

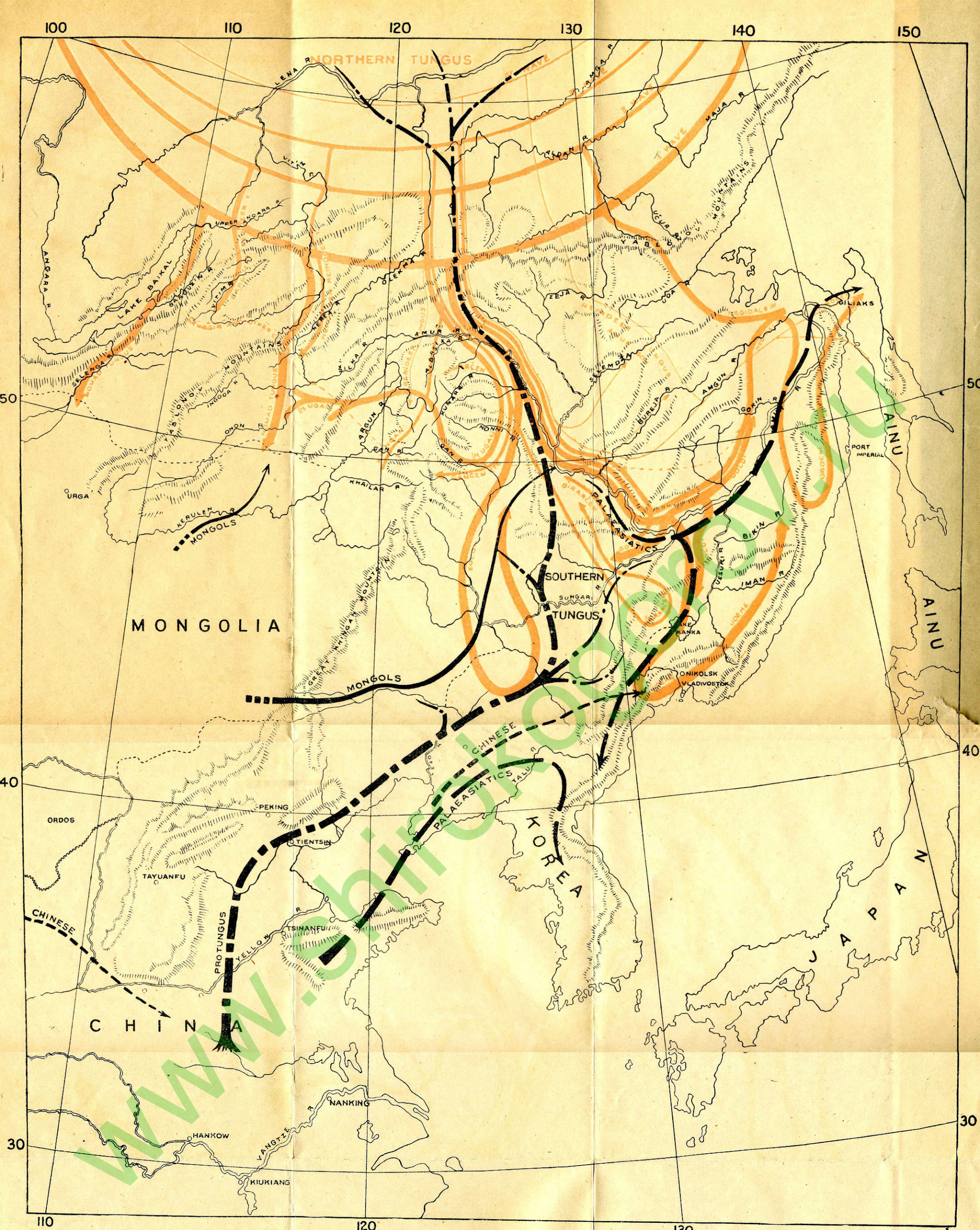
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**NORTHERN TUNGUS MIGRATIONS  
IN THE FAR EAST  
(Goldi and their Ethnical Affinities)**

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By **S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF**





APPROXIMATE MAP OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS MIGRATIONS

S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF, *Northern Tungus Migrations*.

The facts and hypotheses expounded in the present paper are shown in a graphic form in the above Map. The details concerning the migrations of Palæasiatic, Mongol, Chinese and Southern Tungus groups are altogether omitted. On the one hand, a complete representation of migrations occurred during the period treated in this paper constitutes a special topic, viz., ethnical migrations in general in this part of Asia which passes over the limits of the present paper, i.e., the place of the Goldi among other Tungus groups in the light of Tungus migrations; on the other hand, it is technically impossible to represent those migrations in a full manner on one and the same map. Moreover, all phases of the Northern Tungus migrations cannot also be shown on one map. Owing to this, I have confined myself to giving the most important movements of the Northern Tungus and indicating the general directions of other migrations, omitting details of those movements, for instance, that of the Solon. The lack of historic maps showing extension of various political formations (which are not indeed the same as ethnical ones!) during the period treated may partly be completed by comparing my map with those of J. Klaproth (op. cit.) that must of course be taken with corrections implied by our extended knowledge of historic successions. Technical difficulties of map printing did not permit

putting on the present distribution of various ethnical groups. Those who are willing to follow my exposition may consult: (1) the approximate ethnographical map, added to my *Anthropology of Northern China*; (2) the map of the Goldi given by J. A. Lopatin (op. cit.); (3) the ethnographical map of the Maritime Gov. given by V. K. Arseniev (*Ethnological Problems*, etc.); and (4) the ethnographical map published (1912, St. Petersburg) by the Colonization Department of the Russian Ministry of Home Affairs.

I do not pretend that all directions of migrations shown reproduce exactly the movements of various groups, especially with reference to the starting points of migration which showing but successions of waves are certainly hypothetical ones. The same may be stated regarding the junction of directions exactly established with hypothetical ones. Thus, some other variants of directions may also be suggested. In the present sketch map I am showing no distinction in designation of hypothetical directions and those established as historic facts which I hope to do in my other studies where I shall deal in detail with ethnical migrations in this part of Asia.

The groups that have left their former territory or are extinct are shown in brackets, also the directions of those which are absorbed by other ethnical groups have no arrows at the ends of lines.



# NORTHERN TUNGUS MIGRATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

(Goldi and their Ethnical Affinities)

By S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF

The author of the present paper originally intended to give, true with a delay, a critical review of Professor J. A. Lopatin's study on the Goldi ethnography, but during the writing some explanations of the author's points of view appeared to be absolutely necessary. Thus, the scope of the author's work naturally extended and he treated the problem of Goldi origin on a large scale which led him to a further step to connect the Goldi movement with that of other Tungus groups. Owing to that, some unpublished facts concerning the Tungus and Manchus taken from the author's material have also been set forth for illustrating some deductions resulting from his previous investigations. Moreover, the author had but limited library facilities and thus used the works that happened to be at hand. So for instance the publications of Professors Torji and Shiratori dealing with the problems of Manchuria could not be got. Generally speaking such a partial publication of deductions and facts owing to an occasion has many objections, especially from the point of view of authors who are naturally interested in being as much as possible convincing and prepared for criticism. In spite of this, the author publishes his deductions in the form of the forthcoming paper, hoping that before he publishes the material and deductions concerning the problems at present treated, in an extended form, he will also obtain an encouraging and always welcomed criticism. In this consideration the author would like to find excuse for possible defects and prematureness of this publication.

Shanghai, December, 1925.

The Goldi<sup>1</sup> are one of the most interesting groups in the Far East owing to their closeness to the Manchus and, from an ethnographical viewpoint, their intermediary character with reference to the Northern Tungus. An

<sup>1</sup> The name "goldy" was borrowed by Russian travellers and traders from a Goldi group designating by this name another Goldi group. It was introduced by Russians into the scientific terminology where it has appropriated a recognized place as have many other conventional terms. Generally speaking they call themselves *ṣōḍō*, *ṣōṣen*, *ṣōḍen* (according to Professor P. P. Schmidt, *The Language of the Olchas*, in publications of the Latvian University, VIII,



ethnographical study published by J. A. Lopatin<sup>2</sup>, together with previous investigations<sup>3</sup>, provides some new data which permit to venture a comparison of the Goldi with the Manchus and other Tungus groups. His voluminous book containing a detailed map of the Goldi geographical distribution and several figures and photographs is the result of his several visits among the Goldi of the Amur and Ussuri rivers during 1912 to 1919. This attempt at giving a monographical survey of the Goldi ethnography is the first of its kind and as such it is worthy of specialists' attention.

The Goldi, known in some English writers' works under the Chinese name of *Yu-pi-ta-tse*, i.e., Fish Skin

1923, Riga, p. 230—"low", i.e., inhabitants of the low course of the Amur River), also many other names in dependence on the regional distinctions and regions occupied by different ethnical groups, e.g., *nani*, *nanaj* (local), *manguni* (the Amur River), *akani* (the Ussuri River Goldi), *goldi* (according to Professor Schmidt's suggestion, perhaps "middle", i.e., the middle course of the Amur River). This etymology of the name *goldi*, I believe, is right. In fact, *golde* + suff. (Bir. dial.)—to keep the middle, to go in the middle of...; *golo* (Man. Sp.)—the middle, in general, the being between... (not only that of the river) and *golo* (Bir.)—the region, area (in Man. as well, also province, etc.), particularly, the area of a spirit's influence; at least, *golde* || *golda* (Mong. Cf. Professor A. Rudnev, *Material on the Dialects of Eastern Mongolia*, St. Petersburg, 1911)—to be in the middle. However, *gilāmi* (Bir.) means: the Goldi living on the banks of the Amur River, down the Sungari River, and those of the Ussuri River, as groups distinct from the Goldi of the Sungari River. I think, however, that the root *gold* belongs rather to the Mongol language. Moreover, their names are also varied by designations owed to their neighbours, e.g., *čoldok* (by Giliaks), *olča* (by Northern Tungus, Negidals), *ačany* (by early Russians), *yu-pi-ta-tse* (by the Chinese), *kordekke* (by the Japanese), *janta* (by Giliaks), *kil'i* (a group of them by the Chinese), *samagir*, etc. Almost all these names were used by various writers at different periods, but only Goldi (*gol'dy* of Russians) has become a name for a general designation of all groups, i.e., it has become a scientific classificatory term. Thus an evident misunderstanding has here occurred and the principal cause of this misunderstanding was probably the lacking of a name by which Goldi designate themselves, as it is observed among the Manchus and some other Tungus groups living in the vicinity of the Manchus and Mongols. Unfortunately J. A. Lopatin did not clear up this problem and evidently has no opinion of his own.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Lopatin, *the Goldi of the Amur, Ussuri and Sungari Rivers*. Essay of an Ethnographical Investigation (in Russian). Published by the Vladivostok Branch of the Amur Section of the Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XVII, Vladivostok, 1922, pp. 370, VI.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Supplementary Note 1.



Barbarians, or, as wrongly used, Fish Skin Tartars<sup>4</sup>, belong to the southern branch of the Tungus linguistic family<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps their language may be regarded as a branch of the Manchu spoken<sup>6</sup>. The present affinity of the Goldi with the Manchus is also beyond any doubt, as I<sup>7</sup> have shown, for the Manchus consider them as a kindred group which may be included into *iče (iči) manđu*<sup>8</sup>, i.e., the Modern Manchus. However, the Goldi, as will be shown, are not of the same origin as the Manchus living in Heilungkiang and Kirin. The Goldi language shows several elements characteristic of the Northern Tungus dialects and their ethnography in many respects shows the traces of Northern Tungus complex. Moreover, some Palæasiatic<sup>9</sup> influence has also to be counted as

<sup>4</sup> This term dates from the end of the XVIIth century when it was introduced by French fathers who, however, reserved it to a limited group of the Goldi (and partly perhaps Giliaks?). However, M. A. Frazer (*Fish Skin Tartars*, in the *Journal of N.C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXVI., No. 1, 1891-1892, Shanghai) in a detailed description of the Orochi of Port Imperial, based upon V. P. Margaritov's work *On Orochi of Port Imperial*, St. Petersburg, 1888, owing to a misunderstanding classifies them as Fish Skin Tartars which implies the confounding of them with the Goldi. As will be shown, such a classification of these groups cannot be justified.

<sup>5</sup> The affinity of the Goldi to Manchu language was already known to French fathers of the XVIIth century, who asserted that the *yu-pi-ta-tse* (i.e., Goldi) language is a mixture of Manchu and that of *Ke-tcheng-ta-tse* (J. B. du Halde, C.J., *Description géographique*, etc., de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, etc., Vol. IV. Paris, 1730, p. 12). The latter term is applied to various groups of the Northern Tungus, also probably to the Udehe (cf. *infra*. p. 175). Later on the study of this language inclined the linguists to consider it rather as a Manchu dialect (cf. Professor J. Zaxarov, *Material for the Study of Goldi Language*, in *Bulletin of the Imp. Rus. Geo. Soc.*, 1876, fasc. 1, St. Petersburg; Professor W. L. Kotwicz, in *Živaja Starina*, Vol. 70-71, 1909, St. Petersburg; Professor P. P. Schmidt, *op. cit.*).

<sup>6</sup> In so far as a preliminary analysis of the material dealing with the Manchu spoken (gathered by me in the Aigun District of Heilungkiang) permits to suppose.

<sup>7</sup> *Social Organization of the Manchus*, A Study of the Manchu clan Organization, Extra Vol. III of the *N.C.B.R.A.S.*, Shanghai, 1924.

<sup>8</sup> *š* and *č* are affricates very common in Manchu and Goldi. In Professor Schmidt's works they are transcribed *dz* and *dž*, which transcription I shall preserve when this author is quoted.

<sup>9</sup> I am using this term "Palæasiatic," as a conventional term for designation of groups which, being taken as ethnographical complexes, do not belong to the Tungus, Mongol, Turk, Chinese, Koreans and Japanese ethnical groups. I agree with W. Jochelson



an element forming the present Goldi ethnographical features. A recent direct Chinese influence has lately also been exercised upon those of them who live in the vicinity of Chinese colonizers, *i.e.*, especially in the mountainous region of the Ussuriland where the Chinese spread since the growing migration wave had passed the Ussuri and Sujfun rivers<sup>10</sup>, also in the basin of the Sungari River. The Goldi have recently swallowed some Northern Tungus groups on the banks of the Amur River, which may also be connected with their origin and in a great degree with a recent process of Goldi spreading. In dependence on the above influences the Goldi form three main groups, *i.e.*, (1) the Amur River Goldi, including the Goldi properly speaking, Olcha, Mangun, Kili (Kile), and Samagir; (2) the Ussuri River Goldi, nearly extinct, and (3) a very numerous group of the Sungari River Goldi. The first group is a resultant from Palæasiatic influence (Giliaks, etc.), Northern Tungus influence, and a recent Russian influence; the second group is under a strong Chinese influence introduced among them by Chinese hunters and trappers; and the third group is influenced by a direct contact with the Manchus more than any other, but it has recently fallen under a strong Chinese influence<sup>11</sup>. The last group, however, is not invest-

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*Archæological Investigations in the Aleutian Islands*, Washington, 1925, p. 4) who rejects this term, but for the time being I like better to preserve it, for Ratzel's term "die Rand Völker" (marginal peoples), which W. Jochemson proposes, does not cover some groups of Siberia surely being remains of an early population (the Yenissy River Ostiaks, etc.).

<sup>10</sup> This process also the ethnography of the Chinese colonizers in general was investigated by a traveller who gave a good description of his observation (cf. V. K. Arseniev, *The Chinese in the Ussuri Region*. Published by the Amur Section of the Imp. Russ. Geo. Soc., in Russian, Habarovsk, 1914). This investigation may also provide the material for a chapter in a study on "the Chinese abroad" and in that on "description of ethnical groups transplanted into an alien environment", etc.

<sup>11</sup> Du Halde (op. cit. pp. 13-14) says that a Manchu group *ilan xala* (my transcription) of the Sungari River are mixed up with *Yu-pi-ta-tse* and use the original *Yu-pi-ta-tse* clothing. So they also use oxen, let us add like some early population of Manchuria (see below p. 163 footnote 85). According to du Halde, they lived in the Xurxa River basin and periodically migrated northward. It is not, however, clear whether he described the Goldi incorporated as *içi manđu*, or he spoke about "goldified" Manchus, the latter supposition being little probable. Perhaps a part of the Goldi was not at all included into *içi manđu* and remained as a semi-independent group, though incorporated into the military organization.



igated at all and J. A. Lopatin's informations are rather incidental, being borrowed from various sources. Meanwhile this group may be regarded as having the opportunity of being the most typical of all groups for it is located in a territory very near, or even in itself, of the Manchu cradle, *i.e.*, the middle and upper courses of the Sungari River and its tributaries.

From Chinese sources it is established that in the past various events took place in the present Goldi territory. However, the relationship between various groups known previously to the last Manchu dynasty are not clear at all. It may also be noted that the process of ethnical variations—the flourishing and decline of groups—in this part of Asia has also been recorded: various Palæasiatic groups, Koreans, Mongols, Tungus, also later the Chinese and Russians were struggling and pushing one another during the whole period since the neolithic period to our days. Archaeological excavations and incidental finds, as well as the records of various travellers, have already given the evidence showing that there were some periods of a very flourishing state of this territory and some others when depopulation and decline are evident. So, for instance, in the middle course of the Amur River huge constructions, dated of the Kin dynasty, walled cities, cemeteries, etc., are very abundant, but the same region provides several remains of different stages of neolithic period. It is evident that with reference to the Goldi any historic succession cannot now be established and for instance the fact of an agriculturist population known to early Russians (XVIIth century) as *dučery* and various remains found in the present Goldi area do not provide reliable and positive data for establishing the kinship between that population and Goldi. So we are forcibly confined to hypotheses and theories, one of which is expounded in the present paper. Let us now proceed to the comparison of the Goldi with the Manchus, principally of Heilungkiang, the Ajgun District, who came into their present territory as late as the end of the XVIIth century from the Ninguta region, and on the other hand with the Northern Tungus of Manchuria and Mongolia, also Reindeer Tungus principally of Manchuria and Transbaikalia. In the forthcoming comparison I shall not deal with all ethnographical elements observed, but with those which are characteristic of those groups.



