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THE GOLD TRIBE, "FISHSKIN TATARS" OF THE LOWER SUNGARI

BY

OWEN LATTIMORE

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INTRODUCTORY

THE Gold here described are a Tungusic tribe of North Manchuria and the contiguous part of Siberia. At one time they had a strong affiliation with the Manchu. At present they number probably something over one hundred, but certainly not more than three hundred families (exclusive of the related tribesmen of the Ussuri valley) and are being rapidly and thoroughly obliterated by the advance of Chinese colonization.

In May 1930, in the course of a year spent in Manchuria under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, I traveled down the Sungari by steamer from Harbin, and on reaching the country where the Gold are still found, I journeyed for a few days by cart, seeing as much as I could of them and the type of country they inhabit by preference. My purpose was to gather preliminary notes for a general historical study of migrations and the spread of cultures in Manchuria. I was therefore not prepared or equipped for an intensive study of the Gold; but I took every opportunity to extend and note my observations.

Considering the nature of this material, I have thought it best to prepare the following account simply by expanding my own field notes and journal, without any reference to printed authorities. Thus it may be possible to preserve the freshness of a direct, individual account. Any inferences are my own; all statements of fact are drawn from information personally collected. If, therefore, these conflict with other accounts, the reason is probably to be sought for in the state of the Gold themselves. In the first place, few as they are, they exhibit a range of local differences. Secondly, they are so far degenerate that by no means every Gold can give reliable information about his own people. With the decay of the old life, the use and meaning of many objects are being lost. Thus, occasionally an informant will invent an answer to a question in order to be obliging; at other times, no doubt, he will give a wrong answer intentionally, because he is suspicious of being "investigated." In order to avoid both sources of error, I tried as far as possible to collect information not by direct questioning, but in the course of conversation.

In the few instances where I have reported purely Chinese information, I have made the fact clear. Comparisons between the Gold, Manchu, and Chinese, and inferences regarding past history and so forth, are of course not all drawn from notes actually made while I was among the Gold. They are largely based on observations made and opinions formed in other districts and in previous years.

It was at Sanhsing, where the Hurka or Mutan Chiang joins the Sungari, that I first heard of former Gold inhabitants and the possibility of still seeing occasional families of the tribe. From Sanhsing on down the river, Gold names occasionally survive, often being taken over by the Chinese in a corrupted form. At or near several of these places, both on the Heilungchiang (westerly) and Kirin (easterly) side of the Sungari, a few Gold families are still living; notably at Susu-t'un and Chiamosu—both of which names contain Gold elements. I did not, however, see any Gold until I reached Fuchin, the largest town on the lower Sungari. Near Fuchin I visited the hamlet of Gardang and the larger village of Ta-t'un (also called Ta-tze-t'un), both formerly inhabited entirely by Gold, though now these are outnumbered by Chinese.

Going on down the river I stopped at Lahasusu (also called T'ungchiang), from which point the junction of the Sungari with the Amur can be seen. Here are several Gold families, and near the town I visited the fishing hamlet of five or six Gold families at Muruhungku, from which can be seen another hamlet called Tsitsihar.

From Lahasusu I traveled by cart parallel to the Amur to an old Tatar (Gold) settlement called Gaij (or, by the Chinese, Kai-chin-k'ou), some thirty miles distant, where a tributary stream flows into the Amur. From this point on, hills begin to line the right bank of the Amur. Because of heavy rains, the threat of floods, inadequate transport, and the unwillingness of any people to accompany me further (owing mainly to the unsettled feeling along the Russian frontier) I turned back there. Going back to Lahasusu, I went to Fuchin by cart, stopping for a few hours at a tiny Gold settlement called Niurgu, and for the night at the pathetic remains of a decayed settlement called T'u-tze-k'o.

At Fuchin I stayed several more days. On this second visit to Fuchin I found that two Chinese ethnologists had arrived and were undertaking an intensive study of the Gold,—Drs. Shang and Ling of the National Research Academy, Nanking. They were making a splendid collection of specimens, including so large an object as a birch-bark canoe. No birch-bark canoes are now in use, but they had found an old man who knew the art of making them, and were despatching him to the nearest forest with large birches, where he was to make a canoe for them. They were intending to study the Gold in every aspect,—technology, shamanism, legends, folklore, ballads, and so forth, and to note down their music and study the language. A more comprehensive study of the Gold than any yet available can therefore be looked for when they publish their results.

DISTRIBUTION AND NUMBERS

The junction of the Mu-tan (Hurka) with the Sungari at Sanhsing may be taken as the approximate southern limit of Gold distribution, and the old meeting point of Gold and Manchu; but Gold legend also mentions a spot further south,—the ruined town of Pai-ch'eng-tze ("the white city") near the site of the present Ashiho (a Manchu name in Chinese form), a town on the Chinese Eastern Railway east of Harbin. In Manchu times the Gold at Sanhsing were either absorbed or displaced by Manchu; at any rate, few were left when Chinese immigration began in force in recent years, and there are now not more than one or two families in the neighborhood. Below Sanhsing the Gold were formerly distributed along both sides of the Sungari at a number of points, though never in very great numbers. Among the place names that survive are Susu-t'un and Chiamosu; of which the former is from Gold susu, ruins, and Chinese t'un, a village; and the latter a Chinese corruption of a Gold name. At or near Susu-t'un there are said to be less than a dozen Gold families, and near Chiamosu perhaps four or five.

On the easterly bank of the Sungari, about five miles above Fuchin, is the village of Ta-t'un, with between sixty and seventy Gold families. The name of the village is commonly written with Chinese characters meaning simply "big village"; it is a corruption of the older name, still sometimes heard, of Ta-tze-t'un, Chinese for "Tatar village." Then there is the village of Gardang (a Gold name) about two miles from Fuchin. It was once a large Gold village, but only six families now remain, of which two still own land. Fuchin itself is the Chinese form of the Gold name Fukjin; the Russians usually call it Fukdin. It was formerly the chief centre of the Gold, and under Manchu administration the most important centre below Sanhsing. It is now a large, important, and prosperous Chinese town, in which not more than two or three Gold families have survived.

Below Fuchin a few families may be scattered on the westerly side of the river, as there certainly are a few families of boatmen and fishermen on the easterly side. Remains of villages occur at T'u-tze-k'o and Niurgu; the original Gold form of T'u-tze-k'o having probably been something like Tuzke. At T'u-tze-k'o there are about five families and at Niurgu perhaps half a dozen. T'u-tze-k'o was once a prosperous village, but in recent years has suffered greatly because it lies on an east-and-west route much used by bandits when crossing the Sungari in winter.

From Niurgu it is about 15 miles to Lahasusu (called by the Chinese T'ungchiang), still on the same side of the river. Laha denotes a kind of wall construction of twisted ropes of straw soaked in mud and plastered

with mud; susu means "ruins." Less than half a dozen Gold families remain in Lahasusu itself; but within five or six miles are the two hamlets of Muruhungku and Tsitsihar, each with half a dozen families, and probably a few more isolated families and small groups.

Lahasusu is within sight of the mouth of the Sungari. About thirty miles on down the Amur, on the southern (Chinese) bank, is the village of Gaij, called by the Chinese Kai-chin-k'ou. About a score of Gold families live here; and a few miles on lies Derchi, with about the same number of families, or perhaps more. From Gaij onwards the Chinese bank of the Amur is lined with low hills. According to local accounts, the Gold do not extend much farther along the Amur, but give place, after a practically uninhabited gap, to the Gilyak and other Amur tribes.

This account omits the Gold on the Russian side of the Amur, besides a few families living on islands in the Amur who hardly know whether they belong to the Chinese or the Russians.

Thus it will be seen that the Gold once ranged for some two hundred miles, from the Amur up the Sungari to Sanhsing and that over a hundred families remain within this range. The largest concentration is near Fuchin, below which the numbers are very much greater than between Fuchin and Sanhsing,—partly, no doubt, because the Chinese have penetrated as far as Fuchin in far greater numbers than below Fuchin. However, I believe that even before the recent great increase in Chinese settlement the Gold were more numerous below Fuchin than above, this resulting from the Manchu "banner" grouping. The Manchu once maintained an important river patrol, the headquarters of which were at Sanhsing and Fuchin; and apparently the Manchu patrolled up and down river from Sanhsing (an important Manchu town) while the Gold, with an admixture of Manchu officers, patrolled from Fuchin up the Sungari and down the Amur.

Although the Gold had settlements on both sides of the river, they seem to have preferred the easterly bank; and even at present they hunt much further away from the eastern bank than from the western. I believe this is a legacy from the old conditions of life. The Gold were identified with the river, and even if they hunted as far east as the Ussuri they would encounter only similar tribes; while if they ranged west of the Sungari to any distance they would meet genuine forest and hill nomads not based on river-bank settlements.

ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE

A distinct change occurs in the Sungari valley below Sanhsing. There are frequent hills along both banks of the river as far north as Sanhsing,

which were well wooded until recent times; and by turning up the Mutan at Sanhsing enormous virgin forests can be reached. Below Sanhsing, the hills rapidly fall away. The country gives warning of the tundra to be reached in the far north; great stretches of reedy marsh extend for miles, and such trees as occur are part of the swamp jungle. The climate is distinctly colder below Sanhsing than above, and in the short, intense summer the mosquitoes and flies are a deadly pest. It is not an ideal country for nomads; until the coming of the Chinese settlers horses and cattle were rare, and sheep are still hardly ever seen. The coming of the Chinese, however, has made a great difference. The marshes are in great part not so sodden as to require elaborate drainage; they dry out with ploughing, and when the thick mat of grasses and reeds is turned under by the plough the mosquitoes and gadflies are greatly diminished in number. The intense, humid heat of the short summer produces abundant crops from the black soil, rich in humus.

HISTORY AND LEGEND

One of a group of the Gold I met at Ta-t'un said that they consider themselves descended from Chin Wu-chu; that is, from the Chin or Nüchen dynasty. Their "original home" was Pai-ch'eng, the ruined city near Ashiho, destroyed by Yüeh Fei (or Yao Fei), the enemy of Chin Wu-chu. (Yüeh Fei is a hero of the Sung Dynasty, celebrated in many Chinese legends of exploits against the "Tatars"—the Mongol as well as Manchurian tribes. Yüeh Fei procured from Pai-ch'eng ("the white city") a number of "white sparrows" (Chinese pai chia-ch'iao). He put sulphur on their backs and then released them. They flew back to Pai-ch'eng, and when their backs rubbed against the eaves of the houses they set fire to the city.)

In the hope of bringing out a further legend, I then asked if the Gold had ever had any difficulty with Nikan Wailê, (or Nikan Wailan) the enemy, in Manchu legend, of T'ai Han-yeh ("the Great Khan"; Nurhachih). One of the men laughed loudly. He explained that Nikan (Nikhan, Nihan) is the Gold as it is the Manchu name for the Chinese, and that *wailê* is a term meaning ku-tung—a local Chinese dialect expression for "bad," "crafty," "treacherous." Nikan Wailê, therefore, is "the Bad Chinese." He is referred to, under the name Ni-k'an Wai-lan, in both the Tung Hua Hsü Lu—an edition of the official chronicle of the Manchu—and the Man-chou Shih Lu or True Record of the Manchus, which was published at Mukden in 1930 and is said to be taken from a MS. found in the Palace. In both accounts Nikan Wailan is described as one who conspired with the Ming governors in Manchuria to overthrow Nurhachih during the period of Nurhachih's early tribal wars. (Nikan, like the Mongol Khitat or Hitat, also has the opprobrious connotation of "slave." Then all of them agreed that the tale of T'ai Han-yeh and Nikan Wailê is "the same story" as the following:

T'ai Han-yeh's mother, fearing that he would be killed by the same enemy (variously identified with Yüeh Fei and Nikan Wailê) who had killed his father, put the child in a birch-bark cradle and set him afloat on the Ussuri (not the Sungari, as in the Manchu legend). She said: "I cannot bring you up, but if you have a destiny, perhaps someone will protect you, and afterwards you can revenge your father." Then the cradle floated down to San-chiang-k'ou, where the Ussuri enters the Amur.[1] There happened at that time to be three clans of the Gold, who lived at

[1] The name San-chiang-k'ou is curious. It means, in Chinese, "mouth of three great rivers." At present the conjunction of the Sungari and Amur is so called. The joining of the *two* rivers is apparently called *three* from the "triskeles" pattern of the conjunction. It may

Sanhsing, who had gone down to San-chiang-k'ou to fish. They found the cradle and brought T'ai Han-yeh back to Sanhsing. "That is how he reached Sanhsing: the people brought him, he did not float up against the current." "And what happened to his mother?" "When he grew up he went back for her, and revenged himself against his father's enemy."

Now the Manchu form of the legend is briefly as follows:[2]

A maiden went up into the forest on Ch'ang-pai-shan. She ate a red berry and conceived. When the child was born, she put him in a cradle and set him on the Sungari. He floated down to Sanhsing, where the men of three clans were fighting for mastery. They stopped fighting, took the child from the river, and said, "He shall be our Khan." Sometimes this child is called T'ai Han-yeh, in popular tales; but properly he should be called Aisin Jioro. Several generations later, after conquests extending first to Ninguta, then to Kirin city and then to the confines of Fengt'ien (Liaoning) province, there arose the true T'ai Han-yeh, who was the founder of the Manchu empire, as Aisin Jioro was of the Manchu nation. T'ai Han-yeh, while in the service of a Chinese official, the Nikan Wailê of the stories, was discovered to have birthmarks indicating that he was destined to found an empire. Orders were given to put him to death, but he escaped and after many adventures founded the kingdom which became later the Manchu Empire.

Considering the long contact of the two tribes it is impossible to say definitely whether the Gold legend of the tribal ancestor was borrowed from the Manchu, or whether the Manchu while still in a tribal state, derived their legend from the Gold. Personally, I think both versions are part of a common stock of myth belonging to kindred peoples. What interests me in this legend is the evident effort made to explain a connection between two widely separated places. It may be a southern, upstream point on the Ussuri, linked with a northern downstream point on the Amur, or a southern upstream point on the Sungari, linked with a northern, downstream point on the Amur; or a southern point, the sources of the Sungari in the Ch'ang-pai-shan, linked with a northern, downstream point on the Sungari at the confluence of the Mutan at Sanhsing.

It also seems to me that the legend has an obvious connection with history. The Chinese records, as might be expected, illustrate this in greater detail than do the legends of the Manchu and the cognate Gold. The

well be that the point where the Ussuri enters the Amur is called by the same name. In the Manchu form of the legend, the cradle floated down the Sungari to Sanhsing (Manchu name Ilan Hala, both meaning "Three Clans") where the meeting of the Mutan and Sungari gives just the same "three-mouth" pattern. Thus there are three points where the same legend could easily be localized.

[2] The following is based on the legends that still survive at the present day, not on the formal written versions to be found in the histories.

Chinese have for a very long time had a strong foothold in Manchuria, but it is only in recent years that they have spread in important numbers into Kirin and Heilungchiang. Until the time of the Manchu the probable limit of the extension of a strong Chinese population was about the latitude of Mukden; though of course, Chinese influence often ranged much farther north. While a Chinese population was permanently established in southernmost Manchuria, political authority varied a great deal. There was a recurrent tendency for non-Chinese tribes to descend on and dominate the Chinese "pale" in Manchuria; and they often, as in the case of the Liao and the Chin, extended their rule far into China proper. There was also a counter-tendency for the Chinese to throw off this type of domination and, on the wave of victory, to extend their influence far north of the area of actual Chinese population. To the effect of these conflicting tides we owe the frequent Chinese distinction between "wild" and "tame" divisions of a tribe of the same name, the latter being those in actual contact with the Chinese. They were frequently subsidized as defenders of the frontier against their "wild" kinsmen and carried on a form of trade. There was a convention of disguising both subsidy and trade under the name of "tribute": tribal chiefs brought "tribute" to the Chinese frontier officials, who returned "presents" that often exceeded the "tribute" in value and were in effect a subsidy paid to the chiefs to persuade them to keep the outer tribes from raiding the Chinese.

Since no Chinese dynasty was ever attacked and overthrown when at the height of its glory, there could not have been serious pressure of population on the north, causing invasions of China. The tendency was rather to seize the opportunity when a Chinese dynasty was in decay and to raid Chinese territory; the raids were gradually replaced by the occupation of territory and the formation of a "native state" modeled on Chinese forms; and the mark of complete success was the establishment of an empire, occupying a part of China proper, or the whole. Of such type were the Liao and Chin dynasties, both originating in Manchuria, the Yüan dynasty, derived from Mongolia, and the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty, originating once more in Manchuria.

A nomadic people, or even a people, who, like the Manchu, lived in villages but had an economy largely based on hunting and fishing, can never muster so great a population per square mile as a nation of farmers and artisans like the Chinese. Consequently when the Liao, Chin, or Manchu had conquered Chinese territory, they were faced with a difficulty in effectively occupying their expanded political dominion. This they solved partly by enlisting Chinese troops and identifying their interests with local

Chinese factions, partly by recruiting auxiliaries among their "wild" kinsmen. Thus the Manchu enlisted "Chinese Bannermen" from among the Chinese population of Manchuria, who were quite willing to join in the conquest of China proper, and at the same time extended their banner organization to the Gold, Daghur, Solon, and other cognate tribes, and in a modified form to the Mongols. The Gold were so closely akin to the Manchu that it was obviously convenient to incorporate them with the Manchu society as "New Manchu." The Daghur and Solon, though markedly different from the Manchu in material economy and being, the Daghur at least and part of the Solon, strongly Mongolized, were still close enough in race and speech to be incorporated also as "New Manchus," at least in certain localities. The Mongols, however, though closer to the Manchu than to the Chinese, formed a solid enough society of their own to remain socially apart.

As for the traditional Gold connection with the comparatively remote Chin dynasty, that is natural and justifiable. The Manchu also have such a tradition, and so probably has every non-Mongol tribe in Manchuria. They probably trace this connection to the Chin rather than to the earlier Liao, because the Liao had more of a Mongol admixture. During the prosperity of such a dynasty as the Chin, the original racial adherents of the dynasty became increasingly Chinese in language, culture, and society, until the chief distinction between them and the Chinese proper was one of politics. The history of the last dynasty of this type, the Manchu, illustrates this process very clearly. Having become essentially Chinese, the dynasty at last decayed, just as Chinese dynasties have always decayed. When at last the political overthrow came, the nominally alien but actually Chinese privileged class associated with the dynasty was, throughout the area of Chinese population, either massacred or absorbed into the Chinese population. On the frontiers, however, was left a residue of the once-conquering people, mingled with tribesmen from remoter regions who had been drawn in to replace the men who had moved into China. Within this frontier residue began once more the building up of "native states," midway between the "wild" tribes and the civilized Chinese, strongly influenced by the Chinese with whom they came in contact, yet decidedly different from them, and maintaining politically a degree of independence which varied between receiving subsidy from China and collecting blackmail from the border provinces.

