, it has become almost traditional to treat all these names as those designating Tungus groups. Vasiliev believed these people to be called after the names of rivers. A. V. Grebenščikov has connected the name *moxo* with *muke* (Manchu)—water, the name Y-lou with *jeru* (Manchu)—a haunt, cave, etc. I have already ("N. T. M.," footnote 90) shown that these parallels from the linguistic and ethnographical point of view are very doubtful. Yet he has also proposed to connect the *Wu-tsi* with the Manchu *veďi*—the *taiga*. P. P. Schmidt ("L. of Oroches," p. 18) connects *veďi* with Udehe. He may be right if it is shown that the *Wu-tsi* were called by this name by the *direct ancestors* of the Manchus. According to W. Grube *wuh-tih-oh* (Nuichen) is

"wild." However, from *wu-tsi* one may expect to have a Manchu form *uďi* (*wuďi* of Manchu Sp.), but the old reading was also *Mu-ki*, which J. Klaproth pointed out. In Manchu *uďan* (*wuďan* is a probable form of the Manchu Sp.) means limit, boundary, edge, border, margin, etc. If we suppose *udehe* to be derived from *uďa(n)* (I do not propose it!), then this name may be understood as a translation from Mongol, which was the official language, of the early Manchus, *urijankai*, which is also found in the Japanese *oronkai* referring to a region of the Tumen River in the sixteenth century, which was occupied by the Udehe. Let us also remember that the Mongols call the Solons *solosut* from the name of Korea (*solonγo*), also called *urianxa* (Palladius, *op. cit.*, p. 175); but the Solons, or at least a part of them, came from the east before the Khitans' accession to power. Thus the name *wu-tsi*, *veďi aiman*, *wuh-tih-oh*, *udehe* (also *udi* of Vasiliev) perhaps may be connected, but it does not show that the *Wu-tsi* were ancestors of the Manchus and directly connected with the *Y-lou* (under this name was known in the fifth century of this era either the people or regions or a political unit, later included into *Moxo*). According to some Manchus, *veďi aiman* was a Dahur unit. C. de Harlez considers *ouc'i* to be the name of the country where *Moxo* (Mo-hoo) was organized. His *ouc'i* is, of course, the same name as *Wu-tsi*. He points out that it was a name of a country and not of a people, for one meets the phrase *ouc'i ba*. *ba* is "place," "region." C. de Harlez is, however, wrong, for the Manchus use, for instance, the phrases *lučan ba*, *nikan ba*, etc., in the sense: the place (region) belonging to *lučan* (Russians), to *nikan* (Chinese), etc. So *ouc'i* might be both a name of a people and that of a country and even a name of a political organization. As a name of a region it may, perhaps, be connected with "taiga," "wild," etc., *veďi* of the Manchus. Among other groups which lived in *Ouc'i*, there was a group called *Su-mo*. According to the history of Kin this group was later included into *Moxo*. It lived in Korea, but in 668 or a little later they migrated to the mountains Tong-meou, and later to Pouhai. It is very likely that they were the same Northern Tungus group which partly migrated under the name of Solons (*Solosut*, from *Solonγo*) westward and partly remained as Udehe in the former territory of Bohai. Moreover, according to E. Parker (*op. cit.*, p. 312) the Maritime Government in the tenth century was populated by a group speaking a dialect different from that of the *Moxo*, and who lived by hunting and used skin tents; during the Ming Dynasty some reindeer breeders lived in the same regions. The anthropological, linguistic, and ethnographical evidences do not permit one to exclude the Udehe and the Oroči from the Northern Tungus ethnical body, as the assimilation of some Palæasiatic elements is evident; and if we agree that *wu-tsi*, *veďi aiman*, *udehe*, etc., also *wuďa(n)*, *oronkai*, etc., are related to the same group and territory, then it will be logical to admit that the *Wu-tsi* were a Northern Tungus group belonging to the first migratory wave which appeared in the region under discussion at the beginning of our era. It is, however, difficult directly to connect the *Wu-tsi* with the *moxo*, as the latter might have spread its political control over the *Wu-tsi*, and this name as an independent designation might disappear from political terminology, as has happened with some ethnical units absorbed by the Manchus. As shown, the language of the offspring of the *Wu-tsi* was different from that of the *moxo* (one may understand: from that of the leading unit of the *moxo*). Who the *moxo* were we do not know. They controlled a large area, and they were not an ethnical unit, but a political organization, like the Bohai, Nuichen, etc. According to the history of Kin, the name *moxo* was given by the emperor

of Sui (the seventh century) to the seven "tribes" including *Su-mo*. Their names are not clear. They were not names of clans, but probably those of ethnical units existing at that time, like the present "*udehe*," "*solon*," "*xamnagan*," etc., or perhaps designated so by the names of their leaders. It is thus evident that the name *moxo* was a name either newly adopted by the people who were called so by the Chinese (just as it happened with the name *mandžu*) or previously used by this people and adopted by the Chinese. Anyhow, it was a name of a political organization, as it is usual in the Far East. It is not surprising that some of the groups controlled by the *moxo* had nothing to do with the group responsible for the existence of this name, e. g., the Shih-wei, Tie-li, etc. Confusing terminology, like "tribe," "clan," etc., referring to various groups used by different authors (Vasiliev, Palladius, Parker, and many others) makes the picture of the relations yet more confused than it is: indeed, we know nothing about their "tribes" and "clans." Generally, it seems to me that a reconstruction of names is a dangerous proceeding. I have shown that *moxo*, with certain imagination, may be connected with the Manchu *moxon*. V. Panov (in the same publication in which A. V. Grebenščikov's paper was published) speculates on the early Chinese reading of *moxo*, which was (he does not mention any authority) *mut-xat*, and connects it with *butxa*—in Manchu: hunting, fishing or perhaps a hunting ground. The reconstruction is possible only when the historic succession of ethnical groups is well established, their languages are investigated, and the ownership of proper names is connected in a reliable manner with groups and languages. This is not so of these names. The connexion between Korea and the Bohai, at least culturally and geographically, is evident. Yet the Khitans, as it is now believed, were not the ancestors of the Nuichen, but the latter, according to Chinese chronicles, were connected with one of the Tungus groups, Southern Tungus, living south from the Amur. However, a direct connexion between this group and the Sushen is not naturally shown. Therefore I think that the above-quoted names, beginning from Sushen and on, might belong to different large ethnical, political, as well subdivisions, as Palæasiatics, Northern and Southern Tungus, and even perhaps Mongols.

Note VIII. Shamanism (*vide* **p. 193**)

In order to give a general idea as to the influence of these ideas on the Tungus clan organization I reproduce below a translation (published in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1923) of my conclusions from my essay on "General Theory of Shamanism Among the Tungus" (in Russian).

1. Animism forms the *milieu* of shamanism and also provides the basis for the special shamanist system of ghosts. At the same time, as regards the nations of European culture, we cannot consider shamanism as entirely a system of the past—among "civilized" nations this philosophical system changed its aspects and adapted to itself new knowledge, but it does not differ essentially from primitive animism. *Animism*, being a universal philosophical system, *is among the Tungus tribes a primary condition for the existence of shamanism.*

2. The principal characteristics of shamanism consist in the *recognition on the part of some persons of their ability to possess spirits whenever they desire to do so, and, by the aid of*

these spirits, using particular methods unknown to other men, to know phenomena of a supernatural order. This characteristic is not peculiar to shamanism, for other methods of communion with spirits take account of similar possessing of spirits and the consequent ability to acquire knowledge by mystical means. The characteristic peculiar to shamanism consists in the *recognition of the special rites, clothing, instruments, and the peculiar social position of the shaman.* True, some of these phenomena can characterize other prayer-professionals and sorcerers, but *shamanism is the complex of the phenomena mentioned above.*

3. During the shamanist performance, the shaman must always fall into ecstasies so that the control of his consciousness would be as insignificant as possible, and his logical processes would not be regulated by the ordinary principles to which the Tungus are accustomed. Reflection on the part of the shaman is submitted to special logic or follows a peculiar succession of logical moments. This type of mental functions opens to the shaman the possibility of superior knowledge acquired by certain methods unknown to the common people. Furthermore, the shaman obtains new possibilities of conscious and unconscious influence over the people. The practical methods of acquiring this influence are not yet known to us, and many of the phenomena of this kind cannot be elucidated with our present knowledge of the matter. The influence of the shaman is as powerful as his special abilities are great. Although, during the performance of the shaman, the consciousness of the shaman is almost suppressed, nevertheless *the influence of the shaman on the people and his superior knowledge got by special means, unusual for the present ethnographical milieu, are highly developed.*

4. The shaman uses some special artificial methods of falling into ecstasies and of maintaining this state throughout his operations. These methods make up a special part of the shamanist rites. In comparison with other persons, he has the highest nervous reactions and the greatest power to control himself physically. Therefore he must have a healthy body, good nervous and normal psychical functions, because physical infirmity can obstruct self-control, since nerve maladies may at the psychological moment of his operations, interrupt ecstatic states. In such cases the shamanist performance would turn into an ordinary nervous attack on the part of the shaman himself. Therefore, *the shaman knows the methods of falling into ecstatic states, the maintenance of which illness and infirmity considerably obstruct.*

5. The nervous and psychical maladies which are commonly found among the Tungus tribes wax and wane. The normal life of the clan becomes interrupted and, during periods of increase, nutrition and natality are reduced, mortality increased, and the very existence of the clan threatened. The localization of these nervous and mental maladies among some tribes is regulated by general opinion, which recognizes that these maladies spread only within the limits of the clan. Within the clan, maladies of this kind are stopped just in the nick of time, when all harmful ghosts, being possessed by some person of the clan, are submitted to the "master." Such a "master" is the shaman, who becomes, if the analogy be allowed, "the safety valve" of the clan. Thus, *shamanism is correlated with the spread of nerve and mental maladies.* It is safe to assume that the cause of the origin of shamanism lies in the unconscious wish of the tribe to prevent the harmful spreading of these maladies, or, stated otherwise,—*shamanism as a preventive is a kind of clan self-defense and an apparent aspect of its biological functions.*

6. The shaman as the "safety valve" of the clan, when performing some of the functions of the clan, becomes a very influential person in the clan. This influence of the

shaman grows, particularly if he uses hypnosis and other methods possibly even more effective but still unknown to us. The influence of the shaman is especially effective in the presence of a great crowd, which is in harmony with the laws of the psychology of the crowd, particularly those concerning the leader, who is, in this case, the shaman. *He not only has great personal influence over members of his clan but also sometimes over people outside his clan.*

7. At the time of nervous depression, the shaman falls under the influence of his own spirits and becomes their instrument. Then his ability of self-control decreases and he loses his quality as physician or "safety valve" of the clan, — the spirits begin to develop their activity independently of the "master," and become very restless and dangerous to the clan. In such cases, the shaman refuses to perform his social duties and, being in a bad mood, enters into a constant conflict with the spirits until his victory or death. Under these circumstances, he transfers all his spirits to another person, who can subjugate them. Because of the particular social position of the shaman and because of the generally cautious and sometimes hostile references by his clan members, the *shaman in his private life has incessant troubles, which make his life a sort of exploit.*

8. Shamanism among the Tungus tribes, having as its field of activity the nervous maladies and psychopathological cases *par excellence* in all their variations, cannot be considered as a religion in the ordinary sense of the word. It may be practised at the same time with religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, etc., and can exist simultaneously with other *animistic* systems. It stands on grounds other than those of religion or science, having as its foundation only one condition: the recognition of the ability of the shaman to influence persons by particular, mysterious, and unintelligible means. The purpose of his influence is to regulate the psychical sphere of human activity, which has exclusive importance from the biological point of view. In other societies, for example, European, the functions of the shaman are partly exercised by the physician and the church, but we do not understand the special operations regulating the life of those nations. The *theory of ghosts or spirits, their relations to men, are only the forms that in the mind of the shamanist generalize all the phenomena of normal and pathological psychic life. The shaman and shamanism are the organs and system regulating these phenomena and have for their principal concern the hygienic and preventive quality par excellence.*

Note IX. Exogamy (*vide* **p. 211**)

It ought to be remembered that the exogamic unit among the Tungus — among many other ethnical groups as well — is not a numerous one. Practically speaking, young men and women of marriageable age of some clan are usually connected by a close blood relationship. The primary *milieu* and life by hunting do not naturally allow the increase of population over a certain limit. In case of the overgrowth of the unit, a part of it (usually a group of close sibs and friends) migrates to another region, so that the marital relations with the former marriageable unit cannot be maintained any longer, owing to the great distance. The separated group, even though it preserves its former name of the old clan, tends little by little to form a new ethnical unit with a distinct ethnographical complex, within which marriage is naturally endogamic. Among some groups the practice of endogamy has been stabilized

