

# SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS

---

S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF



# SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS

WITH INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS CONCERNING GEO-  
GRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY OF THESE GROUPS

BY

S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED  
SHANGHAI, CHINA

1929

## FOREWORD

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Three other Cossacks whom I employed during this exploration were not able to accompany me during the complete expedition and were at different times employed and dismissed by me. Besides these Cossacks I always had in my employ some Tungus belonging to the various groups which were being investigated.



During these investigations, from 1912 to 1918, my attention was devoted to (1) ethnographical observations, i. e., the cultural phenomena of the Tungus and other groups; (2) the study of the Tungus dialects and Manchu, principally in the Aigun District and in Peking; (3) anthropometric measurements of the Tungus and other groups; (4) preliminary archæological excavations carried out in 1916 in several historic places and prehistoric stations on the banks of the Amur River between Blagovyeshchensk (*Blagov'eshchensk*) and the gorges of the Amur River, where it breaks through the Lesser Khingan Mountains; in these excavations I was helped, in addition to my usual assistant, Madame Shirokogoroff, by Messrs. A. I. Gurov, M. K. Tolmačev, and A. Z. Fedorov,<sup>1</sup> who were largely responsible for the success of these excavations, which were carried out during the very short period left at our disposal by the severe climatic conditions; (5) geographical observations in the regions not yet explored (e. g., north-western Manchuria).

I shall later have an opportunity of giving a detailed account as to the material mentioned in (2), (3), and (4) in other publications. Some of these data have already been given in my previous publications (see the List of Works Mentioned in This Study). A short geographical account as to north-western Manchuria, with my calculations of the altitudes, has also been published by Madame Shirokogoroff (see the same list).<sup>2</sup>

The ethnographical material has been gathered principally from the Reindeer Tungus, partly from the Nomad Tungus, in Transbaikalia, the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria, the Tungus of Manchuria, and also from the Manchus and partly from the Solons and the Dahurs. The photographs, the archæological and phonographic records, also the ethnographical collections, except those above sixteen kilogrammes, which could not be sent by parcel post, are now in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. The ethnographic material gathered in 1912-13 was presented in 1914 to the Academy of Science and received for publication in the form of a study (in Russian), "The Ethnography of the Orochon of Transbaikalia." It was not, however, published in due time, as it might have been. Since that time the material has been supplemented by a more detailed investigation of other groups. At present the ethnological investigation in which I am engaged in China and local conditions show no possibility for further extension of my ethnographical investigation among the Tungus; the Tungus ethnographic material is therefore confined to that which was previously gathered by me. Since anthropological investigation in China began to absorb most of my time, the question as to my ethnographic material arose. It is a well-known fact that the material gathered by investigators, often buried in private and other archives, sometimes remains unknown and new investigators very often begin and carry out the same work. On the other hand, I realized that the publication of the material gathered, owing to the conditions under which I carried out my work in China, was extremely difficult, if not impossible, when one intended to give a treatise satisfactory to

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Mr. A. Z. Fedorov, at that time connected with the South Ussuri Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society at Nikolsk-Ussuriisk (the Maritime Government), was unable to take his part in the second half of these excavations.

<sup>2</sup> A more detailed account is desirable, but I do not believe it will ever be published.

those critics provided with good libraries. Indeed, the lack of a library, alone, is sufficient to deprive any author of the energy and desire of seeing his material published in a form easily accessible by critics. Another objection to publication was that my material must be published in English, which for me was a language neither native nor even sufficiently well studied to enable me to express myself with desirable clarity and in a style not offending the feeling of language among the English-speaking people. Indeed, I would be in a much more advantageous position if I could use my own language in this study. However, in 1923, through the kindness of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch, I was encouraged in publishing in English the first study of a series, namely, "Anthropology of Northern China," and in 1924 another study, "Social Organization of the Manchus. A Study of Manchu Clan Organization."