Of this type were the Manchu themselves, for their power was founded on the coalescence of a group of such border "native states"—Yêhê, Huifa, and so forth, as well as "Manjo." This illustrates the exact value of the traditions which ascribe to the Manchu, the Gold, and so forth a descent

from the Chin. Racially the claim is true only in a strongly modified sense, for the "tame" border tribes formed a kind of reservoir, with an outlet toward China and an intake from the barbarian north, so that while a certain racial connection must have persisted, the proportions of the racial, or at least the tribal, components must have changed gradually through the centuries. Politically, however, the linkage was direct and true; the border tribes had occupied relatively the same positions at least from the fall of the Chin to the rise of the Manchu; their condition might vary an indefinite number of times between vassalage and overlordship, as the tide turned—still the tide flowed through the same channels. Thus, if, conceivably, there had been no Western influences in China at the time of the fall of the Manchu dynasty—no Western armaments to alter the old military balance and no railways to change the whole nature of the Chinese colonization of Manchuria—there might have been, in another few centuries, a resurgence of Manchurian power: Manchurian, not Manchu. In the meantime the Manchu left in Manchuria would have fallen back, deprived of their subsidies from the state and their social position as a privileged class associated with the Empire, to a semi-tribal condition; and the Gold, deprived of the benefits of being auxiliaries of the Manchu would have ceased calling themselves "new Manchu." But in the process of decline and redistribution, there would have been a good deal of amalgamation between the two peoples—beyond what had gone on during the elevation of the Gold to the status of "New Manchu." If, in the course of time, a new tribal power had arisen in Manchuria and founded a dynasty, it would probably have called itself heir to the Manchu, and with justification; but it would have used a fresh national and dynastic name, not derived directly from either Manchu or Gold. There would also have been a fresh definition of nuclear tribe and auxiliary tribes, each of these being the direct heir in historical function of the Manchu and the Gold (and Daghur, Solon, and so forth); but only its indirect heir in racial composition, social and tribal structure.

To my mind the recognition of the inheritance of historical function, as a true form of social, tribal, "racial" descent, within a well-defined geographical region like Manchuria, in which a distinct type of historical cycle has operated for a very long period, greatly simplifies the understanding of such relationships as those between the Liao, Chin, Manchu, "New Manchu," and so forth. The degree of racial and social kinship between any two given tribal groups in Manchuria, at a given time and place, is exceedingly difficult to define exactly; but their relative grouping, taken not at a given time and place but as part of a continual living process, is rarely difficult to determine.

The kinship between Manchu and Gold is much easier to determine than that between Manchu and Daghur, or Manchu and Solon. In physical type and language they were extraordinarily close. The most important difference arose from different degrees of Chinese influence and border politics, the Manchu building up border states and developing their military organization, while the Gold lagged behind in this respect, though remaining excellent soldierly material. The relationship may be summed up by saying that at the time of the rise of the Manchu, the tribes were exactly comparable to, for instance, the "tame Jurchi" and "wild Jurchi"; while after the Manchu conquest of China the Gold "moved up" to the position of "tame" tribesmen, drawing after them the still remoter Amur tribes who from "outermost barbarians" were promoted to "wild" auxiliary tribes. The Solons, for instance, and even the Daghurs, had in Manchu times distinctions of "wild" and "tame," this being from the *Manchu* point of view. From the *Chinese* point of view, an extra step or degree would have to be added; the "tame" tribesmen being "wild" tribesmen and the "wild" tribesmen not even recognizable enough to be called "wild," but barbarians of the outermost darkness, simply beyond the scheme of things.

The type of historical cycle just discussed has a bearing on the central legend of people like the Manchu and Gold; the myth of the culture hero ('Aisin Jioro') who was born in the south, moved back to the north ("floating downstream") and, in the person of a descendant ("T'ai Han-yeh"), returned to the south to manifest the power and glory of his people. It seems that this legend represents a very early effort to reconcile a northern origin with the fact that the standard of success and power was the relationship with China. They came from the north, but they succeeded or failed in the south. When they did establish themselves in the south, there was a natural tendency to attach their legends and religious beliefs to the new region; especially in the case of the Manchu, for whom the striking Ch'ang-pai-shan made an obvious focus, with its remarkable central peak and the great rivers flowing away from it. It was inevitable to associate the hero of legend with the new regional focus, but a memory of the true northern origin and the successful move to the south was unconsciously reflected in the hero's removal from the south downstream to the north, where he assumes the rule of the "three clans"; after which a worthy descendant of his establishes the power of the line in the south. The legend, I believe, is also colored by the fact that in repeated cycles of history the "tame" tribes of the group of which the Manchu and Gold were the last successors in historical function, intermittently suffered defeat at the hands of the Chinese and were driven back into the northern wilderness, where they reformed

and whence they were led back toward the "promised land" of the petty frontier "native states." Thus the Manchu form of the legend is Ch'ang-pai-shan: north to Sanhsing and back to the Ch'ang-pai-shan region. The Gold form is Ussuri valley: north to the Amur, and back south via the Sungari to Sanhsing. I have little doubt that a parallel legend could be found on the Ussuri itself. One type of historic evidence, the archaeological, has never yet been adequately investigated. Throughout the Manchu and Gold country are scattered ruins of towns and fortresses now called "Korean." Probably many are in fact relics of an old Korean domination or influence; but a part are certainly of Chinese type, and may yet be found to contain material coming well within the historic period, which will clarify tribal stratifications now hopelessly blurred. On the Sungari from Sanhsing downward occasional hills can be seen which look as if they had once been crowned with strongholds. The outline of a "Korean city," about the size of a fortified camp, can be seen between Fuchin and Lahasusu (T'ungchiang) a little north of T'u-tze-k'o. Another can be seen, in a strong natural position, on a small hill overlooking the settlement of Gaij. I do not think that all these forts or towns were built by Koreans or Chinese, but that while some of them were occasionally occupied by these nationalities, they were at other times occupied by the local tribes themselves. I believe that the Korean and Chinese influences of different periods extended far beyond the fringe of occupation and administration, and that tribal chieftains, whenever they gained sufficient power to found petty states, were likely to build strongholds for themselves on the "civilized" model, even importing designers and artisans for the purpose.

AFFILIATIONS

RELATIONS BETWEEN GOLD AND MANCHUS

After the Manchu conquest of China, the Gold were brought within the Manchu Banner organization. This threw open to them careers in the public service, military and civil, and entitled able-bodied men who passed the tests for military reservists to a yearly allowance in silver and rations. At Sanhsing the Gold overlapped with the Manchu; they were governed by officials of comparatively high rank stationed at Sanhsing, Fuchin, and Lahasusu, and by minor officials with Manchu ranks in smaller places. The higher offices were likely to be held by Manchu, but the Gold were not debarred. A Gold who entered the military service in the days of the Empire is said to be still an officer of high rank in Heilungchiang. It is more than twenty years since he visited his home, and it is said that "When they ask him 'What are the Gold and who are your people?' he weeps." I saw an old man at Gaij (important among his people there) who had for years been a senior interpreter stationed at Harbin; he spoke Russian very well indeed, besides being literate in both Manchu and Chinese.

The chief service the Gold fulfilled, however, was their share in the Sungari and Amur river patrols which the Manchu maintained. This patrol service is now taken over by river gunboats; there may be a few Gold among the crews, as there are among the crews of the river steamers; but Shantung men and villagers from near Tientsin predominate. In several Gold houses I saw pictures of men who had held official rank under the Manchu; they showed a curious and interesting mixture in costume and deportment of Chinese dignity and barbaric splendor. Their contrast with the debased people of today was pathetic.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

The confusion of nomenclature among the Amur tribes made it exceedingly difficult to determine of what other tribes the Gold had any knowledge, and what they were called. No tribe seems to receive from other tribes the name that it calls itself; and any one tribe will be differently designated by each of its neighbors. This confusion appears to have been passed on to the Russians and Chinese, and at present two processes are going on: tribes really distinct are lumped together under one name; or differentiations are made, and names awarded which sometimes at least would not be recognized by the people classified. The Chinese tend to call any tribesman of the

upper Amur a Solon, Ch'i-lin or Ta-hu-li (Daghur) quite indifferently; and even those who have lived among them will give exactly the same description of, and tell exactly the same stories about, any tribe that comes under one of these names. In fact the "popular knowledge" of the Chinese about all the tribes has been boiled down to a few stories, the accuracy of which nobody bothers to check by personal observation. Below the junction of Sungari and Amur, all tribes are called Yü-p'i Ta-tze, "Fishskin Tatars"; but there is also a tendency to say that Fishskin Tatars, Solon, Ch'i-lin, and Ta-hu-li are "all the same." Thus, relying as I did on the Chinese language, I found it exceedingly difficult to deal with questions of nomenclature.

I repeatedly asked the Gold to describe other tribes, but direct questions, as usual, produced poor answers. I also asked for identification of names I had heard, and of a few names from books. The most specific answers dealt with the Gold themselves, the Gilyak, and the people of the Ussuri valley who are akin to the Sungari Gold. To begin with, the Gold of to-day, while making hunting journeys of some length, do not come a great deal in contact with other tribes; probably much less than in old Manchu days. The older men know distinctly more about other tribes than the young men, for when they grew up many Gold were concerned in matters of administration with the tribes inhabiting a much wider region than that of the present Sungari Gold.

The Gold resent the name of "Fishskin Tatars," because it has a contemptuous implication of savagery. They always reply that the "real" Fishskins are the Gilyak, or some other tribe down the Amur. The Gilyak they themselves call Girimin. Possibly the min element in this word is the Chinese word min, "people." It may also be that the Chinese name Ch'i-lin is a corruption of a native name Giri; but the name is usually applied to people in Heilungchiang province, far away from the Gilyak. It may, once more, be possible that the name Kirin (Chinese Chi-lin) has something to do with a similar tribal name; but it is commonly said to be from a Manchu word meaning "ravine." The Girimin or Gilyak were always described as "the people with the big earrings"; and they were said to be "the same as the 'Kile'."

I several times heard if affirmed that "the Solon are the Birar, or Birari." This may mean that the upper Amur tribe called by the Russians Birari are in fact a subtribe of the Solon. When I asked if Birar or Birari were connected with the Gold word bira, "a river," "a small mountain stream," they assented; but this does not mean that they themselves really have such a connotation in mind.

The Orochon they call Oronchon or Oroschon, but say they never meet them. The Chinese they call Nikan (which also has the connotation "slave," as has been pointed out) and the Russians they call Lucha, *not* Oross. In the Collected Records of Kirin Province there are several references to military operations against the Lo-ch'a, who are plainly the Russians, as the Manchu came in touch with them in the course of reducing to order and bringing under administration the tribes of the Lower Sungari and Amur, and captured firearms from them. The first reference I have noted is in the ninth year of Shun Chih, 1653. After several more references the term Lo-ch'a is dropped, and in the third year of K'ang Hsi, 1665, the term Lao-ch'iang appears instead. The Lao-ch'iang are first mentioned as encroaching on the Hei-chin. Evidently Hei-chin is an older form of Ho-chen—that is, the Hêjên or Gold. In 1677 there is a reference to the raising of a considerable river flotilla to keep off the Lao-ch'iang. At the village of Gaij, only, I heard of the Lamunka (? Russian Lamut) or "sea people." They were said to live "near Vladivostok." Their language is quite unintelligible to the Gold; they are much more skilfull than the Gold in the use of ski and small canoes; they wear a ring in the nose, and the hair in two braids, which fall in front of the shoulders and are tied together at the ends to form a loop on the breast. The skirts of their gowns are ornamented with sea-shells.

Finally, the tribe sometimes called the Ussuri Gold they call Hêjin (Chinese Ho-chin); and they said that this was "the same as" the name Ketchen which I tried on them. The name Hêjin must be a variant of Hêjên, which, as will be seen, is one of the names of the Gold themselves. They apparently consider this tribe a division of their own people. They say that the dialects differ, but that the people of the Sungari and Ussuri can understand each other. As for the name Gold itself, the Gold do not use it or admit it, beyond saying that "Goldi is what the Russians call our people," or "It is Russian language." Nor do they call any other tribe Gold or Goldi.

The Gold say that they call themselves Hêjê or Hêjên; and this is the name (Ho-che or Ho-chen) which the Chinese of the region apply when they wish to be polite or formal. The earliest Chinese version of the name Hêjê or Hêjên that I have been able to find is in the Chi-lin T'ung Chih (Collected Records of Kirin; the Kirin 'gazetteer') chüan 1, page 6b, where they are called Hei-chê—and referred to as a fierce tribe. This is under the date tenth year of T'ien Ts'ung, 1637. The characters used are hei, 'black,' (which is also sometimes pronounced ho or hê) and chê 'to break,' 'to snap across.' The characters in the modern form are ho, 'bright,' 'lumin-

ous,' 'awe-inspiring' and chê 'wise,' 'discerning.' This progression from characters with an uncouth meaning to characters with a flattering meaning is not at all uncommon in the Chinese names of 'barbarian' tribes, and marks their rise in status in Chinese eyes. The Hêjê are referred to in the passage quoted above as not yet to be trusted, though they have come within the Manchu federation of tribes.

RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE

The relations between Chinese and Gold are, on the whole, very good; not so good as between Chinese and Manchu, but noticeably much better than between Chinese and Mongols. The Gold have been swamped by the Chinese, and are now rapidly dying out; but, while sighing over their vanished glories, they do not bear the Chinese any ill-will but regard their own doom with fatalistic apathy. The Chinese, for their part, view the Gold usually with a good-natured contempt; but when a Gold succeeds in adopting Chinese standards he is accepted as a Chinese. There was, however, a period of bad feeling. Until the end of the Manchu rule, free Chinese settlement was not allowed in the country of the Gold. The only Chinese who did penetrate were traders, who like all frontier traders were not scrupulous about their methods and ruined a good many Gold, the latter being only too willing to take to drink and opium. Toward the end of the Manchu empire, the land along the lower Sungari was thrown open for settlement by Chinese, as an unavoidable frontier-defence method to forestall Russian encroachment. Reservations of the best land were made for the Gold (which they owed to the fact that the colonization was initiated under the Manchu, who tried to see to the welfare of the Gold as their "own people"); but this land they rapidly lost to the more energetic and capable Chinese. At this time Chinese pushing too boldly into the wilderness were likely to be waylaid and shot by the Gold, who resented the driving out of the wild game. Colonization proceeded so fast, however, that the Gold were soon hopelessly outnumbered. The Chinese then treated them harshly for a while, bullying the natives of each "untouched" Gold village when they first came in and "teaching them their place." Very soon, however, it became obvious that the Gold were no serious danger to the newcomers, and resentment against their overbearing attitude and occasional savagery in the old days has practically evaporated. This comparatively tolerant attitude is undoubtedly due to there being no harsh memories of border wars and uprisings, as in the case of the Mongols. The Gold are too few in number to offer a real obstacle to the Chinese, who therefore content themselves with despising the Gold for being thriftless and inferior in civilization.

The overwhelming factor in the extinction of the Gold is the marriage of their women to Chinese due to the shortage of women among the settlers. The Chinese themselves would not object to giving their daughters to the Gold, if they could find suitable men; but the value of women is so enhanced that few Gold could compete with Chinese in offers for the hand of any promising maiden. At present many Gold men are unmarried because they cannot make as good offers as the Chinese, even for women of their own people. Curiously enough, the Chinese all say that Gold women, while thriftless and immoral among their own kin, make model wives when taken into Chinese families. This is because the only Chinese who can afford to marry at all is a man with cash in hand and a prosperous future before him, the woman being thus able to enter on a safe life; while if she remains in a Gold family she is faced with poverty and drudgery, hence prostitutes herself to get a little gaiety and spending money while she can.

It should be pointed out that the marriage of Gold women to Chinese is comparatively recent, not only because the Chinese did not reach the Gold country in large numbers until recently, but because the Gold, as Bannermen, were like the Manchu allowed to take Chinese wives (though they did not frequently do so; far less frequently than the Manchu) but were not allowed to give their daughters in marriage to Chinese. I do not know for certain whether this rule was political or racial in origin. I fancy that it was political, and designed merely to keep up the class-consciousness of the Bannermen as a military group. It may, however, in remoter origin, have been racial; for certain tribes who do not mind diluting their blood by taking in women of different races, object to "losing" their blood by giving their own women to alien men.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

While there is a great range of individual physiognomy among the Gold, the great majority of the men are at once recognizable as different from the Chinese. They closely resemble the purest "Tungusic" type still to be seen quite frequently among the Manchu of Kirin. The bones are small but the body well-proportioned, with little tendency to fat, so that the general appearance is light and lithe. They vary a great deal in stature, perhaps averaging less than the northern Chinese in general, or the Shantung Chinese in particular; but men of over 5 feet 8 are not uncommon. The hands and feet are delicate, rather small, and so fine that they appear smaller; but strong nevertheless. The face tends to be long; distinctly longer than the Mongol. The cheek-bones are very high. They are not higher than those of the Mongols, or of the common type in North China which looks very like the Mongols; but the extra length of the face enhances the arch of the cheekbones and the pointedness of the chin. The eye-sockets are not very deep; the eyebrows are decidedly not protuberant, and the bridge of the nose between the eyes tends to be very low; which makes the eyes look to be set very shallow in the face, and gives them a very calm gaze. The Chinese say that their eyes are dull and lifeless. The lower ridge of the nose is distinctly sharper than that of the average Mongol nose, and the nostrils are apt to be well-cut and delicate. This delicacy of the lower nose, with the calmness of the gaze, often gives them an appearance of indescribable pathos and melancholy. The eyes are most commonly brown, but with a strong tendency to hazel, true hazel color being not at all unusual. I have seen blue and gray eyes. The hair, though black, has almost always an unmistakable rusty brownish tinge, which is especially noticeable in children. The jet, glossy black of Chinese hair is almost never seen; and I think the hair is probably less coarse than that of the Chinese. A brownish tinge, of course, is not unheard of in Chinese hair, especially that of children; but adults, if the hair tends to be noticeably "rusty," oil it to restore the blackness. I saw one old shaman with a straggly beard that was a distinct gingery red-brown. This man had blue eyes. He may have had a Russian heritage; he was very tall, but the cast of his features and the lightness of his build were altogether "Tungus."