The Goldi are not numerous. In 1915 there were about four thousand males and females in the Maritime Gov. and according to various authors between eight and twenty thousand within the basin of the Sungari River<sup>12</sup>. They live principally on hunting and fishing, and very rarely on cultivation of soil, small trades, and handicrafts. They use dogs as draught animals. The dog being of the same origin as that among Giliaks is more common among the Goldi of the Amur and Ussuri rivers than among those of the Sungari River. At present they also use the horse which is naturally more common among the Sungari River Goldi than among other groups. The use of dogs as draught animals distinguishes the Goldi from the Manchus, typical equestrians<sup>13</sup> and the Northern Tungus who use reindeer and horse, but it also connects them with the Giliaks and some other palæasiatic groups. The methods of fishing are very interesting, showing an affinity with the Northern Tungus and Manchus. So, the Goldi are very skilful hunters of fish with harpoon, which is very typical of the Northern Tungus and some Palæasiatics but unknown among the Manchus. On the other hand, the Goldi and Manchus use the same kind of fishing rod with hooks (*umuke*) one end of which is charged with a heavy stone for throwing into the river, the other end being attached to the bank. As J. A. Lopatin points out, this method is not used by "serious fishers" and women practise it, while among the Manchus it is reserved to women only. He does not mention another method of fishing among the Manchus being an exclusively women's work, that with a round birch-bark box with a small opening for fish<sup>14</sup>. By the way, I should like to draw attention to a fact of importance, viz., the Goldi know the manufacturing of a special water-gauge made of stamped and burnt earth, just like those which are found in some neolithic and recent stations on the banks of the Amur River and in Ussuriland, which shows that the Goldi know well the high qualities of burnt earth, and probably did know the art of pottery at the time when

<sup>12</sup> Vide Supplementary Note II.

<sup>13</sup> However, perhaps in the past the Manchus, or rather, their ancestors, used dogs. For instance, among some ancestors of Manchus dogs played some part in the transferring of the soul to the world of the dead. This practice is known among some Palæasiatic groups (Chukchi, Yukagirs, etc.). Among the Manchus a dog made of straw is still preserved for some ritual and shamanistic practices. Some Manchu clans still use the badger as a sacrificial animal.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. my *Soc. Organ. of the Manchus*, p. 124.



they could not get pottery from the market, and soon forgot it when the Chinese appeared, as it probably happened to the Manchus<sup>15</sup>. The earthen utensils are now replaced by iron kettles as it is among all Tungus, Manchus, Mongols, and so on, partly by birch-bark utensils. The birch-bark utensils among the Goldi, as well as among Northern Tungus, are multiform, showing a striking similarity of forms and methods of manufacturing. In a lesser degree this may be stated with reference to the ornamentation that shows very essential difference compared with the Tungus of Manchuria. The birch-bark utensils are not known among the Manchus.

The Goldi hunting methods in all details resemble those among the Northern Tungus living in the upper course of the Amur River. Naturally the ginseng trade being a purely local phenomenon is unknown among other groups. The Goldi are very skilful in manufacturing various baskets and mats which is also well known to the Manchus but unknown to the Northern Tungus of this region. The Goldi of the Sungari and Ussuri rivers know

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<sup>15</sup> Among the Manchus, pottery manufacturing is a low profession reserved to the non-incorporated Chinese. It is, however, probable that when they were not trading with the Chinese they manufactured pottery themselves. Their ancestors in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries used to know pottery. The neolithic stations in the Amurland located in the territories now occupied by the Manchus, Northern Tungus, Goldi, Giliaks and Dahurs abound in fine pottery. The testimony of Mammia Rinsō (Cf. Ph. Fr. Siebold, op. cit.) as to the porcelain factories, etc., in the lower Amurland cannot be discredited by a simple assertion, as J. A. Lopatin does, that he cannot believe that such a savage people like Goldi and Giliaks may have any idea about pottery. In this case, as well as in many others, this investigator is haunted by the idea of the superiority of the culture which he belongs to, and he cannot understand that the object of his investigation, the Goldi, are not so romantically savage as they appear to him. The Goldi like some other Tungus might previously have used pottery, but leaving off a sedentary mode of life, they have lost the habit of using this kind of utensil. Thus, the ceramic art is not a cultural degree never reached by them, but it is an art forgotten (the Goldi have preserved the manufacturing of a water gauge!) owing to its inutility in a nomadic life and in the conditions of a developed trade (with the Chinese). This seems to show that the population of this region in the past (probably before the last dynasty in China) was living in a more organized manner than it now does. However, the early Chinese testimonies quote the case of Yih-leu (the IIIth century A. D.) who did not use any pottery while their neighbours did (Cf. d'Ervey de Saint Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine, ouvrage composé au XIIIe siècle de notre ère par Matouan-lin*, etc. Genève, 1876, p. 335). Later on the group that inherited Yih-leu used the pottery (Mu-ki, etc.).



agriculture and use the same methods as do the Manchus and Chinese.<sup>16</sup> Agriculture also begins to spread among the Northern Tungus living in the vicinity of the Manchus and Chinese, also Russians, but generally speaking it is not characteristic of the Northern Tungus complex. So, from this standpoint, the Goldi show a more advanced stage of an alien influence. It may also be that they had forgotten it and have nowadays re-established their former knowledge. I do not, of course, presume that agriculture was known to the early Northern Tungus and Pro-Tungus. The collecting of wild plants among the Goldi plays a very important part. J. A. Lopatin has recorded twenty species and asserts that they use more. Among the Manchus I have found more than thirty species from fifty or more species, as the Manchus say. Meanwhile, among the Northern Tungus the collecting of edible roots and grass is not common, being, however, well known to some palæasiatic groups<sup>17</sup>. The method of cooking and selection of food, especially of pork at the Goldi feasts, being a sacrificial animal, complete the picture of cultural similarity between the Goldi and Manchus. An essential difference of the Goldi food regime from that of the Manchus and Northern Tungus is raw fish, which is the commonest mode of preparation when it can be got fresh. Generally speaking, fish is the basis of the Goldi diet, so they together with Giliaks can be classified as a typical ichthyophagous group, other kinds of food being of secondary importance<sup>18</sup>, while the basis of the Manchu diet is millet and that of the Northern Tungus—meat.

In a close relation with the environmental conditions and principal food are clothing and its shape. The Goldi have developed the art of fish skin work to a high degree,

<sup>16</sup> For instance by the end of the XVIIth century the agriculture was known among the Ussuri River Goldi (du Halde mentions, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 11, that this group used to cultivate tobacco). Chinese chronicles also certify that the population of the present Goldi region was familiar with agriculture at a previous period. Whether the population was the same or not cannot now be stated.

<sup>17</sup> It may be noted that this practice as a food supply has a secondary importance, indeed. Again, J. A. Lopatin supposing it to be characteristic of "primitive collectors of edible plants" whence he concludes a very primitive cultural state of the Goldi is not right. Among them, as well as among the Manchus, it is a mere survival, true of some practical importance. Did also Russian peasants know anything about edible grass, roots and bark during the last famine?

<sup>18</sup> However, the Goldi also like pork, which was known since the earliest time, and, as shown, plays a ritual role. Du Halde (op. cit. p. 11) mentions the pig among the Ussuri Goldi (the XVIIth century).



as their neighbours, Giliaks, and some other Palæasiatic groups did. However, the Northern Tungus also know the art of fish skin work and use this material for various purposes, reindeer and other animals' skin being the commonest material for clothing. The Goldi also use in large quantities, especially for winter clothing, skin and fur of various animals found in their territory. The Manchus have no fish skin and use animals' skin in a limited quantity, which they purchase from the Northern Tungus living in their vicinity. Among the Manchus the usual material is cloth of Chinese origin though the weaving art is known among them<sup>19</sup>. The Goldi who do not know (at least nowadays) the weaving art as well as the Northern Tungus, also use cloth if they can get it from the Chinese and Russians. Thus, the choice of material used by all these groups depends upon the environment and the degree of development of intercourse with neighbours<sup>20</sup>. However, it is not so with reference to the form, shape of dress, which among all those groups (except the Reindeer Tungus) is evidently the same, except those borrowed directly from the Chinese and Russians. Among the Goldi the shape of dress is exactly the same as that among the Manchus and the Northern Tungus of Manchuria and Mongolia, who probably borrowed it from the Manchus and their precursors<sup>21</sup>. For their reindeer brethren have an entirely different shape of coat, let

<sup>19</sup> Chinese chronicles mention cloth made of hemp among the early population of Manchuria.

<sup>20</sup> Among the Northern Tungus belonging to the same regional groups, for instance the Tungus of the upper course of the Amur River, known among Russians under the name of one of their clans *man'agir* (*Man'egry* of Russians, cf. further foot-note 25) all kinds of materials are met with. Skin is common among those who are living in the mountainous part of Manchuria and Amur Gov., while among those who are living near the banks of the Amur River cloth considerably prevails. For certain purposes they also use fish skin.

<sup>21</sup> Except some elements of clothing complex common among the Giliaks, among the Goldi, also among the Northern Tungus of Manchuria, two different complexes of clothing can now be distinguished. One complex is evidently of a modern Manchu origin (combined borrowing: Mongol and Chinese influences), while another one is of an early date. The latter, supposed by the Manchus to be a typical *orončun ètku*, i.e., the Northern Tungus clothing. However, it was probably typical for an early population of Manchuria, perhaps the Southern Tungus, but is also of a non-Tungus origin. Above all the present Goldi clothing as well as that of the Northern Tungus of Manchuria is strongly influenced by the modern Chinese fashions. However, according to du Halde (op. cit. p. 11) the Ussuri River Goldi used (in the XVIIth century!) the Manchu clothing.



us say, entirely different idea of coat, which is like the European morning coat of our days. The same may be referred to the shape of trousers, knee protectors, shoes, and winter hat, also ear protectors, gloves, etc., which are similar among the Goldi and Manchus, also Northern Tungus who have fallen under the Manchu influence<sup>22</sup>. The summer hat of a conical form, known among the Goldi, has a very wide geographical distribution, *i.e.*, Giliaks, Japanese, Chinese and down south to the Malay Archipelago, is, of course, of a very ancient origin, characteristic of the coastal population of Eastern Asia, probably of a Palæasiatic origin. It is unknown among the Northern Tungus. Yet there is a clothing of great ethnographical interest, *i.e.*, a kind of short skirt or petticoat which is met with among the Goldi as an essential part of the shaman's costume, as it is among Manchus, but it is unknown among the Northern Tungus. This clothing, moreover, is a usual part of the Giliak costume; it is also met with among the Chinese (in Eastern China, I think, and especially in Kiangsu Province, among some groups, worn by both females and males). It is beyond any doubt that this kind of clothing is not of a Northern Tungus origin and it has a very peculiar geographical distribution which seems to indicate its local (perhaps Palæasiatic?) origin<sup>23</sup>.

A very essential element of the clothing is the ornamentation. Dr. B. Laufer (*op. cit.*) has shown it to have originated in China. Among the Goldi it has reached the highest stage of development and fashion, and further complexity too. It is, however, almost unknown among the Reindeer Tungus who prefer a lineal, dotted, pointed, etc., ornament, but it has already replaced the old ornament among the Northern Tungus of Manchuria and Mongolia. This ornament is at present evidently in the process of decline among the Manchus who have decidedly fallen

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<sup>22</sup> J. A. Lopatin has probably missed mentioning among the Goldi a very typical apron known among all Chinese groups, the Manchus and Tungus of Manchuria and Mongolia who use it as children's clothing. Among the Northern Reindeer Tungus, especially those who use an open coat, this apron plays a most important role and is used for adult persons, both female and male. These facts point to a very ancient origin of this clothing adapted for a mild climate.

<sup>23</sup> In Chinese chronicles an indication on this kind of clothing is found. So, among the early population of Manchuria—Yih-leu whose belonging to ethnical groups is not established—a piece of cloth was used for covering the lower part of the body.



under the influence of the Chinese modern ornament (realistic flowers, birds, animals, etc.). This influence has already penetrated among the Goldi and some Northern Tungus groups. So, we have to find whether the Goldi ornament is an early stage of the Manchu ornament, or a further step of development of an early ornament which migrated from China and was at some period common among the Manchus, Northern Tungus of Manchuria and some other groups (Udehe, Orochi, etc.).

A peculiarity characteristic of the Goldi is the nasal ring that one meets with among Udehe and does not among Manchus and Northern Tungus of this region<sup>24</sup>. The tattooing reduced among the Goldi to a few points put between eyes and on the lower part of the forehead is also known among the Northern Tungus of the upper course of the Amur River. The so called *Manegircy*<sup>25</sup> and *Birary* of Maack (op. cit) also use the tattooing up to present time.

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<sup>24</sup> Dr. B. Laufer (*Anneaux nasaux en Chine*, in T'oung-Pao, II series, Vol. VI, 1, 1905, pp. 321-323) has added the Chinese of Northern Kiangsu to the list of ethnical groups of this part of Asia using the nasal ring, which is quite right. I have lately observed myself this practice among Kiangsu men. Moreover he has shown that the Chinese of Kwangtung also knew this practice. The geographical distribution of this custom is very curious. It is thus known among the inhabitants of Kurilian Archipelago (Cf. G. Schlegel, in T'oung Pao, Vol. III, 1892, pp. 208-211), Goldi, Orochi, Udehe, the Chinese of Kiangsu and Kwangtung(?). This area seems to correspond to former areas of Palæasiatic groups who lived in the coastal region of Asia. However, this practice was perhaps also known to the pro-Tungus.

<sup>25</sup> I want to use this opportunity for clearing up the misuse of this term, which will also help us in the understanding of the relationship between various Northern Tungus groups. To *Man'agir* clan living in North Western Manchuria and partly in the Amur Gov. fortune did not smile, and this clan having given its name to a Northern Tungus group, provoked several misunderstandings among writers. As stated, this name was first introduced by travellers who did not know the complex relations of various Tungus groups. De Lacouperie (*The Djurtchen of Manchuria*, J.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, N.S. 1889, p. 448) quoting H. H. Howorth's *The Ethnology of Manchuria* (*The Phoenix*, Vol. II, 1871) makes a curious excursion into the history of *Man'agir* asserting that Solons are also "called *Manyargs* (cf. the Turkish *menyak* 'prince') on the Upper Waters of the Amur, claim to descend from the ancient subjects of the Kin dynasty", while the clan *Man'agir* claims no more than to descend with reindeer from the north. I think that the mutilation *Manyarg* was introduced by Th. Witlem Atkinson (*Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amur*, etc., London, 1860). This traveller did not distinguish from them another group, i.e., *Birary* of Russians. He has also maintained the name *Mangoon* (cf. above footnote 1) and in-



In a form of a survival it is met with among the Manchus and Chinese who put some points with red, black and blue colours<sup>26</sup> on the forehead and between the eyes of their children. There is no abuse of earrings, as observed among the Goldi, among the Manchus and Northern Tungus. The hair dress among the Goldi is nearly the same as that among the Manchus, while the Northern Tungus non-incorporated into the Manchu military organization have preserved their old fashions. The Manchu hair dress for men is of special importance, owing to its political symbolism showing subjection to the Manchu rule<sup>27</sup>.

Among the Goldi the mode of settling resembles rather that used among the semi-settled Northern Tungus of Manchuria of the upper course of the Amur River, who have Chinese houses with small kitchen gardens, grouped into small villages, but periodically moved to other places, while the Manchus form typically sedentary groups. Among the Goldi the houses are built absolutely in the same manner as among poor Manchus, i.e., they use

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introduced a new ethnical designation—*Touzemtz*, borrowed by him from Russian *tuzemec* (*tuzemcy*—plural) which means merely "aborigines, native", etc. I do not know if *Touzemtz* has appropriated any classificatory value among other writers, as it happened with *Manegry*, *Manyarg*, also Goldi. This instance is very typical for showing the origin of some names and this exclusively confused classification of Tungus groups.

<sup>26</sup> In the XVIIth century the tattooing was a general custom among the Northern Tungus of the Enissy River (cf. E. Ysebrants *I des Three Years' Travels from Moscow over-land to China*, etc., London, 1706, p. 31). This practice persisted till the middle of the XIXth century preserving a certain complexity of design (cf. T. A. von Middendorff, and other travellers).

<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that the plait was already mentioned among the early population of Manchuria by Chinese chronicles among Yih-leu (Cf. Saint Denys, op. cit. p. 330). De Lacouperie (op. cit. p. 450) who paid special attention to this practice as an essential characteristic of Manchus and their precursors, also quotes "Mu-huy tribe in the north of Liao-tung" who (about 285 A.D.) "used to shave their heads and leave only a tuft of hair on the top" which is not, I suggest, a plait. The plait was characteristic of *Nui-chen* (ibid., also cf. E. Parker, *A Simplified Account of the Progenitors of the Manchus*, in the *Chinese Recorder*, Vol. XXIV, No. 11, Nov. 1893, p. 501 sq.). Without going into other details I may also quote the case of some Reindeer Northern Tungus of the Bargusin District in Transbaikalia, who sometimes wear a plait and assert that this is their old fashion. Whether it is some survival of their early relations with *Nui-chen* or a custom common to the pro-Tungus cannot now be stated, but it is essential that this Tungus group never was in direct contact with the Manchus. The travellers of the XVIIth century found the Tungus in Siberia wearing plaits.



a simplified Chinese type. There are also some simplified dwellings—underground houses, semi-underground houses—well known among poor Manchus and Tungus, also Chinese new settlers<sup>28</sup>. The Goldi wigwam of a semi-spheric form erected in the summer stations is a very interesting element of the Goldi complex. The framework is made of light bending wood and willow in such a manner that being covered with birch-bark (lately cloth) it forms a characteristic spheric hut. This kind of wigwam among the Northern Tungus of the upper course of the Amur River is met with as a summer hut in a reduced form and in a still more reduced form, as a hunting shelter it is known among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and Transbaikalia<sup>29</sup>. Among the Goldi of the Sungari River one meets a wigwam of conical form, like that of the Northern Tungus of Mongolia, Manchuria and Siberia and that of other ethnical groups living in similar conditions<sup>30</sup>. It may,

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<sup>28</sup> J. A. Lopatin has evidently made a mistake in supposing these kind of dwellings to indicate some connexion between the Goldi and Palæasiatics. This kind of underground house has nothing to do with the underground houses of Palæasiatics and those which were excavated by me (in 1916) on the banks of the middle course of the Amur River. The first is a temporary dwelling of a reduced Chinese type, while the second is characterized by a not square form, entrance from the roof, with a ladder made of wood trunk, etc., i.e., just as it was described by the early Chinese among the aborigines of Manchuria. By this remark I do not intend, however, to assert that the ancestors of Goldi did not know true underground houses.

<sup>29</sup> One must have for such a semi-spheric hut a special flexible material, like willow, which is rare in the northern regions of the Amur River basin and almost none in the territory of the Reindeer Tungus. Thus, this form is a local variation in a developed form of the hunting semi-spheric hut of the other Tungus groups, while the conical wigwam spread over a huge territory has also been borrowed from the Tungus by some Palæasiatics (Reindeer Koriaks, cf. W. Jochelson, *The Koriaks, Part II., Publications of the Jesup Expedition, Vol. VI, Part I*, Leiden, 1908) and perhaps some Yakut groups. It is very interesting that among Indians of North America both forms, conical and semi-spheric, are met with, which is rather a mere convergence. (cf. T. T. Waterman *North American Indian Dwellings*, in Ann. Rep. of the Board of Reg. of the Sm. Inst. 1924, Washington, 1925, pp. 461 H.) Underground houses are also known among the population of Western America, but in the case of this form the underground house seems to belong to an ethnographical complex widely spread along the coasts of the Pacific and partly known to some ethnical groups of Eastern Asia.