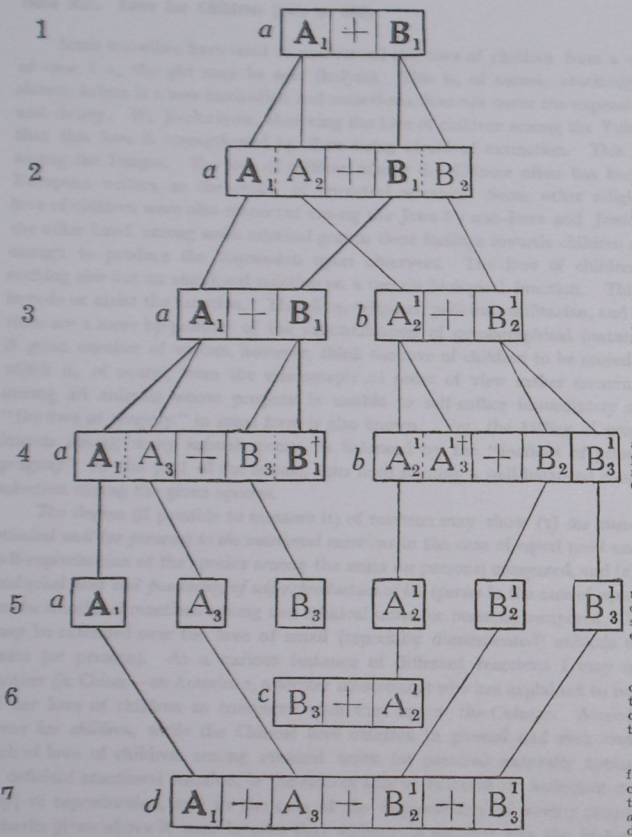
as a custom. In fact, a Tungus group rarely intermarries with other groups ethnographically distinct from it. So, as practice shows, two neighbouring Tungus groups do not intermarry if the dialects are different, or if the ethnographic complexes are even slightly distinct. The degree of difference is, of course, very subjective in measure, but in the matter of feeling, the Tungus are much more sensible than the ethnographers. Owing to these conditions, the number of possible mates outside the exogamous units, is also very limited. Practically, it means that the groups using exogamy in clans and endogamy in ethnical units which are sometimes called "tribes," are faced with the fact of the impossibility of the extension of exogamy either over the maternal or the paternal clan. As we have seen, among the Tungus, in the simplest case, the ethnical unit may consist of two exogamic units bound by marital relations. This seems to have been a definite tendency during the migrations of the Tungus. So, in the process of migrations two clans bound by marital relations usually separate, and the new group may continue to maintain endogamy. But if the clan-offshoot migrates without the consort-clan (the offshoot of another clan), the situation is different. It has to solve how to practise marriage. Two solutions may be given: splitting the clan into two new clans (exogamic units) with different names (as among all Northern Tungus), or without special names (as among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria). The latter solution takes place when several clans, reduced in number, have to re-organize themselves on a different principle (e. g., bi-lateral family and consanguinity, as among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and many other Siberian groups), the clan organization being lost, as is true of the Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government. Such a situation is not naturally peculiar to the Tungus. So, before drawing conclusions as to the former clan organization, one must have a detailed history of the ethnical group. It is not incidental that many derelict ethnical groups, driven by their neighbours into inhospitable or isolated regions, are sometimes lacking in exogamous clans: this may be a secondary phenomenon, indeed. As a matter of fact, some Tungus groups, e. g., the Reindeer Tungus of the Amur Government, having passed through the process of strong alien influence and unorganized migrations, have preserved neither clan organization, nor exogamy, but have become administrative units created by the Russian authorities and sometimes called by the old clan names. The same will soon happen to the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. Let us now suppose that these groups, owing to some ethnical catastrophe, are isolated for a long time in regions inaccessible to other ethnical groups. (Before the spread of Chinese and Europeans over Asia such a situation might have been and did occur very often.) The ethnographer visiting such a group will discover the complex: no iron (the Tungus produce no iron), no pottery, no clan, no exogamy, living by hunting and using animal skins for clothing. Beyond any doubt this group will be classified (supposing ethnography is at about its present level) as a "rude tribe" with the "lowest culture." Some other ethnographer will later find the same complex, but also a rich language abounding in words of unknown origin (i. e., Russian, Chinese, Mongol, Turkic), the idea of Jehovah and a complex system of spirits, including some Buddhist and Christian saints, the remainder of acquired knowledge of some scientific discoveries (borrowed from the Russians), and historic facts in the form of "traditions," all of them being coloured by peculiar shades of their own ideas. Most ethnical groups which have no clan organization, as, for instance, the Sakai, Andamanese, Koriaks, Chukchis, British Columbia groups, Bushmen, perhaps Hottentots, etc., have

passed through a period of merciless struggle with their neighbours and some of them at least that of long migrations. Indeed, the Tungus are classified by most ethnographers as "crude tribes." The lack of some social institutions, without a detailed account of the history of these institutions, or at least history of the ethnical groups concerned, is not convincing for showing that at the "lowest cultural stage" clan organization is lacking. Folk-lore also designates snakes and blind animals as the "crudest beasts." By these remarks I do not intend to show that clan organization has been one of the cultural stages, which all human groups have passed through (which is a vulgarization of the theory of evolution applied to the social phenomena). As I have compared social phenomena with functions, let us take an instance. There are the "rudest animals," which have lost their organs of locomotion, sometimes even without preserving the rudiments of the organs. The embryological history of these animals, however, allows one to suppose that at a certain period of their life they possessed organs of locomotion, ergo the function of locomotion by means of differentiated organs has been lost. In groups mentioned, perhaps it will be impossible to find any traces of this function (clan), lost long ago, and substituted by analogous functions which serve for assuring the reproduction and preservation of the units.

Note X. Moieties and Clan Division (*vide* **p. 213**)

The form of marital relations between two clans when other clans are not involved has been defined as a dual organization and later as *moieties* (R. Lowie, W. H. R. Rivers). The *moiety* among the Tungus is nothing but an exogamous unit, either past or present, so this term does not clear up the problem, but confuses it more than it was before the coining of this new term (e. g., see W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 39), for it specifies no new social phenomena. But with the growth of population the same units may also cleave and form within themselves new exogamous units, and yet some special functions may be preserved by the former units that may become endogamous. Moreover, theoretically speaking, the case of a reverse process, i. e., when the former endogamous unit becomes again exogamous, is possible. The fusion of two ethnical units resulting from the decrease of population or from the intensification of the economic system or from the interethnical pressure may favour such a process. Indeed, if one looks at an endogamous ethnical group as a tribe, or unit, it may happen to include two (and only two) exogamous units, so they may be called *moieties*. To be sure, during certain historic periods the Kumarčen, the Birarčen, the Khingan, and other groups, before forming their present territorial and ethnical units, might have formed several pairs of clans migrating and wandering together. At that time those units might have been classified as *moieties*, indeed. However, they were exogamous units, as social institutions absolutely similar to the clan—the exogamous unit. But, as the process of the formation of new exogamous units from old ones is always going on, if there is any change in the movement of population or migration, the newly formed units—potential exogamous units—do not immediately begin to function as such, but some time is required for their recognition. I have shown that in the particular case of the Tungus a religious sanction and a certain number of generations, also certain periods of

time—sufficient for forgetting the origin of these units—are required. It is evident that the newly produced clans, as the *govair* and the *učatkan*, have not yet accomplished this process of division from their father-clans—the *uilagir* and the *man'agir*. Moreover, the situation at present is somewhat complicated, as compared with simple cases, by the fact of the simultaneous existence of two other clans amomg the Kumarčen and other groups. The same may be stated in reference to other Tungus groups. I shall not use the term *moiety*, for (1) some Tungus groups (ethnical units) include more than two pairs of clans bound by intermarriage; (2) the Tungus groups [ethnical units, which may form political units (tribes) and which sometimes do not form them!] very often have no names at all except those given them by the neighbours, investigators, and local authorities, while the name bearers are the clans (which sometimes may be also styled *moieties*); (3) *moieties* are merely a stage of the formation of new exogamic and ethnical units, if the ethnical unit is decreasing, increasing, or migrating. The clan may be compared with the hermaphroditic individual of zoölogical and botanical species,—which from time to time, in order to preserve the normal reproduction of species, must be impregnated by another hermaphroditic individual. If the conditions of the primary *milieu* and others permit, intermarrying pairs of clans may be many, but if such conditions do not favour the inerease of population there may be only two intermarrying units, which will remain distinct. They may form a more or less stabilized unit with a name and certain complex of customs regulating their reciprocal relations, but they may also live in distinct regions and meet with one another on the occasions of intermarriage. Thus, there may de different combinations in dependence upon various conditions, e. g., the territory occuped either in common or separately by two intermarrying clans; the names that the exogamous units not always possess; the process in the formation of new exogamous units, which may occur simultaneously in two intermarrying units (clans) or in one of them; the economical system resulting, e. g., in nomadism, and a sedentary mode of life; the theoretical (usually religious in form) foundations of the system may sometimes accelerate the modifications of relations and sometimes impede them, but the principal of all is the movement of population and migration which cause most of the changes in the system of social organization. The cases of the petrifying of the so-called dual organization, and clan names are of course possible, but the ethnical units usually find some solution in order to facilitate the normal function of marriage and particularly exogamy. I here give a table showing the process of formation of new clans, *moieties*, and ethnical units (the formation of political units may spread over clans, ethnical units, and *moieties* indeed, so that I shall not consider "tribes"). This is, of course, a scheme which may be illustrated, however, by the facts expounded in this study and those observed among various ethnical groups in all parts of the world. In order to complete the picture one must not forget that the clans (exogamous units) very often have a complex internal organization (e. g., the system of class, as it is among the Manchus) which introduces some new complications into the functioning of two intermarrying clans, as has happened, e. g., with some Australian groups among whom the system of classes had become the backbone of the whole social organization. When more than two intermarrying clans form a unit, the organization and the process of change naturally takes a more complex form than is shown in my table.



Ethnical Unit with two clans.

Ethnical Unit with two clans, each of them divided into two new clans before the final division when A_1 and A_2, also B_1 and B_2, are allowed to intermarry.

Case of migration of a unit, *b*, separated from the former unit, *a*, after the parallel cleavage of two clans.

Two Ethnical Units, *a* and *b*, in which the process of formation of new clans is going on. Cf. case 2, given above.

Case when one of the newly formed exogamous clans, B_1 and $A1_3$, vanish simultaneously in both ethnical units, *a* and *b*.

Case when a new ethnical unit, *c*, is formed of the remainders of two other units after re-migration.

Ethnical Unit which is formed from two pairs of clans formerly belonging to different ethnical units, *a* and *b*, after a partial decline and re-migration.

In this table clan A_1 is shown to have preserved its original name. The original name of the consort clan B_1 is shown to be lost in case 4. The name of the clan, $A1_3$, is shown to have existed for a very short period.

If the new clans do not adopt new names (e. g., among the Manchus or Chinese) two names may be preserved (A and B).

+ means intermarry; † means extinct.

Note XI. Chinese Words for "Family" (*vide* p. 246)

I give here the text of a note by Mr. Ting Shan, of the Sun Yat-sen University, in Canton, who has kindly prepared it at my request. For the translation I am indebted to Mr. Pang Chia-hsun, of the Peking University.

There was in ancient Chinese no *ü* which is invariably pronounced as *a* in "far." The word 居, which has at present the sound "*chü*," had formerly the same pronunciation as 家 ("*cha*"). 眷 and 居 not only have the same consonantal sound, but are also similar in meaning. According to the "Shuo Wen" (說文), 家 means 居. In "Tso Chuan" (左傳), we have the following: "Men have 室, women have 家," both 室 and 家 here meaning "home." Again, in "Chow Li Chu" (周禮注): "Husband and wife are what constitutes a home" (家). From the above, we may conclude that the original meaning of the word 居 was the living together of parents, children, brothers, husband, and wife in one place. The word may have first come into existence at the mythological time of Huang-ti (黃帝), who instituted the marriage system, a couple of skins being used as a betrothal present.

As to the word 眷, it had formerly nothing to do with the family. It simply meant "attachment" or "adherence." Then it gradually, through the process of extension, came to mean affection and attachment among the different members of the family. Consequently we have now the term 家眷, which exactly means family.

The word 堡 used to denote "city wall" or "rampart," a means of defence for the inhabitants. It had a much wider significance than the term 家眷. But since Manchus in the olden days used 堡 to defend their families against invaders, 堡, in their minds, was almost identified with 家.