In my investigations, those of the Manchus did not occupy the principal place. I considered this material, therefore, as one of secondary importance, but useful for comparison: I thus prepared it, under the above-mentioned name, for publication first. In the present work I refer often to that study. As some misunderstandings have occurred with reference to it I shall dwell a little longer on E. Hauer's note,<sup>1</sup> which I knew after the present work was partly published. This note in its greater part is devoted to a linguistic criticism of my study. In fact, in the notes referring to the Manchu clan names I have given Manchu interpretations of these names which were heard by me mostly from the uneducated Manchus. The origin of these interpretations has evidently escaped E. Hauer's attention, so he, I believe, *bona fide*, has ascribed them to myself. He declares them to be my "*Irrtümern und Fehlern*."<sup>2</sup> There is no need to explain that the folk etymologies, from the ethnographical point of view, very often fall into a conflict with scientific ones, but anyhow they are sometimes of certain value. Therefore in all cases when I was able to find out the Manchu interpretations of their clan names, I recorded them, not always indicating that these etymologies are of Manchu origin. Their naivety was so evident that the idea of misunderstandings on the part of specialists<sup>3</sup> did not come to my mind. But I was wrong. Among several critics E. Hauer is the first one who wants to make his readers believe that these etymologies are my own linguistic blunders. The same may be stated in reference to the Manchu traditions as to their origin and particularly that of *Apkai xan*.<sup>4</sup> The last one, historically speaking, is wrong, for *Apkai xan*'s reign took place nearly half a century after the formation of the Manchus as a political body under *Nurxaci*. For these reasons, I have added a footnote ("S. O. M.," p. II, footnote 5) which E. Hauer did not understand and concluded by the remark "*ist irrig*." Again, I am not responsible for the Manchu folk-lore. E. Hauer has lost his time and misled his readers when discussing:

<sup>1</sup> In "*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*."

<sup>2</sup> By this I do not deny the possibility of mistakes on my own part. Yet in that particular publication the chance of finding mistakes is increased by innumerable misprints.

<sup>3</sup> These etymologies may be interesting to specialists only.

<sup>4</sup> *Apkaj han*, of my transcription in "S. O. M.," and *Abkaŕ xan*, of Man. Lit., is not only "*Himmels König*" and "*Gott*," as E. Hauer translates, but it is also a Manchu translation (not exact, indeed!) of the emperor's title, under which name the first Manchu emperor reigning over China is known among the Manchus. For "*Gott*" the Manchus usually use *apkaŕ enduri*. Yet, *apkaŕ xan*, in the sense of Christian God, was also introduced into the Manchu language, but did not gain popularity among the Manchus, among whom the Christian propaganda failed.



he had to refute the present Manchu traditions. It is, however, different with the problems of transcription and origin of the name *mandū*. I am responsible for the transcription of Man. Lit. words and names as they are now pronounced by the Manchus not yet *sinized*, and that of the Manchu Sp. of the Aigun District. I chose a transcription which was convenient for the printers, but with this poor means I was unable to reproduce all possible details of pronunciation. E. Hauer disagrees with me, and when my transcription of Manchu words differs from that of conventional transliteration with which this author is familiar he corrects me. The reading of a Manchu text, either transliterated or given in Manchu characters, does not present any difficulty for a specialist who knows Manchu. Indeed, the Manchu spelling of these words is well known from dictionaries. Therefore I used this opportunity for giving the *present reading* of Manchu Lit. As to Manchu Sp., it is also of some interest to linguists and ethnographers. This evidently does not interest E. Hauer. As to the name Manchu, *mandū*, I have shown in "S. O. M." the reasons why I could not agree with different hypotheses as to the origin of this name, including *mandūśri* and others. Indeed, after V. Gorskiĭ's critical analysis of various theories and traditions it is impossible any longer to maintain the explanation adopted by E. Hauer. For the suggestion *mandū* from *man-tse*, proposed by W. Stark-Toller, I am naturally responsible in no way, which may be absolutely clearly seen from the text and preface to my "S. O. M." In the same preface I pointed out that I do not pretend to be a Sinologue, but naturally I appreciate very much any competent criticism from the Sinological point of view. In writing my "S. O. M." I did not intend to give a treatise of the history of the Manchus, a subject which may be attacked only by a combined effort of Sinologues, ethnographers, linguists, anthropologists, and archæologists. Their name interested me chiefly from the ethnographical point of view, and the explanation proposed by me was based upon historic and ethnographic data combined. Let us, moreover, remember that the controversy about the origin of the name *mandū* among the Manchus themselves is a well-known fact and up to the present time no satisfactory solution has been found. The work translated by E. Hauer ("Huang Ts'ing-K'ai-kuo-fang-lüeh") is one of those publications which had to strengthen the Manchu rule in China. Indeed, it is well known that the most important parts of it were read, translated, and partly critically analysed and published by European scholars. Naturally, absolute credit cannot be given to the works inspired by the political needs of the current moments. Unfortunately, till now reliable historic documents are very scanty. Moreover, the current opinion among modern Chinese historians is that many purely historic problems cannot be solved even after a careful analysis of the written documents, and they need the support of ethnographical, linguistic, anthropological, and archæological evidences. It is also true, yet in a greater degree, in reference to the history of the Manchus, for historic documents concerning the Manchus date no more than a few decades before their coming to power. Therefore it is premature to close the problem by a simple reference to the work translated and commented upon by E. Hauer, who, confining himself to the Sinological field, has naturally failed to solve the problem.