<sup>30</sup> Orochi of Port Imperial (Cf. V. P. Margaritov, op. cit.) use a conical wigwam for hunting and women lying-in, though they have adopted a roofed hut of the same type as that among Udehe (Cf. S. Brailovsky, *Ta-tse, or Udihe, an Essay of an*



however, be noted that the Goldi use the same name—*malu*—as the Reindeer and other Northern Tungus do, who use this term for designating a place near the principal poles of a conical wigwam, while the Goldi use *malu* for a place near the principal poles supporting the roof of their houses of Chinese type. Among both the Goldi and Northern Tungus the “placings for spirits” are kept at these places and the latter have a special importance in social and religious performances. This seems to point to a common origin of those ideas.

The Goldi also have a special type of dwelling for winter hunting. This type closely resembles the Chinese hunting hut and is no doubt borrowed, either directly from the Chinese or through the Manchus. The storehouse elevated on high poles is common among the Goldi and all Northern Tungus, as well as among the early population of Manchuria and neighbouring ethnical groups. The Goldi living on fish and having no other means of communication than dog and water courses very largely use canoes of various forms. The most typical canoe is that made of a piece of wood. This type is supposed to be characteristic of Palæasiatic groups<sup>31</sup> and it is not common among the Northern Tungus who have a marked preference for a very light portable canoe made of birch-bark. A light canoe made of wooden planks is also known among the Goldi. It may be supposed to be a mere imitation of a light canoe made of birch-bark. It is important to note that the Goldi do not use any canoe made of animal

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*Ethnographical Investigation*, in Živaja Starina, Fasc. II, 1901, St. Petersburg, in Russian). However, among Udehe a conical wigwam is observed as a survival. Moreover, M. Veniukov (*Travels Along the Frontiers of Russian Asia*, St. Petersburg, 1868, in Russian, p. 89) who travelled in Ussuriland in 1858, asserts that the Ussuri Goldi use a conical wigwam and Orochi use a conical wigwam covered with birchbark. It ought to be pointed out that the Orochi of M. Veniukov were probably Udehe who differ in many respects from the Orochi of Port Imperial. (Cf. also supplementary Note III).

<sup>31</sup>W. Jochelson (*Ethnological Problems on Northern Coast of Pacific*, in Bulletin of the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc., Vol. XLIII, 1907, St. Petersburg, in Russian, p. 79) says that among Palæasiatic groups, like Yukagirs, Kamchadals, this type of canoe is used. It was also probably known to the early population of Manchuria, Yih-leu (Cf. de Saint Denys, op. cit. p. 331). The Manchu language possesses a special term for it:—*ḍaxa*. Let us remember that birch-bark was probably as rare in the region occupied at that time by Yih-leu, as it is at present. However, M. Veniukov (op. cit. p. 26) in 1858 met with Goldi who used a birchbark canoe in the Ussuri River.



skin<sup>32</sup>. The third type of canoe is that evidently borrowed from the Chinese. The Manchus at present know but the third type of canoe.

The snow-shoe of the Northern Tungus type is also known among the Goldi, while Giliaks use a snow-shoe of an entirely different type. The dog sledge of Goldi, however, is similar to that of Giliaks (and Kamchadals!). The hunting arms and utensils among the Goldi are almost the same as among the Northern Tungus. Arms made of iron are of Chinese origin. As to the methods of hunting, they are similar in many respects among the Goldi and Northern Tungus. The same methods, however, are employed by the Manchus, Chinese and other ethnical groups of this region.

The social organization of the Goldi is based upon an agnatic exogamous clan with male filiation called *xala*. Among the Manchus the clan has about the same system and is called by the same term *xala*. Among the Northern Tungus of Manchuria and Mongolia the clan organization is in main lines similar to that among the Goldi and called *kala*, while among the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria it is called by a Yakut term and among those of Transbaikalia by a Mongol term. Unfortunately, the clan names among the Goldi are not established with all desirable details and J. A. Lopatin gives only thirteen clan names of the Goldi living in the vicinity of the Amur River. Owing to the great importance of this problem I shall dwell a little longer upon the analysis of the clan names given by J. A. Lopatin. I have arranged them into four classes, as shown<sup>33</sup>, in the Table.

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<sup>32</sup>In a perfectly developed form this type of canoe is known among Eskimos, Chukchis Aleutians, etc. But it is also known among the Northern Tungus who use this kind of canoe in a very primitive form. It is mentioned in the Northern Tungus folk-lore. (Cf. also further p. 163, footnote 85.)

<sup>33</sup>J. A. Lopatin's transcription is not exact owing to typographical and, I think, other conditions of recording. I shall give a transcription of his names given with an adaptation to Russian. Moreover, J. A. Lopatin does not seem to be interested in the problem of clan names and their origin, therefore he did not pay due attention to this branch of investigation. He does not sharply distinguish the notion "clan" and *familija* (of Russians) and both terms he uses in the same sense. However, among the Goldi the clan organization is still alive, so it may happen, as it does among other aborigines of Siberia, that some of J. A. Lopatin's clan names are of recent origin, i.e., *familija* of Russians. Such clan names, if they should occur, must be excluded from his list altogether. In fact, he asserts that the clan system is already shaken by the Chinese and



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| I. <i>gejker</i><br><i>ḁaksor</i><br><i>dier</i> (also, <i>diger</i> )<br><i>xo=ar</i>                           | III. <i>oḁal</i> (also, <i>o=al</i> )  |
| II. <i>on'enka</i> (also, <i>onika</i> )<br><i>udynka</i><br><i>donka</i><br><i>perminka</i><br><i>jukaminka</i> | IV. <i>neergu</i><br><i>bel'daj</i> (also, <i>bel'dy</i> )<br><i>kil'i</i> (also, <i>kil'é</i> or<br><i>kil'en</i> ) |

In so far as this material permits, we may see that the clan names may be divided into the four groups as shown above, i.e., (1) the names with the suffix *r*, which is probably the suffix of plural of word ending in *n*, (2) the names with the suffix *ka*, which is perhaps an abbreviation of *kan*, *ken* of the Northern Tungus or even a Russian diminutive suffix (*nka*) quite common among the aborigines of Siberia when they speak "business language" to Russians; (3) one name ending in *l* (plural?); and (4) three names à part. The first of the last group is not clear at all<sup>34</sup>, while the second may be connected with one well known among various Tungus groups and Dahurs,—the clan name *bol'd* + suff., or *bul'd* + suff., or *bul't* + suff. The third one among the Goldi is sometimes pronounced *kil'er*, evidently from *kil'en*, and I think this is not an old clan name, but a new designation originated from the name *kil'i* (*kil'e*) = *kil'in* (*kil'en*) = *cil'in* = *čil'in* given by the Chinese trappers to some Tungus groups, for example, to those in the upper course of the Amur River<sup>35</sup>. The name

Russian influences. Such an analysis and corrections ought also to be done in some other records of the Tungus clan names, for instance in the work of S. K. Patkanov (*Essay on Geographical and Statistical Distribution of the Tungus* in *Memoirs of the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI, 1906, in Russian) where the true clan names are mixed up with the family names given to the Tungus by Russians. Something similar occurs nowadays among the Northern Tungus living under Chinese rule.

<sup>34</sup>I fear to falling in to an error in supposing this name to have any connexion with a clan name *nirger* known among Dahurs.

<sup>35</sup>I have shown (cf. *Soc. Org. of the Manchus*) that the Manchus (Man. Sp.) by this name sometimes designate the Northern Tungus of this region. The Goldi call them *kilör*, *kiröl*; Orochi and Olcha —*kilö*; Negidals —*kilöl* and Gilyaks —*kil* (cf. Professor Schmidt, op. cit.). This name is recognized by the Manchus to be of Chinese and, I should add, of a relatively recent origin. The Chinese also refer this name to some non-Tungus groups, e.g., Koreans. Thus I do not see any reason for introducing this term with reference to any Tungus or Goldi group as a separate ethnical unit or Tungus dialect



*diger* seems to have a Northern Tungus suffix *ger, gir* characteristic of clan names<sup>36</sup>. Among the Goldi clan names I do not see any Manchu clan name<sup>37</sup>. The name *udyn-ka* may be connected with Negidal clan *udan*<sup>38</sup>; the name *xo<sup>3</sup>ar* (it may also be *xo<sup>3</sup>an, xo<sup>3</sup>aa*) may be connected with Negidal *xödžö* (original transcription); *don-ka* is close to *dun-e-gir, dun-èn-kèn* of the Northern Tungus of Manchuria of Birar Yaman<sup>39</sup>; *o<sup>3</sup>a-l* is close to *o<sup>3</sup>a-i-gir* and *o<sup>3</sup>a-a-gir* of the Nerchinsk Tungus, also a typically Reindeer Northern Tungus group; *bel'd-aj* and *bel'd-y* may perhaps be connected with *bul'd-ute* of the Amur Gov. Reindeer Tungus and Dahurs<sup>40</sup> also *bul't-o-gir* of the Nerchinsk Reindeer Tungus. To the above it may be added that *sama-gir*, under which name a Goldi group

as some authors do. Neither is the group mentioned by A. Lopatin a clan, but a Northern Tungus group which have lately joined Goldi and preserved this name (*kilen*), being goldified, as a passport of their non-Southern Tungus and new origin.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Soc. Org. of the Manchus, etc. pp. 20-28.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 31, Footnote.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Professor Schmidt, *The Language of Negidals*. Among Negidals who are a Northern Tungus group, this clan name seems to be of a recent origin.

<sup>39</sup> This group was called *Birary, Byraly* by Russians according to their administrative subdivision. It is most closely connected with the Tungus of Kumar Yamen, called sometimes *kumar<sup>3</sup>en* (and *birar<sup>3</sup>en*) by themselves and *Man<sup>3</sup>egry* by Russians. These two groups naturally have common clans and intermarry. Their dialects must be regarded as sub-dialects. Thus, the term *Birar* cannot be justified as a designation of a group ethnographically and linguistically distinct from *Man<sup>3</sup>egry*. Both groups belong to the Northern Tungus groups of Manchuria incorporated into the Manchu military organization. They may be called geographically: group of the Upper Amur. It is slightly distinct from the Northern Tungus of *Naun*, the Nonni River, with tributaries, called *naun<sup>3</sup>en*, and group of Northern Tungus of Mongolia, provisionally designated by me the *Khingan Tungus*. In Professor Zaxarov's Manchu Russian Dictionary *dung'a* is the name of a Manchu clan. I did not find this name among other Manchu clan names. It is quite possible that this clan originally belonged to the Goldi who were included in the list of clans as one of *i<sup>3</sup>ei mandu* clans.

<sup>40</sup> Some clan names among Dahurs of Butxa District in North Western Manchuria are of a Northern Tungus origin, e.g., in my list of Dahur clan names, which is not a complete one, four names out of eighteen are of a Northern Tungus origin, even with the suffix *gir*. Dahurs, as we know from Professor A. O. Ivanovsky's *Mandjurica*. I., etc. St. Petersburg, 1894, speak a Mongol dialect, are ethnographically and anthropologically (Cf. my *Anthrop of North China*) different from the Northern Tungus (and Manchus!). It is not clear why J. Deny (*Les langues du monde par un groupe de*



living in the lower course of the Amur River is known, is a Northern Tungus name of a clan which had migrated, as I have established, together with other clans from the region of Lake Baikal eastward, to Eastern Transbaikalia (among the Nerchinsk Reindeer Tungus and Nomad Tungus of the Argun River, Mankova), to Manchuria (east from the Great Khingan Mountains) and probably to the lower Amur River. I shall not go further in showing other instances of migrations, but I want to point out that some clans of the Birar Yamen Northern Tungus pretend to have come to their present habitat in the middle course of the Amur River from the lower course of the same River, which shows that the migrating waves in the Amur River basin were simultaneously going in two opposite directions—eastward and westward. Moreover, as I have shown, the Northern Tungus groups migrated southward from the northern part of the Amur Gov. and Yakutsk Gov. and descended to their present habitat after the latter had been left by another group called *nugal*. This migration took place probably by the end of the XVIIIth centry, when the first Russian onset had failed and Manchus had withdrawn their kinsmen southward, to China. It is then quite probable that some clan names have been brought by *nugal* westward.

The above instances of common clan names are sufficient for showing that some Goldi clan names are the same as those recorded among the Northern Tungus and that the most part of their names are, from a morphological point of view, of Northern Tungus origin (suff. *gir*, *ger*, plural *r* and *l*, which are not characteristic of Manchu).

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*linguistes sous la direction de A. Meillet et Marcel Cohen, Paris, 1924*) included them in the Tungus linguistical family. By the way, this author has recognized that no classification of the Tungus group is possible with the present knowledge of these dialects. Moreover, he has uncritically copied the names of various clans (sometimes living in distinct parts of Siberia and Manchuria among other groups—regional—mentioned by him!) regional groups, mere nicknames; he has once more repeated all misunderstandings introduced by travellers and Cossaks, also a traditional enumeration of various groups of Manchuria which were known to the Chinese and are supposed (it is not clear why!) to be all ancestors of Tungus, but he did not look at what has already been done for an approximate classification of Tungus dialects. In this footnote I unfortunately cannot enter into details for a criticism of this article, but I may say that in the publications of some previous authors one may find more definite and exact ideas as to the Tungus classification than in this article in a responsible publication.



Thus the Goldi clan names indicate a mixed origin of Goldi clans <sup>41</sup>.

Let us now see, in so far as the material published by J. A. Lopatin permits, the functions of the clan. Among the Goldi a council of elders controls the clan life, as it is among the Northern Tungus, while among Manchus a general meeting of clan members and an elected chief *mokunda* transact all business.<sup>42</sup> A Clan has its yearly

<sup>41</sup> The list of clan names among the Ussuri and Sungari Goldi could be of great value for our comparison. It would be very desirable that along with further investigations the distinction of clan names properly speaking and "*familiija*" also Chinese names should be made the most carefully (cf. *Soc. Org. of the Manchus, etc.* pp. 30-32). Generally speaking the clan names are very old and well preserved among some Tungus groups. Moreover, the borrowing of clan names (the Northern Tungus) in the basin of the Amur River is hardly possible because the population of this region from a cultural standpoint was always superior to the wandering Northern Tungus groups and did not speak Northern Tungus dialects. On the other hand, borrowing of new names for new subdivisions by the Northern Tungus clans is quite common and can be still observed among the Northern Tungus. In the process of formation of new clans the Northern Tungus very often take some nicknames or alien names (without suffix *gir* or *ger*!). In order to warrant from a possible misunderstanding I want to point out that a failure in finding the facts concerning the history of the Southern Tungus clan names in Chinese annals cannot disappoint us, because the Northern Tungus and Manchus of our days when speaking Chinese never use their proper names in their own language but always try to adapt their clan names by an alteration and abbreviation, also a translation, to the Chinese mind and language. The same occurred previously to the modern time and especially when the Chinese did not know any "barbarian" languages. In Russia the earliest indications as to the Tungus clans in general are found in reports of the XVIIth century. In the XVIIIth century several clans were mentioned by travellers. Many of them are still known among the Tungus of Siberia. With reference to the neighbourhood of the Goldi we have some clan names recorded by Krasheninnikov in the region of Udskii Ostrog. He mentioned the names: *butal*, *laligir*, *goigan*, *oddian*, *oginkagir* and *kišigir*. Among the group of Sobatschi (in Russian—dog) Tungus Ph. J. von Strahlenberg (*Das nord und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia, etc.*, in einer historisch-geographischen Beschreibung, Stockholm, 1730, p. 423. English translation: An Historico-Geographical Description, etc. London, 1738, pp. 450-451) mentioned: Lamunka, Kæltaku, Lakigir, Brangatkal, Nynengath, Bugari, Maimogir, Boldati, Mamour, Ilagin, Kotnachan and Jukagri or Jukairi. Some of these names are common among the Reindeer Tungus and some others are mentioned in the Tungus folk-lore. One sees among these names some which are now met with among the Goldi, e.g. *oddian* (*oðal*), *oginkagir* (*on'enka?*), *Beldati* (*beldai*), *Jukagri* (*jukaminka?*).

<sup>42</sup> Among the Northern Tungus of Manchuria and Mongolia (incorporated into the Manchu military organization some time ago) the clan chief—*mokunda*—used to be elected. Nowadays they have



sacrifice when pig's blood is offered to the clan spirits. Women do not take any part in this sacrifice. Among the Manchus who practise election of a women's chief, women's meetings, etc., and where women are not allowed to participate in men's meetings, women may attend the performance of sacrifice<sup>43</sup>. The system of relationship terms did not attract J. A. Lopatin's attention. A few terms he gives seem to point to the Manchu system. The family system, being a resultant from the clan system and economical needs, is like that among the Manchus, but among the Goldi large, numerous families are found in a reduced state. Some families, however, attain the number of even twenty-five members, the average family being much smaller than among the Manchus and about the same as it is observed among the Northern Tungus settled in Manchuria. Unfortunately, a description of the family members' rights is lacking in this investigation, but J. A. Lopatin emphasizes the "low and rightless position of woman", which he concludes from a comparison of the Russian intellectual middle class complex of customs and manners with that of the Goldi. In terms of the first complex<sup>44</sup> the position of the Goldi woman is certainly low and rightless, which considerably impedes this investigator in seeing the essentials of the Goldi social system, restrictions, various taboos, and their ideas<sup>45</sup>. It may be noted that an unmarried (not

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abolished this practice since the Manchu influence disappeared. So this practice seems to be implied by the Manchu system. However, it is very old among the population of Manchuria and it is mentioned in Chinese chronicles.

"J. A. Lopatin thinks women do not belong to any clan (!), which is, of course, wrong. They do certainly belong. He says himself that a woman being married performs a rite of her adoption by her husband's clan (p. 186), which is also not quite correct, because she preserves her own spirits throughout her life. Owing to this a married woman is tabooed in many instances. Generally speaking, this investigator did not understand the Goldi behaviour and manners in regard to woman. So, in many instances he repeats she is not kindly treated, while she is merely tabooed.

"I must, however, confess that a selection of terms for the description of an alien complex presents a very great difficulty. It is especially difficult when one uses a foreign language in writing. In such a case lapsus are almost inevitable. It often happened to me to find such lapsus in my previous writings. It will probably happen to all ethnographers, until a special conventional terminology is elaborated.