中國古代，沒有撮口韵；凡撮口韵ㄩ（國音字母）皆讀開口ㄚ（國音字母）。居今讀撮口，在古代也是讀開口，與家相同。眷與居的聲母相同，所以兩個字的意思也差不多。說文『家，居也』左傳『男有室，女有家，』周禮注『有夫有婦，然後爲家』可見家字的本義，就是聚集父子兄弟夫婦一類有關係的人同居，自黃帝制禮，定下婚姻制度，那個時候，大約有家字了，眷字本義與家庭無關，因爲『眷戀』的意義，引申爲父子兄弟夫婦，互相眷戀，互相愛護，含有家庭的意味，所以有『家眷』的名詞。『家眷』也就是家庭。居字不知造於何時，其本義與家全同。堡字原是城郭別稱，所以保護人民的，堡其意思範圍比『家眷』廣，滿洲人借保衛之意爲家庭，所以名家爲堡。

Note XII. Love for Children (*vide* **p. 288**)

Some travellers have tried to understand this love of children from a utilitarian point of view, i. e., the girl may be sold (kalym). This is, of course, absolutely wrong, for as shown, kalym is a new institution and sometimes does not cover the expense of the wedding and dowry. W. Jochelson, observing the love of children among the Yukagirs, suggested that this love is strengthened by their being afraid of extinction. This is not the case among the Tungus. The love of children among the Chinese often has been explained by European writers as the result of ancestral worship. Some other religious reasons for love of children were also suspected among the Jews by non-Jews and Jewish writers. On the other hand, among some ethnical groups these feelings towards children are not striking enough to produce the impression upon observers. The love of children is, of course, nothing else but an emotional reaction on a certain biological function. This reaction may impede or assist the function. Therefore, religious, political, utilitarian, and other explanations are a mere by-product of the rationalization of ethnographical (natural) phenomena. A great number of writers, however, think the love of children to be rooted in "instincts," which is, of course, from the ethnographical point of view rather meaningless. In fact, among all animals whose progeny is unable to self-suffice immediately after the birth, "the love of progeny" in some form is also known. Yet, the killing of progeny by males known among many animal species, is balanced by the "instinct of preservation of the progeny" on the part of the female, thus both forming a well-balanced complex of natural selection among the given species.

The degree (if possible to measure it) of reaction may show (1) *the susceptibility of the ethnical unit (or persons) to the emotional reactions* in the case of equal need and possibility of self-reproduction of the species among the units (or persons) compared, and (2) *the pressure of biological need and possibility of self-reproduction of the species* in the case of equal susceptibility to the emotional reactions among two ethnical units (or persons) compared. These principles may be extended over the love of small (especially domesticated) animals among ethnical units (or persons). As a curious instance of different reactions I may quote a foreign mother (in China—an American, a former missionary) who has explained to me the difference of her love of children as compared with that among the Chinese. According to her, she loves *her children*, while the Chinese love children in general and even small animals. A lack of love of children among ethnical units (or persons) naturally appears in the case of deficient emotional reaction, in the case of loss of reaction or biological need (if there is any) of reproduction, and in the case of the impossibility of having progeny. From the remarks given above it may be seen that without an enquiry into the biological conditions and comparative emotional reaction the case of the Tungus cannot now be analysed, therefore with these remarks I leave this subject.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

1. ABBREVIATIONS

A. The Northern Tungus Dialects According to the Author

Amur — the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus living in the eastern part of the Amur Government, also spoken by a Tungus group in Sakhalin Island

Barg. — the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia living in the Barguzin *taiga*

Bir. — the dialect of the Tungus of Manchuria living in the regions lying between the Amur, Sungari, and left tributaries of the Nonni (Biraršen)

Borz. — the dialect spoken by the Nomad Tungus living in South-Eastern Transbaikalia, in the basin of the Borz'a

Khin. — the dialect of the Tungus of Manchuria (Mongolia) living in the Khingan Mountains, chiefly in Hulun Buir

Kum. — the dialect of the Tungus of Manchuria living in the basin of the Kumara, Panga, Albazixa, and Upper Nonni (Kumaršen)

Mank. — the dialect of the Nomad Tungus living in South-Eastern Transbaikalia, in the Mankova region (*votost'*)

Nerč. — the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus (partly settled) living in the Nerchinsk *taiga*

RTM. — the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria living in the basin of the Bystraia and Albazixa, also Upper Kumara

All dial. — all the above-mentioned dialects

B. The Northern Tungus Dialects, According to Unpublished Material Gathered by Other Investigators

Enis. — the dialects of the Enissy Tungus gathered by the missionaries, brought by I. P. Tolmačev, and put at the author's disposal by W. L. Kotwicz

Lam. — the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of the Yakutsk Government included into *Lamunxinskiĭ rod* (cf. S. K. Patkanov, Essai), gathered, and put at the author's disposal by P. V. Olenin

Tum. — the dialect of the group above-mentioned included in the *Tumunxanskiĭ rod; see* Lam.

C. The Northern Tungus Dialects Known from Other Publications

Ang. *Tit.* — the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of the Angara region in Northern Transbaikalia, according to E. I. Titov

Irk. *Tit.* — the dialect of the Tungus of Irkutsk Government, according to E. I. Titov

Kal. *Tit.* — the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus living in the basin of the Kalar and Kalakan rivers, according to E. I. Titov

Mank. *Castr.* — see Mank. above, according to M. A. Castrén

Neg. *Sch.* — the dialect of the Negidals living in the basin of the Amgun, according to P. P. Schmidt

Nomad Barg. *Pop.* — the dialect of the Nomad Tungus of the Barguzin district, according to N. N. Poppe

Oroči (*Leon.*) (*Marg.*) (*Sch.*) — the dialect of the Oroči living in the Maritime

Government, according to S. Leontovič, V. P. Margaritov, and P. P. Schmidt
Solon (*Ivan.*) — the dialect spoken by the Solons of Manchuria, according to A. O. Ivanovskiĭ
Udehe (*Brail.*) (*Sch.*) — the dialect of the Udehe living in the Maritime Government, according S. Brailovskiĭ and P. P. Schmidt
Ur. *Castr.* — the dialect of the Tungus of the Urulga region, now extinct, according to M. A. Castrén
Also, abbreviation of various dialects, according to A. Schiefner and W. Grube

D. The Southern Tungus Languages and Dialects

Manchu Sp. — the Manchu language as it is spoken by the Manchus of the Aigun district in Manchuria, partly in Peking and Sinkiang province, according to the author
Manchu — according to I. Zaxarov and partly according to the author
Nuichen — according to W. Grube
Goldi (*Grube*) (*Lopatin*) (*Sch.*) — according to W. Grube, I. A. Lopatin, and P. P. Schmidt
Olča (*Grube*) (*Sch.*) — according to W. Grube and P. P. Schmidt

E. The Non-Tungus Languages

Mongol (*Podg.*) (*Rud.*) — according to I. A. Podgorbunskiĭ and A. D. Rudnev
Buriat (*Petri*) (*Podg.*) (*Rud.*) — according to B. E. Petri, P. A. Podgorbunskiĭ, and A. D. Rudnev
Dahur (*Ivan.*) — according to A. O. Ivanovskiĭ
Dahur — according to the author
Yakut (Pek.) — according to E. K. Pekarskiĭ (sometimes, according to Seroševskiĭ)
Chinese — according to various sources, including some records by the author
Gilak — according to W. Grube

2. APPROXIMATE PHONETIC EQUIVALENTS OF TRANSCRIPTION

(*in alphabetic order*)

a — *a* as in "father"
ă — *a* as in "man"
b — *b* as in "boot"
b̥ — almost voiceless *b* (in Manchu)
c — *z* as in German "zwar"
č — *ch* as in "chair"
d — *d* as in "door"
d̥ — almost voiceless *d* (in Manchu)
ǯ — *j* as in "joke," an affricate: *dž*
e — *e* as in "get"
ė — *e*, very backed
f — *f* as in "foot"
g — *g* as in "good"
ġ — almost voiceless *g* (in Manchu and Chinese)
h — an aspirate, slighter than *h* in "hope"
γ — a voiced *x* (see below)
i — *i* as in "bit"
j — *y* as in "yellow"
k — *k* as in "kind"
ł — *l* as in "ful," Slav *l* (e.g., in Polish)
l — *l* as in "land" (in Manchu when followed by labials, dentals, and gutturals, the tongue touches neither palate nor alveolæ)
m — *m* as in "moon"
n — *n* as in "noon"
ŋ — *ng* as in compound "ng" in "ring"
o — *o* as in "rope"
ö — *ö* as in German "König"
p — *p* as in "pipe"
r — *r* as in South French
s — *s* as in "sale"
š — *sh* as in "shop"
t — *t* as in "top"
u — *oo* as in "moon"

ü — *ü* as in German "müssen"
v — *v* as in "vote"
w — *w* as in "wood"
x — *ch* as in German "Bach," and *x* as in Spanish
y — *y* as in Polish and Russian in "myło"
z — *z* as in "zone"
ž — *j* as in French "jamais"
ʒ — an affricate: *dz*
diacritic signs:
¯ (*ā*) — designates long vowels
˘ (*ă*) — designates short vowels
´ (*á*) — designates accent, both musical and expiratory
ʼ (n') — designates palatalization and "mouillement"

NOTE: The Chinese words are given either in phonetic transcription or in Romanization.

3. GLOSSARY

a

aba (Buriat, *Podg.*) — the father
abaga (Buriat, *Podg.*) — see *avaγa*
abaga (Yakut, *Ser.*) — the elder brother (and sister) of my grandmother; cf. *abaga* (Buriat)
abdu (RTM) (Ur. *Castr.*) — a herd, a part of the dowry
abgara (Bir. Khin.) (Ur. *Castr.*) — healthy; a salutation: *abgara!* Kum.
ačaka (Nerč. Barg.) — see *ak'ipču*
ačaka (Kum. Bir.) — the wife of the father's junior brother
ačaki — see *ačaka* (Nerč. Barg.)
ačča̤t (Tum.) — poor; cf. *ač'i* — not
ači (Mongol) — the nephew, niece; cf. *acy* (Turkic)
ači (Khin.) — my sister's child (male, female)
ač'i (Bir. Kum.) — not, is not; cf. *ač'in*
ačike (Khin.) — see *ak'ipču*
ačike (Kum.) — see *ačka*
ačiki (Khin.) — see *ačka*
ač'imboje (Bir.) — poor (*ač'in* + *boje*)
ač'in (RTM. Khin.) — see *ač'i* (Bir. Kum.)
ačka (Bir. Kum.) — the father's junior brother
ačuči (Kum.) — see *ak'ipču*
ačuke (Khin.) — see *ak'ipču*
ačuki (Kum.) — see *ak'ipču*
ada (Bir. Kum.) — to be together; cf. *adambi*
adaki (Bir. Kum. Khin.) — the twins
adama (Bir. Kum.) — the father's father
adambi (Manchu) — see *ada*
adu (Buriat) — see *adun*
adun (Manchu, Buriat) — the herd
adun (Buriat) — the kalym, drove of horses, herd
aga (Goldi, *Grube*) — the elder brother; cf. *age, aki*
agan'inor (Bir.) — the class of elder brothers.
agas (Yakut, *Ser.*) — senior
agdan'in (Bir. Kum.) (*ögdönin*) — the wife of a senior clansman; cf. *ogdi, onin*
agdam'in (Bir. Kum.) — the father's elder brother
agdam'inor (Bir.) — the class of *agdam'in*
age (Manchu) — see *aga, aki*
aha (Neg. *Sch.*) — see *aki*
ahiung (Chinese) (Romanized) — see *aki, axun*; p. 175
aγa (Yakut, *Pek.*) — the father
aγas (Yakut) — see *ekči*
aibo (Khin.) — my father's (also mother's) brother
aiman (Manchu) — the clan (old term), p. 121 f.; the administrative (also political) unit in the sixteenth century
aimax (Yakut) — the clan
ain'i (*burkan*) (Bir. Kum.) — a complex spirit of the class *burkan*
aja (all dial.) — good
aja? (Nerč. Barg. Amur. RTM) — see *aja* (all dial.) — a salutation
ajakan'ǎi (Bir. Kum. RTM) — a farewell salutation; cf. *aja*
aka (Mank. Bir.) (Ur. *Castr.*) (Oroči, Udehe) (Buriat) — see *aki*
ākā (Ur. *Castr.*) — see *oki*
akapču (Irk. Kal. *Tit.*) — to menstruate (? S. Sh.), cf. *akipču*