I have discussed E. Hauer's criticism of my "S. O. M.," for in the present study I use the same methods: I give the Tungus traditions as to their origin and clans, which I analyse as far as authentic historic evidences and comparative method permit. I also give a description of the Tungus social organization and particularly of the clan names, where I explain, by the way, the value of Tungus interpretations of these names. It also holds good for the Manchu clan names. It is thus possible that the Tungus interpretations of their institutions, history, and clan names will again give a new occasion to speak about my "*Irrtümern und Fehlern*" to those who meet with difficulty when dealing with this class of ethnographical (and historic) evidences. Afterwards, such critics may happen to find themselves in the same awkward position as that in which E. Hauer is now. Referring to the conclusive part of his note, where he goes as far as trying to show to his readers that I did not know even Manchu numerals,<sup>1</sup> I am sorry to say that such methods of discussion may deprive many authors of the possibility to continue any further discussion with him, unless he changes his methods.

Let us now return to my other unpublished material.

The Tungus folk-lore I translated, and the Tungus Dictionary I prepared could not then be published, as I had hoped. I gave up the original project of publishing in the Dictionary only my own material, for, during the preparation of some other material for publication I established parallels from other languages and other Tungus dialects published by different authors. Since then some new material has been published by Professor P. P. Schmidt, Messrs. E. I. Titov, and N. N. Poppe; yet Professor W. L. Kotwicz has kindly put some unpublished material at my disposal. Owing to that, the Dictionary will be rearranged and some modifications made in the folk-lore,—and extended notes and commentaries will be added to.

According to my original idea, the present study ought to be preceded by another study devoted to the material culture of the Tungus and a comprehensive part dealing in general with the history and geography of the regions inhabited by them. None of these could be prepared, as collections and photographs gathered by me were inaccessible. In order to avoid misunderstanding, along with the following chapters dealing with the Tungus social organization, I have given a very short description of geographical conditions, and two chapters have been devoted to the classification of the Tungus groups and the history of their formation and migrations. Such a mode of presenting my material will result in a disproportion of parts of this study.

In preparing this study, among my other material I used my above-mentioned work on the "Ethnography of the Orochon of Transbaikalia," a corrected copy of which happened to be at hand.

The transcription of Tungus words approaches, in so far as possible, my original records, for which I have used the Russian "Academical Transcription" adopted for Asiatic

<sup>1</sup> This time E. Hauer quotes three meanings of the word *ninguta* (these may also be seen in I. Zakarov's Dictionary) in order to refute a new religious meaning which has been appropriated by the same word in Manchu Sp. recorded by me, viz., "the very ancient ancestor." This fact is, however, interesting from the semantic and ethnographic point of view. E. Hauer believes this case opportune for showing my incompetence in Manchu.



languages. The transcription of the Chinese words is given either phonetically, as they are known among the Tungus and Manchus, or in a romanized conventional form adopted by H. Giles, and others.

This time I have not added to this study the usual conclusion for the following reasons: This study covers but a part of my ethnographical observations. As stated, the social phenomena are so closely connected with other cultural phenomena that many of them cannot be properly understood without an exhaustive treatment of the Tungus ethnography in general, including the Tungus system of ideas and what usually is called "religion." This will be done in my other studies. The same may be stated in reference to the formation of the Tungus and their history. I have therefore decided to give my general conclusion as to the Tungus social organization and their history in my further works.