"Another case of a much more complicated aspect of European complex behaviour may be seen in Dr. B. Laufer's short criticism (in the *American Anthropologist*, 1924, No. 4, pp. 540-3) concerning



widow!) woman enjoys liberty almost beyond any control and virginity being formally required, if lacking, has no influence on woman's position, as it is sometimes observed among the Manchus. The practice of the freedom of sexual intercourse in the absence of husband, as among the Northern Tungus, is usual, but it is supposed that should the husband learn of his wife's conduct, he might avenge it. On the other hand, the sexual intercourse with brothers' and cousins' wives seems to be more common and accessible. So, a woman being requested *is obliged* to consent with a presumption that her husband does not know the fact<sup>46</sup>. This custom approximates the Goldi ideas to those of

my general conclusion as to women's place in the system of human society, viz. women's role in human society is of a secondary importance and among the Manchus as well as among all groups, society is based upon a preponderant role of males. Indeed, external signs of an esteem for women, customs allowing women to discuss questions of importance, matrilinear system of kinship, even a formal heading of clans by women, etc. are well known, but all these customs do not give females a real power of social control and, e.g., the greatest problems as to the defence of the ethnical unit and defining of its, say, internal and interethnical policy are always solved by males. Formal relations not being taken in a complex, but separately, do not always express the essential of social relations. Let us take an instance well known to Dr. Laufer. No sociologists, except of course, those who are simultaneously politicians, would agree that an American average citizen, being allowed to discuss and vote as much as he likes, is really allowed to control political affairs which are, above all, beyond his understanding, but he is wisely conducted through daily press, public meetings, various institutions and associations, etc., by those who are sociologically in charge of the real control of the United States as a political and newly formed ethnical unit. An average American citizen, however, believes—and the responsible leaders maintain this belief—that the fate of the United States is on the hands of that average citizen. In the case of the problem of woman's rights and social position, political ideology and social philosophy naturally influenced investigators and indirectly led the discussion along the lines of various mental and psychic European complexes, one of which strongly required the recognition of woman's "rights" and influential rôle as a stage of an historic evolutionary development infallibly ending by abolition of the present position of woman. In spite of these influences human thought, searching for an impartial truth, I think, has already led modern ethnography to understand that it does not require any general scheme for conceiving the process of variations of social forms and their adaptation to practical needs for assuring the existence of ethnical units. It rather needs a study of succession of forms and deduction of principles to which this succession is subject. As an imperfect analogy Cuviers' and Osborn's methods in palæontology may be taken.

<sup>46</sup> It would be interesting to know whether the facultative rights on those women spread over the wives of elder brothers and cousins only, as it is among Manchus, whether they spread over the elder and younger brothers' and cousins' wives?



the Manchus and points to early forms of marriage among the Goldi and Manchus. The levirate among the Goldi is an obligatory institution, as among the Northern Tungus, but, as I have stated, it is at present unknown among the Manchus. The practice of polygamy seems to be much wider among the Goldi than among the Manchus and the Northern Tungus, which perhaps partly depends upon the local conditions of marriage and in some degree, I think, upon a decline of the clan system regulating marriage<sup>47</sup>.

The Goldi wedding customs are different from those of the Northern Tungus and Manchus. The essential difference is that the wedding takes place in the house of the bride's family and the first night is supposed to be spent in this house, after which the bride stays for some period in her mother's house, while the bridegroom goes home. The bride's relatives (probably the persons belonging to her clan), including her father and mother, carry her in a canoe or dog sledge to the house of the bridegroom's father. Then a sham-capture is performed and she enters the house, where a sacrifice to the fire spirit (possibly the spirits of her husband's clan) is performed. The bride's mother stays with her daughter for some period of time and watches whether her daughter is well received. The marriage may be broken at once, on the mother being dissatisfied with her son-in-law's conduct. It is evident that the match making and two parts of the wedding are followed by feasts. Here it may be noted that the consummation of marriage in the house of the bride's mother is a peculiarity known among the Northern Tungus of Transbaikalia, where the bridegroom presents to his affianced wife's parents some gifts and is allowed to stay with the bride the night before the wedding<sup>48</sup>. On the other hand, some traces of this practice are also known among the Manchus. In fact, the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride's father and stays there with his people (never with the bride, according to the Manchu assertion). At the same time, no capture performance is practised among the Manchus, but perhaps a slight hint at

<sup>47</sup> Among the Goldi the female rate in 1897 was 901 to one thousand men; in 1915 it was 894, whence it may be seen that the number of males considerably exceeds that of females, which surely impedes the polygamic practice. In such a case among the Manchus the clan function is to limit polygamy as much as possible in order to provide, if possible, females for all males of a clan.

<sup>48</sup> I could not establish on the spot whether this practice is an innovation or an ancient custom.



it, i.e., the taking off of the bride's veil before entering the house, while some evident traces of the capture custom are seen in the wedding ceremony among the Northern Tungus of Transbaikalia. Moreover, among the Tungus and the Manchus the bride's mother and father stay at home when their daughter is going away. Perhaps a visit to the mother's house (i.e., clan!) after the wedding and prohibition to stay there a night observed among the Manchus is a survival of the wife's mother's control and right of protecting her daughter expressed in a negative form.

Summarizing these customs it may be seen that some of them are common to the Manchus while others are common to the Northern Tungus, different moments of wedding showing survivals of distinct systems of wedding. The Goldi seem to preserve some early forms better than the Manchus. On the other hand, complex customs of capture find their analogy among Giliaks where this custom is much more than a mere performance of a tradition<sup>49</sup>. The

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<sup>49</sup> The capture among the Manchus as described by me (cf. *Soc. Org. of the Manchus*, etc., p. 72) is practised in the case of the bride's becoming pregnant before the wedding. Being a violation of existing customs of wedding, it is not analogous to the capture practised among the Goldi and Giliaks, where the capture is an essential moment of the ceremony. I would also add a few words with reference to the wedding customs in general. The Manchus, Goldi and Northern Tungus show some common practices in various degrees developed among them. So the custom of staying in the house of the bride's mother, in so far as the present practice and survivals show, seems to be common to all groups in question, which indicates that in the past the bridegroom probably used to go to his wife's house. With a transition to a male filiation this custom fell in contradiction to the first and was strictly prohibited, for instance, among the Manchus. This deduction suits well to other customs showing that the present social system of the Manchus is different from their former system, which was probably based upon a materlinear filiation. Without referring to any relationship between various groups which lived in Manchuria and the present Manchus, Goldi and Northern Tungus, I shall quote some customs which coincide perfectly with those observed nowadays, showing that the present practices are certainly very ancient. According to Chinese chronicles, Tung-hu, in the beginning of our era, possessed some customs which indicate a materlinear system of clan organization (Cf. E. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, Shanghai, 1895, p. 119, sq.). Among Mu-ki (the VIth century A.D.) the bridegroom used to stay the first night in his future wife's house, also in the case of the wife's misconduct the husband used to kill her at once. (J. Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie depuis la Monarchie de Cyrus jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1826). With reference to Tung-hu it is known that "their marriage always began with clandestine commerce and then capture of the woman. After from three to six months a go-between was sent with presents and horses, oxen, or sheep, as marriage gifts" (E. Parker, *ibid.*). These



practice of *kalym*<sup>60</sup>, dowry, match-making, etc., do not show very essential differences among the groups in question. So, the custom and practice of child delivery, also various taboos and prohibitions concerning this process are in main lines similar<sup>61</sup> among these groups. It may be noted that there is a difference among the Goldi compared with other groups, *i.e.*, the shaman may perform in order to facilitate delivery and he, or she, may approach a woman lying-in. The cradle is similar among these groups showing its nomad origin and being entirely different from that used by Giliaks and Mongols<sup>62</sup>. The custom of name-giving is similar to that among the Northern Tungus and is different from that among the Manchus, namely, children are called by names of things or ad-

practices, as shown, are still alive. Among Yih-leu, who are supposed to have been the ancestors of the Southern Tungus (Manchus, etc.) and who were agriculturists and pig breeders, and lived in underground houses, but did not know any iron or pottery (about the IIIrd century A.D.), the husband used to live some period of time in the house of his wife's family (Cf. A. Wylie, *History of the Eastern Barbarians*, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, Vol 1, Paris, 1882, pp. 65-66). However, it is not clear whether Yih-leu were a Southern Tungus group or a pure Palaasiatic one. It is very curious that these people used the basket as a seat (cf. J. Klaproth, *op. cit.* p. 84) and the wedding customs among the Manchus, namely *fè manāu* (not *ïi. manāu!*), require that the bridegroom should sit down on a basket (cf. *Soc. Org. of the Manchus*, etc. p. 82). However, de Saint Denys (*op. cit.* p. 330) with reference to the same Chinese text translates: "*Ils s'assoient par terre, les jambes allongées*". For us, of course, it is very important which translation is correct. The most interesting problem is the establishing of the early social organization among the Northern Tungus who at present show much less ancient survivals than Manchus. To this question I shall return with all possible details in my further study on the social organization of the Northern Tungus groups investigated by me.

<sup>60</sup> An approximate meaning of *kalym* is the price for a bride. However, this translation does not render quite exactly the idea of this institution. Owing to this I prefer to use the term *kalym* borrowed by Russians (including ethnographers) from aborigines and adopted as a technical term.

<sup>61</sup> J. A. Lopatin says that a woman's mother takes a very important part in the care of her daughter during the first delivery. However, it ought to be remembered that the woman does not live together with her mother, so the latter occasionally may be very far from her daughter at the moment of delivery. So probably the woman's mother is merely allowed to care for her daughter as well as the other women. It is interesting to remember that among the Manchus the delivery at the mother's house is strictly prohibited and the woman's mother may visit her daughter only on the third day after confinement (cf. *Soc. Org. of the Manchus*, etc., Ch. IV.).

<sup>62</sup> The Northern Chinese and Japanese have no cradle.



jectives, according to the mother's choice or that of other kinsmen.

Among the clan functions the custom of vendetta, widely spread among the Goldi, may also be quoted. This practice calls to mind the vendetta among Giliaks. However, this practice is at present unknown among the Northern Tungus investigated by me, while among the Manchus it shows some very insignificant traces, which may also be considered to be due to recent influences<sup>53</sup>.

In a section entitled, I think owing to a misunderstanding, by J. A. Lopatin "Communism," some instances of co-operative work are given, *e.g.*, the building of houses (those of Chinese type!), fishing, storage and using of food stock<sup>54</sup>. The co-operative building of Chinese houses is also characteristic of Giliaks, described by L. Schrenck (*op. cit.*), and as J. A. Lopatin shows it is caused by climatic conditions, *i.e.*, the process of building must be accomplished in the shortest period. This custom, as far as I know, is not characteristic of the Manchus. The co-operative fishing (salmon!) also results from its technique: it requires a numerous group of fishers in order to get a maximum during a few days when this fish is passing on<sup>55</sup>. Yet, the storage of food supply and the right of using it if needed are also characteristic of certain ethnical groups knowing nothing about "primitive communism". This is a result of a mere development (further complication) of the economic system in the regions where the food supply is subject to seasonal fluctuations. On the contrary, it points to a relatively complex phenomenon, not a primitive one.

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<sup>53</sup> Among the early population of Manchuria the practice of vendetta was very wide, but, again, the relationship of these groups is not established. (E. Parker, *op. cit.* p. 123).

<sup>54</sup> At the basis of the preservation of the clan (also family) property, the tendency of living together, in the same village or station, the hunting of bear, sacrifices and "feasts at the shamanistic performances (*kamlaniže*)", the clan interests lie and not the idea of "primitive communism" as J. A. Lopatin believes (*cf.* above p. 142). This point of view is connected with one of European complexes.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. co-operative hunting, *zegete aba*, among Buriats, is elaborated into a peculiar social system; the co-operative hunting among the Reindeer Tungus is also known (*junat*). Among the Manchus co-operative hunting (*aba*) also played a very important part as a clan affair and later on as an Imperial duty (*g'joro* clan!)



Let us now proceed to a short review of the system of shamanism and philosophy<sup>56</sup> among the Goldi, Manchus and Northern Tungus. As regards the fundamental ideas as to the existence of spirits either permanently or temporarily located in things and living beings, the Goldi do not differ very much from the Manchus and Northern Tungus. However, the human soul, according to the Goldi, consists of three elements of distinct origin, viz. *omi* and *ergen* known to Manchus and Northern Tungus of Manchuria and Transbaikalia<sup>57</sup> with the same functions and names, also *fan'a*<sup>58</sup> which is peculiar to Goldi. With the idea of *fan'a* a very complex system of customs is bound. This system of customs is also known to the Manchus and Tungus, but the latter evidently borrowed it from the Manchus. The theory of human soul among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia is different.

The customs concerning hunting and ritual eating of bear among the Goldi are much more developed than among other Tungus groups, while it is, at least at present, out of practice among the Manchus. However, a great esteem for this animal may also be seen in the Manchu folk-lore. It ought to be pointed out that the most developed form of bear complex is observed among Giliaks, Ainu, and Olcha. Olcha, being a Goldi group, have borrowed it probably from their neighbours, Giliaks.<sup>59</sup> Tiger also is an animal to which a special attention is paid by the Goldi, but the tiger complex is evidently decreasing among the groups living beyond this animal's area, i.e., Ussuriland, partly Manchuria. Tiger has appropriated the greatest importance among the Manchus. It is, however, not clear whether bear and tiger

<sup>56</sup> Here I use the term "philosophy" just for abbreviation. All Goldi ideas concerning cosmogony, relationship of man with environment as it seems to the Goldi, hypotheses as to living beings and natural phenomena in general, explanation of moral and social institutions and so forth I conveniently call philosophy.

<sup>57</sup> J. A. Lopatin is wrong, I think, in asserting that *omi* at the third year of life transforms itself into *ergen*. Among the Tungus and Manchus *omi* is a part of the human being which may be defined as "reproductive power" while *ergen* (Manchus), *erga* (Tungus) is the life itself, as a condition of matter.

<sup>58</sup> However *fajengo* (Man. Lit.) *fojongo* (Man. Sp.)—the complex soul.

<sup>59</sup> Dr. Irving Hallowell lately (1926) published a survey of bear ceremonialism (*Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere*, in Amer. Anthropol. Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 1-175) in which he collected many facts including those dealing with the Goldi. However, the facts and their interpretations in some instance require revision.



are really totemic animals, as some authors believe, or merely stand in some complex relations to other spirits and are honoured by all these groups (Goldi, Manchus and Northern Tungus) as the most serious and intelligent competitor in the struggle for life<sup>60</sup>. A very complex system of spirits *enduri* carefully elaborated by the Manchus (borrowed from the Chinese) is also adopted together with the name by the Goldi and in a lesser degree by the Northern Tungus of Manchuria (except the Reindeer Tungus!). The class of shamanistic spirits *seon* among Goldi has its analogy in the Tungus system of *sèvèn*<sup>61</sup> and in the Manchu system of *večeku* (Man. Lit.), *večku*, *vočko* (Man. Sp.). The Goldi system seems to be closer to that of the Northern Tungus than to that of the Manchus who have a peculiar classification of *vočko* rows each headed by a principal spirit<sup>62</sup>. However, among Tungus there are no spirits complexes like that among the Goldi, who have special groups directly connected with tiger and leopard<sup>63</sup>. Moreover they have a group *dusxu*

<sup>60</sup> According to the Northern Tungus of Manchuria tiger is at the service of the forest spirit, "just like his dog", according to their expression. Totemism is a complex which has a limited geographical distribution and correlates with several other customs and ideas lacking among the Goldi and other Tungus groups. So, the cult of the above animals among the Goldi may happen to have but forms similar to those among groups practising a true totemism and thus to be a mere convergence. J. A. Lopatin finds some totemic indication in the term *mafa* which is not correct at all, for this term has a very wide meaning, not only that of a classificatory term of kinship, but it is a term employed when one wants to express a high esteem to someone. Moreover, this term is probably borrowed from an alien system of kinship terminology. By the way, J. A. Lopatin's translation of a prayer addressed to the tiger is very far from the Goldi text. (p. 207).

<sup>61</sup> For instance *seon* (Goldi), *sèvèn* (Tungus of Manch.), *sëvo* (Olcha), *seva* (Reindeer Tungus of Transb.) are variations of the same word among different groups. I am inclined to see in this word a loan term, which I expect to show in one of my further publications. But *savaki* (Barguz. Nerch. Bir.), *seveki* (Bir.), *sōki* (Bir.), etc., is "placing, locus for spirit", among Goldi *sevoki* is the cross (Schmidt). However, among Negidals of the Middle course of the Amgun River the meaning of *sivan* (Schmidt) is not clear.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. my Essay of an Investigation on General Principles of Shamanism among the Tungus (in Russian), in Publications of the Historico-Philological Faculty of the Far Eastern University at Vladivostok, Vol. I, 1919, pp. 47-108.

<sup>63</sup> *Ambanseon* cannot be translated, as J. A. Lopatin does, "tiger," but "the spirit tiger". Moreover, *amba* means literally great, large, etc., and with reference to tiger is used in order to avoid the common name of this animal, as the Manchus, Chinese and many others do when they speak about honourable persons—emperors, khans, elders, etc.



which is represented in a picture *n'urxa* (*n'ur'yan*, of the Manchus) and, according to P. Šimkevič (op. cit.), is borrowed from the Chinese through the Manchus, which is quite right. Such placings for spirits in a reduced form are known among all Northern Tungus of Manchuria (except the Reindeer group!), but among them such a kind of placings is reserved to *burkan*<sup>64</sup>. Some Goldi placings are absolutely similar to that among the Northern Tungus. I shall not go into further details of differences and similarities of the Goldi system and placings with those among other groups, which passes over the limits of the present paper, the above quoted facts being sufficient for concluding that the Goldi system in general and their spirits in some instances are similar to those of the Northern Tungus and in some other instances they are similar to those of the Manchus who themselves have borrowed some ideas and spirits, at least partly, from the Chinese and Mongols. Indeed, the borrowing of spirits is a general rule. The Goldi and generally various groups of Siberia, Manchuria and Mongolia do not abstain from acquiring new knowledge as to spirits and new methods of influencing them known to their neighbours<sup>65</sup>. It is interesting to note that among the Goldi the sacrifice and prayers

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<sup>64</sup> The Goldi as well as the Manchus do not use this term at all. But among the Tungus of Manchuria and Mongolia, also Transbaikalia, this term being borrowed from Mongols, is now applied to non-shamanistic spirits. Little by little it also replaces old terms as *savaki* (not *seven!*), etc. With reference to the origin of *burkan*, cf. N. D. Mironov and S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Sramana-Shaman. Etymology of the word "Shaman"*, in the Journal N.C.B.R.A.S. Vol. LV, 1924, p. 119, footnote 43) and Professor W. Bang, *Turkologische Briefe*, etc., Zweiter Brief: *Uzuntonlu*—die Krone der Schöpfung, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Vol. V. Fasc. 2, 1925, p. 249, also Professor P. Pelliot *A propos des Comans*, in J. A. Av.—Juin, 1920, 11 ser. Vol. XV, p. 158, footnote. This footnote previously escaped my attention. There is, of course, no reason to use this term with reference to the Goldi. However, I do not think that Goldi have but one term *seon* for all spirits except *enduri* and *buseku*. Moreover, this term cannot be applied to various manifestations (as toad, snakes, tiger, leopard, bear, anthropomorphic images, etc.) of single and complex *seon* and it can never be used for designation of placings (*loculi*) for those manifestations. Generally speaking P. Šimkevič and J. A. Lopatin do not quite sharply distinguish the spirits and their placings (*loculi*). The terms "idol", *ikona* (of Russians), etc., also confuse very much what these authors want to express.