aki (all dial.) (Neg. *Sch.*) — the elder brother; the father's junior brother (Nerč. Barg.)
akin — see *aki*
ak'ipču (Bir. Kum.) — the woman's status during the period of menstruation; post-natal status; also used in reference to things incidental to those periods
akmo (Tum.) — see *aki*
akmu (Oxotsk, *Klaproth*) — see *akmo*
akta (Bir. Mank. RTM) — the castrated male, particularly the horse
akunačen (Bir.) — the class of brothers
albaď'i — the Tungus name for the Albazixa River, see Map I, p. 23
alďamugdi (Bir.) — ashamed [cf. *atďa* (Bir. Nerč.) — to be ashamed.]
alin (Manchu) — the mountain
aločawun (Barg.) — a nickname for the reindeer
ama (Nerč. Barg.) — the father's father
ama (Bir. Kum. Khin. Mank.) (Ur. *Castr.*) (Goldi) (Oroči) (Manchu) — the father
ama (Bir.) — the first superior class of clansmen
amaka (Bir.) — the father's elder sister's husband, old man (relative), my mother's elder brother; the bear (Neg. *Sch.*) (cf. above, old man); the grandfather (Enis.)
amalgi (Mank. Barg. Kum. Khin. Nerč.) (also *amaŋgi*) — the boy; son; groom, child (Nerč.)
amam'ikan (Nerč. Barg.) — the old man, bear; cf. *ama*
amban' (Khin.) — the chief of a large military subdivision, e.g., in Hailar; cf. *amban* (Manchu)
amγa (Manchu Sp.) — the husband's senior relative
am'i (all dial.) — the father; — when dead (Kum.)
am'in (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Mank.) — see *ami*
am'iran (Nerč. Barg. Khin.) (Ur. *Castr.*) — the step-father, i.e., the second husband of my mother if he is my father's brother (junior)
am'iranksa (Nerč. Barg.) — see *amiran*, if he is not my father's brother
ämkä (Mank.) (Ur. *Castr.*) — see *omkö*
ăn'ă (Yakut, *Pek.*) — see *an'o*
ănă (Ur. *Castr.*) — see *oni*
an'aka (Bir.) — the father's elder sister (also the mother's elder sister, the mother's elder brother's wife)
an'an (Bir. Kum. Khin. Nerč. Barg.) — the shadow; the soul (Bir. Kum. Khin.)
anda (all dial.) (Manchu) (Mongol) — the friend
ani (Enis.) — see *oni*
anikan (Bir. RTM) (cf. *an'aka*, deriv. *an'an*) — the placing for spirits
aninin (Enis.) — see *oni*
an'o (RTM) — the dowry
aŋa (Buriat) — the girl
aŋgaki (Bir. Kum.) — see *aŋgnaki*
aŋgnaki (Bir. Kum. Nerč.) — the people allowed to intermarry, "foreigner"
apka (Manchu Sp.) — the heaven; cf. *abka* (Manchu)
apka enduri (Manchu Sp.) — the spirit of heaven
araki (all dial.) (with slight variations: Manchu, Mongol, Turc.) — the wine
arca (Mank.) — the juniper tree; cf. *arčo*, *arča* (Buriat-Mongol)
arča (Bir.) — see *arca*
arč'i (RTM) — see *arča*
art'el (Russian) — a permanent or temporary association formed for certain work, p. 337
asa (Mank.) — to accomplish coitus (the man's expression)
asaldu (Mank.) — see *asa* (the woman's expression)
asarkan (Khin.) — see *asatkan*
asatkan (Kum. Nerč.) (Mank. *Castr.*) — the girl
as'i (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Kum. Khin. Mank.) (Neg. *Sch.*) (Ur. *Castr.*), also *ahi* (RTM), *aγi* (Lam.) — the wife, female
as'ixan (Manchu) — see *asatkan*, *as'i*
atavu (Khin.) — the father's elder brother's wife
atirkan (Bir. Kum. Khin. RTM) (Neg. *Sch.*) (Ur. *Castr.*) — the honourable male person, husband, old man, senior, bear; *ètèrken* (Bir. Kum.), *atirkon* (Nerč. Mank.), the honourable female person (Mank.)
atirkán (all dial.) (Ur. *Castr.*) — the honourable female person, wife, old woman, senior, female bear (cf. *atirkan*)[1]

[1] Diacritic sign on *a* means a musical stress (high) as compared with *atirkan*.

atirkon (Nerč. Mank.) — see *atirkan*
atk'i (Nerč. Barg. RTM) (Lam.) — the senior female of my husband's clan
aurka (Bir.) — to give a present; to bring dowry; to inherit from a woman
aus'i (Bir. Khin.) — see *avse*
avadiš (Enis.) — to speak Tungus
ava·va (Mank.) — the father's brotner (and father)
ăvănki — see *evenki*
avan'ki — see *evenki*
avse (Bir.) (Dahur) — the elder sister's husband
avus (Nerč. Barg. RTM) (cf. *avse*) — the husband of my clan senior woman
awa (Mongol) — the father's elder brother
awa ‖ *aba* (Mongol, *Rud*) — the father
awsă (Bir.) — see *avse*
awu ău (Bir.) — a house with the inhabitants; cf. *ău*
axa (Mongol-Buriat) — the senior; cf. *aki*
axdo (Mongol) — "the brothers," cf. *aki*
axun (Manchu) — the elder brother, cf. *aki*
axunto (Manchu Sp.) — "the brothers," cf. *axdo*, *aki*

b

ba (Manchu) — the place, locality; cf. *buγa*
bă (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Tum.) — to lull
baba (Tum.) — see *bă*
bábka (also *babuška*) (Russian) — the grandmother
babu (Mank.) — see *bábka*
baď ‖ *baďa* (Mongol, *Rud.*) — see *baďa*
baďa (Nerč. Barg.) — the husband of my wife's sister, husbands of the women of my wife's clan; the relationship through the marriage between women (Yakut)
bagdar'in (all dial.) — white
bagdar'in kan (all dial.) — the Russian emperor
bagdihana (Oroči, *Sch.*) — see *baldi*[2]
bajan (all dial.) (Manchu) (Mongol) — rich; good, quite (Khin.)
baka (Khin.) — to find, to give birth
baldi[1] (Nerč.) — the relative
baldi[2] (Bir. Nerč. Barg.) (Neg. *Sch.*) — to give birth
baldiča (Khin.) — pregnant, in reference to the mare
baldimača (Nerč.) — pregnant
baldukan (Tungus of Yakutsk) — see *baldi*[2]
baldixa (Goldi) — see *baldi*[2]
ban'ďimbi (Manchu) — see *baldi*[2]
bao (Manchu) — the walled house, family; cf. *bo͡u*
baran ‖ *baraγun* (Mongol, *Rud.*) — western, left (in the tent looked from outside)
barg'e (Bir.) (also *barg'i*) — to decide, to discuss
baronta (Mank.) (Ur. *Castr.*) — west, cf. *baran*
barontăltk'i (Mank.) — the right side in the tent, cf. *baran*, *b'e*
barotăltk'i (Nerč.) — westward
barun (Buriat, *Podg.*) — western
barunte (Buriat, *Podg.*) — the left side in the tent; cf. *baran*
basagan (Buriat, *Podg.*) — the girl
baza (Buriat) — see *baďa*
bazale (Buriat, Petri) — the relationship between two and more men married to the women belonging to the same clan
baza (Buriat) — see *baďa*
b'e (all dial.) — the side place in the wigwam, see p. 255
bebu (Manchu) — the lulling
bènèr (Bir. Kum. Khin.) — the relationship between the woman and her husband's brother; — the man and his wife's relatives
b'era (RTM and others) — see *b'ira*
bergen (Mongol, *Rud.*) — the (elder) brother's wife
berjen (Buriat) — see *bergen*
b'i (all dial.) (Manchu), etc. — I, me
b'i (all dial.) (Manchu), etc. — to be (*b'isi*)
b'ikollo (Bir. Kum. Amur) (in the salutation: *ajakan'ăi b'ikollo*), imper. from *b'i* — to be
b'ira (all dial.) (Manchu) — the river
birar (Bir. Kum. Khin.) — the name of a Tungus group, *vide* General Index
birarčen (Bir. Kum.) — see *birar*
birary (Russian) — see *birar*
bō (Manchu) — see *bao*
bōbōku (Goldi, *Grube*) — the cradle
bōbōuvi (Neg. *Sch.*) — see *bōbōku*
bogdo (RTM) — the name given to the Manchus and Chinese, i.e., the subject of the Manchu emperor
bogdomgu (RTM) — the Chinese and Manchu woman; cf. *bogdo*
bogdodèt (RTM) — to speak Chinese (and Manchu)

bogdoïcy (Russian) — the name (in the seventeenth century) used for the Chinese; cf. *bogdo*
bogdokan (Mank.) — the Mongols; cf. *bogdo*
boγda (Mogol, *Rud.*) — the title of the Manchu emperor
boïgon (Manchu) — domestic, of house; cf. *bō*
boïγun (Bir.) — the family, house; cf. *boïgon.*
bojede (Bir. Kum.) — to thrash with sticks (a punishment)
bojo (all dial.) (with slight variations) — the man; husband (Nerč. Barg.)
bolikāten (Bir.) — a kind of blind man's buff (cf. *bali* — blind)
bolto (RTM) — the bear's heart
bono (Nerč. Barg.) — the junior (male and female) of my wife's clan; cf. *bènèr*
borel (Khin.) — see *boren*
boren (Nerč. Mank. Borz.) — the Buriats
bōrga (Khin.) — the elder brother's wife
boško (Bir. Kum. Khin.) — the first grade of Manchu officials; from Manchu
bōu (Chinese) — see *bao*, p. 371
brod'ačiĭ (Russian) — wandering, (sometimes) nomad
buga — see *buγa*
buγa (all dial.) — the place, locality, the highest spirit
buγu (Bir. Kum. Khin. RTM. Nerč.) — the deer (*Cervus elaphus*) male; rarely reindeer male, also the elk male
buγudikan (Nerč.) — a nickname of the reindeer
bula (Ur. *Castr.*) — the family, cf. *bule*
bule (Buriat, *Castr.*) — see *bula*
bur'āt (Ur. *Castr.*) — the Buriats
burkan (Barg. Nerč. Bir. Kum. Khin. Mank.) (Ur. *Castr.*) (Buriat) — a class of spirits, chiefly of Lamaist origin
butxa (Manchu) — the hunting ground, area
buxu (Manchu) — the reindeer male (in oron buxu); cf. *buγu*
byraty (Russian) — see *birar*

c

cilin (Chinese Sp.) — the Northern Tungus; *vide* General Index

č

čača (Khin.) — the lower part of the leg (elk), the skin from
čaŋgit (RTM) — the name of a people; *vide* General Index
čaŋkro (Khin.) — see *saŋk'ira*
čaŋtu (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (also *čaŋto*) — a part of the kalym consisting of wine, meat, etc.
čebu (Manchu) — the storehouse (public) for grain
čilča (RTM) — dishevelled (hair)
čilčikuma (Bir.) — a place slightly elevated in a plane
čilčimbi (Manchu) — to rise (e.g., water in a river)
čiličin (Manchu) — the dug (teat, pap); *jali čiličin* — the tumour
čilga (Lam.) — the Yakuts
č'iliki (Manchu Sp.) — see *cilin*
č'ilin (Manchu Sp.) — see *cilin*
činaka (Bir. Kum.) — a small bird (all small Passerers)
čomčoŋyin (Nerč.) — a nickname of the reindeer
čonoku (RTM) — a fawn (reindeer) during the second half of the first year
čoŋgo (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (also *čoŋga*) — see *čoŋoko*
čoŋoko (Barg. Nerč. Khin.) — the place in the wigwam near the entrance
čuloŋgo (Nerč.) — pregnant

d

da (Manchu) — the head, first, chief
d'adana (Neg. *Sch.*) — see *jadau*
da-hu-er (Chinese) (Romanized) — the Dahurs
dahuhal (RTM) — the Dahurs (*dahu*+*sal*)
dahur (Bir. Kum.) — the Dahurs
daku (Nerč.) — a kind of fur coat
dapkur (Khin.) — doubled, surrounded by walls, pregnant
daruγa (Nerč.) — the chief, head of administrative unit
daur (Khin.) (Russian) — see *dahur*
davasun (Barg. Nerč. Khin.) — the salt
davasuruk (Nerč.) — a small bag for salt (for reindeer)
davur (*dawur*) (Khin.) — see *dahur*
daxu (Manchu) — see *daku*
da-xu-ri (Chinese) (Romanized) — see *dahur, daxuri*
daxuri (Manchu) — see *dahur*
d'ed (also *d'éduška*) (Russian) — the grandfather

d'edaï (Mank.) — see *d'ed*
derboki (Bir. RTM. Khin.) — the headdress protecting the forehead (woman's)
d'ev'ičn'ik (Russian) — the eve before the wedding when the bride meets her girl friends
d'idin (Bir. Khin.) — a high mountain range (important watershed)
dil (all dial.) — the head
dilgu (Bir. Kum. Khin.) — the juice (e.g., of birch bark)
dilguǎija (Ang. *Tit.*) — the virgin (? S. Sh.) (juicy, in accus. S. Sh.)
doγur (Yakut *Pek.*) — see *dahur*
doji (Bir.) — the bird (*doγi, dèγi*, etc., other dialects)
dom (Russian) — the house
domončo (Bir.) — the fourth inferior class of relationship
dōna (Bir. Kum.) — a class of foreign spirits
doori (Mongol, *Rud.*) — see *3ōri*
doro (Manchu Sp.) — the kalym
dorovo (Tum.) — a form of salutation, cf. *zdorovo*
drug (Russian) — the friend; plur. *druz'já*
druž'ja (Nerč. Barg.) — the fur trader (Russian), cf. *drug*
dū ‖ *deggen* (Mongol, *Rud.*) — junior; cf. *to* (Manchu)
dučer (*dučery* — plur.) (Russian) — the name of a people; *vide* General Index
dulan, dolaγan ‖ *dulaγakan* (Mongol, Rud.) — warm
dulu (Khin.) — the cradle (made of poplar wood)