In the present study I give several maps to illustrate my text. I could not find a good map for drawing the river and mountain systems with all desirable correctness. Unfortunately, the original copy of my map of North-Western Manchuria, where the results of my geographic observations had been summarized, has not been accessible, as many other above-mentioned documents of my expeditions. Moreover, the copy of the original that I had had with me in 1920 was stolen, together with other cartographic material and personal documents, just before my sudden departure from Siberia. Since the maps presented in this study from the geographical point of view have been but approximately made, the boundaries of various ethnical groups could not be drawn with all desirable and possible correctness. In making up the map of the geographical distribution of the Tungus I have met with another difficulty, namely, to which period must I refer my ethnical boundaries? Some instances of recent migrations and extinction of some ethnical groups of Siberia that I give in the present study may show quite clearly the impossibility of giving the actual, present distribution of groups. Therefore I decided to give the facts I observed myself in 1912, 1913 in Transbaikalia and in 1915-1917 in Manchuria and Mongolia. On the other hand, there are no synchronous documents for giving boundaries of other groups not visited by myself. These boundaries I have also put approximately. In fact, the Goldi and Oroči maps, rather good and detailed ones, published by I. A. Lopatin in 1922 and 1927, are ten years younger and cannot be regarded as absolutely synchronous with my data. For details as to geographical distribution of these groups, my readers are requested to consult the works of I. A. Lopatin and V. K. Arseniev.

I have eliminated the Chinese and the Russians; I have also shown, without actual boundaries, the other non-Tungus groups, for all these groups are much more numerous than the Tungus. Chinese and Russians are met everywhere. The putting of this material on maps would enormously confuse the Tungus distribution.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the actual number of all the population in the Tungus area is unknown.

The geographical names, one of difficult problems, are not uniformly given. Those names, with which the English readers are familiar and the transcription of which has already been stabilized, are given in the old transcription, but the names that are not

<sup>1</sup> Before the Peace Conference of Versailles and later a great number of ethnographical maps of different parts of Europe appeared. They show a great diversity of methods employed for demonstration of the distribution of various groups in the light required by the political considerations of the authors. Cf. A. van Gennep, *Traité*, etc., where several facts are gathered.

common or are absolutely unknown are given in an approximate phonetic transcription. Yet some names which are already stabilized in the Russian geographic writings and maps are given in the Russian pronunciation, while many others are given in the original Tungus form and approximate phonetic transcription. In order to help the readers I have given a special index of geographical names.

I am very sorry for being unable to reproduce here certain photographs of my collections which are now inaccessible to me. I have given only two water-colour pictures — one representing a disposal of a Nerchinsk Tungus woman's corpse, and another representing a Tungus wigwam on the Vitim Plateau (the Vitimkan River). Those readers who are interested in having some idea as to the physical types of Tungus may consult Miss Czaplicka's work.<sup>1</sup> Six photographs taken from my collection in the Anthropological and Ethnographical Museum of the Academy of Science (St. Petersburg) have been found, to my great surprise, reproduced in Miss Czaplicka's compilation. Four of them represent different types of the Transbaikalia Tungus.<sup>2</sup>

Generally speaking, the works dealing with Tungus ethnography are not numerous. A limited number of them, but not all, are given by V. I. Mežov in his "Siberian Bibliography." Also, in a very important addition to the above by M. K. Azadovskii, one may find a list of works published in Russian in the nineties of the last century. Some bibliographical material is found in publications dealing with various groups<sup>3</sup> and problems, also in regional bibliographies recently compiled by various Siberian research institutions. In English some bibliography may be found in publications by J. Baddley, M. A. Czaplicka, Irv. Hallowell, and others. Among little-known publications one cannot, however, expect to find extensive treatises on the Tungus, but some of them are very valuable as a product of personal observations. Some day the Tungus bibliography will perhaps find its learned and industrious author, but this cannot be my ambition, so I can now give only references to the works actually mentioned in this study.

I am pleased to use this opportunity for expressing my sincere thanks to Madame K. Horchner and Miss K. Jackson, who have kindly read the manuscript and part of the proofs for the correction of my English; also to Miss A. M. Roberts, who, as chief proof-reader of the Commercial Press, Ltd., has given her valuable attention to this work, and Messrs. W. Stocker and A. Akehurst, of the Whangpoo Conservancy Board of Shanghai, whose kindness has permitted me to make up the maps added to this work. It has been written and prepared for publication during the time that I have been research professor of the University of Amoy, which institution left me leisure enough to carry out this work. I particularly appreciate the very kind attention on the part of the Commercial Press chief editor, Mr. Y. W. Wong, and the editor of the English Department, Dr. Fong F. Sec, to all my requests in connexion with this publication, for which I thank them most sincerely.