<sup>65</sup> The same may be referred to any other knowledge. Dr. B. Laufer (*The Reindeer and its Domestication*, in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1917, p. 121) says that the Tungus "are shifting opportunists". It is indeed



addressed to various *enduri*, as among the Manchus and other Tungus who have borrowed this system of spirits, are not performed by shamans. The practice of worship of Chinese spirits and special Buddhist spirits is common, especially among the Goldi of the Ussuri and Sungari Rivers<sup>66</sup>. The fire spirit among the Goldi is absolutely

quite true not only with reference to economic conditions and technical culture, but also with reference to other complexes. Moreover, it is true not only with reference to the Tungus, but also with reference to other ethnical groups. Generally speaking, ethnical units borrow from their neighbours everything which *may be usefully applied to their needs without producing any harmful effect*. Stabilization of complexes, a kind of orthodoxy, I think, is generally a very rare phenomenon, occurring usually in the case of relaxed inter-ethnical relations and pressure (consequently, a decline of the unit). During the last twenty or more years many ethnographers are inclined to recognize a classification of geographical areas and ethnographical complexes instead of ethnical groupings. The best instance of lacking "orthodoxy" is European science, the development of which is based on a continuous borrowing. Let us remember that philosophy (including religion), methods of thinking, and general knowledge among non-European ethnical groups, the most "inferior", is one of the forms for establishing some relations with the environment, i.e., exactly the same phenomenon as science among Europeans.

\*Two different sources of these influences may be distinguished viz., one going through the intermediary of the Manchus, which is surely a very old one, and another provided by the lately migrated Chinese. It is interesting that Buddhism was widely spread among the Ussuri Goldi a long time before the last migrating wave of the Chinese reached the Ussuri River region. M. Veniukov (op. cit. pp. 89-90) in 1858 saw several small shrines and images of a Chinese origin in every Goldi house. Th. Busse in 1869 wrote (*Sketch of Land Tenure in the Amur* and, in Biblioteka dla čtenija, Aug.—Dec. in Russian) that Buddhism had intruded very deeply among Goldi of Ussuri. It is, however, evident that such a general adoption of a religious practice requires a very long time. It is not surprising that du Halde (op. cit) noticed that Buddhist images had not been observed (the end of the XVIIth century) among this Goldi group. It is, of course, beyond any doubt that the greatest influence on the Goldi was exercised by their neighbours, the Manchus, who formally adopted Buddhism. Thus Buddhism, rather some practices and ceremonies, were introduced among the Goldi previous to the Chinese migration. In not a lesser degree the same may be referred to the Goldi of the Sungari River, but with reference to Amur River Goldi perhaps (I have no personal observation but a few Goldi whom I occasionally met were Manchus and Northern Tungus) it is not so, for the Manchu and Chinese influences are evidently decreasing, going further from their centres (cf. Sramana-Shaman, etc., p. 119 sq.). An early source of a Buddhist influence are Nui-chen. Among Nui-chen, who were the neighbours of the ancestors of the Goldi and Udehe in the beginning of the XIIth century, the Chinese travellers recorded Buddhist monasteries (cf. E. Chavannes, *Voyageurs Chinois chez les Khitan et les Joutchen*, in Journ. Asiatique, 1897-1898, p. 395). Their Emperor used a head-dress and a throne imitating the head-dress



similar to that among the Northern Tungus<sup>67</sup>.

and chair of buddhist missionaries (ibid, 432). Yet another source of buddhist practices is earlier than that of Nui-chen and it came from Korea, where Buddhism was first introduced in the IVth century.

<sup>67</sup> The classification of all spirits into three groups of high, middle and low spirits proposed by J. A. Lopatin is an adaptation of the Goldi system to the ideas with which the Russian intellectual middle class complex is very familiar but it cannot be justified by a careful analysis of the Goldi system. Yet it is wrong to assert that *seon* are evil spirits and that the shaman is a "demonic power". True, in the above Russian complex the idea of indifference as regards "good" and "evil" can find no place. Indeed, it is absolutely right that some of spirits are useless and harmful for man (Goldi) and cannot be utilized at all. So, these spirits are malevolent *par excellence*. However, the spirits, as J. A. Lopatin also shows, may be benevolent or malevolent according to the art of managing them. It is evident that this investigator has not understood the essential of the Goldi system. More than that, in spite of the fact that the Goldi philosophical system is a very developed one and gives an answer to almost every question rising in the process of understanding the environment, this author several times repeats with an undeceitfully hidden feeling of superiority to the erroneous ideas of the Goldi that they are "pitiful savages", "primitive people" and so forth. This behaviour is characteristic of many ethnographers having passed throughout the influence of the early school of ethnographers of the last century. It may, however, be noted that J. A. Lopatin's previous papers included in his book are much more defective than the parts of the book written later. I shall now dwell a little more upon another deviation of ethnographers' behaviour, which is also very dangerous for investigators analyzing an alien complex. This instance is furnished us by W. Bogoras (*Ideas of Space and Time in the Conception of Primitive Religion*, in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1925, pp. 205-267) who has made an attempt at comparing the Chukchi (and other "primitive") spirit conception with the modern ideas of space and time as physical and mathematical categories. First of all this author is wrong in comparing these new acquisitions of European scientific thought (above all expounded in a popular way, in terms of "ethnographical" ideas as to these categories) with an alien complex. As these ideas for the convenience of readers not versed in modern physics and mathematics are usually expressed in European popular conceptions which are in many instances similar to fundamental conceptions of the Chukchi and other "primitive" groups, it is not surprising that the result of comparison seems to be positive. It is obvious that the Chukchi ideas and methods of thinking are very far away from the latest acquisitions of European science which cannot be expressed even in European common terms but in formulæ. On the other hand, it is also evident that such an attempt being a popularisation of highest acquisitions of human thought for a general reader (two distinct complexes!) is one of forms of adaptation of a new complex to another one, i.e., something like the fate of moral teaching of Sakyamuni among the Northern Tungus of Manchuria. The practical conclusion for ethnographers is that one of two alien logic and philosophic systems cannot be compared in terms and notions of



The shaman's functions and his election (I use this term owing to the lack of any other one word suitable for this purpose) by spirits in main traits is similar to that used by the Northern Tungus. The difference from the Manchus consists in that the latter practise a competitive examination of candidates and have *p'jo-jun saman* which is not mentioned among the Goldi and is unknown among the Northern Tungus investigated by me. The shaman's costume among the Goldi is different from that among Manchus. The difference from the latter consists in the head-dress—a hat with several long fur stripes and deer antlers made of iron, while among the Manchus it usually has one or more birds made of brass without any fur. The Manchus, however, rarely use iron antlers instead of brass birds. The use of very thin shavings of wood may be mentioned as another peculiarity of the Goldi shaman's garment. Such shavings of wood are characteristic of Giliak and Ainu complexes. The Goldi shaman's costume differs from that among the Northern Tungus (of Manchuria and others) in many respects. So for instance the Tungus shaman has no *siša* (Manchus) or *jamka* (Goldi) which is a piece of skin with several big iron rattles of conical form worn as a belt; the Tungus shaman has no skirt, etc.<sup>68</sup>.

The burial rite, transferring the soul to the world of the dead, and other customs, also ideas as to dead persons bear several characters showing an alien origin of these elements, among which a strong Chinese influence (including white mourning dress, paper money, wooden stick and many others) may be noted. The Chinese complex is much better represented among the Manchus than among the Goldi, being almost lacking among the Northern

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another one. In order to avoid a possible confounding of distinct ideas, the systems must be investigated independently one from another. The only common thing between the Chukchi's logic and methods of thinking and that of European physicists and mathematicians is that both are products of an attempt at conceiving the environment and the work of the human mind.

<sup>68</sup> There are at least four types of shaman's costume in the Far East, namely: Manchu (Goldi, Orochi and Udehe), Tungus of Manchuria (Dahurs, Solon? except the Reindeer group), Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia (Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and Amur Gov.) and Nomad Tungus (in some relationship with the Buriat costume). Besides these types some influences of costume known among Turkic groups may also be seen. Moreover, some elements have spread irregularly among the groups of the Far East and some groups have a very mixed costume, as well as their system of spirits.



Tungus. The instance of similarities in shamanistic practices and philosophic ideas among the Goldi with those among the Manchus and Northern Tungus may be augmented if desired, but for the purpose of the present paper the above instances suffice for showing that the Goldi complex is composed of the Northern Tungus and Manchu elements.

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The above comparison of various ethnographical elements composing the Goldi complex may be better seen from the Table. The material for this table has been taken from the present paper. I am intending to show neither the proportion of elements and complexes borrowed by the Goldi, nor their practical importance in the Goldi complex. It is beyond any doubt that a replacing and disappearing of some complex, for instance that of reindeer, may result in a general change of equilibrium; on the other hand, a lacking of *fučai* or *burkan*<sup>69</sup> shows but historic influences in the past. Yet the number of complexes and elements may easily be enlarged or reduced when desired. So the elements with reference to their importance in the Goldi complex are not adequate ones, but they are however typical as classificatory characteristics. Owing to the technical difficulty of printing and arranging the table, I have not separated the elements common to the groups I compare and Mongols. These elements are mostly included in the Manchu complex which is quite natural, the Manchu complex being a resultant from various influences including that of Mongols. I want to add that it may happen that some characteristics should perhaps be re-grouped<sup>70</sup>. However, these details do not change the scheme shown in this paper.

From the comparison of the Goldi with the Manchus and Northern Tungus it may be seen that from many points of view the Goldi ethnographical complex is close to that of the Manchus, but it also includes elements known among the Reindeer Northern Tungus and unknown among the Manchus. Yet some elements characteristic of the Amur River Palæasiatics' complex are met with among Goldi. The elements common among all groups and the Chinese are not numerous. So for instance the

<sup>69</sup> Cf. above p. 144, footnote.

<sup>70</sup> Owing to the lack of a library I have in composing the present paper used in some cases my memory and notes which naturally are incomplete and cannot replace a library. Moreover, the origin of some elements has not yet been established by investigations.



# NORTHERN TUNGUS MIGRATIONS IN THE FAR EAST 155

TABLE SHOWING ETHNOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS  
AMONG THE GOLDI.

| Existing.            |                              | Lacking.        |   |                                    |
|----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|---|------------------------------------|
| PALÆASIATIC COMPLEX  | MANCHU COMPLEX               | CHINESE COMPLEX | Dog as draught animal                                   |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Living on fishing                                       |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Harpoon fishing (known among the Tungus)                | Underground houses                 |
|                      |                              |                 | Vendetta (was practised among the Tungus?)              | Skirt                              |
|                      |                              |                 | Capture in wedding customs                              |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Shavings of wood (in shamanism, etc.)                   |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Roots and grass collecting                              |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Skirt in shaman's costume (of a Palæasiatic origin?)    |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Chinese conical hat                                     |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Chinese type of canoe                                   |                                    |
| NORTH TUNGUS COMPLEX |                              |                 | Plait (of Manchu origin)                                |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Chinese houses  |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Chinese iron arms                                       | known to the Tungus                |
|                      |                              |                 | Methods of hunting                                      | Apron (?)                          |
|                      |                              |                 | <i>fučxi</i> and <i>mafa</i>                            |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Living on agriculture                                   |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Chop sticks   |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Baskets and mats  | Weaving art                        |
|                      |                              |                 | Methods of agriculture                                  |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Shape of clothing (adapted by the Manchus)              | Ceramic art                        |
|                      |                              |                 | Ornament  |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Large family living together                            |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Chinese theory of soul                                  |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | <i>enduri</i> (of Chinese origin)                       |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Secondary influence of Buddhism                         |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Burial customs  |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Horse   |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Hook road fishing                                       | Box fishing                        |
|                      |                              |                 | Pig (ritual animal)                                     | Election of clan chief             |
|                      |                              |                 | Manchu hat with tail                                    | <i>p'jo'run saman</i>              |
| Clan <i>xala</i>     | Brass birds on [shaman's hat |                 |   |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Rattles ( <i>siša</i> ) in shaman's costume             |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Deer antlers on shaman's hat                            |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Cradle adapted for nomad life                           |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Living on hunting                                       |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Birch bark utensils                                     | Reindeer complex                   |
|                      |                              |                 | Skin clothing   | Typical open coat                  |
|                      |                              |                 | Conical wigwam (the Sungari Goldi)                      | Ornament (dotted, pointed, etc.)   |
|                      |                              |                 | <i>malu</i>   | <i>burkan</i> (of Mongol [origin]) |
|                      |                              |                 | Birch-bark canoe (recently disappeared among the Goldi) |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Long snow-shoe  |                                    |
| Clan names           |                              |                 |   |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Shaman spirits <i>se(v)</i>                             |                                    |
|                      |                              |                 | Semi-spheric hut  |                                    |



complex of iron arms introduced among these groups by the Chinese is naturally common to all these groups. The methods of animal hunting are also common among all these groups, but this practice depends probably upon the environmental conditions and local adaptation to them of all groups, among which the Tungus (Reindeer) are probably the most experienced as living almost exclusively on hunting and as such the most adapted, consequently worthy of imitation.

In order to complete the picture of relationship between the Goldi and other groups let us briefly review the relationship between dialects. In this paper a careful analysis of all dialects illustrated by examples cannot be ventured, so I shall confine myself to general conclusions.

Though the Goldi language, as stated, is a near relative of Manchu, and as Professor P. P. Schmidt has shown, the Olcha language is also a dialect of Goldi, they both include a good deal of Northern Tungus elements, especially with reference to the vocabulary. However, the Tungus dialects of Manchuria (except the Reindeer Tungus group) include some recent borrowings from Manchu, but they have preserved their Northern Tungus character in a great purity, especially in morphology and phonetics. In Goldi and especially in Olcha the Northern Tungus words (I do not mean here the common roots characteristic of all the Tungus groups, including the Manchus) in many instances preserve their Northern Tungus features<sup>71</sup>, while in Manchu (spoken, principally in the Ajgun District of Heilungkiang) such words are very rare. On the other hand the Mongol influence may be seen in the dialects of Solon and Northern Tungus of Mongolia (Khingan), attaining its maximum among the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, some groups of which now speak a Mongol dialect and have entirely forgotten their Tungus tongue, while eighty years ago or so they used a Northern Tungus dialect and called themselves *even-ki*, as A. Castren established<sup>72</sup>. Some Yakut influence is evident among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia and naturally among those of the Amur Gov. and Manchuria.

<sup>71</sup> Vide Supplementary Note III.

<sup>72</sup> *Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre*, St. Petersburg, 1856. I have lately been fortunate enough to have had an opportunity of investigating the present dialects of Mankova and partly Borzia River (in my approximate map in the south-eastern corner of Transbaikalia). Though the Mankova dialect as Castren established was at his time preserved more or less satisfactorily its present state shows



However, among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia some Mongol influence has to be accounted for. Thus the relationship between these dialects and languages may schematically be formulated as follows:

(1) Southern Tungus is preserved in Manchu Lit. and Manchu Sp., the latter being but very slightly influenced by Northern Tungus;

(2) Goldi and Olcha, also Sungari Goldi are close to Southern Tungus, but include very numerous Northern Tungus elements;

(3) Tungus of Manchuria (except the Reindeer Tungus) is a Northern Tungus language, including some recent Southern Tungus elements;

(4) Reindeer Tungus of Munchuria is a Northern Tungus dialect with traces of Yakut;

(5) Tungus of Mongolia and Solon, also Tungus of Transbaikalia, Barguzin, Mankova, and Borzia groups are Northern Tungus dialects with numerous traces of Mongolian;

(6) Nomad Tungus (Urulga, Chita District of Transbaikalia, and some other groups of the same region) is a Mongolian dialect with traces of Northern Tungus.

Besides the Northern Tungus element in Goldi language <sup>73</sup> a considerable amount of non-Tungus (Northern

the most evident Mongol (Buriat) influence, which has gained this dialect much more than it was observed by Castren. It is interesting that the group of the Borzia Tungus have better preserved their tongue, which probably belongs to the same dialect as the extinct tongue of Urulga, thus different from that of Mankova. It is also probable that some groups of this Tungus branch have been included into the present Dahurs or *vice versa*. One thing is evident that the Nomad Tungus, of Transbaikalia are in some relationship with Dahurs. E. Ysebrants Ides visiting Eastern Transbaikalia by the end of the XVIIth century learnt from these Tungus (directly or through Russians) that they pretended to descend from Dahurs. This migration and connexion with Dahurs is still alive in the folk memory, as I have seen myself. However, by quoting these facts I do not intend to show that originally Dahurs were bound (ethnically) with the Northern Tungus. (Details concerning history and political side of this migration may be found in J. F. Baddley's *Russia, Mongolia, China. Being some Record of the Relations between them*, etc. 2 Vols, London, 1919).

<sup>73</sup> A further investigation of Goldi language will show in what degree the Northern Tungus elements are represented in this language. I shall not be surprised if it is classified as a Northern Tungus dialect influenced by Southern Tungus. As shown, Udehe language shows some intermediary characters; in a lesser degree the same may be referred to Orochi language.



and Southern) words is seen. The origin of the latter may be looked for in the Palæasiatic languages which, theoretically speaking, may have influenced the Goldi language. As Professor P. P. Schmidt says, "Goldi is still nowadays the international language between different peoples of the lower Amur basin", thus it is natural that this language is influenced by Palæasiatics. It is also probable that some Palæasiatic groups have been swallowed by the Goldi (and the Manchus).

Anthropological data indeed would provide us with the most convincing and positive evidences as to the Goldi physical (anthropological) origin, but for the time being I shall abstain from any attempt of this kind for the reason that the anthropological data are still unpublished<sup>74</sup>. It may be, however, noted that an intrusion of Giliak element among, for instance, Olcha, is beyond any doubt—Olcha are a group mixed up of the Goldi and Giliaks. The Ainu influence upon the Goldi is also probable because the latter used to have Ainu as slaves and as I have shown a slave<sup>75</sup> in the system of this type of social organization may easily become a member of the clan in which he formerly was a stranger.