The back of the head is often, perhaps usually, flattened to a noticeable extent. The same characteristic can be seen among the Kirin Manchu, but is now rapidly disappearing, as the Manchu endeavor to become ever more Chinese. It comes from using a very hard pillow when the child is extremely

young. The pillow is stuffed with grain. Whether this is of a special kind, or specially selected, I do not know; but I believe that in former times it certainly was; and that the practice had a significance. There was a special kind of northern millet which always had a great significance among the Manchu; it may have been the first grown by them, and the same millet may well have been important among the Gold. (There is an interesting story in the Mongol chronicle called "The Azure (Bright) Historical Chronicle of the Great Yüan (Mongol) Nation" to the effect that the infant Chinghis was laid on a mattress "stuffed with the nine grains that are cultivated in the Front Land," i.e., the Southland, or China).

The women are on the whole less distinctive in racial type than the men. Many of them, from their faces and general appearance, might just as well be Chinese or Manchu women. I suppose that the comparative lightness in bone of the structure of the woman's head softens the distinctiveness that is to be seen in the man's head.

While among the Gold, I took a small series of physical measurements (men only) which were sent to Dr. E. A. Hooton, at Harvard.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The Gold, like the Manchu, early came under Chinese influence, which in certain ways was overwhelming but in other respects did not so strongly affect their original standards. By the time of the fall of the Manchu Empire they had not become so Chinese as the Manchu, chiefly because the Manchu intervened between them and direct Chinese influence; but since they, like the Manchu, had enjoyed an artificially raised standard of living through sharing the benefits of belonging to a ruling race, the most important borrowings were those of comfort and sophistication. They were already a people settled in river-bank villages, relying on fishing and hunting for a large part of their supply of food and clothing, and doing a certain amount of cultivation as well. They never abandoned hunting and fishing, and they never took up cultivation on a large enough scale to make it the chief element in their economy. They had no well-defined aristocracy of birth (like the Mongols, for instance). Rank depended on selection among themselves or appointment by the Manchu government; but occasionally, according to the Manchu system, distinguished service was rewarded by the grant of an hereditary rank or office and title. There seems to have been a tendency toward the formation of an upper class, composed of families associated with the official services. These families rapidly acquired revenues which enabled them to live at ease, engaging in hunting and fishing mainly for sport. They naturally tended to group themselves at Fuchin, the administrative headquarters of the lower Sungari. Comparison of the houses of the villages close to Fuchin with those of the villages extending from Fuchin down to the Amur shows that the latter were distinctly more "primitive." Probably the upper-class families owned slaves; for it is only natural to suppose that slavery of the Manchu kind was recognized, the slaves being house attendants and cultivators—though at the present time nothing definite can be gathered on the subject.

HOUSES

The prevailing house-type appears to be that of the Manchu. If the use of tipis on hunting expeditions is a proof of former nomadism, with use of reindeer, then the house type must have been adopted at the time the nomadic life was abandoned; unless a type of storehouse, a miniature thatched house on "stilts" or piles, may be a survival of an earlier type of dwelling. The Manchu type house (see fig. 1) may be a combination of Chinese and Korean styles. The unit of construction is (as with the Chinese)

a single building of three chien or sections; but usually an extra longitudinal section (C on the plan) is set in against the back wall. This house is always built facing south, like the Chinese house. It has projecting eaves, or occasionally a verandah. Thus in winter, when the sun is low, the front of the house gets a maximum of sunlight; but in the summer, as the sun gets higher, the eaves or verandah cut off the direct light, and the rooms are cool. Practically the whole of the front of the house, from a height of about

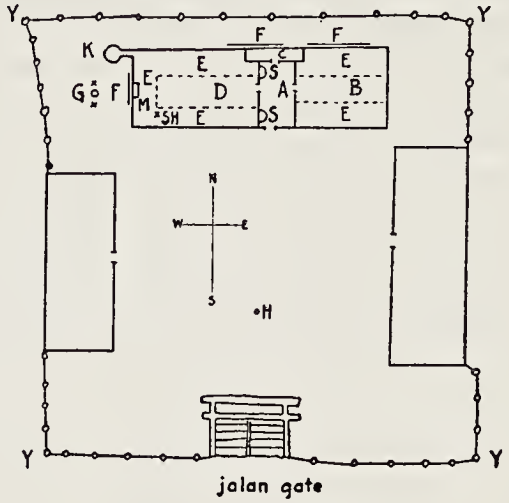


FIG. 1.—Plan of house and courtyard.

A entry way
B east apartment, with north and south k'ang, shown by dotted lines
C rear inner apartment
D west apartment, with triple k'ang, shown by dotted lines
EEE triple k'ang, heated by flues from stoves SS
FFF sites for shelves outside house, under eaves, holding sacred objects, that at west end of house not always seen
G toro post and other posts
H place for shaman post in certain ceremonies. (Temporary.)
M place for shrine and ancestor tablets against west end wall
SS cooking stoves, from which run flues heating k'ang of west apartment
K chimney, standing away from house
SH normal place for shaman during ceremonies inside house
YYYY board fence

three or four feet above the ground up almost to the eaves, is "window"; that is, a lattice framework with paper pasted over it. Sections of the paper are so adjusted that they can be rolled up. In well-to-do houses there may be also a mesh, like mosquito netting, pasted over the lattice, to keep out insects when the paper is rolled up. A peculiarity of Manchu and Gold

houses is that the paper is pasted over the outside of the lattice, while in Chinese houses it is pasted over the inside. The Chinese living in Manchuria have almost universally followed the local custom.

The structural method, as in China, relies on pillars and beams, not on walls; the walls are merely filled into the framework, and do not support the roof. The accompanying sketch of the framework of the end of a house (fig. 2a) illustrates the method of building up to support a roof-tree. The beams are socketed into the pillars, and may also be lashed; nails are not required. Thin poles are laid slanting from roof-tree to eaves, and support a roof of thatch or, in the case of more pretentious houses, of tiles. The sketch shows how the roof may be extended over a verandah.

The walls may be of any material, but by far the most interesting is the

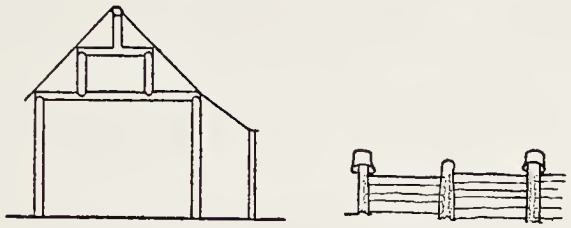


FIG. 2.—*a*. Skeleton framework at end of building showing how weight is carried by pillars and beams, and how roof may be extended to form verandah. *b*. Sketch of fence.

type known as laha wall. This is made with straw ropes, which are first soaked in a pit of mud until they are thoroughly caked. These ropes are then woven to make two thin walls, about a foot to two feet apart; the interval is then filled in with mud and straw, or with coils of straw rope impregnated with mud. Each section of wall may be braced on to the pillars at each end of it; but a wall of this type, if made thick enough, can even be built without pillar-supports. I have actually seen chimneys of laha construction. They are round, with a wide diameter at the base, tapering gradually to the top. The farthest south that I have seen a laha chimney is in a Manchu village near Kirin city, and I infer that the Manchu, as they migrated south from Sanhsing, brought this method with them and used it occasionally even where it was totally unnecessary. The reason for using this type of wall is that the mud of the banks of the lower Sungari is very bad for making bricks. Sun-dried bricks made from it crumble quickly, and baked bricks are also inferior. Moreover, all the villages are low-lying and damp, and the dampness rots ordinary brick until it collapses; whereas a laha wall even when it sags in the most drunken manner, will not collapse

easily and can sometimes be pushed straight again by main force! The Chinese at Fuchin and in that region use the laha construction a great deal in building warehouses for the storage of grain and beans. They say that such warehouses are better than those of either brick or wood, and keep the grain better ventilated and dried; for while the damp soaks through easily, it also evaporates and dries easily.

It is on entering the house that its deviation from the strictly Chinese house becomes apparent; for, apart from the use of the laha wall, the chief differences are matters of interior arrangement and the orientation of the important points. There is only one door, opening into the middle section, which forms a kind of hallway. From this, doors open left and right into the wings, while at the back there is an opening, often without a door, into the extra latitudinal section. What is the proper use of the right section and the extra inset section I do not know. Sometimes in the right section there are two k'ang, north and south; in which case it might be a women's room or used by the family of one of the sons of the household. Sometimes both right section and rear section are used simply for storage, and sometimes livestock are kept in the right section. Owing to the impoverishment of the Gold, probably the majority of them live in a corner of the buildings they once occupied, the others being left to ruin. In such families they always occupy the west section. In the entrance hallway food is cooked and prepared, on one or two stoves about a foot high, of mud or brick. Into the top is let an iron cauldron two or three feet in diameter, in which almost all cooking is done—boiling, steaming, frying, and even a kind of baking. The draught from the stoves runs under the k'ang of the western section, thus heating them, and then out through a chimney at the west end of the building; usually at or towards the northwest corner, and always outside the wall. This I believe is also true of Korean houses. In Chinese houses the chimney is either incorporated into the wall, or built leaning against it, either outside or in. The original reason for keeping the chimney outside the house, as the Manchu and Gold do, must have been the comparative inflammability of their structures. It is a curious instance of the persistance of habits that at present many houses in Manchuria, even those occupied by Chinese, continue to keep the chimney outside the house and several feet away from it, even when the chimney is of brick, the walls of brick, and the roof of tiles. In many parts of Kirin province the chimney is made simply of four planks set in a mud base.

The k'ang used by the Manchu and Gold runs around three sides of the west section or room, and may have been evolved from a "floor-k'ang" like that of the Koreans—whereas the strictly Chinese k'ang occupies only the

long side of the room, against the back of the house and facing the front. The place of honor with the Gold and Manchu, where the tablets of the ancestors are kept and sometimes a small altar, is against the west wall of the west section; whereas with the Chinese the place of honor is either against the north wall or the east wall of the east room. The place taken by the shaman in ordinary ceremonies within the house is at the southwestern angle of the k'ang. Outside the north wall of the house, or sometimes outside the west end wall, or sometimes in both places, there is hung a shelf on which are kept various accessories of shaman ceremonies. West of the west end of the house stand three "shaman poles"; or sometimes only one. A "shaman pole" may also be set up temporarily south of the house, for special ceremonies, but is rarely permanent.

While the unit of building is a house of three sections, facing south, the ordinary method of extension is by building (again after the general Chinese plan) similar three-section units at right-angles to it, their long axes running north and south. If still further extension is required, it must be effected by duplicating this design, not by adding more buildings within the space covered by the design.

Families of any consequence always have a wall or fence enclosing the three buildings. This may be of laha construction, but is most commonly a fence of planks, which are dovetailed into upright logs, as illustrated in figure 2*b*. The upright logs are often crowned with a broken pot which sheds the rain and keeps the rot out of the grooves into which the planks are socketed. The wall or stockade has only one opening, on the south, and this is almost invariably a two-leaved gate surmounted by two crosswise logs which at once brings to mind the Japanese torii (see fig. 1). Whatever the origin of this design, it is not, apparently, Chinese, as it does not have the broken line of the Chinese p'ai-lou. It extends throughout Manchuria and far west into Inner Mongolia. The Chinese use the name (Chinese cha-lan; Manchu and Gold jalan) and have characters for it, but have apparently borrowed the word from the Manchu. The Mongols have a word of their own for it: sibeghe.

The Gold form of storehouse is rarely to be seen at Fuchin, but from Lahasusu on it is in almost universal use, and has been largely adopted by the Chinese—probably because the ground is even more moist in the downriver districts than it is near Fuchin. The storehouse is a shed with sloping roof, set on four legs or stilts, and stands high enough above the ground so that it cannot be entered without a ladder. The sides and roof are usually built of planks; but part of the sides and even part of the floor may be built of wicker-work strengthened with staves an inch or so in diameter. All

kinds of odds and ends, fishing gear and hunting gear, even occasionally a canoe can be seen stored in such a hut. Often fish are hung in the cool shadow under the floor of the hut. The Gold do not seem to be at all keen on having these huts examined. It may even be that the hut is regarded as the locus of some guardian spirit of the household. Quite possibly the hut is a survival of an ancient form of dwelling in use until the adoption of the house with its Manchu, Korean and Chinese affinities.

STANDARD OF LIVING

The chief thing the Chinese notice about the Gold standard of living is the amount of work done by the women. In North China generally the women do not work in the fields unless the family is very poor; though this varies in different districts. In Manchuria, Chinese women do not work in the fields. They work about the house, cook the food, and carry it to the men in the fields; they look after the chickens, ducks, and geese, and help with the pigs. The girls help their mothers and learn from them; the small boys gather fuel, and the older ones help their fathers and learn from them. The Chinese are accustomed to speak slightingly of the Gold because "they let the women do all the hard work." This is true. The women not only cook and do all the household work, but also have to gather fuel and frequently also go out to fish. The men of the present time are, most of them, as lazy as can be; but not because theirs was originally a society in which all men had the privilege of laziness. Formerly men had well-defined duties. They went on long hunting trips (as many of them still do) and on long river-journeys, for fishing, or trade or other purposes. Consequently the women had to be able to do everything about the house, including the cultivation, occasionally, of a small patch of millet or some other crop. With the present decline in the status of the Gold, the men have lost much of their occupation. The settlement of the Chinese has driven off most of the local game, so that the men no longer hunt except for one season in the early summer and one in the autumn and early winter, when they are away for a long time. As commercial fishermen, even, they cannot compete with the Chinese; the old standards persist—if they have caught enough for the day, they are satisfied, while the Chinese will fish all day, eat only the worst of the catch, and sell the rest. Consequently the men are now idle most of the time; they are simple-minded enough not to consider that their own excess of leisure is any reason why they should usurp the occupations of women.

CULTIVATION

Agriculture was never an important occupation of the Gold. When the lower Sungari region was first opened to Chinese colonization, the Gold near

Fuchin were allotted a strip of the most valuable land, running along the river bank and extending five li—about $1\frac{2}{3}$ miles—inland. Of this very little now remains in the hands of the Gold. Of the six families now surviving in the village of Gardang, only two are said to own land. Even at Ta-t'un, with some sixty families, practically none own any land. Near Lahasusu I found one young man with a prosperous farm and a neat home. He smoked neither opium nor tobacco and did not drink, having joined the Chinese secret religious society known as Tsai Li. He was well known among the Chinese and universally regarded as a shining exception to the general Gold standard.

Apparently the earliest crop cultivated by the Gold—by the women, it seems—was a form of millet. A kind of gruel or porridge was made from it which the Chinese know, and despise, as Ta-tze chou, "Tatar porridge." This millet was important also among the Manchu, and was used in ritual. A special white variety grown near Kirin was sent to the palace in Peking as "tribute," and ceremonially used.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

Horses and cattle were obviously brought comparatively late to the lower Sungari valley and did not belong to the original economy of the Gold. The climate made it difficult to keep them; especially the hot, moist summer with its plagues of mosquitoes and gadflies. The clearing off of brush and the comparative dryness of the land after ploughing have greatly improved conditions. At the present time many ponies of the Mongol type are floated down the Sungari on flatboats. From across the Amur small, hardy Siberian ponies are also brought in. There is a very high proportion of stallions and mares, which indicates that it is profitable to breed locally; for wherever it is possible to get a regular and cheap supply of horses the Chinese do not breed many themselves. The type of cart used varies between the Chinese with two wheels and the Russian with four; on the whole the latter predominate. The Gold like horses, and handle and ride them well. They use them chiefly on their hunting expeditions and appear to enjoy riding "for the fun of it" much more than the Chinese commonly do.

Cattle appear also to be a comparatively late importation. They are in many places more useful than horses as plough animals, owing to the amount of virgin soil, heavy with roots, that has to be broken. The supply is still below the demand, and the authorities around Fuchin forbid the slaughtering of cattle for meat, in order to keep down the price and encourage the use of cattle for ploughing.

Sheep were never a part of the Gold economy, and are extremely rare

along the lower Sungari to the present day. The ground is too damp for them, rotting their feet, and the summer is too moist and hot.

The chief domesticated animals of the Gold seem to have been the pig and the dog. They also had barnyard fowl and cats; but even cats may have been a late acquisition, for the name, kêshka, sounds very much like a borrowing from the Russian. The pig was easily kept under the conditions of Gold life; it stood the climate well, needed comparatively little care, and supplied meat in quantity. It was the most important sacrificial animal of the Gold, as it was of the Manchu. Its flesh is considered better than that of any game animal, except such as have a medicinal value. This appears to be a natural standard among people who can capture plenty of game. The Mongols, for instance, greatly prefer mutton to antelope meat; for getting an antelope is a matter of sport and luck, while sheep mean wealth and are never slaughtered without consideration. The pigs of the lower Sungari must be infested with tapeworm, and perhaps the fish are also, for I never saw such a superabundance of tapeworms or segments of tapeworms crawling about as I did in the privies all through that region.

Of the true Gold breed of dog there are now unhappily very few left. In appearance it is obviously similar to the Arctic "husky" breeds, at once distinguishable from the Chinese or Mongol watchdog type. The same breed was used for hunting and for work with sleds. The few survivors are used for hunting only; but hunting is done chiefly without dogs. From the different vague accounts heard I imagine that in hunting they are held in leash while finding the game, and only slipped if the game is wounded, when they run it down. They are said to run silent, only giving tongue when the quarry has been brought to bay. I heard it said once that a good dog will run down pheasants. This is quite possible in an open country with low brush in which the pheasants hide but which is not heavy enough to impede a running dog. In eastern Inner Mongolia, north of Jehol, and in the Cherim League Mongol country of western Fengt'ien (Liaoning) province in Manchuria, the Mongols use greyhounds for this purpose. In the autumn, when the birds are fat, they cannot fly far, although they are very fast for two or three short flights. The dog puts up a pheasant and keeps on after it while it flies. After two or three flights it cannot get up again, and takes to runnning; after which it is comparatively easy for the dog to run it down. Intelligence and persistence are more important than great speed for this kind of hunting, and there is no reason why the Gold dogs should not take pheasants in this manner. However, it is evidently not a regular sport. There is no special need for it, as the Gold take all the pheasants they want with snares.

Dog-sleds were used along the lower Sungari, occasionally at least, until eight or ten years ago, when the Chinese began to come in great numbers. They would still be an excellent form of winter transport, but have disappeared, evidently because of Chinese ridicule. The Gold even tend to be rather sensitive on the point. I could find no one to show me the method of harnessing the dogs; some told me that they were harnessed by traces leading off a main haul-rope, others that they were harnessed fan-wise. I saw only one dog-sled, not a very old one, and this was at Gaij. It was double-ended, beautifully built, with almost every piece of wood skillfully beveled to give the maximum of lightness with strength. It is universally said that dog-sleds can no longer be seen higher up the Amur than the region of Habarovsk.

