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北冰洋研究

第七辑



Journal of Arctic Studies

上海三联书店



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前沿观察

在过渡边疆重建当地社区：库玛尔路的管理和社会组织——从 1900 年到 1940 年^①

[美] 金由美 曾健欣

摘要：本文通过分析从 1900 年八旗和宗族制度发展至 1940 年作为村级政治和社会机构的黑龙江库玛尔路的领导记录，研究清朝（1644—1912）期间建立的制度被中国东北的其他制度所取代后管治和社会组织呈现的连续性。本案例研究以明确具体的证据加深我们对这一时期的一般理解，并表明必须批判性地审视 20 世纪头 40 年中国东北边疆民族的历史，以超越强调民族（ethnicity^②）和民族主义（nationalism）为塑造这一时期边疆地区非汉族身份的主要因素之相关叙述。

关键词：边境 黑龙江 呼玛（库玛尔）河 库玛尔路 晚清 鄂伦春 盘古河 民国时期

作者简介：

金由美，韩裔美国人，哈佛大学史学博士。曾于美国纽约州立大学阿尔巴尼分校和香港浸会大学教授中国历史与比较历史，现为香港大学现代语言及文化学院副教授兼中国研究课程（人文学科专业）主任。主要研究领域有中国明清史、边疆比较研究以及中

① 作者们衷心感谢为本研究提供了重要资料的盛樱（Sakura Christmas）、赵式庆（Hing Chao）和 Janet Borland，以及提供改进建议的匿名审稿人，也感谢香港大学文学院的徐朗星研究基金为本研究提供慷慨资助。

② 如没有特别标记的话，本文中出现的英文是英文。

Reconstructing Local Communities in Transitional Borderlands: Governance and Social Organization of the Kumar Route, 1900—1940^①

Abstract:

This article examines the continuity in some aspects of governance and social organization that emerged during the Qing dynasty (1644—1912) and their replacement by other systems in northeastern China. To this end, records of leadership in the Kumar Route (Kuma'er lu) in Heilongjiang from 1900 to 1940, when local institutions evolved from banner- and clan-based structures, are analyzed. In doing so, it supports the assumption that the history of China's northeastern borderland peoples during the first four decades of the twentieth century needs to be critically examined in order to move beyond narratives that emphasize ethnicity and nationalism as the primary factors that shaped the identity of the non-Han peoples of this borderland region during this period.

Key words:

borderland; Heilongjiang; Huma (Kumar) River; Kumar Route; late Qing dynasty; Orochen; Pangu River; Republican period

Authors:

Loretta E. Kim, Associate Professor and Director of the China Studies programme at the School of Modern Languages and Cultures, University of Hong Kong. She is a historian of late imperial and modern China, focusing on the comparative history of borderlands and frontiers, regional identities and histories of China, and Chinese ethnic minority languages and literatures. Her most recent publications include *Ethnic Chrysalis: China's Orochen People and the Legacy of Qing Borderland Administration* (2019) and *The Russian Orthodox Community in Hong Kong: Religion, Ethnicity, and Intercultural Relations* (2021).

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国少数民族语言及文学。目前的研究项目是清代东北地区中俄文化交流以及十七至十九世纪黑龙江流域的社会文化和环境史。代表著作为 *Ethnic Chrysalis: China's Orochen People and the Legacy of Qing Borderland Administration* (2019) 及 *The Russian Orthodox Community in Hong Kong: Religion, Ethnicity, and Intercultural Relations* (2021)。

曾健欣，香港大学现代语言及文化学院中国研究课程（人文学科专业）博士研究生，研究方向为革命文学、暴力和民族身份认同。

简介

黑龙江省博物馆以位处于哈尔滨中心地区而闻名。在高层的购物中心和办公楼环绕下的两层建筑中，访客可以穿梭于黑龙江的自然历史和社会历史之间，在 1910 和 1920 年代的俄罗斯家具和猛犸象的复制品前拍照留念。鲜为人知且人迹罕至的是博物馆位于新生鄂伦春民族乡^①（王为华 2012: 167—168）的分馆。位于人烟稀少的村中心，鄂伦春人的历史是该分馆唯一的重点。穿梭在这个空间的访客可以看到鄂伦春猎人如何捕捉和烹饪野味，鄂伦春人如何举行婚礼和葬礼，以及中俄边境两边的鄂伦春群体如何在语言和文化的差异中会面及庆祝他们的共同祖先^②。