Let us now see how might the process of Goldi formation occur. We have seen that the Goldi are a group showing from all points of view a mixed character and origin. This might happen only in the case of spreading of a powerful complex among a population with an inferior (at least technically) culture, i.e., a culture less complex than the first. Such a superior complex might be that of the Manchu ancestors, let us call them Southern

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<sup>74</sup> The series of the Goldi measured by L. J. Sternberg is known to me. As far as I remember, the analysis of this series showed that the Goldi include at least two different types, one of which is close to my hypothetical type *delta*. It is interesting that the Manchus suppose Goldi to include some element "like Mongol people". It is also evident that the type *gamma* is a very common element among the Goldi. But the presence of type *beta* is also probable and physiognomically some Goldi are typical representative of this type. The small series of the Northern Tungus of Manchuria measured by me shows a mixed character, different from that found among the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia. They seem to approach (physiognomically) the Goldi. As to the types and their characteristics, also various instances of mixing up of different groups, including type *gamma* cf. my *Anthropology of Northern China*, Extra Vol. II, 1923, N.C.B.R.A.S., and *Anthropology of Eastern China and Kwangtung Province*, Extra Vol. IV 1925, Shanghai.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Soc. Org. of the Manchus, etc., p.106.



Tungus, who since an early period borrowed elements of the Chinese culture, consequently could easily influence their neighbours. On the other hand, as the influence of the Northern Tungus over the Southern Tungus and perhaps that of the Palæasiatic groups which already possessed a technically superior culture and settled mode of life, might be effective but in the sphere of phenomena in which the Northern Tungus' competence could not be competed, viz., the hunting. But it is also evident that the hunting methods as a complex do not require a complete change of life from the part of a settled group. If it be so, then the borrowing of cultural elements from the Northern Tungus might have had a very limited sphere. These general considerations based upon the facts now observed among various groups in this part of Asia, are also intelligible from a general theoretical point of view, while the hypothesis of a tungusification of the Southern Tungus and the Amur River Palæasiatics stands in a complete contradiction to the general process of cultural successions.

The present ethnographical (and linguistical) features of the Goldi may be thus explained as a process of swallowing of the Northern Tungus, who went from the north and west (the secondary Tungus movement) southward and eastward, by the Southern Tungus and perhaps Palæasiatic groups. In fact, the Goldi complex is very rich in Northern Tungus elements both in culture and language, but at present it is closer to that of the Manchus than to any other group and it possesses some elements of Palæasiatic culture unknown to the Manchus<sup>76</sup>. It may be here added that some of these elements are very essential as playing a great rôle in assuring the ethnographical equilibrium. It may now be asked when might this process have occurred?

Professor P. P. Schmidt supposes that the Negidals, a Northern Tungus group, living in the lower course of the Amur River basin, were for many centuries neighbours of the "Manchurian Oroches"<sup>77</sup>, Goldi and Olcha and he supposes with good reason that the Goldi have separated the Negidals from a kindred group of

<sup>76</sup> The Manchu complex includes some Palæasiatic elements which among them seem to have been very early borrowings.

<sup>77</sup> It is not clear which group Professor P. P. Schmidt speaks about. By the way it may be noted that the name *oroči* in Tungus means: having residence, having seat, etc. i.e., local. So for instance, Birar Yamun Tungus say: *bi eri bujadu oroči bisim*, i.e. I (in) this locality "having residence" am. This term translates perfectly the term *nani* of Goldi (see footnote 1). In this case



Oroche. However, the Orochi (in the Maritime Government north of the Botchi River falling into Japanese Sea), as L. J. Sternberg has shown<sup>78</sup>, went (naturally, from north or west) with the reindeer that they lost in their present area during the last (?) century. So this group is now in the process of losing its original reindeer culture (the Northern Tungus), as Negidals do. On the other hand, the process of losing this complex may also be observed in a very advanced stage among the Udehe of Ussuriland. This group have preserved their original complex in a much lesser degree than Orochi and Negidals<sup>79</sup>. Yet, the original Northern Tungus complex is better preserved among the Tungus of Manchuria. A group called *Kumarčen* living in the basin of the Kumara River assert that they formerly possessed reindeer and about a century ago or so they lost it. This group as well as the Tungus of Khingan (in Mongolia) pretend to descend together from the north by an accident (a usual explanation<sup>80</sup>) being divided into two parts: Khingan Tungus and others. This event took place, according to a tradition two or three centuries ago, *i.e.*, probably after this region had been abandoned by its former population, *viz. dučery, dahury, goguli* of early Russians (in the XVIIIth century)<sup>81</sup>. The languages of *Kumarčen* and the Birar

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the name *oročen* ("having reindeer", analogous to *murčen*—"having horses") and the name *oroči* (also perhaps Manchu *orońčo* (*orońčun*) associated with "wild" and "wild goat"—*orongo*) are phonetically very close but genetically they are of an entirely different origin which once more must warn ethnologists from an appellation to little known languages.

<sup>78</sup> I quote from S. Brailovsky, *op. cit.*

<sup>79</sup> Vide Supplementary Note III.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. E. N. Shirokogorova, *North Western Manchuria. A Geographical Sketch, etc.*, in Publication of the *Hist.—Phil. Faculty of the Far Eastern University*, at Vladivostok, Vol. I. pp. 109-155.

<sup>81</sup> With reference to *dučery* I want to add a few words in addition to Supplementary Note X in *Soc. Org. of the Manchus*, etc. p. 175, where an error has crept in: in line 8 instead of p. 44 read p. 14 and p. 37 and instead "affirms" must be "shows." In the eyes of Jesuits the Manchus included various groups. However, it is evident that *dučery* is not a Manchu group in a strict sense of this term, but a Goldi group manchufied and perhaps included into *iči mandu* (cf. above p. 126, Footnote 11). So it is probable that the name *dučery* was referred by Russians to the Goldi, perhaps Solon, etc. and not to the Manchus whom they styled *bogdojcy*. Without this hypothesis it is not clear, why Russians used both terms *dučery* and *bogdojcy* with reference to one and the same group—the Manchus. As I have shown both terms are borrowed by Russians from the Northern Tungus whom



Yamen Tungus as stated do not show any essential differences for dissecting them into two different dialects, they are mere sub-dialects. But the Tungus of Birar Yamen assert that they (at least a part of them) have come from the lower course of the Amur River and, as shown<sup>82</sup> they include some clan names known among the Goldi, especially those living in the eastern part of their territory. The Birar Yamen Tungus, however, about sixty or seventy years ago—used to have a hunting territory reaching as far as the Lake Hanka in the South Ussuriland (!) and that hunting territory belonged to the *dunagir* clan. They passed then across the Sungari River and the territory occupied by the Goldi. In the South they were thus in contact with the Goldi and probably with the Udehe. With the *Kumariën* Tungus they also have common clans. It is, therefore, probable that the whole mountainous and forest region of the Amur River basin was at some period occupied by the same group (or wave) of the Reindeer Tungus, a part of whom migrated later northward from the Goldi area owing to the same cause which had also compelled the Udehe to migrate northward. However, a continuous southward movement of the Tungus is observed at present. Moreover, the instance of the Amur Government Reindeer Tungus who migrated in 1916 or so to Sakhalin is similar to that which occurred some seventy-five years ago when a Reindeer group of the Amur Government migrated southward and occupied the North Western part of the Manchurian Plateau (the basin of the Bystraja and Albasixa Rivers). As stated the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria and that of the Reindeer Tungus of Amur Government who migrated to Sakhalin show some

they met first, and it is hardly likely that the Northern Tungus who were versed in the political and ethnical relations observed at that time in their area did not distinguish the Manchus from other groups.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. above p. 139. I think, however, that they lost their reindeer long ago, much earlier than L. Schrenck thinks. In their folk-lore, also that of the Amur Government Reindeer Tungus they always figure as having horses. So, R. Maack (op. cit.) found the Tungus of Birar Yamen at their present territory as possessing horses. Du Halde (the end of the XVIIth century) mentions the reindeer breeders only in the basin of the Zeja River and asserts that Manchus called them "orotchon, d'un animal oron" (op. cit. p. 37) which is absolutely right. It is interesting that another group of the Reindeer Tungus in the Sakhalin Island who are close to Orochi of Port Imperial he calls Ke-tcheng-ta-se, referring this name also to the Tungus of the Amur River (op. cit. p. 12).



Yakut influences which indicates that these groups were during a long time in close contact with Yakuts, while the dialects of the Kumarçen and the Birar Yamen Tungus have no striking signs of direct Yakut influence<sup>83</sup>.

Let us go farther. There may be thus established that the last wave took place during the XIXth century being now represented by the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, Amur Gov. and Sakhalin (except Oroki who had come earlier). The preceding wave—in the XVIIth century—is represented by the Tungus of Manchuria (except the Reindeer Tungus) and Mongolia (except Solon) who (all, or at least a part of them) have lost their reindeer within the memory of the previous generation. The waves represented by the Negidals of the low Amur River basin and Orochi of Port Imperial might have taken place before the XVIIth century but after the Xth century, as Professor P. P. Schmidt supposes. I think that this event took place during the XII and XIIIth centuries. In fact at that period some important catastrophe occurred in the basin of the Amur River: several cultural centres, large cities and fortresses<sup>84</sup> were destroyed by an invasion in the basin of the Sungari and Amur rivers which was at that time occupied by a group with a highly developed culture (not that of the above enumerated groups). The Mongols are responsible for this catastrophe. So when, according to their practice, they had swept out the population, they went away and very soon fell down.

<sup>83</sup> Among the Reindeer Tungus of Amur Gov. a late Yakut influence might also occur, for Yakuts spread along with these Tungus from the Yakutsk Gov. southward and went with them to Sakhalin.

<sup>84</sup> E. Ysebrants Ides (op. cit. p. 47) mentions archæological remains of Nuichen period (according to local tradition) in the valley of the Argun River. Lately some of them have been partly excavated and described (unpublished) by local (Transbaikalia) amateurs of archæology (A. K. Kuznecov, Colonel Orlov, and others). Du Halde mentions several remains of this period within Manchuria. Very numerous remains of this period are also found in the Ussuriland (cf. Th. Th. Busse and Prince Kropotkin, *Ancient Remains in the Amurland*, Memoirs of the Vladivostok Branch of the Amur Section of the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc., Vol. XII, in Russian, 1908). In the middle course of the Amur River I have excavated and observed several remains of this period. Lately W. J. Tolmacheff (*Historic Manchurian Relics*, Ruins of Peich'eng, in Manchuria Monitor No. 1, 1925, Harbin, in Russian with a note in English) has given a description of a provincial capital of Nui-chen destroyed at the same period. (Cf. also A. Baranov's papers in the Bulletin of the Museum of the Manchuria Research Society, No. 1, Harbin, 1923 in Russian; and in Bulletin of the same Society, No. 3, June, 1923, Harbin, in Russian).



The empty lands were occupied probably by newcomers—the Negidals, Orochi and perhaps *nugal* who partly preserved their reindeer and the reindeer complex but have lost it as a whole. If it be so, then the Amur River in its lower course had already been at a former period, at least to a certain extent, occupied by some other Northern Tungus group. There the Northern Tungus who had come to the basin of the Amur River before the XIIth century, probably via the Amur River, were ancestors of the Goldi, probably Udehe, perhaps Solon of Manchuria and Xamnagan, also their kinsmen in Transbaikalia<sup>85</sup>. This movement again corresponds to two

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<sup>85</sup> Some Tungus group before the XIIth century lived northward from Nui-chen, i.e., in the region of the Sungari (or Amur?) River. They possessed all kinds of domesticated animals, especially oxen which they used for mounting. They also knew the birch bark wig-roth, op. cit. p. 90 instrument for challenging deer, etc. (J. Klapwam, the wooden), which indicates at a transitory character of that complex. It is possible that here we have the ancestors of the Goldi or Solon. But it is also evident that that group had already borrowed many elements of the Southern Tungus complex. De Saint Denys (op. cit. 430) says that *hoa* is not the birch bark, but the bark of another resinous tree. At present the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, who migrated from Manchuria, use the bark of the larch tree for covering their huts which are not of a conical form but square with a roof and an aperture in it for smoke and light. The same group mentioned in Chinese chronicles was known as horsebreeders, i.e., just like the Nomad Tungus and Solon called by their Northern Tungus neighbours *murčen*, which means "possessing horse." However, along with the hut above described the Nomad Tungus and Solon use a Mongolian semi-spheric tent covered with felt, which is probably of a late origin. Another detail of interest is the use of animal skins for a small and light canoe. This kind of canoe is mentioned by the present Northern Tungus of Manchuria folk-lore borrowed from Solon and Dahurs. E. Ysebrants Ides (op. cit. p. 48) used this kind of canoe when he crossed the Gan River in the territory of Solons and their kinsmen. The territory indicated by Chinese chronicles with reference to that group lay in the vicinity of the present Solon area. It is very probable that they were also included into the political organization known as Nui-chen (Cf. *Soc. Org. of the Manchus*, etc., Suppl. Note X.) From these facts it may be inferred that this group of Nui-chen mentioned as Shih-Wei was a Northern Tungus group which entered in touch with the Southern Tungus and the language of which was different from that of the Southern Tungus. De Saint Denys having based himself on Ma-touan-lih's testimony supposed them (op. cit. p. 345, footnote 73) to have been kinsmen of Kithans. Du Halde (op. cit. p. 14) supposed that Solon Tungus are Manchus or better, their ancestors who escaped being destroyed by Mongols by a retreat (Nui-chen) westward to their (Solon) present (the XVIIth century) habitat. If it be so, then all Nui-chen were a purely Northern Tungus group which is, as we now know, not right. But it is beyond any doubt that Solon played some rôle in the



historical events of importance, namely, the downfall of Bohai <sup>86</sup> in Northern Korea and Manchuria, also Ussuriland and rising up of a new ethnical group of Kithan <sup>87</sup>. The most advanced groups into the south naturally went to

Nui-chen political organization. H. H. Howorth (*The Northern Frontagers of China*,—in a series of papers in J.R.A.S., particularly Article X. The Kin or Golden Tartars, in Vol. IX, 1877, pp. 243-290) who did not add any new facts to the history of Nui-chen, has clearly emphasized the difference between Wild Nui-chen and Civilized Nui-chen and the process of their evolving into the Nui-chen organization. Moreover du Halde says that Solon had their town called "Niengui", which perhaps may also be connected with a Dahur clan *nirgir*. The *nirgèr* soldiers (*čuxa*) are mentioned in the Manchu folk-lore in an epic poem which is assigned by Manchus to the period of the Ming dynasty or earlier, and it may be understood that *nirgèr čuxa* were in some connexion with Solons and Dahurs. From the above facts it is clear that several groups of Southern and Northern Tungus families took their part in the Nui-chen organization and the Northern Tungus lived a long time before that period.

<sup>86</sup> Was this power of Southern Tungus or Palæasiatic origin is not yet established. There is an indication that Korean emigrants had something to do with the beginning of this political formation. I am rather inclined to consider it as a Palæasiatic formation because the Southern Tungus were very active in Southern Manchuria and Northern China, while the territory of Bohai was separated from Southern Manchuria by Koreans who since the earliest time were already playing a very important rôle as a well organized and influential group and whose influence spread as far as the eastern slope of the Sixota Alin mountains occupied by a mysterious group. (Thioumo-leou of de Saint Denys, op. cit. pp. 271-273, and Teou-mo-liu of J. Klaproth, op. cit.)

<sup>87</sup> Several authors supposed Kithan to be a Tungus group. Chinese sources even assert that their language and that of Moho and Shih-Wei was the same. As I have shown Shih-Wei seem to be close to the ancestors of the Solon and Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia, who belong to the Northern Tungus branch of the first wave which occurred probably before the Xth century. However, Moho and Kithan are in many respects different, as well as Shih-Wei, and the assertion of the Chinese as to their language seems to be little believable. The Kithans were living in Southern Manchuria and South Eastern Mongolia. It is beyond any doubt, they fell under a strong Chinese influence. However, before that they possessed some features similar to those of Moho (J. Klaproth, p. cit. p. 87). Thus, it is not clear whether Kithans are of Southern Tungus origin, or of a Northern Tungus origin, or connected with Mongols. The opinion of authors varies. Some consider them to be Tungus, while others are inclined to see in them a Mongol group. Considering the succession of various groups in Manchuria and Mongolia I am rather inclined to believe them to be a group alien to the Northern Tungus. In fact such a hypothesis would require another, namely a very early migration of the Northern Tungus (at least some centuries before they came to power, i.e., about the IIIrd century A.D. when Hiunnu were defeated by the Chinese). Even a deciphering of the Kithan inscription (cf. *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 292-301, also



the Amurland and spread as far southward as the territory of the former Bohai. This southward movement was also stimulated by other Tungus groups which pressed the first ones from the north. However, the low course of the Amur and Sungari rivers were already occupied since the first Tungus migration from the South, which continued a very long time and found its traces in Chinese annals. The first migration when the Chinese spread eastward, according to my hypothesis, led the Tungus or rather pro-Tungus from their original home in the present China, between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, to South Manchuria and farther<sup>88</sup>. This movement combined with the back movement from the north in many respects resembles the phenomenon French geologists call *charriage*. The ancestors of Goldi finding a population very advanced from a cultural point of view, were compelled in conditions of river life—to change their habits and customs by adopting another complex. So, the ancestors of Manchus being already at a high stage of sinification, influenced the newcomers who, however, lost their former culture not at once, but gradually. The Udehe being isolated in an inhospitable corner of Ussuriland have preserved their original complex better than Goldi, but the latter, in spite of a strong Manchu influence, had formed a distinct ethnical unit which later on was incorporated into the Manchu (the Southern Tungus) body as *ïi manǎu* (Modern Manchus), the true Southern Tungus being distinguished as *fè manǎu* (Ancient Manchus), while the *Kumarçen*, *Birarçen*, Khingan, Solon continued to preserve their semi-independent existence, being incorporated as a people of an inferior kind (in a lesser degree sinified), and the Negidals, Udehe, and others were left independent

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Professor Kotwicz, *Les "Khitais" et leur écriture*, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Tome II, 1925, Lwow, pp. 248-250) lately (1922) found cannot perhaps disclose the original ethnical affinities of Kithan, for since they began to play a political rôle they also might have changed their language. Professor P. Pelliot (op. cit. p. 146) asserts: "*les K'i-tan parlaient d'ailleurs une langue apparentée au mongol, encore que fortement palatalisée.*" It is interesting that the language of Dahurs, who themselves pretend to be direct descendants of Kithans, being a Mongol dialect as Professor Kotwicz points out, bears some characters which approach that of the Mongols living in Amdo. Whence he supposes that the Dahurs (Kithans) did speak the same language as that of Mongols in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries. Thus, the question who were Kithans is not at all clear.

<sup>88</sup> Vide Supplementary Note IV.



as a lowest kind of Manchu subjects.<sup>89</sup>

The approximate date of the appearing of the ancestors of Goldi also Udehe and perhaps Solon in the south may be supposed to have been previous to the downfall of the Bohai power, which occurred about the Xth century. However, the control of the population of former Bohai by the Kithans and later by Nui-chen could not be very effective in the northern and eastern confines of their influence, because Kithan's and Nui-chen's attention was always drawn to the south and west where they had to watch a powerful China and Mongol-Turks. So, these territories were probably considerably depopulated and were occupied by the Northern Tungus. This was probably the first wave of the Northern Tungus caused either by a natural increase of the Northern Tungus (transition to a superior culture—reindeer breeding) or by an invasion of Siberia by an alien group.