I believe that dog-sleds are among the things once used in common by Gold and Manchu. I have been told that until recently children of the city of Kirin used to play on the frozen Sungari in winter with toy dog-sleds; and I have once seen such a toy sled, in a predominantly Manchu village near Kirin. There was only one dog, and he was harnessed simply with a loop round the neck.

In spite of the former importance of dogs they seem to have no important place in ritual or as sacrifices; though there is a "guardian spirit" of dogs. In at least one Manchu shaman ceremony, perhaps in all, dogs were driven out of the house and yard before the ceremony began. I do not know whether this is true also among the Gold, but if so, this may perhaps be held to confirm the supposition that sled-dogs were in fact a comparatively late acquisition; that the Gold-Manchu group once had reindeer, and only took to the use of dogs after moving into country unsuitable for reindeer.

FISHING AND NAVIGATION

Without doubt the Gold were once primarily riparian. At present there is a distinct difference between the people about Fuchin and up-river from Fuchin, and the down-river people, especially those below Lahasusu. Fishing remains the most important occupation of the down-river people; while at Fuchin they have become hangers-on of the Chinese, and their chief independent occupation is hunting. The Gold fish both from the bank and from boats, with nets, lines, and harpoons. They say that in winter they fish with lines through a hole in the ice; and also they fish at night by holding torches over a hole in the ice and harpooning the fish that are attracted to the glare. They also harpoon fish from a canoe; and one can often hear how "in the old days" they harpooned sturgeon from a birch-bark

canoe. The head of the harpoon was loosely fitted to the haft; when the great fish was harpooned, the haft came away; the fisherman sat down in the canoe and was towed by the fish until it was exhausted, when he pulled up to it and harpooned it again. Harpooning both from a canoe and through a hole in the ice was formerly common among the Manchu and is still not unknown in Kirin province.

The commonest practice on the lower Sungari is to set lines, with hooks at intervals. These catch plenty of fish for a small population, and are not so easily damaged as nets.

At Gaij there is a most remarkable method of fishing. The current of the Amur here swings in to the bank, and at the same point the slow-moving waters of a wide lagoon discharge into the main river. Just at the junction of the slow and fast currents a rock promontory juts into the Amur, and all around it there swirls a deep and powerful eddy. Fish coming out of the slow water into the fast current are caught for a moment in this eddy and whirled around before they recover their poise. At the ideal spot there is a ledge where three men can stand abreast, and this is where the Gold get their fish. The Chinese name for the place is the tiao-yü t'ai or fishing terrace. "That little hill," say the local Chinese, "supports this whole village of Tatars."

The fishing is done with a lissom pole eight or ten feet long. At the end of the line there is a plummet of lead, and from the bottom of the plummet there turn up three curved, barbed hooks. No bait is used. The method is invariable. Three men—sometimes a woman fishes also—stand side by side on the ledge. They swing their poles rhythmically together, casting the lines upstream into the current. They give the plummets a moment to sink; then they swish the lines violently down stream through the eddy and out and into the air downstream. The triple hooks are drawn through the eddy with great speed. There, every once in a while, they strike a fish that is confused in the swirl of water. It does not matter whether the hook strikes head or side or tail; one of the hooks will strike in so deep that the fish is flicked clean out of the water and swung on to the rock. They catch fish from a few inches to a couple of feet long in this manner, and apparently do not bother about any other kind of fishing. The early morning and the evening are said to be the best times. If there are no fish on hand for a meal, a member of the household goes down to the "terrace" and fishes until he has enough; then he stops. Naturally, they often fish for half an hour at a time, or more, without striking a fish. All that time they swing the lines upstream and tug them back down through the eddy with monotonous regularity, three men in perfect accord.

I asked them where they got the peculiar plummets with the triple hooks. "We make them ourselves," they said; "where would they sell such things?" They have an ingenious safety attachment on the rod and line; the line itself is attached to the tip of the rod, but an extra length of line is knotted on the the line proper and then on to the rod, a foot or more below the tip. Thus if the tip of the rod should break off under the shock of striking a heavy fish, the line is still fast to the rod, lower down.

The fishing at Gaij or Kai-chin-k'ou ("the Kai ford-mouth") beautifully illustrates the difference in temperament between the Gold and Chinese. A small hill, on which can be detected the lines of an old fortification, overlooks the village. From this height can be seen three old flood-channels of the Amur, which normally are lagoons of lazy water. The most inland of these is also fed by a stream coming from the east; and it is this which discharges into the Amur at the point where the "fishing terrace" is. This lagoon-stream is known to the Chinese as the Yü-liang Ho, or River of Fish-weirs. It is an ideal stream for trapping fish, and has for many years been used by Chinese fishermen. The catch is held in large pools, and in winter taken out, frozen, and hauled by sled or cart up the Amur and Sungari to market. The Chinese fishermen stake out "monopoly" claims for weiring rights, and it is said that these are so valuable that in the old Manchu days disputes used to be taken all the way to Peking for settlement. The Chinese must then have been attracted to the place many years before their general penetration into the region, to profit by the great hauls they could make; yet the Gold, living on the spot, have always been content with catching enough fish for their own use, standing for hours at a time on the "fishing terrace."

The Gold dry and freeze fish for storage, but not to any great extent, because they can always catch them, even in winter. They also use a kind of wicker cage set at the edge of the river, in which they can keep live fish. The Chinese have taken readily to this method, but the Gold themselves do not always use it. When they catch a number of large fish with their set lines, they hang them under their "stilted" storehouse huts, or under the eaves of the house, in the shade, and are not particular if they decay a bit. The Chinese complain with disgust of the hsing wei'rh or "fishy stink" of the Gold just as they do of the shan wei'rh or "meaty stink" of the Mongols.

The Gold, like the Manchu, eat raw fish. Several kinds of fish are thus eaten. They should be absolutely fresh, and eaten with herbs in a kind of salad—a very pleasant dish when well prepared. The Chinese along the lower Sungari have taken to this dish, to which they always refer as a "local

specialty," though in fact it is perfectly well known among the Manchu of the upper Sungari.

The Gold have several types of canoe besides the barges and sailing junks used by the Chinese. The Gold themselves do not seem to use any regular sail; with a favoring wind on an upstream voyage, any kind of makeshift serves to catch the wind. At Sanhsing, however, there is a kind of wedge-bowed junk of peculiar build, with a small "house" at the stern. It looks as if it might have been evolved, under a combination of Gold, Manchu, and Chinese influences, from the three-plank canoe. It appears to be light and handy and employed more for fishing than cargo-carrying. Some such craft may have served, at least as auxiliaries, in the days of the Manchu river-patrol.

The Manchu type of canoe, hollowed from a single log, practically disappears by the time Sanhsing is reached, and is not seen below Sanhsing. I saw one at Sanhsing which was being used as a horse trough. It had bulkheads (left when the wood was hollowed out) and a "snout" like the canoes on the upper Sungari around Kirin, thus: . Evidently the lack of single-log canoes is due to the scarcity of suitable timber along the lower Sungari. Large logs can still be had at Sanhsing, floated down the Mutan; but farther down the Sungari the price of this timber increases greatly. The place of the single-log canoe is taken by the three-plank canoe, all three planks being cut from the same log, and thus tapering uniformly from stern to bow. They are square at the stern; some have a square bow, but most have a bow that "shelves" out of the water, thus: . At Fuchin these canoes are frequently "snouted" in a manner reminiscent of the dug-out canoe, by continuing the bottom plank beyond the two side planks, thus: . These canoes are most commonly propelled by one man, who stands in the stern, facing the bow, and rowing with crossed oars—in fact, in the Chinese fashion. Sometimes another man sits in the bow, facing the stern, and rows with one oar in the Western style. Then again the man in the bow may sit and row with two oars in the Western manner, while the man in the stern steers with a screw-oar or sweep in the Chinese yao-lo fashion. The greater steadiness of the flat-bottomed three-plank canoe lends itself to rowing. The hollowed-log canoe, in spite of being crank, is usually poled by a man standing at the stern. At Kirin, where the Sungari is not so deep, it can be crossed in this manner. The standing posture may have been developed from its convenience for harpooning.

While the one-log canoe is replaced by the three-plank canoe, the birch-bark canoe yields to another type. It is no longer to be seen along the lower Sungari, but there are men who remember it. They say it can still be seen

on the Amur and Ussuri. It was used when spearing fish, and propelled with a double paddle. The canoe that replaces it is of three-plank construction. The bottom is flat, in the sense of being made from one plank, but narrow, and curves slightly up toward the ends. It is pointed at both ends and has a little the lines of a fishing dory. The sides flare outward. It holds one or two people. It is paddled by a man sitting right on the bottom, not on a cross-bench, and using a double-paddle. Although it looks very crank, it is said to be better in rough weather than the other type of three-plank canoe. The Chinese name for it is k'uai-ma-tze. The hollowed-log canoe and the three-plank canoe are both called by the Chinese wei-huo or wei-hu a name borrowed from the Manchu and Gold weihu. This name appears to apply originally and specifically to the dug-out; the three-plank boat is specifically designated as têmchka or têmptka; the birch-bark canoe is called umurchen (also, but rarely weihu); and both these latter names, but especially the former, are used for the k'uai-ma-tze or double-ended canoe.

HUNTING

Hunting was once an ancillary employment but is now a chief source of ready cash, being especially important for the Fuchin Gold, who have almost abandoned fishing as a regular occupation. However, the Gold may once have been true nomads, for they still use on their hunting expeditions a type of tipi similar to that of the Reindeer Tungus. There are two important seasons; the early winter, when pelts are in the best condition, and the early summer, when the horns of the elk are "in velvet." In their hunting the Gold are dominated by the Chinese, for all the valuable furs and medicines which they bring back are sold to dealers, who frequently, by lending money to the thriftless hunters, get them at far less than their real value. Once a party of hunters took a big collection of elk-horns all the way to Newchwang, where they had their photograph taken in a group. Either the venture was not a success or they spent all their money on the journey; for they did not repeat the experiment. The dealers charge heavy interest for their advances, and like to run accounts over a long period. Lack of common sense in business is one of the reasons for the Chinese contempt for the Gold. "They are too honest," say the Chinese. The stock tale is that a Gold, confronted with a written account of money alleged to have been owed by his father, will honor it without verification—if it is written, it must be true. (The words "honest" and "foolish" are often used interchangeably, or in pairs, as applied to the Gold, Mongols and all "Tatars.")

When hunting, the Gold travel far to the south and east; their most

important hunting grounds are nearer to Sanhsing than to Fuchin, being in the virgin forests of the hills through which flows the Mutan or Hurka. At present many use ponies in going there, but some go all the way on foot. Probably the elk-horn is now more valuable than the fur catch. The season for elk is from about mid-May to mid-June. The hunters travel usually in bands of from eight to ten. They do not take women along. They carry a little meal or flour with them, an iron cooking pot, and a tent cloth and mosquito netting or gauze. They carry their gear in leather sacks. When they have reached the hunting grounds they make a camp and hunt around it. The Chinese name for such camps is wo-p'o or wo-p'u. It means "shelter-booth" or "sleeping-booth," and occurs in many place-names in Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia; it may be a phonetic adaptation of a native word. The summer shelter is a piece of cloth stretched tent-wise over a pole or cord and left open at both ends. Cooking-fires are made at the ends, and the space is, if possible, covered in with gauze to keep off the flies and mosquitoes; they also build smudge-fires. The winter shelter is a tipi made of poles, wrapped on the outside with Chinese cloth, which replaces the birch-bark of earlier times. The fire is made inside the tipi.

When an elk has been shot, the whole head is cut off and brought back to camp. It is then treated as follows. Water is brought to a boil and kept boiling gently, not hard. The antlers are plunged in and kept simmering. They are "done" when cooked through. This is judged by testing the skin of the antler; when it has worked loose like a sheath, the horns are done. It is said that though the horns are full of blood, they are turned white all the way through by this cooking; but it may be that in reality only the skin is turned white. They are then dried, very slowly but thoroughly over the embers of a fire. They are then safe from spoiling for a considerable time, and are wrapped carefully to be brought back. The greatest care is taken to prevent breaking or damage of the "velvet."

The heads are worth anything from $100 to over $1000, or even up to $2000. It takes a very good one indeed to fetch over seven or eight hundred dollars, and a magnificent head to fetch more than $1000. The Fuchin Gold told me that the total bag of the season might be 50 heads. According to a Chinese dealer the total bag for the district ran from 50 to 70 heads. He added that ten years ago it was from 600 to 700 heads! This "blood-horn" or elk-horn in the velvet serves for making a general tonic for those whose blood is "cold," as it is regarded as one of the strongest "hot" medicines. It is very much used by old men and those who suffer from sexual impotence or lassitude. The "dry" or mature horn also has a price as medicine, being worth about three dollars per catty of $1\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. The method of preparing it is

to scrape it clean and boil it to a jelly or glue. This is called lu-chiao kao, "elk-horn paste." It is used as a component of medicines, but not apparently as a medicine in itself. As the hinds are also shot for the sake of the unborn calf in the womb, it is a wonder that the race of elks is not nearer extinction than it is. An elk embryo, in the time of the Manchu dynasty, used to bring only 8 to 10 taels; it is now worth $70 to $80. It is used entirely "for women." A Tatar told me it was good during menstruation, giving an easy flow.

Another summer "hunt" is that for ginseng. It is also a "hot" medicine, more powerful and of more general use than "blood-horn." It has the sovereign place in the old Chinese pharmacopeia, ranking as the best of all tonics,—one able to resuscitate those on the point of death and prolonging life when all other means fail. Ginseng buyers are connoisseurs; the value of the plant varies enormously according to shape, the number of tendrils or roots, their pattern, and so forth. Wild ginseng is worth much more than cultivated, and Manchurian ginseng is considered the best of all; especially that growing on the Ch'ang-pai-shan, the holy range of the Manchu. It is credited with quasi-human qualities (as indeed its Chinese name, jen-shen, implies) and said to live, as it were, in families or tribes. When a whole family of ginseng is found, with its patriarchal "ancestor," the latter has a fabulous value. Whether ginseng was quite as much esteemed in China before the time of the Manchu, I do not know. It was an article of tribute at least as early as the T'ang dynasty. Certainly under the Manchu it enjoyed a special kind of imperial favor, and its collection and distribution was under imperial supervision. Whatever its value to the Chinese, it must have had, independently, a great value to the Manchu. T'ai Han-yeh (Nurhachih) was, according to legend, a ginseng-gatherer in his youth. In the first chüan of the first t'ao, page 21a, of the Tung Hua Hsü Lu, it is said under the date corresponding with 1575 that in former times the Manchu did not know how to prepare ginseng. The Ming Chinese, pretending they were afraid it would spoil, feigned unwillingness to buy it. The Manchu were therefore anxious to sell it quickly, and disposed of it at a low price. Nurhachih taught the Manchu how to prepare it for market by first boiling and then drying it. In this condition it would keep well and the Manchu, not having to sell in a hurry, could make a much better profit. At present the hunt for it is not confined to Manchu or Gold; but probably the method of searching and gathering has remained unchanged from tribal days. The hunters work in bands, each man having a stick called in Chinese so-lo kan-tze, the Chinese element kan-tze meaning "a staff." The element so-lo is the Chinese corruption of the Manchu soro, which in Gold is pro-

nounced sometimes soro and sometimes toro. The word is used also for "shaman pole;" indeed, the commonest Manchu explanation of this pole is that "it commemorates the ginseng staff of Nurhachih." The hunters work in a line, each man swishing his staff before him, in an arc, bending down the grass to look for the ginseng. (I have often wondered whether the staff were not supposed to have some "divining rod" potency, but have never been able to confirm it). The arc made by each man's staff overlaps with the arc of the men on his left and right. When they have gone over a meadow, or a glade in the forest, they turn and go over it in the reverse direction, in case they should have missed any precious ginseng. When a man sees a plant he cries out pang-ch'ui (often pronounced pang-ts'ui). This is by far the commonest vernacular name for ginseng in Manchuria. It means literally "club," "short stick for beating or pounding," and its use may indicate a respectful reluctance to use the formal name. The man who has found the ginseng then sits down, and takes no further part. The others dig out the root (which is bifurcated) with great care, in order to avoid breaking the tendrils. They use for this special tools, of bone or wood, never of iron "which might injure the plant." The season for hunting the ginseng is in the sixth and seventh moons (about July-August) when it is in flower. The criteria of good quality ginseng are: the roots ought to be slender, but with pronounced rings or knobs, and with a close, fine grain, indicating age. There is a common proverb (Chinese) quoted in Manchuria to the effect that a seven-ounce plant is "ginseng" (i.e. a good, mature plant), but an eight-ounce plant is a "treasure."

The winter hunting is chiefly for furs, of which the most valuable are sables. Fur-bearing animals are commonly trapped. They have an ingenious trap for sables in the form of a tubular net, set up on small hoops of wood or bamboo, but not fastened to the hoops. The bait is put at the end of the tube. When the sable has entered the net, he cannot turn or make a clumsy move without knocking the hoops awry and collapsing the net on himself. Roe-deer, like the elk, are hunted at all seasons, as are wild boar, and provide many pelts used for clothing. The winter pelt is warm, and makes good fur socks and greatcoats, but the hair, though thick and provided with underwool, is extremely brittle and good usually for no more than one winter's wear. The summer pelt has a thin hair, with no underwool, but wears better. Coats, trousers, leggings, and so forth are frequently made of tanned skin with no hair on it.

The tiger seems practically never to be hunted. Although regarded as extremely formidable it does not seem to be protected by any religious prejudice. It is mentioned occasionally in connection with shamans, but

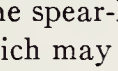
does not seem to be a common shaman spirit nor to have any special ceremonies associated with it.

There was once a well-developed technique of bear-hunting, now practically obsolete. Probably the use of firearms and the increasing scarcity of bears are the chief reasons for the dying out of the old style of bear-hunting. Bears were killed with the spear, which was probably safer for the hunter than the use of bow and arrow, for though the bear had to be provoked to a charge, the hunter had a better chance of choosing his ground, and the beast was likely to be less dangerous than one infuriated to madness by an arrow-wound; also the spear could stop a charge better than an arrow. How far the hunt was a ceremony, I do not know. Probably the bear had once a far greater ceremonial importance than now, and I am sure that many of my informants knew a great deal more than they cared to tell me. They seemed very sensitive on the subject, having been ridiculed by the Chinese for their former "barbarian" practices. Certainly the bear hunt was to a great extent formalized, and the most important merit in killing a bear was to kill it single-handed. I did hear once that the bear-hunter went into the forest "with a drum in one hand and a spear in the other;" also that

> formerly the spear was necessary, because in those days the bears were very dangerous. Our people had only matchlocks, which were slow and uncertain in discharging, and the spear was better; for whom should the bear fear except the bear and the tiger?