ď

ď'a (Chinese) — see *ďu*, p. 371
ďabai (Neg. *Sch.*) — poor
ďadai (Yakut, *Pek.*) — to become poor; cf. *jadau*
ďadany (Yakut, *Pek.*) — poor; cf. *jadau*
ďalan (Bir. Kum.) (Manchu) also *ďalan* — the class of relationship
ďalo (Khin.) (other dialects: *ďolo*) — the stone
ďandačan (Bir.) — the singer (a man's name)
ďandan (Bir.) — the song
ďedaŋe (Tum.) — see *jadau*
ďi (Manchu Sp.) — the son
ďiā (Yakut, *Pek.*) — the house; cf. *ďu*
ďičen (Bir. Kum.) — the Tungus living in the basin of the Zeja (*ďi*)
ďisu (Bir.) — the colour, also used instead of "name" when the latter is asked
ďo ‖ *ďige* (Mongol, *Rud.*) — the nephew (matrilineal)
ďo (Mank. Kum. Bir.) (Neg. *Sch.*) (Goldi) — see *ďu*
ďob (Mongol, *Rud.*) — see *ďop*
ďobei (Neg. *Sch.*) — see *ďabai*
ďoboi (Goldi, Olča, *Sch.*) — see *ďabai*
ďog (Goldi) — see *ďo*
ďogboi (Goldi) — see *ďoboi*
ďogo (Nerč.) — to become poor
ďoγo (Nerč. Bir.) — to suffer (through the ruin, misfortune, etc.)
ďoonta (Mank.) — the east
ďoontātki (Mank.) — the left side in the tent
ďop ‖ *ďoba* (Mongol, *Rud.*) — to suffer, etc.; cf. *ďoγo*
ďōri (Nerč. Barg.) — the private property, personal belongings, a part of the dowry
ďoro (Nerč. Barg.) (Neg. *Sch.*) — to steal.
ďorokto (Nerč.) — to have sexual intercourse with a married woman
ďow (Mongol, *Rud.*) — see *ďop*
ďu (Barg. Nerč. Bir. Kum. Khin., RTM) (Tum.) — the family, habitation, dwelling
ď'ü (Chinese) — see *ďu*, p. 371
ďukta (Bir. Kum.) — to pray to the family spirits
ďui (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Manchu Sp.) — the brother's son
ďukča (RTM) — the framework of a wigwam, left
ďukčami (Bir.) — see *ďukča*
ďukijan (Nerč. Barg.) — see *ďukča*
ďuktembi (Manchu) — to sacrifice
ďukten (Manchu) — the sacrifice
ď'ūn ‖ *ďegun* (Mongol, *Rud.*) — eastern, right (side in the tent)
ďuŋga (Bir.) — the foreign house (family).
ďur (all dial.) — two
**ďurďen* (Tungus of the seventeenth century) — the Nuichen
ďurm'in (Nerč. Barg.) — the twins

* means hypothetic form. There are a few cases.

e

čege (Mongol)—the father's junior brother
čige || *čige* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—see *čege*
čke (Manchu Sp.)—see *ačka, čege*
čkenor plural (Bir.)—the father's junior brothers
edau (Bir. Kum.)—see *jadau*
eǎi (Mongol) (Buriat)—the mother
eǎii (Yakut)—the mother's sister, cf. *eǎi*
egeči (Buriat)—see *ekči*
egesi (Buriat, *Podg.*) *Podg.*—see *ekči*
egga (Goldi, *Grube*)—see *gege* (Manchu)
ekči || *egeči* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the elder sister
eke (Buriat, *Podg.*)—see *exe*
èlbalǎin (Kum.)—a frame for loading children on horse-back
ême (all dial.)—which, of what
eme (Manchu)—the mother
emye (Manchu Sp.)—the husband's senior female relative
emken (Tum.)—see *evkan*
en'a (Bir.) (Manchu)—see *oni*; the mother's sister (Bir.)
enduri (Bir.) (Manchu)—the spirit; cf. *buya*
enken (Lam. Kum.)—see *emken*
enže (Buriat, *Petri.*)—the dowry
èrek'i (all dial.) (with slight variations)—the toad
ergun (Mongol)—the Argun River
ergune (Manchu)—see *ergun*
èri (all dial.) (with slight variations)—this
ešege (Buriat)—see *ečige*
eudača (Tum.)—to speak Tungus
eŭkan (Tum.)—see *jevkan*
evamgu (RTM)—the Tungus (*èveŋk'i*) woman
eve (Nerč. Barg.)—to raise up, to climb
evedèt (RTM)—to speak Tungus
evemgu (RTM)—see *evamgu*
even-omuk (Tum.)—the clan (?) (probably—the Tungus clan)
evenki—see *èveŋk'i*
èveŋk'i (all dial.) (with slight variations)—the Northern Tungus
eveŋk'ičen (Bir.)—see *èveŋk'i*
evkan (Nerč. Barg. RTM)—the reindeer fawn over one year old
ewen (Tum.)—see *èveŋk'i*
eweŋk'i—see *èveŋk'i*
ewkan (Ang. *Tit.*)—see *evkan*
exe (Buriat)—see *exe* || *eke*
exe || *eke* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the mother
exin || *ükin* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the girl
exin dū (Mongol)—see *xuxen dū, exin*
eži (Buriat)—see *eǎi*

f

fam'ilija (Russian)—the name of the family
fisen (Manchu)—the progeniture
furi (Goldi, *Grube*)—the family; cf. *puri*
fursun (Manchu)—the breeding, cultivation of plants
fusen (Manchu)—the progeny
futto (Noril. *Grube*)—see *hutto*

g

gal (Mongol)—the fire
galagan (Buriat)—see *golomtan, gal*
gančen—*vide* General Index
gänčen—*vide* General Index
ġaolan (Chinese)—a kind of millet
ġaoli (Chinese)—Korea, Koreans
ġargan (Manchu)—the large family, a part of a clan, branch
gărgăn (Mank.)—the family; cf. *ġargan*
gasada baza (Buriat, *Petri*)—the relationship term designating that between men married to the women belonging to one and the same clan
ġašan da (Manchu)—the village chief
gege (Manchu)—the elder sister
g'ilām'i (Bir.)—the Ussuri Goldi
g'ilbaŋgin (Nerč.)—the name of reindeer
g'ilga (Barg. Nerč. RTM) (Ur. *Castr.*)—the castrated reindeer male
-gir—suffix, *vide* General Index
girbi (all dial.) (with variations)—the name
ġ'ir'in uda (Manchu)—the Kirin River
girki (Bir.)—the spouse, wife [from *gergeǐ* || *gergei* (Mongol, *Rud.*)]
gitto (Oroči, *Grube*)—the son
goł (Buriat)—the fire
goł (Mongol-Buriat)—the river
golec (Russian) (plur. *golcy*)—the treeless peak
golomta (Khin.)—see *golumta*
golomtan (RTM) (Mongol)—the fireplace, see *golumta*
gołová (Russian)—the head, the head of an administrative unit; mayor

golumta (Bir. Kum. Mank.) (Ur. *Castr.*)—the fire spirit in the fireplace
gólyi (Russian)—naked, treeless
ġoro (Manchu)—far, remote
guhin (RTM) (Nomad Barg. *Pop.*)—see *gusin*
gunat (?) (Enis.)—see *unat*
ġurimbi (Manchu)—see *kurimb'e*
ġuru(n)(m) (Manchu Sp.)—foreign (also other meanings)
gusa (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Manchu)—the troops, military unit
guse (Nerč.)—see *gusin*
guseĭda (Bir. Kum. Khin.)—the chief of a military unit, p. 112 [(*ġusa i da* (Manchu)]
gusi (Goldi, *Grube*)—Schwieger Vater; relationship on the mother's side (Olča, *Sch.*)
gusin (Barg. Nerč.) (Ur. *Castr.*)—the senior relative male of the mother's clan, also my mother's mother's clan
gus'in (Mank.)—see *gusin*
gusinar (Bir. Mergen)—the husband and wife
guto (Barg. *Klaproth*)—the son
gutta (Enis.)—see *guto*

h

hah-lu-wen (Nuichen, *Grube*)—hot
hambur-hambur (all dial.)—the dancing song words
handa-handa—see *hambur*
harǎ'a-harǎ'a—see *hambur*
h'egaĭ-h'egaĭ—see *hambur*
hita (Neg. *Sch.*) (Oroči, *Leont.*)—the son
hólga-hólga—see *hambur*
honat (Neg. *Sch.*)—the sister, cf. *unat*
honnixan (Tum.)—see *evkan*
hora (Koriak)—the reindeer, cf. *oron*
horana (Chukchi)—see *hora*
hunač (Tum.)—see *unat*
hunači (Lam.)—see *unat*
hunat (RTM)—see *unat*
hŭrŭlkukan (Tim.)—the dowry, cf. *suruwuk*
hute (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *uta*
huto (Ang. *Tit.*)—see *uta*
hutō (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *uta*
hŭttan (Mangaz. *Klaproth*)—see *uta*
hutto (Noril, *Grube*) (Ang. *Tit.*)—see *uta*

i

ičča (Bir. Nerč.)—to give birth
iččat (Yakut)—the progeny
iče manǎu (Manchu)—the modern, new Manchus
iiča (Bir.)—"converted" (Christianity)
ijä (Yakut)—cf. *öje* (Mongol)
ija usa (Yakut)—the family name
ikan (Neg. *Sch.*)—to sing, cf. *ikon*
ikon (Nerč.)—to dance
ikta (all dial.)—the tooth
iktana (RTM)—the reindeer three years old
ilča (RTM) (also *ulča*, other dialects)—the plait (plaited)
ilčariči (RTM)—the one having plait (hair plaited)
iligda (Bir. Kum. Khin.)—see *ilxida*
ilxida (Manchu)—the chief of a military unit
ina (Barg. Nerč. RTM)—the junior brother of the husband
inan—see *ina*
inǎe (Buriat, *Podg.*)—see *inži*
ini (Yakut)—the junior male
inorodnaja (Russian)—non-Russian (adj. femin.)
inži (Buriat, *Podg.*)—the dowry
irgèn (Bir.) (Manchu) (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the Chinese non-incorporated into the Manchu military organization
isa (Bir.)—to give birth
it'a (Oroči, *Marg.*)—the son
izi (Buriat)—see *eǎi*
iži (Buriat)—see *eǎi*

j

jadambi (Manchu)—to become poor; cf. *jadau*
jadau (Khin.)—poor
jadavu (Bir. Kum.)—see *jadau*
jadaxun (Manchu)—see *jadau*
jadu || *jadaŋu* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—see *jadau*
jagxan (Buriat, *Podg.*)—the bone (clan); cf. *jas* || *jasun*
jaja (Bir. Kum.)—the father's father; the second superior class of clansmen (male) (Bir.)
jako (Bir. Nerč. Barg.)—see *joko*
jakut (Russian) (plur. *jakuty*)—the Yakuts; cf. *jako*
jali (Manchu)—the flesh
jamun (Manchu, Tungus)—the governmental office
jan-xan (Chinese)—the Chinese