If we summarize the above facts and conclusions, four different waves of the Northern Tungus may be distinguished.

*First Wave.* It occurred before the Xth century and brought via the Amur River to the lower course of this river, also to the Ussuri and perhaps Sungari rivers basins, not very numerous groups of the Northern Tungus (probably reindeer-breeders) who partly mixed up with the local population, mostly Palæasiatics; the Goldi who spread by small groups beside the Giliaks or, maybe, some other Palæasiatic groups and Southern Tungus (Moho? Muki?

<sup>89</sup> According to S. Brailovsky (op.cit.) the Udehe told him that they had been subjugated by Manchus by force and it is interesting that they have preserved their two plaits as a sign of semi-independence. So, probably they have been manchufied in a much lesser degree than the Goldi who were incorporated at once into the Manchu military organization. It also indicates that the ethnographical differences between the Southern Tungus (Manchus) and Udehe were at that time still greater than at present, which is due to the Chinese influence on both of them. With reference to a previous period it may be remembered that Nui-chen were very mixed (cf. above p. 163, footnote<sup>85</sup>). They distinguished among themselves three groups of clans, one of which for instance lived in the eastern part of the Nui-chen territory, i.e., in the territory at a previous period occupied by some group distinct from the Southern Tungus and Palæasiatics (cf. p. 164, footnote<sup>86</sup>). The same territory was later occupied by the Udehe. Moreover, as stated in the formation of Bohai, various groups (Koreans, etc.) took part. So, the mixing of some Northern Tungus groups into formation of Nui-chen, besides the above mentioned, is very probable. It is thus quite possible that the Udehe, at least a part of them, were also included into Nui-chen and later into the Manchu organization, as Palladius thought.



Yih-leu? Sushen?);<sup>90</sup> Solon who occupied the mountainous region of the Manchurian Plateau later took a very active part in all changes which occurred in Western Manchuria; the Xamnagan and their kinsmen at present living in Transbaikalia probably descended directly from the Lena Basin and, abandoning the reindeer and adopting the Mongol complex, fell under a strong Mongol influence;

<sup>90</sup> As I have pointed out the ethnical relationship of these groups is not clear at all. I hope that sooner or later a detailed archaeological survey will help us in establishing the relationship between Southern Tungus and, maybe, pro-Tungus, and on the other hand Palæasiatics who occupied Manchuria previous to the Tungus, but without these evidences, we are confined to hypotheses. Etymology of names does not help us very much because the names are transmitted by the Chinese who employed phonetic transcription and translation as well, yet we do not know from which language these names were transcribed and translated. In the present paper I have shown how difficult the establishing of the origin and meaning of names is and how many misunderstandings have originated from collision of various groups and lacking of good knowledge of facts. So for instance, the etymology of the name Moho (*moxo*) from *muke*—in Man. water, maintained by several writers e.g., by Professor A. Grebensčikov (*Study of the History of Amuriand after the archaeological Data*, in *Selection of Jubilee of the Vladiv. Sect. of the Priam. Br. of the Russ. Geogr. Soc.*, Vladivostok, 1916) does not seem to be very sure, *muke* being a form increased by the suffix *ke* (and probably late one) from *mu*, sometimes used in the sense of "river", though in Tungus "river," *bira*, has also a direct meaning in Manchu. However, L. Adam (*Grammaire de la langue tongouse*, in *Revue de Lingl. et Phil. Comp.* Vol. VI, 2-3, 1873) supposes the word *mu* "water" to derive from *muk* and *mug*. He takes in witness *mugda* "liquid" of Urul dialect (Castren) which is *mu+gda*, where *gda* is, of course, a suffix forming some adjectives (e.g., *gugda* "high", *bagda* "white", etc.). In Manchu *ke* is also a very common suffix of nouns (cf. J. Zaxarov, *The Grammar of the Manchu Language*, St. Petersburg, 1879, p. 70, -*muke*). Yet in all Tungus dialects except a doubtful case of Lamut (Klaproth) *muh*, where this *h* seems to be of a recent origin (as generally in some dialects of Yakutsk Gov.,—the increase of words, at the beginning and at the end, by *h*) the water is *mū*; in the Southern Tungus it is also *mu* (including the ancestors of the Manchus Nui-che: according to Schmidt *mu* and according to Grube *mūh*, i.e., *mū*). Moreover, the Manchu language possesses a good word for "big river", like the Amur and Sungari rivers, *ula* (*wula* Man. Sp.). The meaning of the word *moxo* (*n*) in Manchu: the end, limit, border, etc., may perhaps give a more close approximation, as we know for instance, *ur'anxaj*, etc., but I do not intend to propose this etymology for we do not know if this word was known in the same meaning to the early ancestors of the Manchus and which phonetic alteration, if any, occurred since that time. Yet the etymology of the name I-lou, proposed by the same author, from *jeru* (Man.)—den, haunt, cavern, etc., is also somewhat artificial, for it is really little probable that a people (not all, of course,) living temporarily in caverns would qualify themselves as "troglodites", or yet more improbable "cavern", etc.



the Udehe, as the most advanced group in the south participating in this wave, went directly southwards where they met Koreans and Chinese who later compelled them to remigrate northwards. Only the Solon and a part of the Transbaikalian Tungus (not reindeer breeders!) semi-mongolized (that of Urulga, Mankova and some others) call themselves *evenki*, while the others either have no names at all, using regional designations, or adopt the names given by their neighbours, which is quite natural, owing to a partial loss of their mother tongue.

*Second Wave.* It occurred about the XIIth century and brought the reindeer-breeders to the territory left by the first wave of the Northern Tungus making of them neighbours of the latter along with the Palaeasiatic groups who cut them into various groups; the Negidals, Orochi, who formerly were reindeer-breeders, Oroki (of Sakhalin) who are still reindeer-breeders; in Transbaikalia this wave has probably left the Reindeer Tungus in the Barguzin District (the Vitim Plateau) which is the best region for the reindeer breeding; *nugal* belonged possibly to the same wave and occupied North Western Manchuria.<sup>91</sup> As far as I know only the Tungus of Barguzin call themselves *evenki*.<sup>92</sup>

*Third Wave.* It probably occurred in the XVIIth century after Manchus depopulated the Amur River valley.<sup>93</sup> It brought the *Kumarčēn*, *Birarčēn*, Khingan and perhaps Nerchinsk Reindeer Tungus, also other small groups living on the eastern slope of the Great Khingan Mountains (*Gančēn*, *Jalčēn*, *Naunčēn*, etc.) who have all preserved the name *evenki*, but those living in Mongolia and Manchuria have lost the reindeer; owing to this movement *nugal* left Manchuria for Eastern Transbaikalia either mixing up with the new-comers, or disappearing

<sup>91</sup> Some of them probably after having lost the reindeer settled among other groups in the valley of the Amur River. Their tombs are met with on the Manchurian Plateau.

<sup>92</sup> However, it ought to be pointed out that this name perhaps is also known among other groups, but owing to an inadequate investigation it could not be established among Negidals, Oroki, Orochi. The latter are, according to Professor Schmidt (I quote a letter from him), of Palaeasiatic Origin.

<sup>93</sup> This measure was undertaken owing to the Russian invasion, which was a new factor in ethnical movements in Far Eastern Asia. However, the Manchus also needed men for assuring their control of China.



altogether<sup>94</sup> and some clans of the Reindeer Tungus living in the vicinity of the Baikal Lake went eastwards<sup>95</sup> also the Chinese migration resulted in a secondary back movement of the Udehe and *Birarčen*,<sup>96</sup> and those living in the vicinity of Goldi—to the upper course of the Amur River.

*Fourth Wave.* It began in the XIXth century and is still going on. It brought the Reindeer Tungus from the Amur Government to the Manchurian Plateau and the Reindeer Tungus of the Yakutsk Government to the Amur Government and continued to spread eastward as far as Sakhalin. All these groups call themselves *evenki*. It also brought with it the Yakuts who are living on the Reindeer Tungus. Thus this wave seems to be the last wave exhausting the stock of the Northern Tungus living southward

\*The Nerchinsk dialect (the Reindeer Tungus) shows some lexicological and morphological differences from the Barguzin and Manchurian Reindeer Tungus. Although *nugal* according to the Tungus folk-memory were a reindeer group, it is very probable that a part of them had already lost their reindeer and were living in the midst of "Djurjit" as cattle-breeders and agriculturists, i.e., just like some Tungus groups are living among Buriats and Russians in Transbaikalia. It is also possible that the migration of Gantimur from Manchuria may be ethnically connected with the *nugal* migration. I want to point out that the Tungus of Gantimur called themselves *evenki* (Castren), but they were not so styled by the Northern Tungus of the other groups because the latter pretend to be *evenki* themselves, though the ethnographical and linguistical differences are essential. During my investigations in Siberia and Manchuria I sometimes felt very great difficulty in establishing the names by which different groups style themselves. So, I have found that two *evenki* groups being different in customs or dialects or mode of life never call one another *evenki*, but use some nickname or an alien designation, —*murčen* (possessing horse), *oročen* (possessing reindeer), *ulčari* (having a plait), *tonus* (Yakut and Russians), *kilin* (Chinese), *kumarčen*, *gančen*, etc. However, it is beyond any doubt that this name—*evenki*—is most intimately connected with the Northern Tungus possessing the reindeer complex and others. As shown, this peculiarity of using the names was a source of many misunderstandings among writers. Though the borrowing of the name "Tungus" by Russians from the Yakuts is a well known fact, J. Deny (op. cit.) again reproduces the old theory of "tongouze" from the supposed to be Tungus word *donki*, which means "men." In so far as I know such a word does not exist in any Tungus dialect, where "man" is *bojo* (and its derivations!), while the word *donki*, if it existed, might designate entirely different nations.

<sup>95</sup> This movement perhaps originated under the pressure of the Reindeer Tungus of Barguzin, i.e., somewhat earlier; the group (near Baikal Lake) giving its surplus for this movement is different from the Barguzin Tungus and perhaps belongs to the first wave or some intermediary sub-wave.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. above p. 154.



from Yakuts. But the Northern Tungus migrations perhaps will not stop altogether because there are some other Northern Tungus groups in Siberia who in certain condition may continue their migrations.

Hoping to deal elsewhere with the problem of the Northern Tungus migrations in other parts of Siberia (Western and Northern Tungus area) and believing that sinologues in the meantime will trace the history of the Southern Tungus living in Manchuria, as Dr. B. Laufer promises, I return to the pro-Tungus. According to my hypothesis, after withdrawing from Northern China the pro-Tungus spread northward and eastward and their last detachment stopped at the mountainous region of Manchuria, the best water ways and territory being occupied by Palæasiatic groups (the ancestors of Giliaks, Koreans?, perhaps Ainu). Little by little they mixed up with the local population and entered into a close contact with the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks. Being surrounded by alien groups they lost their former ethnographical complex, simplified the complex morphology of their language,<sup>97</sup> and probably adapted the mode of life of aborigines. At last they came into contact with the Chinese complex, forming the Southern Branch of the Tungus. Their spreading northward seems to be very slow and its beginning probably ought to be supposed not earlier than the decline of Palæasiatic influence occurred, i.e., after the Xth century. At that time they met with the first wave of the Northern Tungus (the ancestors of the Goldi, Udehe, etc.) who were already influenced by the Palæasiatic groups in the valley of the Amur River, perhaps Ussuri and Sungari rivers. The cultural superiority (the Chinese complex) facilitated them to take this group that brought further the Southern Tungus influence under their control. They also met with the Giliaks and Ainu. They were already prepared for taking their part in the complex known under the name of Manchus. The latter pursued the policy of swallowing all Northern Tungus groups which had already lost their reindeer and were compelled to adopt the Manchu language and the whole complex.

<sup>97</sup> It is also probable that the Tungus borrowed many words from the population, if there was any at that time, in the depth of Siberia or perhaps they invented new terms in the style of their original tongue for phenomena characteristic of the new environment, also adopted or discovered the reindeer-breeding.



Thus the final conclusion is that the Goldi were originally a Northern Tungus group, perhaps reindeer-breeders, calling themselves *evenki*. At present they bear layers of various ethnical and historical origin, being thickly covered with the all destroying Chinese and Russian influences.

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#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE I.

The investigation of the Goldi is far from being complete, but it is, however, sufficient for a comparative sketch and definition of the place of the Goldi in the system of ethnical classification. Not pretending to give here a complete bibliography, I will mention the most important works dealing with the Goldi. In 1861 a dictionary of the Ussuri River Goldi was published by A. Brylkin as an appendix to Vol. I of R. Maack's *Journey in the Valley of the Ussuri River*, St. Petersburg. In 1868 M. Veniukov published a short dictionary of the same Goldi group in his *Travels along the Frontiers of Russian Asia* (in Russian), St. Petersburg. In 1900 Professor W. Grube published a Goldi dictionary compared with other Tungus dialects (*Goldisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis*, etc., as Appendix to Vol. III of L. Schrenck's work: *Reisen und Forschungen im Amurlande*). The material was gathered by a botanist, M. Maksimovič. A good deal of linguistic material was gathered by missionaries (Orthodox) who studied the Goldi for the practical purpose of propaganda of Christianity. Among these, Father Protodiakonov, who preached among the Goldi from 1865 till the nineties, prepared a dictionary which was with a great delay published in 1901 by the Oriental Institute at Vladivostok. In 1909 Professor W. Kotwicz published some specimens of the Sungari River Goldi language gathered by J. A. Dobrolovsky (*Material for the Study of the Tungus Dialects*, in Zivaja Starina, in Russian, St. Petersburg). In 1908 Professor P. P. Schmidt gathered some new material and published it together with the material (very limited) gathered by Professor Krasin in a form of a dictionary and some texts: *The Language of the Olchas*, in Publications of the Latvian University, VIII, 1923, Riga. (Cf. a critical analysis given by me in a paper: *The Study of the Tungus Language*, in the Journal N.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. LV, 1924). In 1914 Professor S. F. Poniatowski visited Goldi and in 1923 published a short paper: *Materials to the Vocabulary of the Amur Goldi*, in Bibliotheca Universitatis Liberae Polonae, A. 1923, Fasc. 10, Varsaviae. Professor J. A. Lopatin has also gathered specimens of the Goldi folk-lore, but as far as I know, has not published anything. From the above enumeration of the material it may be seen that the study of Goldi language is relatively advanced, but, as Professor Schmidt says, the material is not always reliable. To the above it may be added that the material dealing with the Spoken Manchu, with which Goldi may be compared, has been gathered by me, but not yet published.

The early information concerning the Goldi is very scarce and confused. In the XVIIth century some Russian adventurers and



colonizers visited probably some Goldi and left very short and confuse indications as to the geographical distribution of various groups, including probably the Goldi. About the same time a Chinese writer, Wu-cheng, also gave a short description of the Goldi. French fathers knew the Goldi and some information given by J. B. du Halde (*Description géographique, historique chronologique, etc. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie*, etc. Vol. IV, Paris, 1735). Several occasional travellers during the XVIIIth century left some information. A Japanese traveller, Mamia Rinsô, also gave a description of the Goldi, though he did not visit them personally (translated by Ph. Fr. Siebold, *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*, etc. Leiden, 1852, Part VII, pp. 167-196). The first reliable investigation was made by L. Schrenck (op. cit.) who visited them for a short period, but his description was not of a detailed character. So he confined himself to giving only general conclusions as to the Goldi's place among other ethnical groups. Some information was gathered by R. Maack (op. cit.) and several military travellers as M. Veniukov (op. cit.) J. Nadarov (1886 and 1889), Pel-Gorsky (1895), also others. P. Šimkevič visited the Goldi several times and published an account on the Goldi shamanism and the contents of some legends and tales: *Material for the Study of Shamanism among the Goldi* (published in Russian by the Amur Section of the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc. Vol II, Fasc. 2, Habarovsk, 1896) and some other papers of a lesser importance. The lack of knowledge of the Goldi language did not permit this investigator to carry out his investigation as it needed. In 1900 Dr. B. Laufer visited the Goldi and published a monograph: *The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes* (in *Memoirs of the Amer. Mus. of Nat. History*, Vol. VII, 1902), dealing with a particular problem. In 1910 L. J. Sternberg, Ethnographer of the Russ. Academy of Sciences, also visited the Goldi, but, as far as I know, has not published any account. Several other travellers and investigators visited the Goldi, but no important publications resulted. So, V. K. Arseniev, originally a military traveller with an inclination to ethnography, paid great attention to the Goldi, but has not published any systematic data. J. A. Lopatin, the most studious and prolix of all his predecessors, has already published ten pamphlets (1914 to 1921) on the Goldi ethnography which, in a partly re-modelled form, are presented in his work which I refer to in the present paper.

The anthropological investigation, or better measurements of the Goldi have been made by L. J. Sternberg whose material has partly been worked out by myself (unpublished), V. N. Vasiliev, of the Russian Museum at St. Petersburg, whose material, as far as I remember, has been worked out, but never published, also Professors S. F. Poniatowski and J. A. Lopatin (unpublished); V. K. Arseniev, I think, has also measured the Goldi. Little material has been published on the craniology of the Goldi (L. Schrenck). The above enumerated series would probably be sufficient for forming an accurate idea as to the physical characteristics of the Goldi and their anthropological affinities with other groups, which, let us add, would considerably simplify my present task.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE II.