When found, he had to be provoked into an attack, preferably standing on his hind legs. The hunter then had the advantage; he placed the butt of the spear on the ground and impaled the bear on it as he charged.

I have seen only spear-heads, never the hafted spear. Evidently the haft was of little importance, and could be fitted when required; but the spear-heads are kept in a wooden sheath, covered with leather, which apparently is put on raw and then stitched and allowed to shrink on tight as it dries.



The spear-head sheath has a peculiar knob or button at the end, thus: which may be intended in part as a protection for the tip of the blade, but *may* also be a conventionalized representation of the snout of a bear. The blade of the spear is of excellent workmanship, often inlaid with a kind of damascene work. The most highly specialized detail is its distinct curve, making it faintly spoon-shaped. The spear when set on the ground to receive the charge of the bear is held at an angle of about forty-five degrees. The curve then causes the spear to deflect upward into the throat (at which it is always aimed) toward the base of the skull, thus checking the bear and throwing him upward and backward. The explanation given by the Gold

is that a flat spear might be deflected downward, in which case the bear, even if mortally wounded, might sprawl forward and downward, reaching and killing the hunter.

The reindeer is not hunted, but seems to be known, if I am right in identifying it with the animal called, in two Chinese forms of the name, han-te-han and k'an-ta-han. The latter I have not heard in speech. Both forms occur in the Kirin Records, where a poetical account praises its power of swimming. The Mongol name is handahan. This animal is described as coming "from around Habarovsk." Its horns are also good for medicine, but are "cold" where elk-horn is "hot." Moccasin-footed knee-length boots made from its hide, with the hair outside, reach Fuchin and even Harbin for sale. The Gold also have the name toki for reindeer; they say they never used them, but "the Tungus have them; they are far away from here."

COSTUME AND UTENSILS

The Gold of the present day, the men especially, wear a mixed costume, Chinese in the main, usually very tattered and dirty. They have a distinct preference for foreign felt hats. The chief items of the old-style costume to be seen are moccasins, which are worn by perhaps the majority, and a long gown (once common among the Manchu also), Chinese in cut but differentiated by the division of the skirts, front and back, for convenience in riding. These skirts can be buttoned together with frogs. Moccasins of the old Manchu cut, usually of raw cowhide, are much worn by Chinese all through Manchuria in winter. The Gold moccasin is slightly different in cut; but this difference may be more apparent than real, owing to the greater stiffness of the leather now used in the Manchu style moccasin. The Gold upper reaches several inches above the ankle. The whole moccasin may be of leather, but usually the summer form has a leather sole and a cloth upper. On this latter is a conventional flower design, often worked with a sewing-machine. A moccasin may also have a sole of wild boar skin and an upper of roedeer skin. Moccasins made entirely of fish skin, or with a sole of fish skin, are now not so common as in former years; chiefly, I imagine, because the Gold have been laughed at for using this material. Nevertheless, it is universally asserted that fish skin is an excellent material, for it will not slip on snow, and is more waterproof on thawing snow or ice than any leather. In winter it is common to wear a sock of roedeer winter pelt, with the hair in. It is also common to stuff the moccasin with wula grass, which is very warm, though not quite so warm as a fur sock. The Manchu also use this wula grass, and from them the Chinese have adopted

its use, which is general throughout Manchuria. The Chinese also call the moccasins wula, which may or may not be the Manchu name. Probably the name comes from the Manchu wula, "a great river"; the grass is called wula because it grows beside the river (or in marshes), and the moccasins are called wula because they are stuffed with the grass. The Gold name for the moccasins is unta or wunta, and for the grass hairhta, of which they recognize three kinds—one "green," one "red," and one "oval"—i.e., oval in section. The grass is prepared by beating it with a wooden mallet on a wooden block, to fray it. When properly packed into the moccasin, it forms a nest. In winter, moccasins are often worn for several days at a time without being removed.

When hunting in winter, the Gold wear a garment best described as a pair of trousers without a seat. It is really a pair of loose leggings, like trouser legs, which are drawn on over the trousers and suspended by strings from the belt. The Chinese also have this kind of overall,—their t'ao-k'u. The Gold make these leggings of roedeer skin, with the hair outside. Normally, like the Chinese and Mongols, they wear all fur garments that are put on for warmth with the fur inside. The leggings are worn with the hair outside because, they say, when stalking in the snow, they can slide forward easily on their knees.

The Gold, like the Manchu and Mongols, used frequently to wear, especially when dressed up, a kind of sleeveless jacket or waistcoat, buttoning at the right side, called a batur jacket or hero-jacket. This garment is known in China as a ma-kua "horse-jacket" or "riding-jacket"; it is commonly worn but traditionally supposed to have been introduced by the "northern barbarians."

In winter, especially on hunting expeditions, the Gold wear a fur hat made of roedeer winter pelt, with the hair turned in. It is often made double with hair both inside and out. It is round in shape and frequently has a border which can either be turned out, or pulled down to protect the ears. The border is sometimes of sheepskin.

A very few of the Gold, mostly old men, still wear the queue. The women dress their hair in a manner reminiscent of some of the Kirin Manchu styles, modified perhaps by Chinese fashions. The Manchu women did not have only one style of dressing their hair, as might be believed by people who remember Peking in days before the Revolution. A number of styles, said to have been current in Peking at different periods and brought back to Manchuria, can still be seen in old-fashioned Manchu villages in Kirin. The women dress now in Chinese costume, but occasionally an old Manchu-style embroidered sleeve-band or border gives a flash of color and

a touch of the gypsy to their appearance. The women make all the clothes and are skilfull with the needle and sewing machine. One of the few useful things the Gold buy when they have cash to spare is a sewing machine; the women can even stitch designs with them. For sewing leather clothes they use the sinews of roedeer.

The things used in the house fall into two obvious classes. Those connected with hunting and camping are almost entirely non-Chinese in material and style. To this category also belong numbers of small objects made of wood and birch-bark. Religious paraphernalia are a mixture of the tribal with Chinese borrowings; e.g. shrines, altar-decorations like pewter vases, and pictures of gods. When we were talking one day in a Gold house about Yüeh Fei, the "enemy" of the Chin and the ancestors of the Gold, a man said "There, that's the one," pointing to a gay-colored picture on the wall; and there he was, with several other legendary heroes of the Chinese!

In most ceremonies of religion and shamanism the Gold now use Chinese incense, which is convenient and cheap. Nevertheless, on occasions of great importance, especially in ceremonies of the ancestor cult and at New Year, the incense is of their own, shared by the Manchu, and called by the Chinese either "Tatar incense" or "end-of-the-year" incense. It is made from an aromatic shrub said to grow high up among crags. The shrub is dried and powdered to make the incense. For burning, a wooden tablet is used, with shallow grooves gouged along it into which the power is laid. It will burn, it is said, from one end to the other.

One thing seen in almost every house is a kind of fire-pan for charcoal. It is used for warmth, not for cooking. I do not believe it is of Chinese origin, but that it was used before the adoption of the heated k'ang. It is made of earthenware or metal, and placed on a movable, folding, four-legged stand, usually at the edge of the k'ang where people sitting cross-legged on the k'ang can warm their hands over it. Sometimes it has a kind of "collar" of birch bark encircling it. The Manchu carried this fire-pan with them wherever they went, even to Chinese Turkestan, where I have seen fine old bronze specimens. Even Peking Manchu say it is more Manchu than Chinese.

The Gold, like all the northern frontier neighbors of China, but not the Chinese themselves, use cradles. The Chinese in Manchuria have largely adopted them, and one of the innumerable Chinese rhymes which hit off the characteristics of different regions in a quatrain mentions the cradle as one of the peculiarities of Manchuria. The Gold now use mostly shop cradles, painted red with Chinese designs in gold, and often hung with strings of old copper cash and colored beads for luck. Even these baby-

carriers, made by Chinese out of thin wood softened in steam and bent into shape, suggest a birch-bark origin. They can either be set down on the ground, when the slightly convex bottom makes it possible to rock them (endways, not sideways) or they can be hung up. Very commonly a mother soothes a fretful baby by hanging it in a cradle from a rafter. She then stands in a crouching position with her forearms on the cradle and gives the baby the breast, rocking or rather swinging the cradle as she does so.

The Gold hunt with rifles, of which every family seems to have several, keeping them even when they are broken beyond repair. They have a few old muzzle-loading match-locks and percussion-cap muskets, but these are seldom used. They use either single shot rifles of one of the antiquated patterns still occasionally seen among the Chinese constabulary and regional troops in out-of-the-way places, and also have a few of the old Russian "3-line" rifles. When shooting, they almost always use a rest. This is very simple, differing from the Mongol form, which is attached to the rifle and folds along the rifle when not in use. The Mongols, hunting on the plains or on hills without much timber, almost always shoot from a lying or crouching position. The Gold, hunting in forests, need a rest with which they can shoot at standing height as well as kneeling or lying down. Their rest is attached to the rifle. It is made of two pieces of wood, often nicely smoothed and bevelled, which are fixed together with a nail or bolt so that the legs can be opened out to any distance, adjusting the height. In order to carry the rest, the sling or strap of the rifle has a loop at either end. The rest is opened out and one leg passed through the upper loop; then closed, and both legs passed through the lower loop. Thus, if the rifle is always carried muzzle up, the rest is perfectly secure and yet can be rapidly drawn out for use.

Ski, apparently, are now little used except on hunting expeditions, though I have seen old discarded ski lying around their houses. I have never seen showshoes, nor ski sheathed with skin, and I was told that they do not put skin on the under surface. The following account appears to be generally true:

> We do not use them much here (i.e., along the river) unless the snow is unusually deep. We use them sometimes when we are away hunting. We make them when we need them, and throw them away when we have finished with them.

It is interesting that there are two terms for ski. At Fuchin kiachki (sometimes karchki), said to be Manchu, is rather more common. Lower down the river they use the term kingli. At Gaij I was at first not understood when I used the term kiachki, and when I returned to Fuchin and tried

the term kingli, people were puzzled until someone said, "he means kiachki." The Chinese equivalent is t'a-pan hsieh, that is, t'a-pan shoes. I imagine that in this term (which I have not seen written) the element pan would be written with the character for "a plank, a board." The word sounds as if might be an adaptation of a non-Chinese word, but I do not know from what language. It might be from a word which means properly "snowshoes," rather than "ski," but is used by the Chinese for "ski" because of the sound pan, "a plank."

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The tribal organization was comparatively weak. The Gold considered themselves a separate people, identified by language and manner of life, but they had no tribal head, and whatever tribal organization they had disappeared when they were incorporated with the Manchu and organized in banners. These primarily territorial mobilization units, which were only secondarily hereditary, supplied all the framework needed for government, outside of the clans and villages, which largely administered their own local affairs.

The clan, on the other hand, is still the most important unit. It has little or no territorial connection, fellow members living scattered in different villages. Nevertheless, clan names occur which have a place connotation. There are clans with two names; it seems probable that in every case one of these is the "true" one, while the other has a local association. The family has no name; and the clan name is used only formally (as among the Manchu formerly), not currently, like the Chinese proper name (which is a form of clan name). Marriage is exogamous, a rule expressed (as the Chinese also express it) simply by the formula "people of the same name must not marry." Owing to the great disorganization and decrease in number of the Gold, members of the most numerous clans now sometimes intermarry, for want of an available wife from a different clan, so long as the blood relation is not close. (A similar license is not unknown in China also, in the case of the very commonest names, like Chang and Li and Wang.)

The following are all the clan names I collected. They are probably the majority of the clan names that survive from Fuchin to the Amur.

Birdaki. Said to be connected with the word bira, a (small) river. If this is true, there may also be another name for the clan. The Chinese form of the name is Pi.

Futar. Also called Maranka. The latter is said to be from a place on the Amur. Most of this clan to be found at Fuchin call themselves Maranka rather than Futar, which would imply that a group of them moved there together. The members of this clan lower down the river call themselves Futar, not Maranka. The Chinese form is Fu, and through people with this Chinese name giving their clan name as Maranka I discovered the dual name.

Gekir. Chinese name Ko.

Kilen. Chinese name Yu. Lack of resemblance phonetically between the Chinese and Gold names suggests that there is another clan name, but I could not find it out.

Kumara. Chinese name Ho, possibly the Chinese phonetic equivalent for the first syllable, Ku, but more likely to be related to an alternative clan name.

Luir. Chinese name Lu.
Mengjir. Chinese name Meng.
Shimuru. Chinese name Su, which is probably the equivalent of "Shi."
Udingke. Chinese name Wu.

Many of the Gold nowadays who take a Chinese surname for convenience use the phonetic equivalent of the personal name, not the clan name. Hence a man of the Birdaki clan may call himself not "Mr. Pi" but "Mr. Chang." The same thing has occurred very widely among the Manchu in the process of turning Chinese; it also occurs among the Mongols. Probably the underlying reason, or one of the reasons, among all three peoples, is the feeling that the clan name ought not to be too publicly used. I understand that in Manchu days the record of a man's official career was kept as follows: Personal name; Banner; Gushan; Niru; previous appointments; awards; demerits; etc.; etc.; and finally, at the end of the record, "of the clan of So and So." (Gushang and Niru are subdivisions of the banner. In Peking, each banner had three Gushan—one Manchu, one Mongol, one Chinese.) Often casual acquaintances might never know each other's clan name.

The largest clans at Fuchin are the Maranka and Kilen.

Although each clan has an "original ancestor" there does not seem to be any trace of an hereditary position of head of the clan. They say that there used to be fairly large clan gatherings on special occasions, at which usually the representative of the senior line presided. Families of good standing always kept a record of births, marriages, and deaths, as did Manchu and Chinese.

The ideal of the family, as distinct from the clan, was similar to that of the Manchu and Chinese,—the largest possible group of sons, grandsons, and even great-grandsons living together. When such a large body finally breaks up, the new independent families gradually cease to call each other relatives, but remain members of the same clan. A woman, however, who marries out of the family also marries out of the clan—again, as in China,—no record of her children being kept in the family register.

In discussing such matters as marriage and burial, the Gold are extremely reluctant to go into detail, for fear of revealing something that will be ridiculed as "barbarian." They insist that their customs are the same as those of the "Manchu and Chinese," just as the Manchu in turn insist that their customs are "exactly the same" as those of the Chinese; and in truth the customs of the Gold, whatever they were originally, must have been heavily overlaid by those of the Manchu; which in turn carried a heavy overlay of Chinese practice. Thus the marriage is arranged by a go-between;

the bride is fetched by the bridegroom's family and escorted by her own; there is a wedding feast, and the essential part of the ceremony is the reception of the bride into her husband's family and clan, signalized when the bride, with the groom, publicly "venerates" (in effect, "acknowledges" rather than "worships") his ancestors. A short time after the marriage the bride pays a visit to her own family. Thereafter her most important connection with her own family is that her mother's brothers have a sort of authority over both her and her children. According to an old custom in North China, a son disowned by his father and mother for filial impiety was liable to the penalty of death; but if his mother's brother intervened his life would be spared. Whether this is a strictly Chinese custom or one recognized after the establishment of the Manchu Empire, I do not know.

The determination of kinship chiefly by the clan name, and the fact that the woman by marriage leaves her own clan, impose a curious restriction on the marriage of cousins, in that the children of brothers may not marry, because they have the same name, while the children of sisters may, because they have not the same name, though the degree of blood-relationship is exactly the same.

There are also the following additional restrictions on the marriage of cousins:

A woman may not marry the son of one of her mother's brothers, "because in so doing she would carry back to her mother's clan some of her mother's blood." On the other hand, a man may marry the daughter of one of his mother's brothers, "because thus the mother's clan, which has already contributed to his blood, is merely contributing fresh blood of the same stock to his children." In other words, there must be only one-way marriage as between two given clans. By analogy, a man may not marry the daughter of one of his father's sisters, (of course, he cannot marry the daughter of one of his father's brothers, because of the clan name) because, the girl's mother having married out of the clan to which the man belongs, her blood must not be brought back in. A woman may, however, marry the son of her father's sister, because she and her father's sister are both counted as leaving the same clan and entering the same clan.

These rules are undoubtedly Chinese, but are also claimed by the Manchu and Gold as their own. It seems to me probable, however, that the following legend indicates a difference in marriage rules in former times, which permitted a woman's blood to be "brought back" to the clan she had left by marriage.

As to the maternal uncle, I heard repeatedly from the Chinese of the region that according to Gold custom a girl must first be offered in marriage

to the brother of her mother; only if he refuses her, can she be offered to anyone else. Finally I heard the following story, to account for it, from a policeman who had been stationed at various Gold villages, and claimed to know all about them; though much of his information was part of the conventional stock of stories applied to a number of non-Chinese tribes.

In the ancient days a certain woman went out with her husband on a hunt. While the man was away hunting, the woman was carried off by a bear. The bear did not harm her, but carried her away to his cave in the rocks, where he made her his wife. The bear went out every day and brought back food for her and treated her well. In time a daughter was born to them.

When the daughter was in her teens, one day a man came to the cave, a hunter. He and the woman questioned each other, and asked each other their names, the places of their birth, and the names of their relatives. Thus they discovered that they were brother and sister. Then the man said, "You and your daughter come away with me." But the woman said, "We dare not do that. The bear would overtake and kill us. You must first kill the bear." But the man said, "It is not easy to kill a bear. It is better to run before he comes back." The woman said, "The bear can run faster than we. It is better to shoot him here. I can show you the path by which he always returns. Then you can set your gun (*sic*) there and lie in ambush with a good aim and with one shot kill him." Then the man set his gun in the thickets all ready and leveled correctly, and when the bear returned, killed him with one shot. Then he and the woman and the girl went away, and the man took the girl as his wife. Since that time, when a girl is to be married, her mother's brother first has the refusal of her, and only after he has refused her can she be married to another.

On another occasion a Chinese said to me: "You know, the Tatars always offer a girl first to her mother's brother in marriage, because only on the mother's side are they of human ancestry; their (father's) ancestor was a bear"; but he did not tell me the full story. In connection with this story we must bear in mind that, being told by Chinese, it may perhaps apply properly to the Gilyak or some other tribe, not to the Gold, all being classed together as "Fishskin Tatars." The Gold themselves denied, when I asked them directly, either that the girl was offered first to a maternal uncle, or that they were descended from a bear; and I failed to draw out any story. They may, however, simply be reticent on the subject. They also deny any special bear ceremony; but this means merely that special bear ceremonies have been abandoned in recent years.