新生分馆外立着一块木牌“库玛尔路”，下面则是结合了汉语拼音及英语的“KU MA ER ROAD”。该木牌标志着该村为数不多的道路之一。木牌又大又清楚，在没有交通信号灯表明两条道路交汇处的地方成为一个理想的地点标记。这个标志也很有趣，因为它指的是这个地区的一个重要历史细节，而这个细节是大多数游客乍一看可能不明白的。

① 新生鄂伦春民族乡位于黑河市西北部，与呼马县相邻。

② 展览项目强调俄罗斯联邦和中国政府如何允许鄂伦春人跨境会面以发展社会联系和从事文化活动，并且由于越来越多的鄂伦春人通常只说其本国的主要语言，这些会面是使用鄂伦春语或结合鄂伦春语以及中文或俄语进行交流的难得机会。

Monica Kin-ian Chang, Ph.D. student of the China Studies programme at the School of Modern Languages and Cultures, University of Hong Kong. Her research interests are revolutionary literature, violence, and ethnic identities.

Introduction

The Heilongjiang Provincial Museum (Heilongjiang sheng bowuguan) is well-known for its presence in the central district of Harbin.^① In a two-story building surrounded by high shopping malls and office buildings, visitors can take a journey through the full span of Heilongjiang's natural and social history, meeting replicas of mammoths and taking photographs in front of Russian furniture from the 1910s and 1920s at the museum. Far less known and less visited is the museum's branch in the Xinsheng Orochen Ethnic Township (*Xinsheng Elunchun minzu xiang*) (Wang 2012: 167—168).^② Located in the township center, which is quiet and sparsely populated, the history of Orochen people (*Elunchunzu*) is the sole focus of this branch's exhibition hall. Visitors walking through this space can see how Orochen hunters capture and cook game, how Orochen marriages and funerals are held, and how Orochen groups from both sides of the China-Russia border participate in meetings to celebrate their common ancestry, despite linguistic and cultural differences.^③

Just outside the Xinsheng branch museum is a wooden sign for “Ku ma er Road” (in Roman letters) with the characters for the corresponding Chinese term “Kuma'er lu.” The sign marks one of the township's few roads. It is large and clear, which makes it an ideal placemaker for a spot without traffic lights that would indicate a junction between the two roads where it is located. This sign is also interesting because it refers to an important detail of history for this area that most visitors to the township may not understand at first glance.

- ① Italicized terms in parentheses are Chinese characters in Hanyu pinyin unless marked as being from other languages with abbreviations. These abbreviations for terms in different languages cited in this article include Ch.-Chinese (both original terms and Chinese transliterations of terms from other languages), Ma.-Manchu, Or.-Orochen.
- ② The Xinsheng Orochen Ethnic Township is located to the northwest of Heihe City (*Heihe shi*) and is next to Huma County (*Huma xian*). First and subsequent citations of English-language sources will be abbreviated if longer than five words, whereas first citations of Chinese and other non-English sources will be presented in full.
- ③ The exhibition items stress how both the Russian Federation and PRC governments permit cross-border meetings of Orochen to develop social connections and to engage in cultural activities, and that since increasingly most Orochen usually only speak the dominant languages of their home countries, these meetings are rare opportunities to communicate in Orochen, or in a combination of Orochen-Chinese/Russian languages.



图1 库玛尔路路牌

照片：金由美

这个“库玛尔路”标志中的“路”字，从字面理解就是道路。可是，“路”也可以是形容管辖地区的标签，“库玛尔路”就是清朝（1644—1912）的一个地方行政单位。正如下一节中将会描述和讨论的，直到1949年，黑龙江北部的原住民受多种形式的地方组织统治。当各个政权对呼玛河（呼玛尔河、库玛尔河）和附近的盘古河一带的地区进行控制时，库玛尔路的人就住在那里，而本文就是分析从1900年到1940年间这样一个社区的证据。库玛尔路的人在自己语言中被称为库玛尔臣（Kumarcin/Kumarchen），意思为“库玛尔的人”（韩有峰，孟淑贤2014：7；Shirokorogoff 1929：112，344）^①，他们这40多年间处于连续的政权和多个机关的控制之下。