jarmarka (Russian)—the annual market
jas ‖ *jasun* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the generation, tribe, bone
jasak (Russian)—the tribute
jasaŋ (Mank.)—the clan; cf. *jas* ‖ *jasun*
jasiŭ (Nerč. Barg.)—the reindeer reserved for spirits
jata (Kum. Bir.)—pregnant
jatka (Manchu)—see *ak'ipču*
jax'er'ja-jax'er'ja (Barg. Nerč. RTM)—see *hambur*
jaxuŭ (Buriat, *Petri*)—the dowry
jeje (Chinese) (Manchu Sp.)—the senior second class of my clan (Manchu)
jeru (Manchu)—the cave, haunt
jevkan—see *evkan*
jobumbi (Manchu)—see *ǯop, ǯoγo*
joko[1] (Nerč. Bir. RTM) (Oroči, Goldi, *Sch.*)—the Yakuts
joko[2] (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Manchu)—the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and all Tungus from the Yakutsk Government
joxo (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *joko*[1]
joxor-joxor (Barg. Nerč. RTM)—see *hambur*
jū (all dial.)—to go out, to give birth
julda (Bir. Kum.)—to separate, to leave the family, place
junat (Barg.)—the co-operative hunting
juvǎa (Nerč. Barg.)—the junior of my clan women's progeny; the junior of my mother's and my grandmother's clans
juvna (RTM)—see *juvǎa*

k

kaan—see *kaŋan*
kadam (Bir. Kum. Khin.)—the relationship between the woman and her husband's senior relatives, except the husband's brothers;—man and corresponding relatives of his wife's clan
kadum (Nerč. Barg.)—the senior male of my wife's clan
kadumaka (Nerč. Barg.)—the senior female of my wife's clan
kahan—see *kaŋan*
kaĭkari (Manchu)—the ammonite
kajali (Bir.)—the relationship between third cousins
kajalia (Dahur)—see *kajali*
kakor (Bir.)—to strangle (punishment)
kākta (Tungus, *Sch.*) (Gilak)—the shellfish
kala (Bir. Kum. Khin.)—see *xala*
kāla (RTM)—see *kala*
kalym (Russian [loan-word]—the price (in money, cattle, reindeer, pigs, horses, things) paid for the bride
kan (all dial.)—the khan, emperor
kandaldi (Bir. Kum.)—to form an association, associate
kanilambi (Manchu)—see *kandaldi*
kaŋan (Bir. Kum. Khin.)—the placing for spirits hung up on the child's dress
kaŋγan (Bir.)—see *kaŋan*
kara (Mank.) (Dahur)—black
karamur (Dahur)—the Black River (the Amur)
kar'eĭca (Mank.)—the Koreans; cf. *kor'ejec* (Russian)
kārgān (Yakut)—the family; cf. *gārgān*
kas'inda (Bir.)—the village chief (head); cf. *ġašan ďa*
k'axta (Oroči, Olča, Goldi, *Sch.*)—the shellfish
keĭgen (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *kergen*
kergen (Tungus, *Sch.*)—see *gārgān*
ketta (Khin.)—the shellfish
kil (Gilak)—see *kilin*
k'ilin (Manchu) (Chinese)—the Northern Tungus, *vide* General Index
kilo (Olča.)—see *k'ilin*
kilōr (Goldi) (plur. from *kilōn*)—see *k'ilin*
kinne (RTM)—my wife's father, cf. *kynne*
kirol (Goldi)—see *kilōr*
k'itaĭ (Mank.)—the Chinese; China (Russian)
k'itaĭ (Russian)—China
kitan (Dahur)—the Khitans, *vide* General Index
k'itat (Nerč. Barg.) (Ur. *Castr.*) (Buriat)—the Chinese; cf. *k'itaĭ*
koĭmale (Bir.)—false, cunning
kojoli (Khin.)—see *koimale;* referred to the women practising love with outsiders
končiy'i (Manchu Sp.)—the relatives of the woman when she marries
koŋg'ē (Khin.)—a vessel made of birch bark
korb'e (Tum.)—the male reindeer (also other males)
kore (Bir.)—the yard
kor'ějec (Russian)—the Koreans
korigan (Ur. *Castr.*)—see *kuregan*
koro (Bir.)—far, remote used as term of relationship; cf. *ġoro*

korum (Khin.)—see *kuru*
kowsen (Bir.)—to discuss, to decide
kowsen (Bir.)—the (clan) meeting
kuda (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Kum.) (Ur. *Castr.*)—see *xuda*
kuda (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Kum. Khin. Mank.)—the match-maker
kukin (all dial.) (with slight variations)—the wife of my junior clansman
kuku (all dial.) (with slight variations)—the cuckoo
kuli (Khin.)—the name of many a river in Manchuria and Transbaikalia
kulikan (all dial.)—the snake, worm
kulin (all dial.)—the snake
kulinda (RTM)—the name of many a river; cf. *kulin*
kulunčen (Bir. Kum.)—*vide* General Index
kumarar (Khin.)—*vide* General Index
kumarčen—*vide* General Index
kunjil (Bir.)—the women adopted by the clan
kurakan (Mank. Bir. Khin. Kum.)—the husband of my clan junior woman
kurākān (Ur. *Castr.*)—see *kurakan*
kurakin (Nerč. Barg.)—see *kurakan*
kure—the fence for cattle (Manchu); the yard (Nerč.); the enclosure for reindeer (Barg. Nerč.) (Ang. *Tit.*)
kuregan (Khin.)—the enclosure for horses
kurgan (Bir.)—see *kuregan*
kur'im (Nerč. Barg.) (Bargut-Mongol)—the wedding ceremony
kur'imb'e (Manchu Sp.)—to remove, nomadize, with the family and cattle; cf. *gurimbi*
kuru (Khin.)—see *kur'im*
kurum (Yakut)—see *kur'im*
kynna (Yakut)—see *kinne*

l

labekta (Tungus, *Sch.*)—see *lavukta*
labykta (Tungus, *Sch.*) (Yakut)—see *lavukta*
laksi (RTM)—to talk nonsense
laukta (Nerč.) (Oroči, Neg. *Sch.*)—see *lavukta*
lavukta (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Kum.)—the lichens (reindeer, white)
lawikta (Ang. *Tit.*)—see *lavukta*
loča (Goldi, *Sch.*)—see *łuča*
łoča (Mank.)—see *łuča*
łočan (Bir.)—see *łuča*
łočaŋ (Manchu Sp.)—see *łuča*
ło-sa (Chinese)—see *łuča*
lōsy (Mongol)—see *łuča*
łola (Khin.)—see *łuča*
luča (Oroči, *Sch.*)—see *łuča*
łuča (Kum. Nerč. Barg. RTM)—the Russian
łūča (Enis.) (Ur. *Castr.*) (Buriat)—see *łuča*
lučadèt (RTM)—to speak Russian
lučamγu (RTM)—the Russian woman
lučamniy'in (Nerč.)—see *lučamγu*
lučča (Yakut)—see *łuča*

m

mahin (also *mayin, majin*) (Bir. Kum. RTM. Nerč. Barg.) (also other dialects)—luck, chance, spirit
mal (Buriat)—cattle
malu (Bir. Kum. Barg. Nerč. Mank. RTM) (also *maŧu*)—the place in the wigwam facing the entrance;—in front of the door (house) (Bir.)
mama (Goldi, *Lopatin*)—the wife (the husband speaking)
mama (Manchu) (also borrowed by the Tungus of Manchuria)—the female spirit
mamgu = *maŋgu*—the Palæasiatic name for the Amur River
mamugir (RTM Barg.)—*vide* General Index
man'agir (Kum. Bir.)—*vide* General Index
manǎu (all dial.) (Manchu) (Chinese) (Mongol), etc.—the Manchus
man'egry (Russian)—*vide* General Index
mangat (Mongol, *Podg.*)—the Russians
maŋi (Bir. Kum. RTM)—legendary people
mar (Bir. Kum. Khin. RTM. Nerč. Barg.)—the area covered with dense shrubs
marekta—the name of many a river in the Tungus area
maro (Khin.)—see *malu*
m'endu (Russian adaptation of *mèŋdow*)—see *mèŋdow*
mèndu—see *mèŋdow*
mèŋdow (Khin. Nerč. Barg. Nomad Tungus) (Mongol)—a salutation
m'indu (Khin. and all dial.)—(dativ. from *min*)—to me
m'in'i (all dial.)—my, mine (cf. *m'indu*)

mo (all dial.)—the wood, tree, stick
modafu (Goldi, *Lopatin*)—the husband (the wife speaking)
moĭ (Russian)—my, mine
mokʼi (Nerč. Barg.)—the spirit (children's)
mokun (Bir.) (Manchu Sp.)—the clan
mokunda (Manchu Sp.) (Bir. Kum.)—the clan chief
monʼi (Manchu Sp.)—our, ours
mongo (Bir. Kum. Khin. RTM) (Manchu) (etc.)—the Mongols
moŋgoldèt (RTM)—to speak Mongol
moŋo (Ur. *Castr.*)—see *mongo*
mot! modu! (Nerč. Barg. RTM) (*mot! mot!*—Ang. *Tit*)—the commanding words for reindeer
moxon (Manchu)—the limit, boundary
mukčarir (RTM)—egglike
muke (Manchu)—the water
mukulmi (Barg. Nerč.)—the fur combination for small children
mukun (Bir.)—see *mokun*
multakan (Nerč. Barg.)—the young female reindeer which may be impregnated (over two years old); [the elk, one (? S. Sh.) year old, the reindeer male (? S. Sh.), two years old (Ang. *Tit.*)]
murčen—(*vide* General Index)—the one using the horse, pp. 52 f., 60
murčer—see *murčen*
murčin (Nerč. Barg.)—the one possessing or riding the horse (plur. *murčir.*)
murdo (RTM)—hunch-backed, stooping
murin (also *morin*) (all dial.) (Manchu) (Mongol)—the horse

n

naču (Bir. Kum. Khin.)—the mother's elder brother; cf. *nakču*
naďil (Bir. Kum.)—the relatives of the woman when she marries
naďil burkan (Bir. Kum.)—the woman's clan spirits when she marries (the woman speaking)
nagači ‖ *naxaču* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—see *naču*
nagačinor (Mongol)—see *nagači*
nagasa (Buriat, *Podg.*)—see *nagači*
nagč (Mongol)—see *nagači*
naĭnaĭ (Chinese)—see *neĭne*
naĭnča (Bir. Kum.)—the husband of my younger sister
naĭneĭ (Bir.)—the husband of my father's sister
nakču (Manchu Sp.)—the mother's elder brother; cf. *naču, nagači*
naku (Enis.)—see *noku*
nāku(*n*) (Ur. *Castr.*)—see *noku*
nakun (Nerč.)—see *noku*
nʼalma (Manchu)—the man
nʼamat (corrected, S. Sh.) (Ang. *Tit.*)—to give hunting spoil
nʼami (Nerč. Barg. RTM)—the reindeer (domest.) female
namičan (Tum.)—see *nʼami*
nʼamʼičan (Lam.)—see *nʼami*
nanʼi (*nanaĭ*) (Goldi)—local (men) (S. Sh.)
nʼaŋnʼa (Bir.)—the spirit, protector of children
nʼarulambi (Manchu)—to stay in bed after child delivery
nau (Goldi, *Grube*)—see *navan*
naun—the Nonni River
naunčen—*vide* General Index
navan (*naun, nawun*) (all dial.)—the widow, -er
naxči (Mongol)—see *nagači*
naxsa (Buriat, *Petri*)—see *nagači*
naxsunut (Buriat, *Petri*)—see *nagačinor*
neĭne (Bir. Kum.)—the father's father's wife; the father's father's sister (junior and senior)
nerčugan—*vide* General Index
nyuyal (RTM)—*vide* General Index
niang-niang (Chinese)—see *nʼaŋnʼaŋ*
niyile (Bir.)—a girl who gives birth to a child
nʼikan (Bir.) (Manchu)—the Chinese incorporated into the military Manchu organization
nʼima (Tum.)—see *nʼimaw*
nʼimadi (Bir. Nerč. Barg.)—to give the hunting spoil to other clansmen and neighbours
nʼimadif (Nerč. Barg. RTM, Amur)—the custom of giving the hunting spoil
nimadv (Irk. *Tit.*)—see *nʼimadi*
nimak (Ur. *Castr.*)—the neighbour
nimat (Ir. *Tit.*)—see *nʼimadif*
nimat (Tum.)—see *nʼimadi*
nʼimav (Khin. Bir.)—see *nʼimaw*
nʼimaw (Bir.)—to visit a neighbour
nʼimax (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *nimak*