I have heard the Gold themselves admit that in recent years the general breakdown of the remnant of their race has made them less strict in the observance of marriage rules. A girl, herself a dissolute baggage, told me that "down the river" the women were much more modest in the presence of men, better mannered, and sexually chaste. At T'u-tze-k'o, near La-

hasusu, I missed seeing a well-known shaman, because he had gone to Lahasusu to see a son in prison, serving a sentence of three months for shooting his younger sister, for having an affair with a man of too close affinity—whether of blood or merely of clan, I do not know. After shooting the girl he reported it as an "accident"; the police investigated, found the circumstances suspicious, and put him in prison. As it was an affair among Tatars, and no one came forward to demand blood-money or a death penalty, the authorities did not regard it as a very serious matter and gave him only a light sentence. My Chinese informant added that he need not have gone to prison at all if he had set about things in the right way. He should have reported frankly that he had shot his sister at the order of his father for sexual misdemeanor; the affair would then have been passed over as a matter of patriarchal family justice.

The Gold claim that their burial customs are the same as those of the Manchu; nor did I learn anything more definite. I saw one instance of what may have been a hut-burial, but I am not sure. A Chinese said that he thought it was only a temporary shelter for a coffin awaiting burial, and might be either Gold or Chinese. It is worth pointing out that the Manchu coffin is different from the Chinese. It looks as if it might have been evolved from an ancient burial-hut, whereas the Chinese coffin, with its rounded sides, looks as though it had been evolved from a tree-trunk hollowed out into a coffin. I do not know whether either the Manchu or the Gold ever had tree-burial (i.e., not in a coffin made out of a great log, but in the branches of a tree), but I have heard a Manchu legend in which the hero puts the ashes of a dead man into a tree, which thereafter "grows around" them—a story evidently reminiscent of cremation, and perhaps of a practice of putting either the body or its ashes into a tree.

It was impossible to get a true idea of how the soul is conceived after death, since the medium of communication was Chinese, which has several terms for "soul," "spirit," and so forth, which may perhaps be derived from ancient conceptions of a subdivision of the soul into different parts, or of a plurality of souls. Nevertheless I incline to think that the Gold believe in at least two forms of the soul—the "spirit" of the body and the "soul" of mind and feeling. They also seem to believe in the occasional transmigration of a soul from man to animal or animal to man, and in the transference of the soul of a shaman, and the spirits he controlled, to another shaman—usually his son.

SHAMANISM, CURING, AND DIVINATION

SHAMANISM

Among the remnant of the Gold now surviving undoubtedly the most interesting subject of study is shamanism. It is the least damaged survival of the old spirit, feeling, and thought of the Gold. Shamanism is general throughout Manchuria, even among the Chinese themselves. There are evidences in China of very ancient cults or practices akin to, or at least parallel with shamanism; but these are recognizably different from the Chinese shamanism of Manchuria. While the Chinese, from ancient times, have powerfully influenced the culture of all peoples north of the Great Wall frontier, they have themselves been affected in many respects by settlement in the frontier regions. Most of the influences at work among the frontier Chinese are at present little understood, but obviously if they can be studied they must throw a great deal of light on changes in temperament and feeling which in the past have made it possible for frontier Chinese to join in heartily with "barbarians" in attacks on China—as, for instance, at the time of the Manchu conquest. Among the changes in outlook which had an important effect in giving the frontier Chinese an individuality of their own, religious modifications must have been very important. Not only are certain definite phenomena to be noted in the spread of Chinese religious thought through Manchuria, but the opposite tendency to adopt local religious beliefs must also be taken into account. Of these the most important was probably the Manchurian form of shamanism. It must have been taken up very early by the Chinese in Manchuria. Among people of the old colonizing stock, who came in before the modern period of railways and settlement in vast numbers, it is almost universal. Such Chinese versions of the word shaman as ts'a-ma, ch'a-ma, ts'a-mo, ts'a-mo-tze, are current all over Manchuria. The majority of those who know the word or consult shamans do not seem to know that it is non-Chinese in origin, though they will admit that it is "local dialect"; only men of some education are likely to point out the resemblances between shamanism and the wu-i or "magician healers" of ancient China.

It is therefore all the more interesting to find Gold shamanism comparatively "pure"; that is, not the product of a gradual blending of tribal and Chinese beliefs and practices. Since the Chinese settlement of the lower Sungari began late and is being accomplished very rapidly, the tendency has been, not to modify the Gold shamanism, but to overwhelm and

replace it. I have heard of Chinese shamanism among Chinese of old-Manchurian stock in the Fuchin region; but these people are far outnumbered by new settlers, who form solid communities of their own, with a body of thought, belief, and feeling imported intact from Shantung. They may occasionally "consult" a shaman for healing, but they do not seem to go in for it to the extent of producing shamans among their own numbers. As for the Gold, the solidity of the new Chinese population has allowed them to retain their own shamanism in a practically untouched state. So long as the Gold themselves survive they will probably retain relics of their old shamanism which, while only remnants, are at least unmodified.

It is difficult to study shamanism anywhere in Manchuria. In most places with a majority of Chinese, it is under police ban as a form of superstition and charlatanism. Elsewhere the sudden arrival of strangers, especially if escorted by police or soldiers, will cause a flutter and an extreme reluctance to talk about anything whatever. On more than one occasion I found the household of a shaman, but because the men of the family, including the shaman himself, were away for the elk-hunting season, no one dared even bring out the costume of the shaman for inspection. The bulk of my material I got from the family of a shaman at T'u-tze-k'o, though unfortunately the shaman himself was away.

Gold shamanism has a number of activities, all merging into each other, but in which several trends can be distinguished. I think the chief forms are: (a) religious shamanism, chiefly connected with seasonal festivals (spring and autumn); (b) family shamanism, which keeps the present generation in touch with its roots in the past, and asserts the continuity between ancestors and descendants; (c) shamanism which attempts to control the forces of nature and the course of future events—for instance, shamanism before hunting; (d) shamanism for the healing of sickness, which also attempts to control nature.

Shamanism has in it the roots of religious ideas of a very high order; and it is essentially an aristocrat's religion. First, there is a very strong tendency for the powers of a shaman to pass from father to son. Secondly the vocation is strongly selective. The shaman must cultivate his "powers," his practice, and his ritual with intense care, minute attention, and a discipline which he himself exercises over himself. In the third place, although the vocation itself tends toward the development of the individual personality, the shaman must be able to subdue his own personality completely, for he has no power unless possessed by a power or spirit from without; he is only a channel through which operates a power not his own. The greater his own power, the greater the powers that he is able to attract; but when one of those

is in action, his own must be completely effaced. There is an obvious tendency to compare the power of one shaman with another, which must often induce rivalry; nevertheless, the shaman can only excel by mastery over himself, not by asserting himself, for the extent to which he can sink his own personality while under possession is the measure of the extent to which he can be possessed; the more the room left by his absent personality, the

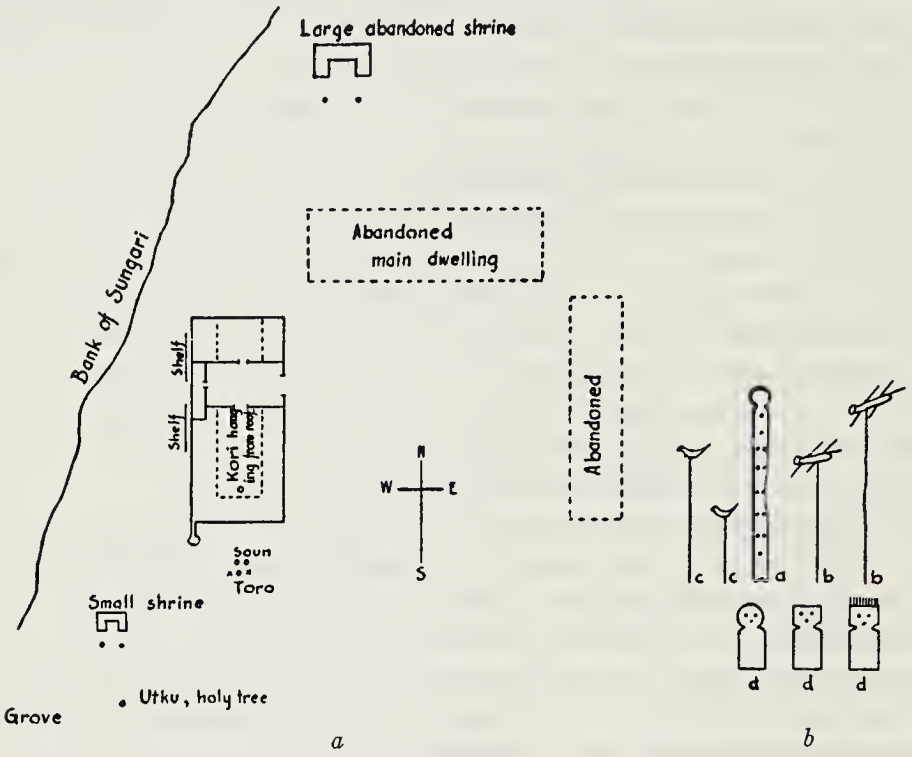


FIG. 3*a*. Plan of shaman's house at T'u-t-eⁱkʻo.
b. a toro pole proper
bb animal figures on stakes
cc kêku on stakes
ddd souni

more the room that can be occupied by a spirit from without, and the greater that spirit can be.

Finally, there are two forms of ecstasy for the shaman. In the one, his own personality is closed off; he is open to all the powers of the unseen world, but is not possessed by any one power; in religious or family worship the spirits of ancestors or gods are through him in touch with the family or community; in the healing of the sick strength flows through him into the patient, or the patient is put in harmony with nature. He is primarily a

channel through which flow indefinite forces, not the focus for the action of a definite force.

In the other, called in the Chinese phrase "great spirit" (ta shen) shamanism, he is possessed by a definite spirit, which dictates his bodily actions. This type of shamanism appears to have little or no practical application; it is more like an exercise of virtuosity, undertaken by the shaman simply to keep up his powers. It is when under this kind of possession that shamans lacerate themselves and perform superhuman prodigies of strength. While, however, such exercises seem to be performed for no definite end, they seem to be regarded as effective in "toning up" the whole community; it may be that originally the shaman when thus possessed showed his power of coming unscathed from conflict with malignant unknown forces, thus relieving the community from the oppression of the evil powers of the unseen world.

Religious shamanism seems to be chiefly connected with a spring and an autumn festival. As near as I know, at the spring festival all the wooden effigies of spirits, the "shaman poles" and so forth, that protect the house and its inmates, are set in order after winter. At the autumn festival the richest time of the year is celebrated, and all things set in order once more against the coming of winter.

Family shamanism centres now chiefly about the ancestor cult and the old Chinese New Year (lunar style). Naturally Chinese influences, received for the most part as transmitted through the Manchu, are here more obvious than in other forms of shamanism.

Nature shamanism seems concerned with the effort to protect livestock, to ensure good seasons, to provide auguries before the start of a hunting trip, and to promote the supply of game while hunting.

Healing shamanism, most commonly, appears not to take the form of driving out an evil spirit. Rather the shaman, having himself either gone into a trance or induced an exalted state of feeling, induces a somewhat similar trance in the person treated. The sickness is regarded as a kind of disharmony; under trance, the patient relaxes, the natural discordance is resolved, and a natural readjustment takes place.

Figure *3a* shows the arrangement of the house of a well-known shaman, who lives at T'u-tze-k'o. The Chinese form of his name is Chengnge. I had met him before, not knowing that he was a shaman; but he was in fact one of the best-known living shamans. He was well above the average height, spare, and hardy looking. He was perhaps fifty years of age. When I first saw him, he struck me as a man of great dignity, very reserved in manner, with an intent, brooding expression. He had blue eyes, a brown

tinge in the hair, and a red beard, and may well have had Russian blood; but this did not show in the features of his face. He was, as a younger man, a famous hunter. He could write Manchu, speak Chinese well, and like many of the Gold, could also speak Russian.

The dotted lines on the plan show the original design of a three-building home; it must be borne in mind that the orientation of the house now lived in is affected by the fact that it runs north and south. Originally the shaman lived in the west end of the north building; things which are now on the west were then on the north, and things now on the south were then on the west. Only the utku, or holy tree, was always where it now stands, but its position has changed relatively from southwest to south.

To take the house as it now stands, beginning with the outside:

At the south end are several toro stakes. This word is occasionally pronounced soro, and by the Chinese and Manchu, using the Chinese pronunciation, it is called solo, or solo-kan-tze (solo-stake). Of these the central one is the toro proper (see fig. 3*b*). It is at once suggestive of a totem-pole. On the front surface of the toro (facing the end of the house) are carved in rough but recognizable relief seven figures or pairs of figures; which with the head of the staff gives a series of eight. They are here printed from top to bottom, as they appear on the staff, but numbered from bottom to top, as the Gold appear to number them.

8 The top of the staff is roughly outlined like a head, and being rounded, not squared, is probably female, not male.

7 one soun or burkan, a human figure. The first name means 'spirit,' the second 'holy' or 'god.'

6, 6 two tormafa souni. They are (perhaps) eagles. Souni is 'spirit;' tormafa appears to be compounded of toro, the stake itself, and mafa, old man. Thus the name seems to mean "old-men spirits of the toro," or "holy old men." As however the figures are birds, not men, they may represent 'souls.'

5, 5 two muduri, dragons.

4, 4 two chêmki, lizards.

3, 3 two meikhê, snakes. (Small snakes, not large serpents).

2, 2 two wakshênh or wokshanh, frogs.

1 one hai-lung, a turtle, the name obviously being from the Chinese and meaning 'sea-dragon.'

The staff itself was a young spruce, with the bark taken off but the wood left untrimmed, not even the knots being trimmed away.

This, however, is not the only possible arrangement. At Ta-t'un I saw one with the following arrangement—the staff being a young poplar, smoothed off flat on the side on which the figures were carved:

8 the top of the staff, a head squared rather than rounded, and therefore probably male rather than female.
7 one ganki, or soun, a human spirit.
6 one meikhê, snake.
5 one wakshanh, frog.
4 one hai-lung, turtle.
3 one soun, spirit.
2 one wuksa or wuksari, a lizard; but compare the name wakshanh above. The name chêmki was not used; but this may be a difference of dialect.
1 one muduri, dragon.

It will be noticed that all the figures on the second staff were single.

To return to the toro at T'u-tze-k'o:

At the left of the toro proper, or on one's right as one faces south, are two slender stakes or wands, on the top of which are impaled two wooden beast figures, with four legs and a tail. The legs are made by sticks thrust through the body and protruding at both sides. I could get neither name nor explanation for these that was in any way satisfactory. They may be ulki, which, however, from other descriptions appear to be some kind of squirrel. They look as though they might be otters; perhaps weasels or sables.

On the other side of the toro are two wands, one much more short and slender than the other, each impaling a kêku, a bird which may be a cuckoo or a wood-pigeon. I am almost sure it is a cuckoo.

A couple of small wands with similar kêku and animal had fallen to the ground. These, I was told, were not to be casually picked up and set straight. They could only be put in order on a suitable day, with sacrifice and a ceremony by the shaman.

The toro divinities keep guard "over the whole house and courtyard," and are most probably linked with the ancestral cult. One of the most important powers honoured at the toro ceremonies is the ulki, apparently a kind of squirrel. "Not to respect it brings sickness." The chief sacrifice is a pig, which is killed at the foot of the toro. First the shaman conducts a ceremony inside the house. Then he makes a tour of the house on the outside. Then the pig is laid at the foot of the toro. Hot "wine" (distilled grain spirit) is poured into his ear. All this time the pig keeps perfectly quiet. (I have several times heard this asserted.) Even with the hot wine in his ear he does not immediately struggle; not until "the spirit" "the divinity," makes him. The moment he moves, he is slaughtered. If he does not move at all, the sacrifice is not acceptable and everything must be done over again. It seems to be not at all unknown for the pig to refuse to move, thus getting

off with his life. This sacrifice appears to be identical with the Manchu ceremony which takes place at the (lunar) new year, or about the winter solstice.

If a chicken is sacrificed, the wine is poured over its head. The standard sacrifice, for those who can afford it, is a pig. Sheep are not sacrificed, being practically unknown in the region. Cattle are rarely sacrificed, and horses never.

At a little distance from the toro stood a holy tree, called utku. It was old and gnarled and had wide-spreading branches, but I do not know the kind of tree. Under the tree was the ruin of a small shrine, of the Chinese kind, which had never contained an image, but a small tablet with the name of the spirit, or the title "holy tree" written on it. In the tree were the skull of a wild boar and some bones. Some votive rags were tied to the branches.

At the back of the house were two shelves, up near the eaves. On one was a chest, called "very holy." At the ceremony when it is opened, women menstruating or with child are not allowed to be present. It is sometimes carried on hunting expeditions. I did not see the contents of this chest, but I have seen other chests of the kind. They are connected with the cult of a smallpox goddess. They contain a number of stakes, of which some are spear-headed, trident-headed, and so forth. In the ceremony in which they are used, they are set up in a bundle, and over them are draped vari-colored scarves, and finally a black scarf which is "a sign of something dreadful." I have not seen the ceremony. Sometimes, instead of the box, a roll of birch-bark is used, hung up under the eaves.

On the other shelf are a number of soun or souni mafa, "spirits" or "spirit old men." Most of these are simply blocks of wood, (usually birch) with no limbs and a  head cut with rough strokes of an  axe, notching the wood, thus: . Sometimes a face is added, thus: .  A square head, like the foregoing, is male. A rounded head, thus:  is female. Sometimes the figures have leather "clothes" made of raw hide laced on to the wood when still fresh and shrunk on by drying. A few have limbs roughly indicated. I have seen figures, male and female, with the genital parts  indicated. A very common form has spikes on top of the head, thus: . They are not stuck on, but cut out of the solid block, and are a little hooked at the top. This figure appears always to be "male" or square-headed. The spikes number from 6 to 9 on those I have seen. The figure is called soun horundo bis soun. The word horundo may mean "fingers" and is cognate with Mongol horogo. Like the square-headed and the round-headed figures, the soun horundo bis soun is to be found not only at the back

of the house but, sometimes, at the foot of the toro. I could get no satisfactory explanation of them other than that they include every kind of spirit. I believe that they are often made for a particular ceremony, and may represent ancestral spirits, hunting spirits, and so forth, as required; except the soun horundo bis soun, which appears always to be a hunting spirit. They are often discarded in a casual manner and can be found rotting in the underbrush near houses, or put away in temples in a manner which suggests that they have been retired after completing their usefulness. They measure from a few inches to a couple of feet in height.