现在，“库玛尔臣”这个词作为社区或个人身份的特征并不常用。学者们将“库玛尔臣”归类为现在被称为鄂伦春族的祖先或历史人口（Naeher 2002：74；Janhunnen 1996：69—70，108—109；Doerfer 2002：23；韩有峰，孟淑贤2014：7，13—14；Shirokorogoff 1929：71）^②。鄂伦春的对应英文是

① 库玛尔臣也叫“库玛尔千”和玛涅克尔。有关“千”作为后缀表示“人们”方面，参见第一出处。关于“库玛尔臣”在清朝民国过渡时期的一项研究中被识别和描述为一个独特的群体方面，参见第二出处，第112页关于作为“库玛尔衙门”成员，第344页则关于他们与在文化上与他们相似的驯鹿通古斯人（Reindeer Tungus）的性格差异，Shirokorogoff（史禄国）将性格差异归因于“库玛尔臣”在清八旗制度中的成员资格和社会条件。

② 这种关联在语言学领域尤为明显。库玛尔臣被归类为鄂伦春语的一种方言或变体。可是，值得注意的是，史禄国强调他使用Kumarčēn（库玛尔臣的意思）这个词，因为这是“他们这样看待自己，也是其他群体这样看待他们”的名称。



Figure 1 Kuma'er lu (Kumar Road) street sign

Photo: Loretta E. Kim

The character “lu” in this “Kuma’er lu” sign refers to a road, as expected in modern Mandarin. However, “lu” has another meaning, translated as “route,” referring to when “Kuma’er lu” was a unit of regional administration during the Qing dynasty (1644—1912). As will be described and discussed in the next section, indigenous peoples in northern Heilongjiang were subject to governance through several forms of place-based organization until 1949. In this article, we analyze evidence about one such community during the period between 1900 to 1940, when various regimes exerted control over the area around the Huma (Kumar) River (*Huma he*, *Huma’er he*, *Kuma’er he*) and the nearby Pangu River (*Pangu he*) which is where people belonging to the Kumar Route were situated. These people, known in their own language as the Kumarcin/Kumarchen (*Kuma’erchen*, meaning “people of Kumar”), were under the control of consecutive states and multiple authorities during this period (Han and Meng 2014: 7; Shirokogoroff 1929: 112, 344).^①

These days, the words “Kumarcin” and “Kumarchen” are not commonly used as traits of communal or individual identity. Scholars classify the Kumarcin/Kumarchen as people who are the ancestors of or who belonged to the historical population now known as the Orochen ethnic group (Naeher 2002: 74; Janhun 1996: 69—70, 108—109; Doerfer 2002: 23; Han and Meng 2014: 13—14; Shirokogoroff 1929: 71).^② The term “Orochen” describes people

- ① Kumarcin/Kumarchen is also known as “Kumarqian” and Manegir. About “qian” 千 as a suffix meaning “people (plural)” (Ch. *renmen*), see first citation. About the Kumarcin/Kumarchen recognized and described as a distinct group in a study during the Qing-Republican transition period, see second citation, page no. 112 as members of the “Kumar yamen,” no. 344 about the differences of their character compared to the Reindeer Tungus who are culturally similar to them which Shirokogoroff attributes to the Kumarcin/Kumarchen’s membership and social conditioning in the Qing banner system.
- ② This association is especially evident in the field of linguistics. Kumarchen is classified as a dialect or variety of Orochen language. However, it is worth noting that S.M. Shirokogoroff stresses that he uses the term *kumarčēn* (for Kumarcin/Kumarchen) because this is the name by which “they style themselves, and are so named by other groups.”

“Orochen”，也包含了被称为“Oronchon”“Orochon”和“Elunchun”以及其他类似术语的人。清朝官员从顺治和康熙年间开始使用满语“Oroncho”（或“Oroncho i niyalma—鄂伦春的人”）和不同的汉字组合作音译，如“俄伦春”“俄尔春”“俄乐春”“鄂鲁春”“鄂伦奇”（中国科学院科普云平台 2022）。究竟一个人是不是属于鄂伦春取决于几个因素，最重要的是，他有没有被分配到一个政治单位，而这个单位监视他的实际位置、为国家提供的服务和家庭状况。政府和个人记录了我们现在通常与民族相关联的属性的证据，例如语言、物质习俗和遗产，并使用这些信息对人进行分类，但鄂伦春作为一个相对较小群体的详细信息，在 20 世纪以前的记录里是很缺乏的（Hostetler 2017）^①。