nʼirai (Bir. Kum.)—the male
nʼiraila (Ur. *Castr.*)—to give birth
nirga ‖ *najir*(*ya*) (Mongol, *Rud.*)—to dance the ring-dance
nʼiru (Manchu→Tungus of Manchuria)—the company (military)
niur (*nʼur*) (Manchu)—the arrow
nixan (Mongol)—see *nʼikan*
nō (Bir.)—the corner, the place in the house between *malu* and *bʼe*
nʼoyarkana (RTM)—the reindeer four years old
nʼoka (Tum.)—see *joko*
noke (Nerč.)—see *noku*
noko (Oroči)—see *noku*
nokodo (Nerč.)—see *noku*
nokokon (Nerč.)—see *noku*
noku (Nerč. Barg. Khin. RTM)—the junior of my clan, cf. *nuku* (all dial.)
nokun (Mank.) (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *noku*
nōu (Goldi)—see *noku*
novoŋyun (Nerč.)—the name of the reindeer
nʼuani (Goldi, *Lopatin*)—the husband (the wife speaking)
nʼuča (Lam.)—see *łuča*
nučča (Yakut)—see *łuča*
nʼuči (Tum.)—see *łuča*
nučukan (Bir.)—small
nuklukan (Nerč.)—a nickname of the reindeer (piebald)
nuku (Nerč. Barg.)—the junior male of my clan
nuku (all dial.)—junior (in general)
nulgi (Bir. RTM)—the unit roaming (family and animals)
nulgi (Neg. *Sch.*)—the family (? S. Sh.)
nulgi (Nerč. Barg.)—the wife
nulgi (all dial.)—to nomadize, to go (the family and domesticated animals) from one place to another
nʼur (all dial.)—the arrow
nʼurge (Khin.)—to dance the ring-dance
nuwu (Tum.)—see *noku*

o

ŏ (all dial.)—not to do
o (all dial.)—to do
o! o! (Nerč. Barg.)—the commanding words for the reindeer
obok izagur (Buriat, *Podg.*)—the clan
obščestvo (Russian)—the society, company, community, administrative unit
obu (Bir. Kum.) (Manchu)—the share (in collective hunting) (Bir. Kum.)
očakʼi (RTM)—see *akʼipču, ačakʼi*
odin (Khin.)—pregnant
ŏďi (Nomad Tungus)—a kind of waist-coat worn by the women
oďigit (RTM)—from the underneath
oďikiʼt (RTM, Amur)—the taboo, prohibition (in general)
ogdi (all dial.)—great, grand, large
ogdi ama (Bir.)—the father's elder brother
ogdilan (Nerč.)—a nick-name for the reindeer
oh-nîng (Nuichen, *Grube*)—see *oni*
öje (Mongol, east.)—the mother
ojo(*n*) (Nerč. Barg. Bir. RTM) (Mank. *Castr.*)—the summit; cf. *oron*
ojon (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *orōn*—the reindeer
oka (Kum.)—see *oki*
okan (Goldi)—the aunt (*Grube*), see *oki*
okat, okit—the river, p. 149 f.
oke (Manchu)—my father's senior sister
okʼi (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Kum. Khin. RTM) (also *ŏki*)—the senior female of my clan
okin (Buriat)—the daughter
okin (Mank.) see *okʼi*
okto (all dial.)—the road, path, way
olenʼ (Mank.) (Russian)—the reindeer
olkan (Neg. *Gapanovich*)—*olkan bojo*—the name by which the Negidals style themselves (*Gapanovich*)
olonʼja-olonʼja (Nerč. Barg. RTM)—see *hambur*
o-lo-ssu (Chinese)—see *oroso*
omʼisi (Bir.)—see *oyosi* (Manchu Sp.)
omkā (Bir. Kum. Khin. RTM)—*omkŏ*
omkŏ (RTM. Nerč. Barg.) (Ang. *Tit.*)—the cradle
omo (Nerč. Barg.)—the clan
omoy (Nerč. Barg.)—see *omo*
omok (Mank.)—see *omo*
omok ‖ *omoy* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—see *omo*
omolo (Bir. Kum.)—the first junior class of relatives (my clan); the second generation of my direct progeny; (also used in my mother's clan)
onʼä (Mank.)—see *onʼi*
onʼaĭ (Bir. Kum.)—see *onʼi*
ongnokon—see *oygnokon*
onyikan (Nerč.)—a nickname of the reindeer
onʼi (Nerč. Barg.)—the mother (my)

onin (also *oni*) (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Kum. Khin. RTM) (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *on'i*
oniran (Nerč. Barg.)—my father's second wife if she is my mother's sister
oniranksa (Nerč. Barg.)—see *oniran*, if she is not my mother's sister
onko (Bir. Kum. Nerč. RTM)—the pasture, the reindeer lichens
on'o (Bir.)—the grandmother; the father's mother (Nerč. Barg.); the mother (RTM)
on'oka (Nerč. Barg.)—my mother's sister
oŋgan (RTM)—see *oŋgon* (Khin.)
oŋgnokon (Barg. Nerč. RTM) (Ang. *Tit.*)—the small fawn (below one year)
oŋgon (Khin.)—the place in the wigwam between *malu* and *b'e*
oŋgon (Mongol)—the class of spirits
oŋgun (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Kum. Khin.)—the reindeer and horse reserved for spirits
oŋŋikan—see *onŋikan*
oŋŋon (Khin.)—see *oŋgon* (Khin.)
oŋŋun—see *ongun*
oŋko (Nerč. RTM)—the reindeer lichens pasture, cf. *onko*
oŋkor-solon (Dahur)—the wild Solons, *vide* General Index
oŋosi-mama (Manchu)—see *n'aŋn'aŋ*
orčonut (Mongol)—the name of people (Tungus)
or'en' (Lam.)—the male reindeer; cf. *olen'*
oro (Goldi, *Sch.*)—see *oron*—the reindeer
ŏrŏ (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Tum.)—the place (to stay, live, sleep), seat
oročen—*vide* General Index
oročesal (Barg.)—plur. from *oročen*
oročengut (Mongol, Bargut)—the territory occupied by some people
oroči—*vide* General Index, pp. 52 f., 54
oročon (Russian)—see *oročen*
oročon'išk'i (Russian)—dimin. from *oročon*
orōn (Barg. Nerč. RTM) (Tum. Lam.) (Ur. *Castr.*) (Ang. *Tit.*) (Neg. *Sch.*) (Oroči, *Sch.*) (Goldi, *Sch.*)—the reindeer (domesticated)
oron (also *ojon*) (all dial.)—the summit
oron (Manchu)—the (all) cervines
oron buku (Manchu)—the reindeer
oronču (Manchu Sp.) (Mongol-Buriat)—the Tungus (Northern)
orončun (Manchu)—see *oronču*
oronkaĭ (Japanese)—see *urijankai*
oros (Mongol, *Rud.*) (Buriat, *Podg.*)—the Russians
oroso (Manchu)—see *oros*
orot (Mongol)—see *oros*
oruma (all dial.)—bad (morally and physically)
orxo šoforoku (Manchu)—the long feathers in the hawk's wing
orxon (Manchu)—the feather attached to the hawk's tail and other (hunting) birds
otki (Nerč. Barg.)—the senior male of my husband's clan
övöŋki (Bir.) (also *ovoŋki*)—see *evenki*
oxin (Buriat)—the daughter

p

paĭ (Russian) (Nerč.)—the share (e.g., in hunting)
pálma (Russian) (adaptation of a certain local word)—see *utkan*
pandási (Goldi, *Grube*)—the sister
pandu (Goldi, *Grube*)—the master
paŋdu (Goldi, *Sch.*)—the inhabitant
pandulari (Goldi, *Sch.*)—read *paŋduluri*—to cohabit
pari (Goldi, *Lopatin*)—the husband (the wife speaking)
pikta (Goldi, *Grube*)—the child, son
piktane (Goldi, *Grube*)—the young of animals
pikte (Olča, *Grube*)—see *piktane*
piktŏ (Goldi, Olča, *Sch.*)—the son
p'isar' (Russian)—the clerk (in official bureaux)
póndadi (Goldi, *Grube*)—see *pandási*
pondazu (Goldi, *Sch.*)—see *pandási*
poskót'ina (Russian)—the enclosure of an *ulus* territory, cf. *skot*
pouktul (Kum.)—see *poutun*
poutul (Bir.)—see *poutun*
poutun (Bir.)—the Chinese (local designation of the Chinese gold miners)
pundadu (Olča)—read: *pundaďu*, see *pandási*
puri (Goldi, *Grube*)—see *furi*

r

rakča (Sanskrit)—the class of spirits
rod (Russian)—the clan, also used as administrative unit of Siberian natives (aborigines)

rodovoĭ (Russian)—clanish, of clan; cf. *rod*

s

sābas (Yakut, *Pek.*)—the household things, property
sačar'i (Kum.)—the wild boar, two years old
sačar'i (Barg. Nerč. RTM)—the young reindeer male over two years old
s'aksa (Bir. Kum. and with variations of other dialects)—the blood
sala (Nerč. Barg.)—the wedding ceremony
saŋk'irá (Nerč. Bir. Kum. Khin.)—see *arča*
saŋ (Yakut)—the thing
sargaňi (Manchu Sp.)—the girl, daughter
sarilambi (Manchu)—to feast
sarin (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Manchu)—the feast, wedding ceremony; a part of the wedding ceremony (Goldi, *Lopatin*)
sat'ari (Ang. *Tit.*)—the reindeer female (? S. Sh.) two years old; cf. *sačar'i*
sat'irikan (*sat'arikan*) (Ang. *Tit.*)—"the symbol of a girl" (? S. Sh.)
savas (RTM)—the woman's things, dowry; cf. *sābas*
sawkātan, sawkātten (Bir.)—the game, *vide* General Index, Games
saxa (Yakut)—the Yakuts, cf. *joko*
saxalan (Manchu)—black; e.g., *saxalan ula*—the Black River (Amur)
sekan (all dial.)—the earrings
sèl (Bir. Barg. Mank.)—to refuse love or marriage
sèlè (Manchu) (all dial.)—the iron
s'elskoje (Russian)—communal
s'em' (Russian)—seven (in *s'em' domov*—the Seven Houses Village)
s'em'eĭsk'ije (Russian)—a group of Russian settlers in Transbaikalia belonging to the Old Orthodox Church
s'i (all dial.)—thou, (you)
sigača (RTM)—covered or being in *sigi*
sigi (RTM) (also *siŋi*)—the deep wild forest, jungle
silamakan—name of a river (supposed to be of *ŋuŋal* origin) (in N. W. Manchuria; *vide* Index to Geographical Names)
s'ilbur (Bir. Kum.)—the bridle (used as unit of horse)
silk'i (RTM. Nerč.)—narrow, gorges
silk'ir—see *širkil*
s'inaĭ (Bir. Kum.)—the mourning
siraku ďaŋgin (Bir. Kum.) (Manchu)—the hereditary *ďaŋgin*
siru (Nerč. Barg. RTM) (Ir. Ang. *Tit.*)—the reindeer (domesticated) (male)
skot (Russian)—the cattle
snoxa (Russian)—the daughter-in-law (called so by the father-in-law)
snoxač (Russian)—the father-in-law practising love with his daughter-in-law
snoxač'estvo (Russian)—the practice of love with *snoxa*
sogďo (Barg. Nerč. RTM)—the wild reindeer (*Cervus tarandus*)
soli (Olča, *Sch.*)—up-stream
soliŋon (RTM)—the one living up-river
soło (Buriat, *Podg.*)—the family name
solon (Bir. Kum. RTM)—*vide* General Index
soloŋo (also *sololi, soloŋxo*) (Mongol)—Korea
solun žèn (Chinese)—the Solons
s'olxo (Manchu)—Korea
s'omiza (Chinese)—a kind of millet
stan'ica (Russian)—the administrative unit among the Cossacks
stárosta (Russian)—the elected elder, head of a village community, and some other groupings
sudū (Yakut)—the kalym
sudu (Nerč. Barg.)—the feast at the conclusion of the match-making
suma niru ďaŋgin (Manchu → Tungus of Manchuria)—the non-hereditary *ďaŋgin*; cf. *siraku ďaŋgin*
sun (Manchu) (Mongol)—the milk.
sunčen (Kum. Bir.)—*vide* General Index
sungar wuła (Manchu Sp.)—the Sungari River
sungari ula (Manchu)—see *sungar wuła*
sürük (Mongol)—a drove of horses
suruk (Bir. Kum.)—the dowry
suruvuk (Nerč. Barg.)—see *suruk*
svoĭ (Russian)—one's, own, "relative"