Other wooden figures are flat; they may have the features indicated and arms and legs cut out, thus: . There are also weasels, dogs (only one that I have seen), and occasionally bears. I was told some of the wooden figures, both flat and round, were spirits controlling horses and other animals, and gods of the hunt. "Of course, if they were not honored, how should we find animals to shoot? When we shoot an animal, that animal is sent by them."

On the second shelf is also a small cylindrical box made of birch bark, with a bottom and inset lid of wood. In this box are a number of small human figures, two of wood, the rest of brass and pewter. The brass is "gold," the pewter "silver." These figures are all attached to a single cord, and are hung around the shaman's neck during certain ceremonies. They appear to be the only part of the equipment actually worn by the shaman that is kept outside the house. They are collectively called burkan, "gods," "holy ones," and I got the following individual names:

êchihê
sarka
bukchunh, bukchungh
ganki
kirinh

Inside the house the normal ceremonial position of the shaman, when seated, is in the southwest angle of the k'ang. In this house, because it was a "side house," not a "main house," it was at the southeast corner. When dancing, the shaman stands on the floor, in the pit formed by the raised k'ang on three sides of him. In this house, near the end of the room but over the pit, not the k'ang, there hung from the roof a bird made of wood and covered with rawhide shrunk on by drying. Its wings were ornamented with a leather fringe for feathers, and a similar fringe hanging from the neck looked like a mane, an effect which enhanced the distinctly horse-like appearance of the head; but I do not think there was any intention of repre-

senting a combined bird and horse. The bird, I believe, was an eagle. This bird, called kori, is of great interest in certain shamanistic ceremonies; chiefly, I believe, of the kind in which the shaman merely exercises his own powers, for the sake of virtuosity, not for any particular purpose. When the shaman's familiar spirit descends, it alights first on the bird, which then moves, without being touched. A lad who was present said: "In the old times this bird was the aeroplane of our people. The shaman with this could go everywhere and ascend to heaven." He said there were many stages of heaven—no one knew how many—and it depended on the power of the shaman how high he could ascend.

The costume and equipment of the shaman vary with the ceremony. Undoubtedly the most important single thing is the drum. Without this he cannot induce trance or ecstacy. The drum is always oval in shape, and always made of roedeer hide stretched over an elmwood frame. The hide is prepared by soaking it in water and scraping off the hair. The frame is heated in order to bend it into shape, and the oval is joined with an "invisible" splice. The outside of the frame has a double groove running all round it, which gives a firm grip for binding on the skin. The drum has no handle, but is held by four strings which meet at a metal ring in the centre. In beating the drum, it is held suspended by the left hand, so that the surface is down and the drum-stick strikes up. There is a peculiar style of jerking the drum up after each beat, so that the left hand and wrist come in contact with the hide and mute the resonance of the stroke. There is a variation in the interval of time between the stroke and the muting, giving long and short sounds, which produce the rhythm. I have heard several Gold, in different villages, beat the drum, but the rhythm was always the same. It always produces a rapt expression on the face of the drummer and all who hear him, immediately; there is no doubt that it arouses in them at once a deep and strong feeling. Before the drum is beaten it must always be warmed over a fire, for the skin is elastic and the slightest dampness makes it go slack, spoiling the resonance. The drum-stick may be made of any kind of wood; it is sheathed either with the leg-skin of a roedeer or the tail of an otter. I have never seen any other kind.

The two parts of the costume which appear to be invariable are the skirts and the girdle. The skirts are really two aprons, tied on before and behind, and ornamented with streamers of different colors. The girdle is of leather, hung with heavy iron jingles, shaped like a very long ice-cream cone. They do not have tongues, like bells, but are sounded by clashing them together. The shaman, beating his drum, dances in a circle, counter-clockwise. The dance is a kind of shuffle; the left foot always leads, and keeps a slower

time than the right, which lightens the rhythm of the shuffle with rapid stamping. At the same time the hips are wriggled, clashing the iron jingles (which hang at the back, coming well round toward the front) against each other. The upper part of the body stoops forward. Almost every Gold, whether shaman or not, seems to be able to do this drumming and dancing. It is called dirkidêrê.

The shaman also appears to wear invariably a set of bronze mirrors over his chest and back, the standard arrangement being three in front and three at the back. In Chinese these are not called mirrors, but "heart-protecting tablets," and I believe that the Gold term, saghêdi-toli, means also "protecting mirror" or "protecting tablet."[3] Their special use is not against the attacks of evil spirits, but as a protection against rival or enemy shamans. "When a shaman's own spirit (or soul) is 'entranced,' an enemy shaman might from far away be able to 'bewilder' it, so that he would never come to." Smaller mirrors are often worn on the skirts or attached to different parts of the costume or equipment.

The Gold shamans, so far as I know, do not wear a headdress during most ceremonies but use a striking headdress on particular occasions. It is in the form of a pair of antlers, made of iron, set on a circlet so that they can be worn as a crown. The tines of the antlers are usually hung with thin wispy silk streamers, and at the base are attached strips of bearskin and sturgeon skin. As far as I could hear, among the Gold this headdress is only worn for a dance called the Elk Spirit dance, the object of which must be to promote increase among the elks, or to charm the elks in advance before a hunting party starts out. Judging from the bearskin and sturgeon skin, however, it may perhaps also be (or once have been) associated with other ceremonies. When it is worn, a mask of silk fringe is always hung from the forehead over the eyes and face of the shaman. This antler headdress is very common among Manchu and Chinese shamans, being apparently used for all kinds of "great spirit" ceremonies. It is called in Chinese shen mao, "spirit hat" or, "spirit headdress." It also occurs among Mongol shamans, and as a lama's headdress in certain dances its use is continuous all the way to Tibet.

The Gold shamans also have a spear used only in "great spirit" ceremonies. They never hold drum and spear at the same time. The spear has always a short, one-edged blade, like a knife. There is almost always a metal "button" or guard between blade and haft. Just beneath this there is a "collar" of bear skin or sturgeon skin. Beneath this again there may be

[3] N.B. The word toli does actually mean "mirror." In Mongol it means a glass as well as a bronze mirror, but the Gold have another word for a glass mirror.

small wooden figures, two or three, of ulki or weasels or some other familiar spirit of the shaman, socketed in, not tied. The haft of the spear is tightly sheathed in the skin of a large serpent. I have never seen one without this skin. The spear is used only for the protection of the shaman during the "great spirit" ceremonies, when he will often go into a wild frenzy. An evil or hostile spirit, sometimes recognized and named by him, at other times a nameless horror, will try to possess him—usually at a moment when one of his own spirits has left him and another has not yet come in to take possession. The shaman fights off the evil spirit with the spear, and finally clears it out through the door. There is a suggestion in this that "great spirit" shamanism is strongly allied with the general or particular exorcism of evil spirits. I have heard it said that sometimes in the middle of a peaceful ceremony a bad spirit will attack the shaman, who must then break off the ceremony to fight the enemy. It is partly for this reason that the mirrors and small burkan are always worn—to give not only power, but also protection. This is another indication that the shaman, though strenuously trained in a discipline which tends to develop his individual will and personality, is yet, while under trance, largely a neutral focus in which the good and evil forces that affect the whole community meet and fight out their battles, the community thus being relieved of their strife while the shaman becomes a sort of scapegoat.

The weasel, the ulki (probably an animal of the squirrel kind), the eagle, the sturgeon, and the otter appear to be the commonest familiars. It seems to be very common for a shaman to have a pronounced "water" affinity (sturgeon, otter) or a pronounced "land" affinity (weasel, ulki, eagle). None of these spirits, except the eagle, has any obvious suggestion of fierceness. Nevertheless, the weasel and the ulki (like the fox among the Chinese) are very crafty animals and often do malignant things—though not, of course, to the shaman whose familiars they are. Spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars, though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of "great spirit" ceremonies.

Occasionally a very powerful "great spirit" shaman has as familiars the spirits of known human beings—usually dead shamans—who may or may not be his own ancestors. I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar, and he apparently was regarded as a person much to be dreaded. An old man in Gardang said:

In the old days the shamans had much greater power. [He used the Chinese expression pen-shih, talent, genius.] There was a shaman once who could bring the dead to life and make his own body depart in company with the spirits he commanded. Because of his way of vanishing, they pierced a hole through his shoulder, locked a

chain fast round his collarbone and bound him down; but he vanished again. At last he returned when the ground was covered so deep with new-fallen snow that no man could travel over it, even on ski; he made no tracks and returned in the form of a tiger. Thereafter no man dared restrain him. And there were shamans in those days who could command the east wind when they were in need of it for sailing upstream. [This apparently is not the prevailing wind.]

In Chinese, the Gold, like the Manchu and Chinese, always used the phrase shen hsia-lai, "the spirit descends," to describe the arrival of the possessing spirit. Nevertheless, though it is often said to enter through the site of the bregmatic fontanelle, yet quite as frequently, if not more so, it is understood to come from the ground, up through the feet and legs. It occupies the heart rather than the brain. When the spirit appears, the body of the shaman is first seized with a trembling, especially in the legs, next it grows rigid, then relaxes. His voice changes, and usually the spirit names itself or can be identified by the shaman's actions, though I do not know how far he carries the imitation of an animal. Usually after possession he does not know anything that has happened. Very strong shamans are sometimes able to maintain a sort of dual consciousness and can tell after a ceremony what they have done and said.

Women shamans are fairly common, but I have not seen one, nor do I know how they differ in costume or practice from the men. All I know is that all the women shamans I ever heard of seemed past middle age. I suspect that most of them are not trained from youth but learn the ritual and practice from observation, and show a gift for it after they have passed the most useful and active period of a woman's life as wife and mother.

I have seen only once the healing shamanism of the Gold, when I accompanied Dr. Shang and Dr. Ling to a case they were studying. As Dr. Shang and Dr. Ling made detailed studies of a series of ceremonies by the same shaman, I did not attempt to take full notes and shall only give an outline. The ceremony was not a set performance, the shaman giving to a sick woman a series of daily treatments which Drs. Shang and Ling were able to attend. The treatment I saw took place in the morning. It is worth remarking that while apparently all "great spirit" shaman ceremonies and certain household and ancestral ceremonies are held after dark, there are outdoor ceremonies (like the setting in order of the toro poles) which take place in daylight; and it is quite normal, at least nowadays, to give healing treatments by daylight.

The patient, who appeared to be suffering from tuberculosis, looked weak and listless. She sat on the south k'ang, facing north, with her back to the light. Behind her knelt an old woman who appeared to know about as

much about shamanism, old times, and old customs as any of the Gold I have met; she may well have been a shaman herself. The shaman sat at the angle of the south and west k'ang. The drum had already been heated and was taut, and the ceremony began in a rather casual manner. A youth, whom I had known before and who certainly was neither shaman nor disciple, put on skirts and girdle of iron jingles, took the drum and did a dirkidêrê dance; which apparently almost any layman can do, this being a kind of introduction. At its close the youth lit three sticks of incense, held them to his forehead with both hands (as the Chinese  do), bowed toward the west k'ang, and placed them in a vase, thus: . At this an older man protested; he got up, and put all three sticks of incense together, and inclined them toward the west. At the southwest corner of the k'ang there hung from the pole (itself suspended from the ceiling) which holds up the mosquito net, a horse roughly cut out of paper. This was the sick woman's votive of a horse offering to the shaman himself, not to his spirit or spirits. "Of course, the spirits know already."

All this time the shaman sat at the southwest corner, unconcernedly smoking a cigarette. He was a man in his early fifties, with a face that might be described as sympathetic and intelligent without being intellectual. He is a man of good and honest repute locally. As the introduction went on, he gradually dressed himself in skirts, jingles, triple front and triple back mirrors. A piece of toweling was bound round his forehead. There was a horned headdress in the room, but he said it "was not for this ceremony."

When the incense was lit, the shaman, who had finished his cigarette, took the drum. After a few words with the attendant woman who knelt behind the patient, he swung into his chant, without preliminary flourish. He sat with one leg bent under him, the other hanging over the edge of the k'ang, leaning slightly toward the sick woman. The light fell on his face, which was turned sideways and up.

Chant and drum began almost together. The first words of the chant were hairei, hairei! The rhythm and notes of the music were alien to the Chinese but akin to the Mongol. Most of the time the shaman's eyes were shut. Chanting and drumming went on together, with a rising and falling rhythm and an effect of constant acceleration and increase of tension, and then an effort of sustained tension. There was no rise and fall in the *measure*, which was monotonous; but the booming and muting of the drum gave a swing to the sound. The sweat started out on the shaman; soon his face and body were dripping. The towel around his forehead kept the sweat out of his eyes. The light glistened on the streaming, blind, flat-featured, almost fleshless face. There was an inexpressible yearning in it; not of the

man who strains to understand, but of the man giving all his energy to feeling. There was the look of a wild animal; as if an otter had started from the water and concentrated all its faculties to feel what was in the world about it. Yet at the same time he was bound; he was not altogether released from something—I do not know what—he was man, not animal. He was man on another plane than that of intellect and reason. The whole thing was magnificent. It went down below the darkest, most groping, formless thoughts; it was the struggling of a blind soul and a leashed will in a world of forces apprehended but not comprehended.

The shaman, for all his intensity of effort, was never either possessed by a spirit from without, nor was he ever out of himself; his own spirit was subdued, but not eliminated. Once the attendant woman interrupted him. He stopped, answered her quite normally, and went on—becoming in a moment as absorbed as ever. He was completely without self-consciousness, although two men were taking pictures and one notes. Probably he had more than once been crowded by curious, elbowing strangers.

The sick woman, for her part, was all the time in something close to an hypnotic trance. She did not look at the shaman, but kept her face turned immovably to the front. Part of the time she sat with crossed legs, but most of the time with one leg bent under her and the other stretched out in front. Part of the time her eyelids drooped shut, but mostly her eyes were open in a wide, fixed, unseeing stare. I could detect no spasmodic or rhythmic movement of the body; but a "response" there must have been, for the detection of it was the duty of the old attendant woman. Kneeling behind the sick woman, she held her thumbs under the shoulder blades and her fingers in the hollows of the collarbones. Two or three times she cried out to the shaman, warningly; then he would change, I could not tell what—rate, or pitch, or perhaps the words of the chant, until she cried out again.

Although in this case I could not see the patient move at all, I have had the response illustrated for me. It takes the form of a spasmodic twitching, which must be centred in the spine. Sometimes it affects only the back, between the shoulders; or it may affect the shoulders, or the neck and head. If the head is affected, the result is not an ordinary nodding or swaying, but a patterned in-and-out weaving and thrusting motion, of which several standard types are recognized, and were demonstrated for me. The object of having an attendant, who must be a skilled person, is to keep a check on the response and guide the shaman. If the treatment is working, the attendant calls out sêrêmurê, which apparently means "she is moving," or "she is twitching." If there is no response the attendant calls out anchi, which seems to mean "there is nothing," "there is no result."

The chant and the drumming ended suddenly. I do not know whether the shaman had come to the end of the chant, or felt tired, or instinctively felt that he had kept the patient up to pitch long enough. There was no obvious winding up. The shaman, though he could not be called in an abnormal condition at the end of the ceremony, was obviously both tired and "strung up." He said that the drumming had affected his nerves. The sick woman did not come to obviously, but was allowed simply to sit back and afterwards to lie down, relaxing.

The treatment had already lasted some fifteen days, and might last another fifteen. The patient was said to be feeling better.

There was no ceremony about the disrobing of the shaman.

DIVINATION

The Gold also have methods of divination and augury for which a shaman is not necessary. One, which is very commonly used to determine the direction in which to set out for a hunt, or in which to look for a strayed horse, is by burning the shoulder blade of a roedeer, or rather scorching it over hot coals. When it cracks under the heat, it is inspected for a sign. Often the cracks are taken to be maps of familiar localities.

Another method, which gives an augury of good or bad luck, success or failure, rather than a specific indication of what to do, is a kind of drawing of lots. A kind of twig—or it may be the stalks of some kind of grass—is used. The enquirer starts with a bundle of either 41 or 49. Closing his eyes, he lifts the bundle to his forehead with both hands. Then the twigs are fumbled back and forth, from one hand to the other, and finally brought down distributed in four bundles, held in the clefts of the fingers of one hand. Each little bundle is then counted, by pairs; if it divides exactly into pairs, all are kept. If one or three are left, they are discarded. (Thus it will be seen that although nominally the counting is by pairs, actually it is by fours.) The bundles are then put together into one bundle again, minus the discards, lifted again, divided again and counted again in the same manner. This is done altogether three times, at the end of which the total number of discards is counted. The most favorable of all results is 3, and 21 and 33 are also good. The worst results are 9 and 27.

OTHER KINDS OF TREATMENT FOR SICKNESS

The Gold, when asked, say that they have no treatment for sickness except by shamans, and that they get all their medicines from the Chinese. Nevertheless they do have other treatments, of which perhaps the most curious is pinching. Pinching is employed as casually and as often as we

employ aspirin, and is resorted to for roughly the same range of aches, pains, colds and "not feeling well." I saw it applied to the shaman who had just finished treating the sick woman. He had come over, a little later, to another house. He said he was sick; it was the drumming so close to his head. He said he had cold, using the word in the sense of "hot," "cold," "dry," and "moist" sicknesses. The old woman who had acted as his assistant said she would pluck it out of him. He took off his jacket, and she set to work, first on the stomach, low down, at both sides of the navel. She bent her fingers and nipped the flesh between the knuckles of the first and second fingers. She plucked and plucked again, spitting on her fingers occasionally. As her right hand tired, she brought over her left hand to reinforce the grip. She plucked always either at the same spot or very near it, until a fairly large spot began to look bruised and purple, and finally the skin was abraded and the blood broke through all over the surface. Then she shifted higher and plucked on the chest not far under the collarbones. The man's forehead also was abraded, showing where the same treatment had recently been applied.

This treatment is by no means peculiar to the Gold. It can be seen all over Manchuria, but especially in the North. The Chinese there also use it, but I doubt its Chinese origin. A Catholic priest who had been many years in Heilungchiang province told me that he himself had the treatment applied, always, at the first sign of a cold or sore throat. I should imagine that it is effective in many cases where a strong local counter-irritant is indicated; also the pain causes the patient to sweat, which probably relieves the congestion of a cold. The treatment corresponds very closely to one seen along the frontier of China and Inner Mongolia, where a very small cup is filled with strong distilled grain spirits, which are lighted. When the flame is going well, the cup is clapped to the forehead of the patient. It burns for a moment before going out, and so forms a vacuum, sucking powerfully against the skin over a spot a little more than an inch in diameter. This raises a dark brown welt. The treatment is said not to be very painful. It is applied for a cold, a headache, or any feeling of slight general indisposition; but it differs from the pinching treatment in normally being applied to the forehead only.