关于 1912 年到 1949 年清亡后库玛尔路人民及其后裔变成什么民族的两个主要叙述是，他们与其他鄂伦春群体一样，被历届地方政府剥削为非自愿劳动者和士兵（《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983：93—98；逯广斌，韩有峰，都永浩 1994：11—16；刘翠兰 2004：2）^②，并由于受到这样的虐待，成为了支持共产主义革命的抵抗战士（《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983：131—151；逯广斌等 1994：20—33；全国政协文史和学习委员会 2008：345—382）。这些论述呈现鄂伦春人在保留“民族特点”的同时，对认同“中华民族”身份上的演变，1949 年之后中国对鄂伦春少数民族地位的承认和他们对中华民族多样性的贡献（白兰 1991：30—37；《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983：48—55）^③。保持他们作为非汉族人的独特身份和习俗似乎很难与 20 世纪初至中叶发展起来的、基于共同的政治理想和超越对不同地区和民族社区、甚至是家庭的忠诚之共同文化特征的民族主义理想相协调。然而，在 1950 年代以后出版的鄂伦春人历史论述在共产主义革命框架中，以不同社会阶层、职业和地方的团体坚持推翻帝国主义和国民党统治下的中华民国政府所延续的专制民族主义之共同追求与民族主义理想达成一致。

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- ① 清朝政府下令制作了有关其域内和域外群体的《皇清职贡图》等被视为民族学记录的出版物。鄂伦春以“鄂伦绰”出现在第三卷的第一条目（3：1a—b）。关于中国东北和其他边陲地区土著群体的展现方式，参见出处。
- ② 刘翠兰指出，在日本统治下，鄂伦春人被强迫吸食鸦片和酒精致上瘾，并成为生物实验的对象。
- ③ 鄂伦春人与其他邻近群体一样，因为他们被组织成军队，在俄罗斯和清帝国之间的边境巡逻而被认为是“东北边疆的保卫者”。本文后面会探讨鄂伦春人作为帝国士兵的方面。

who have also been known as “Oronchon,” “Orochon,” and “Elunchun,” and other similar terms. Qing officials used the Manchu “Oroncho” (or “Oroncho i niyalma—Orochen person”) and different combinations of Chinese characters to transliterate “Orochen” starting in the Shunzhi and Kangxi reigns (See *Zhongguo kexueyuan kepu yun pingtai*). Exactly who was Orochen depended on several factors, above all, assignment to a political unit that monitored a person’s physical location, service to the state, and family status. Governments and individuals recorded evidence of attributes that we now commonly associate with ethnicity, such as language, material customs, and heritage, and used such information to classify people, but details about the Orochen, as a relatively small group, is highly limited in pre-twentieth century records (Hostetler 2017).^①

The two dominant narratives for who the people of Kumar Route and their descendants became in the immediate post-Qing period from 1912 to 1949, are that, like other Orochen groups, they were exploited by successive regional administrations as involuntary laborers and soldiers,^② and related to such mistreatment, became resistance fighters who supported the communist revolution (Elunchunzu jianshi bianxiezhu 1983: 131—151; Lu et al. 1994: 20—23; *Quanguo zhengxie wenshi he xueshi weiyuanhui* 2008: 345—382). Embedded in these themes are the evolution of their attachment to a “Chinese nation” (*Zhonghua minzu*) while preserving their “ethnic characteristics” (*minzu tedian*), justifying the PRC government’s acknowledgment after 1949 of their ethnic minority status and their contribution to the ethnic diversity of the Chinese nation (Bai 1991: 30-37; Elunchunzu jianshi bianxiezhu 1983: 48—55).^③ Maintaining their distinct identities and customs as non-Han people may seem difficult to reconcile with the ideal that nationalism in the early to mid-twentieth century developed based on common political ideals and shared cultural traits that transcend loyalty to separate regional and ethnic communities, and even families. However, in the histories of the Orochen published from the 1950s onward, they are reconciled in the framework of Communist revolution, in which groups representing various social classes, occupations, and places upheld the same quest to overturn imperialism and autocratic nationalism as perpetuated by the Republic of China government under the domination of the Nationalist Party (*Guomindang*).