THE AUTHOR.

Canton, July, 1928.

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, I knew this work only when the present study had been partly published. Some information about the Tungus, also the peculiar and misleading selection of authorities (cf., especially, "Bibliographical Sketches") badly need corrections and completion.

<sup>2</sup> The first one (Plate 10) represents a Nomad Tungus of Urulga (not "sedentary," as Miss Czaplicka says); the other three represent Nerchinsk Reindeer Tungus (called by Miss Czaplicka *orocho*) of the village Tëksër on the Akima River (tributary of the Nercha).

<sup>3</sup> E. g., I. A. Lopatin has given a good Goldi bibliography.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGES
FOREWORD . . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION: 1. Position of the Northern Tungus Among Other Ethnical Groups (1-3); 2. Previous Studies in Northern Tungus Ethnography (3-5); 3. Remarks Concerning Social Phenomena and Ethnical Units in General (5-10); 4. Remarks Concerning Social Phenomena Among the Tungus (10-12)	1-12
CHAPTER I. PRIMARY <i>MILIEU</i> AND TUNGUS ADAPTATION: 1. Geographical Description of the Tungus Area: Transbaikalia, Northern and Southern, and Manchuria (13-26); 2. Economical Activities of the Tungus: Hunting (26-28), Reindeer Breeding (28-38), Breeding of Other Domesticated Animals and Other Forms of Economic Activity (38-42); 3. Adaptation of the Tungus to Animal Environment: Animals as Competitors of the Tungus (42-45); Hunting (45-46); 4. Classification of the Regions (46-49) . . . . .	13-49
CHAPTER II. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS GROUPS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS: 1. Names of Tungus Groups (50-56); 2. The Geographical Distribution of the Northern Tungus (56-81); 3. Neighbours of the Northern Tungus: Goldi (81-82), Udehe (82-83), Dahurs (83-85), Manchus (85-88), Russians (88-90), Chinese (90-93), Koreans (93-94), and Yakuts (94-95); 4. Interethnic Relations: Relations Between the Northern Tungus and Other Ethnical Groups (95-103); Relations Between the Northern Tungus Groups (103-109); 5. Administrative Organization of the Northern Tungus Groups (109-115); 6. Some Statistical Data as to Population (115-119) . . .	50-119
CHAPTER III. THE TUNGUS CLANS AND NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE TUNGUS: 1. General Definition of the Tungus Clan (120-125); 2. Description of the Clans Among the Tungus Groups: Barguzin (125-128), Nerchinsk (128-129), Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria (129-130), Khingan (130-131), Mergen (131), Kumarčen (131), Birarčen (131-132), Mankova (133), Nomad Tungus of Barguzin (133), Dahurs (133), Goldi (134), Manchu (134), Some Parallels and Meaning of Clan Names (134-135), Lists of Clan (135-140); 3. Notes on the Early History of the Northern Tungus (140-147); 4. Northern Tungus Migrations: General Remarks (147-148), First, Second, Third, and Fourth Migratory Waves (148-164); 5. Conclusions Regarding the History of the Northern Tungus and Their Future (164-169) . . . . .	120-169