A boil is scratched with the claw of a lynx. This cure can also be applied to assist a fish-bone in its passage down the throat, if it has stuck. To a woman in labor they give powdered shavings from the dried muzzle of a bear. Gingseng and elk-horn they use as the Chinese do; but it is of course impossible to determine how far such medicines are Chinese in origin, and how far they may be very old tribal medicines taken over by the Chinese at an early date.

TEMPLES

The temples are obviously due to Chinese influence, received through the Manchu. None of them are large, and as far as I know, there are no communal ones, all belonging to families or small groups of related families. They are usually no more than shrines in size, and seem to be connected chiefly with the ancestor cult, the lao-yeh (Kuan Ti or the God of War),[4] and with the mountain spirits whose tablets (in Chinese) are displayed in the tiny, open-fronted, one-room building. I have not seen any that had figures in them, except wooden figures of the kind placed at the back of the dwelling house, which appeared to have been put there for storage. The temple faces south and is usually either behind the house or group of houses, or to the right. This is because "good influences" come from the south and west, and are attracted toward the temple; the house is therefore placed in a position to intercept them on the way to the temple. Instead of a toro pole in front of the shrine they usually set up two poles, in the Chinese manner, and these two poles may sometimes carry the tou, a kind of miniature "crow's nest" shaped like and named after a grain measure; which is also Chinese. (Among the Manchu even the single toro (soro) pole, when set up for the most important ancestral ceremony, about the Lunar New Year, frequently carries a tou.) In front of the more pretentious shrines there is often a pair of spruce, fir, or pine trees (Chinese sung), which have been brought for some distance from the mountains. One of them always represents the Chinese yang and the other the yin principle in nature—yang being male, sunny and dry, and yin being female, sunless and moist. The trees are chosen in the mountains in a yang and yin position, determined by the sunnier (southern) and less sunny (northern) versant of a hill, and the relative position must be carefully noted and kept to when the trees are transplanted and placed in front of the shrine. The majority of the Chinese, when they migrate beyond the Great Wall, whether to Manchuria, Mongolia, or Chinese Turkestan, rarely establish anything but Taoist temples, and consequently Chinese religious influence among tribes like the Gold is predominantly Taoist.

[4] It is worth noting that the once separate cult of Yüch Fei has been absorbed into that of Kuan Tio.

LANGUAGE

The Gold, in contrast with the Manchu, have retained their own language with the greatest tenacity. Even at the present time, when there is hardly a Gold village in which the Gold themselves are not outnumbered by the Chinese, the little children still speak Gold. Undoubtedly the chief reason for the survival of the language is the fact that the Gold, like the Mongols, who also tend strongly to retain their language, very rarely marry Chinese wives. The rougher and more active life required of their women could hardly be lived by Chinese. It is noteworthy that women usually speak Chinese less well than men. The Manchu, on the other hand, began early to model their society on Chinese standards, and with their rise to power began to take Chinese women (especially from the Chinese Banners allied with the Manchu cause) into their households; so that children learned Chinese as their mother tongue, while the Manchu language rapidly died out.

The Gold language, when rapidly spoken, is at once reminiscent of Mongol, though it differs in invariably accenting the last syllable of each word. The similarity comes from the cadence of the sentence as a whole, which markedly differs from the Chinese cadence. Even a Gold who speaks Chinese with perfect accuracy and fluency can almost always be detected immediately by this lingering difference of cadence.

In so far as Gold and Manchu are closely related dialects of the same tongue, it may be said that the Gold language has a writing, for until the end of the Manchu dynasty the Manchu writing was taught in the official schools for the sons of Bannermen. It was almost never used, however, except for official communications and despatches, and therefore had little influence on Gold speech, since all official communications were couched in Manchu, and written remained distinct from spoken usage. Manchu thus chiefly influenced Gold in centres like Fuchin and Sanhsing, where a considerable Manchu element lived among the Gold, and the two languages affected each other in common speech. Thus, in spite of the always limited number of the Gold and their restricted distribution, they had marked differences of dialect which still persist. The Fuchin dialect is different from that below Fuchin, and the old dialect above Fuchin was said to be different again. Probably these differences reflect in a certain degree a difference of Manchu influence, while the Gold living below the junction of Sungari and Amur presumably have words borrowed from other Amur

tribes. The Gold say they can actually tell a man's exact village by the way he talks.

The sounds of the Gold language are simple, and the strong tendency to vowel harmony (a, i, or o in the same word, or e, i, and u; but a and e or o and u comparatively rarely when spoken, and *never* when written down in the Manchu script) makes it easy to memorize words. The Gold themselves are good linguists, a great many being trilingual and speaking Chinese and Russian with perfect readiness. An educated Gold will speak Russian both more grammatically and with better pronunciation than an uneducated Chinese; and there is no comparison between the way they speak Chinese and the way the Russians speak it. All the Gold I met could speak Chinese well, in spite of an occasional difficulty with word order or the turn of a phrase, and their accent and pronunciation are very nearly perfect; it is chiefly the cadence of the sentence as a whole that sounds alien. The Russians, on the other hand, even if they have grown up among Chinese, are rarely free from barbarous phrases and an atrocious accent.

VOCABULARY

The following is a short list of words; there is no attempt at a systematic vocabulary. The chief peculiarity of pronunciation is that terminal n is nasalized in various degrees: it may be almost inaudible; it may be like French terminal n; it may sound like nh or ngh. Besides this there is an occasional tendency for u, especially initial u, to become wu,—an unmistakable effect of Chinese.

aduch consukt kungh, a coverlet.
afungh, a fur hat. See also shapto; aoho.
aga, elder brother.
aimi, the familiar spirit of a shaman, that enters into him. *Cf.* below, amijgê, and Mongol amiga, 'life.'
aishin, gold.
ajan, sturgeon. ajan sopjin, sturgeon skin.
ajirgan, stallion.
alin, mountain. See also urka, urukên.
ama, father (formal). See also baba.
amijgê saghêdi jo, meaning given as "behind the main [north] house or room." Probably refers to the protecting spirits there. For amijgê, *cf.* Mongol amiga, life. For saghêdi, *cf.* Mongol saghitai, guarding.
amnga, mouth.
anchi, no, nothing.
angku, cloth tent.
aoh (two syllables), hat.
arki, distilled spirits, 'wine.'
asi, asên, asun, asün, girl, female.
asinai, etc., girl, female; -nai is an adjectival or possessive enclitic.
asên boyeh, a woman.
asên gadara, asên gadori, to take a wife, to marry.
asên sáman, a woman shaman.
asên shita, a daughter. See below, shita.
ba, heaven, the sky.
baba, father; the word used by small children. *See above*, ama.
bachilan, explained as "a small assistant, an attendant, one who helps the spirits in foretelling," etc.
banishkin tuktyuri, to ascend into the heavens, as a shaman's spirit does.
bihan filuri, to hunt.
bilê, a small river
bira, a small mountain stream } these two may be the same word.
boyeh, a man, a person, See below, nioh.

bucha, buchan, elk. Said to be from the Manchu. See below, khumaka.
budêhên, dead, he has died.
bukchun, bukchunh, bukchungh, invidivual name of one of the small metal figures to be hung round shaman's neck.
burkan, gods. The nearest translation for "god," "divine." Collective name of small god-figures hung around shaman's neck.
burku, a real mirror, as distinguished from the bronze mirrors used by shamans.
chafungh unta, child's moccasin boots (high).
chêmki, lizard.
chêrêmi, bowl. See also below, munguru.
choru, tipi. Also pronounced tsoru.
churako, a small lagoon stream.
churêktê, cloth streamers on the horned headdress of a shaman.
damging, tobacco. The first g is hard.
dêktê, a small oval wooden box.
dirkidêrê, shaman dance with jingling girdle.
doka, gate.
düri, cradle (Gaij dialect). See also êmku.
êchê, father's brother.
êchihê, individual name of one of the small gods hung around shaman's neck. Probably means "ancestor." *Cf.* Mongol êchighê, father.
êdu mafka birê, here are bears; lit. here bears be.
êju hêtu, the eastern building in a three-building courtyard-type of house.
êkin, elder sister.
êmku, cradle (Fuchin dialect). See also düri.
êniang, mother.
fara, sled. A good illustration of the rare f sound in Manchu, Mongol, and Eastern Turki. Mongols and the Turki of Chinese Turkistan often cannot pronounce f, succeeding only in pronouncing p. Fara may have become para in late Manchu and be the origin of the Chinese word p'a-li, of which again the word p'ai-tze (enclitic substantival -tze) is probably a shortened or diminutive form.
fonfchê, fur socks.
ganki, ganki soun, small gods; e.g., those hung around a shaman's neck.
gaska, duck.
gêgê, elder female cousin on the mother's side. Perhaps from Chinese ko-ko, an elder brother. The cousin-kinship seems to be assimilated to brother-kinship. Specific cousin-terms appear to apply only to cousins on the mother's side; *cf.* Chinese piao-hsiung-ti, "out-brothers," cousins on the mothers side. Cousins on the father's side appear to rank as brothers and sisters; *cf.* Chinese shu-hsiung-ti, which means "my brothers, the sons of my father's younger brother."
giam dakchuri, a bride.
gilachan sopku unta, fishskin moccasins; the skin used is said to be usually from a fish called jêlu; see below.

gidsoh (Gai dialect)
gishi (Fuchin dialect) } drumstick of the shaman drum.
giucha, giuchan, roedeer.
giuchên siumkaneh, roedeer sinew for sewing.
gida, a bear-spear.
goo (pronounced practically as two syllables), a mare.
gufa, father's father. See also yeh-yeh.
hahanai, (-nai enclitic) male.
hailung, turtle, from Chinese hai-lung, "sea-dragon."
hajunh, shaman's girdle of jingles. See below, shisa.
hairhta, wula grass, used for stuffing moccasins in winter.
handahan, an animal something like an elk, but different. Perhaps reindeer. See toki.
heiki, trousers. Nas heiki, skin trousers.
huiki, shaman's antler headdress. See above, churêktê, and below, tashirti.
hunaja, huonajieh, younger sister; junior female cousin on the father's side.
hurdsa, sleeping bag. Nas hurdsa, skin sleeping bag.
husha, a wild goose; ? a wild swan.
ihan, cow. See below, yehê.
ima boyehni, "those who live down the river." (Term used at Gaij.) May mean "fish people."
imaha, fish. See also yarhu.
iniang, mother's sisters, from the Chinese term, i-niang.
isala, eyes.
ishku, small. Ishku toli, small bronze mirror of the kind worn by shamans as part of their costume.
jabjan, the snakeskin sheath of the shaman's spear.
jangfang, mosquito net. From Chinese, chang-fang.
jêlu, a kind of fish; probably salmon.
jiujiu, mother's brother. From Chinese chiu-chiu.
jo, house.
jukun, jukunh, jukungh, otter.
juzhupti, juzhuptinh, shaman's skirts. Pronounced juz-hupti.
kachênma, mittens.
kachki, coat.
kêku, cuckoo; perhaps wood-pigeon, but see tuturki.
kêshka, cat. Probably from Russian koshka.
khumaka, elk.
kiachki, ski. Fuchin dialect. Said to be from the Manchu. Sometimes pronounced karchi.
kingli, ski. Gaij dialect.
kirinh, individual name of one of the small god-figures hung around the shaman's neck.

konggukhta, small bells attached to shaman's costume.
kori, shaman's "eagle" hung from ceiling.
laha, walls constructed of twisted straw rope.
lahada, a kind of black and white fish-hawk.
lamu, sea.
lamunka, lamungka, "sea-people"; a tribe.
laolao, mother's mother. From Chinese lao-lao.
lao-yeh, mother's father. From Chinese lao-yeh.
lochiringi, a kind of overalls or leggings. nas lochiringi, skin overalls.
mafa, old man.
mafka ofuranieh, bear's muzzle, snout; used for medicine. See below, ofura.
mamg, a great river, equivalent of Chinese term chiang, applied to rivers of the size of the Sungari, Amur, Ussuri, Yalu, etc.
mamung, name for the Lower Amur.
meikhê, a snake (of small size).
miao, a temple, an outdoor shrine. From Chinese miao.
morin, horse. morin souni, guardian spirit of horses.
muduri, dragon.
muk, water.
munguru, bowl. See above, chêrêmi.
na, earth. (Fuchin).
nabé, a name for the Gold. (Fuchin.) Said to mean "local people." See above, na and boyeh. Naboyehni, local people. (Gaij dialect.)
naha, k'ang; raised bed of mud or brick construction, heated by flues.
nainai, father's mother. Also name of a spirit or goddess. From Chinese nai-nai.
nas, skin, leather, a pelt.
nibgu, a big forest. See below, showo.
niktê, wild boar.
niktê nasani bosu unta, child's boot-moccasins soled with wild-boar hide. Presumably bosu means "sole"; i.e., "boar hide-of sole moccasins."
nioh, a man. See above, boyeh.
nirgi, brush-willow. Niurgu, the name of a village I visited, is probably the Chinese corruption of this word.
no, noo, younger brother; male cousins on the father's side.
ofura, nose. See above, mafa ofuranieh.
orhoda, ginseng.
pitska, matches. Presumably from Russian spíchka.
sáman (rarely, shaman), a shaman. This is one of the very rare words not accented on the last syllable. The accent is almost always on the first syllable; less commonly, there is an even accent.
sáman mafa, "shaman old man"; respectful way of referring to a shaman.
saghêdi, probably means "to protect." Saghêdi toli, name for the large mirrors worn front and back by the shaman as a protection against evil influences.

Sahalin, the Amur; the upper Amur. The name Amur (which presumably is from Mongol amor, peace), is not used.
sarka, individual name of one of the small gods hung round shaman's neck.
sarmaktê, eyebrows.
sêbu, sable. *Cf.* Russian sóbol' (with soft l).
sêjên, cart.
sênkirei, incense; powdered incense of the kind used by Gold and Manchu, not Chinese stick-incense.
sêrêmurê, "moving" "twitching."
shapto, a fur hat. See afungh above.
shingêri, rat.
shisa, long iron jingles on girdle worn by shaman. See above, hajunh.
shita, son.
shirmafu, shirmafunh, a shaman's spear.
showo, shuowu, forest. The second pronunciation shows Chinese influence. See above, nibgu.
shulu kochkani, a lynx's claw. Compare suóli below.
soro, see toro.
souni mafa, "spirit old men," wooden god-effigies.
souni horundo bis soun, wooden figure with "fingers" on head. A hunting spirit. The word soun is two syllables.
sujiako, rifle-rest.
Sunggeri, the Sungari. Same as the Manchu name. Literal meaning, "the Milky Way." The Gold and Manchu consider that the Sungari is the main stream, and the Amur only a tributary, and the Chinese have followed this precedent. Hence what we call the lower Amur, they call the Sungari.
suóli, a weasel. Possibly a lynx. This is a curious word, as it is accented on the second syllable. It is also reminiscent of shulu above, and both words suggest the Chinese she-li, a lynx. The Chinese word may have been influential in changing the accent of suóli; but the full form of the Chinese she-li is itself she-li-sun, a trisyllabic form which suggests that it is not a Chinese word in origin.
suriêj hêtu, the western building of the three-building courtyard style of house.
susu, ruins; an abandoned settlement.
tarkhuntayeh, a small box made of birchbark. (I believe that tarkhun means birch.)
targê, a pool, a lagoon.
tashirti (pronounced tas-hirti), bearskin streamers on antler headdress of shaman. See above, huiki.
tashka, tiger.
tatama, a low boot-moccasin. This is probably the word corrupted into the local, Manchurian, dialect Chinese word t'ang-t'u-ma. As the Chinese word is used far south of the Gold country, it is probably derived from a Manchu form.
têkêni, buckle or button on spear, where blade is fitted into haft.
têmchka, têmptka, a three-plank canoe.

têrki, a stage of heaven.
to, fire.
toki, reindeer. See also handahan.
topto, perhaps a kind of grouse. Local Chinese dialect name, pang-ts'ui ch'iao'rh, "ginseng bird." Given as name of a wooden bird figure on a pole to one side of toro pole.
torki, dog-sled.
toro; less common form, soro, a toro pole; also said to mean "the spirits behind the house." From the form soro comes the Manchu-Chinese form solo, which is used of the shaman-pole at certain Manchu sacrifices, and also of the ginseng-hunter's stick. Both are called so-lo kan-tze, "solo stick."
tsoru, less common form of choru, a tipi. The initial ts is probably the effect of the influence of Chinese pronunciation.
tuturki, wood-pigeon.
tyoko, chicken.
uku, net-trap for sables
ukul, fishing net } these two may be the same word.
ulki, squirrel; possibly weasel.
umêkchi, to fish (for small fish).
umurchên, birchbark canoe; small, fast double-ended three-plank canoe.
unta; also corrupt form wunta, high boot-moccasins. The word unta itself probably means high; *cf.* Mongol undur, colloquial unterê, "high," "tall."
untih, shaman's drum.
urgieh, pig.
ura, wife.
urka, urukên, mountain.
urkê, door.
ushuku, a small mountain, a hill.
utiuri, ütüi, to sacrifice, to hold a religious ceremony, to hold a shaman ceremony.
utku, sacred tree.
wakshanh, wokshanh, wakshênh, a frog, a lizard. Probably none of these is the original form of the word.
weihu, a canoe, any small boat. Probably a Manchu word modified by Chinese pronunciation.
wuksa, wuksari, a lizard. See above, wakshanh.
yadanya, either a swan or goose.
yaharko, a fire-pan, a charcoal brazier.
yarhu, a fish. See above, imaha.
yehê, a cow. See also ihan.
yehyeh, father's father. From the Chinese yeh-yeh. See also gufa.
yinda, dog.
yindalin, dog-spirit, guardian spirit of dogs.
yoping, oil-bottle, for oil for cleaning guns. From Chinese yu-p'ing.

Numerals:

1, êmké
2, juru
3, ilan
4, düyin
5, sunja
6, ninggu
7, nadan
8, jakung
9, uyun, wuyun
10, juan
11, juamkê
12, juanju

The other numerals up to 19 are formed regularly by composition with juan, except
15, topkun. (This irregularity occurs also in Manchu.)
20, wolin
30, guosun
40, dêhi
50, gusai
60, ninju
70, nadanju
100, êmê tangwu
1,000, êmê minggan
10,000, êmê toman

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