š

šilker (Russian, of the seventeenth century)—the name of the Shilka and Amur rivers
šilkir, silk'ir, sirkal (RTM and others)—the Amur River, cf. *silk'i*

širkil—see *silk'ir* (RTM)—stressed, gorges; cf. *šilkir*
šulaŋga (Barg. Nerč.)—the chief (Mongol name for the Tungus chiefs)
šulenga (Russian)—see *šulaŋga*, used as official name for the Tungus chiefs

taga (*tāgā*) (Ur. *Castr.*)—see *taya*
tagaun (Tungus, *Georgi*)—the clan (? S. Sh.)
taya (*tāya*, etc.) (Bir. Kum.)—the people, population (particularly, the Tungus non-incorporated into the Manchu military organization)
tayačen (Bir.)—the non-incorporated Tungus, see *taya*
taï (Yakut)—the term of relationship designating the mother's relatives
t'aï-t'aï (Chinese)—cf. *taite*
taite (Bir.)—the second superior class female; the mother's mother and her sister
tak'ira (Bir. Kum.)—the shell-fish
tala (*tāla*) (Bir. Kum. Nerč. Barg.)—the soil rich in salt
talači (from *tala*)—name of many a river and settlement
taman (Lam.)—the price
tara (Manchu)—the first cousin, p. 186 f.
tarale (Bir.) (Dahur)—the relationship between the children of a brother and a sister
tārga (Mank. Bir. Kum.) (Ur. *Castr.*)—the cart
tārgači(n) (Bir. Kum.)—the one possessing or going in a cart
targač'in (Russian)—see *tārgači(n)*; referred chiefly to the Dahurs; *vide* General Index
targač'incy (Russian)—see *targač'in*
targač'iny (Russian)—see *targač'in*
tarsi (Manchu Sp.)—the relationship between the children of a brother and a sister
tarsilambi (Manchu)—to marry *tarsi*
taunčen (Bir. Kum.)—*vide* General Index
taxura (Manchu)—see *tak'ira*
teya (RTM. Bir.)—see *taya*
teyačen (Bir.)—see *tayačen*
teyekol (Bir. Nerč. Barg. Kum.)—take a seat, as a form of polite invitation to take a seat (imper. from *tèyè*)
teplyi (*t'oplyi*) (Russian)—warm
tèrga (Nerč.)—see *tārga*
terga (Dahur)—see *tārga*
terge (Mongol-Buriat) (Manchu)—see *tārga*
tergeči (Manchu)—the driver
teryye (Dahur, *Ivan*)—see *tārga*
tiămakan—see *silamakan*
t'it'ka (Russian)—the pap, the teat
to (Manchu)—junior
toydilan (Nerč.)—the name of the reindeer
toyo (also *togo*) (all dial.)—the fire
toyo onin (Nerč. Barg.)—the fire spirit (female)
toyoldin (Nerč. Barg.)—a fire spirit
toyoman (Nerč. Barg.)—a fire spirit
tōli (Bir. Khin. Kum.)—the brass mirror used in shamanism and Buddhism
tomolo (Bir. Kum.) (Manchu)—the class of relationship inferior to *omolo*
tonus (Yakut)—the Tungus
tōr'i (Barg. Nerč.)—the kalym
tor'i (Bir. Nerč. Kum. Khin.) (Nomad Barg. *Pop.*) (Goldi) (Oroči)—see *tōr'i*
torim (Ir. *Tit.*)—see *tori*
törüt (Yakut)—the family name
t'ot'en'ka (Russian)—the aunty (dimin. from *t'ot'a*—the aunt)
tuale (Bir.) (Dahur)—the relationship between children of sisters
tungus (Russian)—(plur. *tungusy*)—the Tungus
tür || *türu* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the law
turi (Bir. Kum.)—see *tor'i*
turö (Khin.)—a kind of frame used for carrying children on horse-back
turu (onomatopoet.) (RTM)—the sound produced by the woodpecker
tvan (Nerč.)—the agnates [perhaps cf. *tuwa* (Goldi), *tuvn* (Gilak)]

u

učča (Yakut)—see *tuca*
ŭdan (Manchu)—the limit, boundary, edge, border
**uĭi* (Manchu)—equivalent to *wu-tsi*
ugaitu (Ur. *Castr.*)—see *uyeïlu*
ugei (Buriat, *Podg.*)—not
ugi (Ur. *Castr.*)—see *uyi*
uyeïlu (Tum.)—poor
uyi (Nerč. Barg.)—the woman married to a senior of my clan

uyikta (RTM)—narrow, stressed between the rocks (river)
uyuma (Bir.)—see *ūma*
ujakan (Bir.)—the sixth inferior class of relationship
ujakan (Bir.) (Dahur)—the second cousin's relationship
ujakta (Bir.)—a second cousin, p. 209
ujale (Bir.) (Dahur)—the first cousin's (of male descent) relationship
ujanča (Bir.)—the fifth inferior class of relationship
üjele (Buriat)—see *ujale*
uji (Bir.)—see *uyi*
ujile (Bir.)—the crime
ujinor (Bir.)—see *uji* (+ *nor*)—the class of *uji*
ujölet || *üüjeled* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—see *ujale*
uk-izagur (Buriat, *Podg.*)—the clan
ukčo (Bir. Kum.)—to bite (a dog), to argue in another's house
ukun (all dial.) (with slight variations)—the milk
uda (Manchu)—the great river; cf. *wuda*
ulčariči—see *ilčariči*
uli (Lam; and others)—to row, to direct
uliŋki (Neg. *Sch.*)—the rudder
udus (Russian)—a special term for the administrative unit among the nomadic groups of Siberia (borrowed)
ūma (Bir.)—the father's junior brother's wife
umkal (all dial.)—drink! (imper. from *um*—to drink, smoke), used as invitation to take drink or tobacco
unadin (Neg. *Sch.*)—the girl, daughter
unaďa (Nerč. Barg. Khin. Mank.)—see *unadin*
unaďa amalg'inif (Nerč. Barg.)—my granddaughter
unaďi (Bir. Kum. Mank.)—see *unadin*
unat (Nerč. Barg. Mank. Khin.)—see *unadin*
unkina (Ang. *Tit.*)—to give birth
untu (? S. Sh.) (Solon, *Ivan.*)—the son (? S. Sh.)
uŋku (Kum.)—to pour, out and in
uŋkuŋk'i (Kum.)—the ladle
uprava (Russian)—the bureau, administrative office, p. 57
urgogdi (Bir. Khin.)—heavy, pregnant
uri (*uren, urin, uro*) (Nerč. Barg. Bir. Khin. RTM, Kum.)—to camp
uri(l) (Bir.)—the son(s), child(ren)
urijankai (Mongol, *Rud.*)—see *ŭdan* (Manchu)
uriden (Bir.)—the camp
urile (Solon, *Ivan*)—the children (? S. Sh.)
urilen (Nerč. Khin.)—the camp
urkakan (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Ir. *Tit.*)—the child, son, boy
urkan (Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Ir. *Tit.*)—see *urkakan*
urrkokkan (Udsk, *Klaproth*)—see *urkakan*
ursan (Manchu)—the offshoots of plants
ürün xara sïrük (Yakut)—the cattle
use (Manchu)—the grain, seed, larvæ of louse
usin (Manchu)—see *wužin*
uta (Bir.)—the first inferior class of relationship, child
uta (Barg. Nerč. Bir. Kum. Khin.) (Čapogir, *Klaproth*)—the son
utä (Bir.)—see *uta*
utači (Bir.)—the third superior male class of relationship
utaka (Bir.)—the grandmother's mother's father; the third superior female class of relationship
utakon (Nerč.)—the human embryo, fœtus
utavus (Nerč. Barg.)—the grandson
ute (Bir.) (Ang. *Klaproth*) (Solon, *Ivan*)—see *uta*
utin (Nerč.)—see *uta*
utkan (all dial.)—a universal weapon, instrument; (a long knife on a wooden shaft)
uto (Nerč.)—see *uta*
utu (Okhotsk Lamut, *Klaproth*)—see *uta*
utxa (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the clan
uwur (Mank.)—the Dahurs, Mongols
uxe (Manchu, old)—see *kukin*
uxin (Buriat, *Podg.*)—the daughter

v

veďi (Manchu)—the taiga
vnuk (Russian)—the grandson
vnúka (*vnúčka*) (Russian)—the granddaughter
vodka (Russian)—the Russian wine
volost' (Russian)—a group of communities forming a larger administrative unit

w

wera (Bir. Kum.)—the frog
wnučka (Mank.)—the grandson and granddaughter; cf. *vnúka*

**wuđan* (Manchu Sp.)—see *uđan*
**wuđi* (Manchu Sp.)—see *uđi*
wuh-sih-yin (Nuichen, *Grube*)—see *wužin*
wuh-tih-oh (Nuichen, *Grube*)—wild
wuda (Manchu Sp.)—see *uda*
wurtasa (Manchu Sp.)—all the women adopted by the clan (by marriage)
wuži (Manchu Sp.)—to give birth, to beget
wužin (Manchu Sp.)—the bed for seeds, plants
xadak (Nomad Tungus)—the silk kerchief of Mongol origin
xadam (Buriat)—see *xadm*
xadm||*kadam* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the husband's senior relatives, male and female
xaĭxaĭ (Tum.)—to dance the ring-dance
xajalat||*kajalid* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the second cousin (? S. Sh., cf. *kajalï*)
xala (Neg. *Sch.*) (Oroči) (Goldi)—see *kala*
xala (Khin) (Manchu)—see *kala*
xalyon (Manchu Sp.)—hot
xalu(*n*) (Buriat, *Petri*)—the clan (S. Sh.)
xalun, xalon||*kalayun* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—hot
xalun (Buriat, *Podg.*)—hot
xalxun (Manchu)—hot
xamnayan, xamnagan (Mongol-Buriat) (Nomad Tungus)—the Nomad Tungus
xan-žĕn (Chinese)—the Chinese
xarčin (with variations) (Mongol)—*vide* General Index
xatat (Buriat, *Podg.*)—see *xit*(*at*)
xaxadĭ (Manchu)—the male, son
xèđen (Manchu Sp.)—the Goldi
xeđen (Bir.) (Goldi)—see *xèđen*
xeĭ-xe (Chinese)—the Black River (Amur)
xetat (Mongol, *Rud.*)—see *xit*(*at*)
xityi(?) (S. Sh.) (Oroči)—the son
xod(*o*) (Mongol, *Rud.*)—see *xodoyoi*
xŏd'ilŏ (Olča, *Sch.*)—below, beneath
xodoyoi (Yakut)—the wife's relatives
xodoyoi kuda (Mongol, Rud.)—the husband's relatives
xŏlumtan (Yakut)—the fireplace
xonadin (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *unat*
xončixin (Manchu)—see *končiyi*
xorigan (Manchu)—the cattle yard
xorim (Buriat, *Podg.*)—see *kurim*
xorimbi (Manchu)—to put in a case
xoʒen (Goldi)—see *xèđen*
xuda (Buriat)—see *kuda*
xunadi (Oroči, *Sch.*)—see *unat*
xuptun (Tum.)—the church wedding ceremony
xur'en||*kürijen* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the fence
xurim (Buriat, *Podg.*)—see *kurim*
xurkan (Ir. *Tit.*)—the boy, son, child; cf. *urkan*
xut||*kuda* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the wife's relatives
xutu (Ang. *Tit.*)—the son; cf. *uta*
xutto (Tungus of Yakutsk, *Czekanowsky*)—see *uta*
xutu (Okhotsk Tungus)—see *uta*
xuxen||*keuken* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the girl
xuxen dū||*keuken deggen* (Mongol, *Rud.*)—the young girl

z

zdorovo (Russian)—a vulgar form of salutation; cf. *dorovo*
zoboxo (Buriat. *Podg.*)—see *ʒoboxo*
zori (Buriat, *Podg.*)—see *ʒōri*
zïn (Buriat, *Podg.*)—left

ʒ

ʒalu (Ur. *Castr.*)—full
ʒe (Buriat)—"the nephew, maternal"
ʒedangi (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *jadau*
ʒe-ʒe (Chinese)—cf. *gege*
ʒo (Mank.) (Neg. *Sch.*)—see *ǎu*—the habitation, family
ʒoboxo (Buriat, *Podg.*)—see *ǎop*
ʒonta (Mank.)—left
ʒōri (Buriat)—property, cf. *ǎori*
ʒou (Mank.)—see *ʒo*
ʒun (+ *ta*) (Ur. *Castr.*)—east
ʒïn (Buriat)—left, east
ʒy (*ʒè*) (Chinese)—the son, daughter

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LIST OF WORKS MENTIONED IN THIS STUDY

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