J. A. Lopatin asserts that the Goldi in their present condition are in a state of extinction and he shows that since 1897 to 1915 they



lost twenty five per cent. of population. According to him, causes of this state of things are numerous: (1) under-nourishment; (2) anti-hygienic conditions (especially fleas!); (3)-imperfection of the marriage system (early mating) and "low ideas" as to woman; (4) Goldi character, especially an aversion to work. He considers, however, these causes as a constant "unsatisfactory environment" and finds a direct cause of extinction in the influence of Russians and Chinese colonizers who are pushing the Goldi from the best territories, introducing infectious maladies, narcotics, and a system of exploitation, a kind of economic slavery, also destroying the original social organization of the Goldi. I shall dwell a little longer upon this problem owing to its general importance and the methods used by J. A. Lopatin. First of all, the idea of under-nourishment is a mere misunderstanding, quite common in the works of those authors who do not conceive the idea that under- and over-nourishment can be established but after a special investigation of metabolism and other physiological conditions and never from the point of view of the investigator's tastes for food and its quantity, as to the great regret many investigators do up to the present time. Second, by the anti-hygienic conditions (including fleas which impetuously attacked J. A. Lopatin as well as other investigators) also are a relative notion depending upon the habits and ideas, but objectively speaking we do not know which degree of self-adaptation and final result may occur in an ideal (i.e., according to the investigator's ideas) hygienic conditions. Thus, this assertion is based on an arbitrary solution of an unknown quantity in an equation with several unknown quantities. The idea as to the marriage, that must not be, according to J. A. Lopatin, as it now is, but must evidently approach some other form to which this author has some preference, from an ethnographical point of view is a mere lapsus in the style of those which are common among unexperienced observers of an alien milieu and who look at the phenomena from the standpoint of their own (i.e., of their ethnographical environment) ideas. "High" and "low" ideas as to woman, indeed, are purely and simply ethnographical phenomena to be investigated and as such they cannot be put at the basis of a scientific analysis. It is also evident that the aversion to work, observed by this investigator, is a new misunderstanding, because the Goldi according to him are able to develop an enormous energy, for instance during the fishing and hunting seasons. Yet it also is beyond any doubt that some other superficial observer of Russians (including Russian ethnographers!) may also suppose that Russians have an aversion to work in seeing their inclination to social life. Moreover, the idea of an eight and six hours working day, nowadays fashionable among low classes throughout the world, may also give some right for supposition that an aversion to work is characteristic of the so-called civilized mankind. However, J. A. Lopatin is partly right. In his causes of extinction he merely gives a description of the Goldi ethnographical complex with which this investigator from his standpoint (Russian intellectual middle class complex) is evidently dissatisfied. Let us now suppose that everything is perfect, as for instance J. A. Lopatin wants it to be, and the child mortality among Goldi is as low as among, say, Russian intellectuals in pre-war time, then the present Goldi average family producing about eight children may produce during nine generations (i.e., about three centuries) a population of about one billion, which practically speaking is nonsense. By this calculation I want to emphasize that the Goldi ethnography, being a resultant of their biology, in a wide sense of this word, regulates the increase of popula-



tion by its own ways, different from that to which J. A. Lopatin is accustomed (for instance, international war, extermination of population by means of civil war, epidemics, etc., limitation of population by neo-malthusianism, limitation of marriage, etc.) That is all. He also shows very essential cause due to the interethnic pressure of Russians and Chinese. It was and is observed that for an ethnical unit a contact with new and powerful units is sometimes so difficult that some groups being unable to adapt themselves to a new environment, perish altogether. However, in many instances ethnical units adapt themselves to a new environment and after a temporary decrease of population show a marked increase. Very numerous facts concerning the movement of population among various groups of "natives" being in contact with Europeans have lately been published in America also with reference to some Negro groups in Africa. We are in possession of some statistical data concerning the groups of Pacific Philippine Islands (cf. for instance, Professor H. O. Beyer, *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916* Manila, 1917, Dr. A. Matsumura, *Contributions to the Ethnography of Micronesia*, in Journ. of the Coll. of Science, Imp. Univ. of Tokyo, Vol. XL, Art. 7, Tokyo, 1918). Yet with reference to Siberia S. K. Patkanov (*On the Increase of non-Russian Population in Siberia*, published by the Imp. Ac. of Sciences. St. Petersburg, 1911, in Russian) has shown that the groups that had adopted a higher system of economical organization (agriculture, cattle-breeding, etc.) show a marked increase of population. To that I may add some new data. Such is, for instance, the case of some groups in Kamchatka where (according to a recent medico-statistical survey by Dr. Puxov, 1919-1920, who kindly put his material at my disposal), the population, after being adapted to syphilis, alcoholism, tuberculosis and other consequences of an alien (Russian) influence, shows marked increase tending to a former number, i.e., to a natural limit in the conditions of the given biological power, territory, culture, etc., characteristic of the given population. All that can be formulated with reference to the Goldi is that they are in a state of disequilibrium showing a marked decrease of population, but the same may be referred to the complex to which J. A. Lopatin himself belongs. Such fluctuations of population are a phenomenon, let us say, of a normal process of variations. Thus, it cannot be formulated that the Goldi are in a state of extinction if this unit shows no signs of a biological degeneration. The analysis expounded by studious J. A. Lopatin along several pages shows, thus, that his methods are not properly applied.

### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE III.

Another Tungus group living in the Maritime Gov.,—Udehe—usually considered as belonging to the Southern Tungus family, as far as it may be seen from a short vocabulary published by S. Brailovsky (*Tazy/Tatse/or Udihe, An Essay of an Ethnographical Investigation*, in Živaja Starina, Fasc. II. 1901, St. Petersburg, in Russian) permits conclusions, seems to have very numerous purely Northern Tungus words for designation of the most important and common things. These are for instance: *sevoxī* (*savaki*), *hokto* (*octo*—way, road, path), *kuligase* (*kulin*-snake), *hosekta* (*osekta*-star), *tuksa* (*tuksaki*-hare), *toki* (*toki*-elk), *oka* (*oka*, *oki*-elder sister), *unta* (*unta*-a kind of shoe), *hasikta* (*asikta*-pine), *deli* (*dēl*-head), etc. Nearly thirty per cent. (probably more than that!) of words are of Northern Tungus



origin, while the Chinese, Manchu (the common roots are excluded) and some words of an uncertain origin make the rest of the vocabulary. Insofar as it may be seen from a preliminary analysis, the words common to Udehe and Northern Tungus show a definite affinity with a particular group of the Northern Tungus dialects. The morphology of the Udehe language also shows Northern Tungus characters. Their dialect, however, differs somewhat from that of Orochi, so that Orochi and Udehe do not understand one another. The words designating social organization phenomena and some shamanistic and philosophical terms, etc., are mostly of Manchu and Chinese origin, as well as the phenomena themselves. It ought to be remembered that this group fell long ago under a strong influence of the Chinese and Manchus, and according to Palladius they were possibly included into the Manchu organization as *Kujala xala*, which, however, does not seem to be quite correct, the clan organization being a very strict institution not permitting any arbitrary changes of name and subdivisions for political purposes. It varies permanently but always according to a natural process characteristic of this type of organization, or perishes altogether. The Udehe have preserved their clan names, thus *Kujala xala* of Manchu is a different clan. Among the Manchus, however, I have not found this name as a clan name, but perhaps as a name of a group of clans, namely *gowarg'ja*, *kitar*, and *nimači* which are included into a group of *kojali mantu* who have migrated from Ninguta. The meaning of *kojali* and *kujala* is not clear. Thus, personally, I should not venture to assert that this group originally belonged to the southern Tungus family, although at present they do not call themselves *evenki* (It may be that the investigators as not speaking their dialect have been unable to establish the fact how they call themselves in their tongue). As to their past, there are some hints in Chinese sources. According to E. Parker (op. cit., p. 312) about the Xth century within the present Maritime Gov. hunting groups lived and used skin tents. Such wigwams are now used by all Northern Tungus during the winter season instead of birch bark wigwams used during the rainy season. Their language was different from that of Moho. Later, during the Ming Dynasty, within the same region and at Sakhalin two groups lived—one called *Hôchê* (*Xezen?*), dog-breeders and another one reindeer-breeders (E. Parker, The Manchus, in Trans. of the As. Soc. of Japan, Vol XV, 1887, Yokohama). In the XVIIth century near Hunchung (South-East corner of Kirin, near the Korean frontier and Maritime Gov.) an agriculturist group lived. This was known under the name of *Koelka-ta-se* (du Halde, op. cit. p. 9) and were different from the Chinese, Koreans and Manchus. Perhaps this group has something to do with Udehe? According to Professor Vasiliev (*History and Ancient Remains on the Eastern Part of Middle Asia from Xth to XIIIth Century*, St. Petersburg, 1857 p. 104) eastward from Ninguta lived "Djiramin and Udi (from whom a new geography has made Uda). The latter name, there is nothing strange, has been preserved in the present name Udinskij Ostrog" of Russians which is not, of course, right. However, it is evident that Vasiliev's Udi may be connected with Udehe. Let us now remember the discussion concerning the origin of Udehe. Some authors suppose them to belong to the Northern Tungus group, others consider them as a Southern Tungus group and for supporting this proposition they indicate that Udehe are migrating northward. It is beyond any doubt that this migration was caused by an aggressive Chinese wave. On the other hand, it is also evident that Udehe had lost their original complex (partly!) and



borrowed Chinese elements (first perhaps through the Manchus) long before they started their migration northward. As immigrants from the south Udehe appeared with a mixed complex but preserving some elements of the former complex, which itself at the moment of their settling in Ussuriland was already mixed with two different complexes. V. K. Arseniev who visited them several times (also Orochi) has attempted (*Ethnological Problems in East. Siberia*. The Herald of Asia, Nos. 38-39, pp. 50-76, 1916, Harbin, in Russian) at giving a new light as to the Udehe origin. He leaves to understand that this group is of a non-Tungus origin, but "americanoid" fallen under various influences, especially that of the Tungus (Manchus). I have shown their language, however, seems to be based on a Northern Tungus dialect enriched by Manchu and Chinese influences. The most convincing evidences of their non-Tungus origin V. K. Arseniev sees in (1) masks for shamanistic performance; (2) piles with spirits' images (placings ?); (3) images (placings ?) of spirits and (4) female shaman's apron. A misunderstanding is evident. The masks are known, for instance, among the Transbaikalia Tungus and many other groups of Siberia and among the Birar Yamun Tungus, for instance, the wooden mask is included in the placings of *malu burkan* complex spirit (it is very probable that this complex is also known to Udehe); the piles with images are probably borrowed from the Koreans, the nearest neighbours of the Udehe, who use this kind of placing while among the Tungus groups wandering in the forests the placing naturally must be portable (however, such placings are known in the north); the images of spirits are similar to those among other Tungus; the female Shaman's apron is one of the most important parts of the shaman costume among the Northern Tungus. However, some elements point strongly to a Manchu influence in shamanism. It is curious that the Udehe have no bear's cult as it is observed among the Giliaks and Ainu, also Olcha and partly the Goldi who both have borrowed this practice from the Palaeasiatics. Yet the Udehe are not familiar with the dog as a draught animal and are very poor sailors, which approaches them to the Northern Tungus complex. They have a typical Tungus cradle (the Manchus and Goldi also), long snow-shoes (like the Goldi and Northern Tungus!). Their costume resembles that of the Goldi, being ornamented with the same designs. However, similarly to the Northern Tungus, they like bright colours, also various trinkets, buttons, shells, and so on. It is also interesting that they have already lost the conical wigwam (?) but have preserved it as a temporary hunting shelter and have borrowed a roofed hut made of two sloping parts from some other ethnographical complex, and simultaneously use houses of Chinese type. From an anthropological point of view they show a mixture of at least two different types, one of which has a long face with abundant beard and moustache. Another one is close to the Northern Tungus. Moreover, an admixture of the Northern Chinese is also beyond any doubt. A general deduction which may be drawn is that in this case we probably deal with a Northern Tungus group which long ago advanced southward and absorbed some local population (perhaps Palaeasiatic) or mixed up with it. Then, they fell under the Manchu, later under a Chinese and perhaps Korean influence. Thus, I think there is no difficulty in classifying this group and the americanoid hypothesis may be reserved for other groups which our knowledge does not permit any conclusion about. Generally speaking V. K. Arseniev in this paper has maintained several erroneous ideas as to ethnical relations. Moreover, he has spread them further and found problems where a



little more careful study and critical analysis of the material (linguistic, anthropological and ethnographical) in our possession might give approximations more or less satisfactory.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE IV.

The idea of a southern origin of the Reindeer Tungus was first formulated long time ago. However, before the anthropological evidence as to an admixture of type *gamma* (common among the Tungus) had been found among the Northern Chinese also several ethnographical indications analyzed, nobody ventured to suppose that the Reindeer Tungus' ancestors were so advanced into the south. The latest publication dealing with the problem of Tungus origin, so far as I know, belongs to Dr. B. Laufer (*The Reindeer and its Domestication* in Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1917). I cannot agree with Dr. Laufer, who says that the Tungus are late immigrants in Siberia, while their original home is to be sought for in Manchuria. Many elements of the Tungus ethnographical complex show that the Tungus were previously living in a country with a very mild climate. Manchuria, however, even its southern part, cannot be considered as such. Thus, the country of Tungus origin must lie southward from Manchuria, i.e., in present China. Anthropological investigation has shown that type *gamma*, the commonest one among the Tungus, is also met with among the Northern and partly the Eastern Chinese. On the other hand, it is beyond any doubt that a Palæasiatic group lived in the territory of North China at a very late period, e.g., the Chow Dynasty and perhaps later, and their traces are also found among the Chinese. According to my hypothesis the Palæasiatic groups occupied the coastal region of China while the territory west from it was occupied by the pro-Tungus. Dr. Laufer's opinion as to the original Tungus' home is based upon Chinese annals which, according to this author, provide the material for establishing the history of Tungus in a full manner, and whence he concludes that the Tungus migrated from Manchuria during a relatively late period. If we limit this statement by saying that we mean the Southern Tungus, then it may be accepted. But it may be accepted only in the case if the analysis of those evidences permits to distinguish the Tungus from Palæasiatics, which does not seem to be very probable, for the Chinese leave but a few facts on which such a classification of groups may be based. On the other hand, Dr. Laufer intends to show that the domestication of the reindeer is also a late discovery made in the region of Lake Baikal and Northern Mongolia by Southern Samoyeds—the Soyots. Again the evidence is found by Dr. Laufer in an indication of Chinese chronicles on the reindeer recorded under the year 499 A.D. I cannot enter into details or criticise Dr. Laufer's hypothesis, nor give any very essential facts as to methods of reindeer-breeding, geographical distribution and so on, but in order to understand the relationship between Tungus groups some remarks are necessary. First of all it ought to be pointed out that the records of Chinese annals are certainly incomplete and disputable. So, for instance, the date of 499 A.D. if there were no other records perhaps lost or simply not yet read, is a date which shows: at that year the Chinese recorded the reindeer. No more! It is almost beyond any doubt that the Tungus came to Siberia without any reindeer and they probably borrowed it from the local population, along with the birch-bark



wigwam and the whole complex, except perhaps clothing which happened to suit well to the purpose of the reindeer complex, as well as language and some social institutions. Such a borrowing, however, could be but a result of a long adaptation to a new environment as the reindeer complex is now one of the most essential elements of the Northern Tungus feature, especially with reference to the language. Another hypothesis which may be proposed is that the Tungus had discovered the reindeer breeding and adapted their original culture to it, invented the wigwam and the whole complex. I am inclined to adopt the first hypothesis for the local population must have already adapted itself to the condition of Siberia which, as we know, was populated during the late quaternary by some early population. This early population did surely know the reindeer, if not as a domesticated at least as a wild animal which might be easily domesticated. Let us add that Siberia provides the best condition for reindeer breeding, while the region around Lake Baikal, the Vitim and Manchurian Plateaus are regions where this animal is evidently in a state of decline and the groups that have migrated in these regions are little by little losing their reindeer. I may certify that the reindeer Tungus of the Vitim Plateau, who came in this region a long time ago, and those of the Manchurian Plateau, who came in the middle of the last century, do not use any lasso, which is absolutely useless, the animal being well domesticated, not tamed, as Dr. Laufer supposes. Thus the methods known among Soyots are not characteristic of them alone. It is also evident that besides the admixture of wild deer blood the reindeer's behaviour depends upon the number of reindeer in the herd, *i.e.*, if they are numerous the reindeer is not accustomed to man, if they are not numerous, it may be better domesticated. Thus here is the same condition as in the case of the horse. The same evidence for proving the ancientness of reindeer breeding compared with cattle and horse breeding may be seen in the present geographical distribution of secondary elements of domestication,—saddle, harness, etc. Dr. Laufer categorically asserts that these elements have been borrowed by reindeer breeders from the south,—from cattle and horse breeders. Why not *vice versa*? I do not propose any hypothesis for the time being till archæological and other evidences are gathered, but one may suppose that saddle, harness, etc., might be borrowed from the reindeer breeders who under a pressure of other groups went to the very limit of possible reindeer breeding in the Sayan Mountains, Vitim and Manchurian Plateaus. In the Sayan Mountains such a group might be the same southern Samoyed, ethnographically being a Palearctic group which was very well acquainted with this animal in the natural environment. It is evident that Dr. Laufer's theory is based upon a datum found in Chinese sources and little acquaintance of early Europeans with the reindeer-breeders. Meanwhile not all facts have been recorded by the Chinese, who beyond their empire, before the Han Dynasty, were familiar with a very limited area. The same may be referred to Europeans of the classical period. Let us now proceed to another kind of evidence shown by Dr. Laufer with reference to the Tungus migrations. It is very risky to trace the history of the Tungus referring to the Chinese sources who knew very little about Manchuria and practically speaking nothing about Siberia but a little fantastic and semi-fantastic information. The Tungus classification by the Chinese who did not distinguish the Southern Tungus from Palearsiatics and Northern Tungus is not a solid basis for any hypothesis, since the geographical



distinction and distances between those groups are not clear at all. Owing to the difficulty of travelling in those parts of Asia the Chinese "li" might be much shorter than in China, which is well known to all travellers. One thing is evident, the distances indicated by the Chinese are very often exaggerated and in some cases undervalued. So for instance the present Yakutsk Gov. could never be reached even by the best equipped expeditions in such a short period as it may be suggested from the Chinese sources. The distinction, however, between the Southern and Northern Tungus dialects is certainly very ancient, so a common living together of the pro-Tungus ought to be referred to a date which could not be recorded by the Chinese. Moreover, Yakuts who migrated to Siberia broke off the communication between eastern and western Tungus of Siberia who have nevertheless preserved the unity of their language, but formed several dialects. They were at that time reindeer-breeders and this fact took place nearer to 499 A. D. than to the appearing of the first Russian records. Yet the Negidals and Orochi, formerly reindeer breeders, appeared at the lower Amur River banks and region before the Goldi and Udehe, who originally belonged to the Northern Tungus group. As we have seen, the second Northern Tungus wave spread about the XIIIth century A.D., thus the first one took place yet earlier than the second and this now shows some elements common and characteristic of the Reindeer Tungus. If it be so, the Southern and Northern Tungus were already long before the second Tungus migration, two distinct groups, the formation of which, as we know, must have taken a very long period of time. Moreover, I shall not be surprised if there is found later that my first wave was preceded by other ones. Thus, the Tungus lived a long time in Siberia as a group of reindeer-breeders entirely different from the Southern Tungus. It is evident that the Chinese sources dealing with Manchuria could not give any reliable data as to the history of the Northern Tungus. The pro-Tungus who went to Manchuria from China could not, of course, stay a long time in Manchuria which was then densely populated by Palæasiatic groups. They went through in order to reach a less populated Siberia, while a part of them remained in Manchuria and mixed up with the local population whence the Southern Tungus originated. The same may be referred to the reindeer breeding about which the Chinese sources could hardly tell more than about the Northern Tungus. Thus, I do not insist on any hypothesis as to the origin of the reindeer breeding, but it seems to me that Dr. Laufer's theory as to the origin of this phenomenon and history of Tungus cannot explain anything in the early Tungus migrations southward and it cannot explain the presence of type *gamma* in Northern China. In many instances this theory is merely adapted to the Chinese information. Indeed only archaeology and anthropology combined with ethnographical and linguistical evidences may give us positive data for establishing the early history of reindeer-breeding and that of the Northern Reindeer Tungus.



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