CHAPTER IV. CLAN ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS: 1. System of Relationship Terms: The Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia (171-183), The Tungus of Manchuria (183-188), Conclusions (188-189); 2. Clan Organization (189-199); 3. Clan Functions (199-202); 4. The Formation and Adoption of Clans (202-205) . . . . .	170-205
CHAPTER V. MARRIAGE: 1. Regulations in Sex Relations: General Principles of These Regulations (206-210), Exogamy (210-212), Forms and Ways of Marriage (212-214), Conclusions as to the Early Forms of Marriage (215-217); 2. Marriage: Ways of Marrying (217-220), Capture (220-222), Inter-marriage with Other Ethnical Groups (222), Divorce (222-223), Match-Making (223-224), The Kalym (225-228), The Dowry (228); 3. The Wedding: The Reindeer Tungus (229-235), The Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia (236-239), Comparison of Wedding Customs and Conclusions (239-245) . . .	206-245
CHAPTER VI. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS: 1. Organization and Functions: General Definition and Description (246-253), Variations of the Family Forms (253-254), Place and Position of the Members (255-259); 2. The Woman's Position: Prohibitions and General Characteristics (259-262), The Woman's Position in the Family and Clan (262-272), The Biological Activity of the Woman—Pregnancy and Childbirth (272-277); 3. Children: The Cradle (278-284), Education (284-288), Position of the Children (288-290), Diseases and Mortality (290-293) . . . . .	246-293
CHAPTER VII. PROPERTY AND ASSOCIATIONS: 1. Property: Kinds of Property (294-300), Acquisition of Property (300-302), Inheritance (302-305); 2. Relations Originating Beyond the Clan and the Family (305-307) . . .	294-307
CHAPTER VIII. SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TUNGUS: 1. Characteristics of the Tungus (308-330); 2. Customs Regulating Social Relations (330-335); 3. Criminality Among the Tungus (336-340); 4. Reaction of the Tungus Groups to Alien Influences and Remarks on the Comparative Characteristics of Tungus Groups (340-344) . . .	308-344
CHAPTER IX. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES: Note I (347-348); Note II (348-349); Note III (349-355); Note IV (355-357); Note V (357-358); Note VI (358-362); Note VII (362-364); Note VIII (364-366); Note IX (366-368); Note X (368-370); Note XI (371); Note XII (372) . . . . .	347-372
GLOSSARY: 1. Abbreviations (375-376); 2. Approximate Phonetic Equivalents of Transcription (376-377); 3. Glossary (377-392) . . . . .	375-392
LIST OF WORKS MENTIONED IN THIS STUDY . . . . .	395-401
INDEXES: 1. General Index (405-417); 2. Index to Authors and Investigators (419-421); 3. Index to Geographical Names (423-427) . . . . .	405-427



## ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, ETC.

### MAPS

	PAGE
MAP I, DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICAL GROUPS . . . . .	facing 108
MAPS II, III, AND IV, ETHNICAL MOVEMENTS . . . . .	facing 146
MAP V, MIGRATORY WAVE I . . . . .	facing 156
MAP VI, MIGRATORY WAVE II . . . . .	facing 160
MAP VII, MIGRATORY WAVE III . . . . .	facing 162
MAP VIII, MIGRATORY WAVE IV . . . . .	facing 164
MAP IX, MIGRATIONS, NORTHERN TUNGUS . . . . .	facing 168

### ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
TUNGUS DISPOSAL OF CORPSE . . . . .	facing 14
TUNGUS (BARGUZIN) WIGWAM . . . . .	facing 16
WEDDING CEREMONY (scheme) . . . . .	237
DISTRIBUTION OF PLACES IN THE WIGWAM . . . . .	255
CRADLE . . . . .	278

### TABLES

	PAGE
AGE GROUPS AMONG THE URULGA TUNGUS . . . . .	292
CLANS AND ETHNICAL UNITS FORMATION . . . . .	370
CLANS AMONG THE NORTHERN TUNGUS . . . . .	136, 137, 138
CLIMATE (TEMPERATURE) OF HULUN BUIR . . . . .	24
GROUPS, TUNGUS, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN . . . . .	108, 109
HUNTING (Statistics) . . . . .	27
MIGRATIONS, WAVE I . . . . .	156
MIGRATIONS, WAVE II . . . . .	160
MIGRATIONS, WAVE III . . . . .	163
MIGRATIONS, WAVE IV . . . . .	164
POPULATION (Statistics) . . . . .	115, 116, 117, 118
REGIONS, GEOGRAPHICAL . . . . .	47
RELATIONSHIP TERMS, THE TUNGUS OF MANCHURIA, I-V . . . . .	183, 184
RELATIONSHIP TERMS, THE TUNGUS OF TRANSBAIKALIA, I-X, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175	

# SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN TUNGUS

## INTRODUCTION

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

### 1. Position of the Northern Tungus Among Other Ethnical Groups

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2. Previous Studies in Northern Tungus Ethnography

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Bibliography in my "N. T. M." and "S. O. M."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "S. O. M." and "A. N. C." R. Torii, "Études Anthropologiques, Les Mandchoux."

<sup>4</sup> See also M. A. Frazer, "Fish-Skin Tartars."



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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> S. K. Patkanov's work, dealing with the statistical material gathered by other persons, stands apart as excellent material.