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- ① The Qing imperial government did commission publications which would be regarded as ethnological records such as the *Huang Qing zhigong tu* (Illustrated Compendium of Tributaries) about groups within and outside of its realm. The Orochen are depicted in the first entry in fascicle (*juan*) 3 as the Elunchuo (3: 1a—b). About how indigenous groups of Northeast China and other borderland regions were represented, see citation.
- ② Liu Cuilan says that the Orochen were coerced into consuming and developing addictions to opium and alcohol and became subjects of biological experiments under Japanese rule.
- ③ Orochen people, like other neighboring groups, are considered as “defenders of the Northeastern frontier” (*dongbei bianjiang de baowei zhe*) because they were organized into military forces that patrolled the borderland between the Russian and Qing empires. The Orochen as imperial soldiers will be discussed more later in the article.

尽管通过民族和民族主义的身份认同对我们在学术和非学术上理解鄂伦春人和其他民族群体仍然有影响力，但在本研究中，笔者想超越民族和民族主义作为塑造中国东北地区群体如“库玛尔臣”的社会和政治身份之最重要力量的传统假设。笔者同意许多先例研究，即民族身份被强加给当今中国的许多少数民族，并且民族性不能被改造到用在人们更重视集体和个人身份的其他特征之时代和背景（Blum 2001；Bulag 2002；Shih 2002）。此外，由于相关证据非常有限，某些观点的强化会影响对库玛尔臣的看法。像东北多个地区，呼玛—盘古河地区的文献资料相对匮乏。与中国南方许多地区，尤其是毗邻东海历史悠久的城镇不同，中国东北很少地方对 1950 年代之前的事件和人物有全面记录（Fromm 2019）^①。地方志提供有关地理、治理、经济和社会组织的一般信息。这些资料不常被编译，并且很少包含有关 17 世纪中叶之前的任何内容的详细信息。政府文件提供了更大的证据库，但这些证据是根据特定地区发生的政治和经济现象有选择性地提供的。自 20 世纪中叶以来，口述历史已成为研究过去的重要文献。口述历史阐明了个人和小组的经历（于硕，赵式庆 2017a & b）^②。此外，通过地方档案馆和政府资料发布促进旅游的信息，对于了解许多不被省级历史记载、更不用说国家级历史记载的地方，具有特别重要的意义。但是，仍有许多主题无法用现存资料充分调查。与这项研究直接相关的事实是，中华民国中央政府很少制作关于库玛尔河 / 盘古河地区的文件，特别是关于鄂伦春人行政管理的文件^③。因此，许多议题还没有得到实质性的研究，例如在政府签发身份证标准化和国家指导教育学生拥护国家和民族身份之前，东北主要城市以外地区的人们是如何识别自己的身份（Hansen 1999）^④。

虽然自我认同问题以及政治机构和社会文化社区的认同问题关乎中国所有人，但是，笔者选择研究库玛尔路的原因是尽管被称为鄂伦春的人口在 1900 年到 1940 年间和此前出现严重流失，这段时间的鄂伦春历史却没有被充分研究。鄂伦春人在中国一直是并将继续是一个非常小的亚族群。由于

① 关于中国东北“文史资料”产量的巨大增长以及这些地区和地方历史资料的意义。

② 口述历史写作中体现以学科为中心的田野调查的最佳实践，并专注于鄂伦春人个人和社区经历方面。

③ 这说法基于档案库中以印刷和 / 或电子形式供公众访问的现有文档，例如台北的国史馆和南京的第二历史档案馆。

④ 民族教育与身份认同建构的代表性研究，参见出处。

Although identification through ethnicity and nationalism remain influential in both scholarly and non-academic understandings of the Orochen and other ethnic groups, in this study, we would like to go beyond the conventional assumptions about ethnicity and nationalism as the most significant forces molding the social and political identities of groups in Northeastern China like the Kumarcin/Kumarchen. We concur with many precedent studies that ethnic identities were imposed on many present-day ethnic minorities in the PRC, and that ethnicity cannot be retrofitted to times and contexts in which people valued other characteristics of collective and individual identity (Blum 2001; Bulag 2002; Shih 2002). Moreover, perceptions of the Kumarcin are affected by the reinforcement of certain ideas because relevant evidence is highly limited. As for many places in Northeast China, textual sources are relatively scarce for the Huma-Pangu River regions. Unlike many areas in southern China, especially in historically prosperous cities and towns adjoining the East China Sea, few places in Northeastern China have comprehensive records regarding events and persons prior to the 1950s (Fromm 2019).^① Local gazetteers (*difang zhi*) provide general information about geography, governance, economy, and social organization. These sources were compiled infrequently and contain very few details regarding anything prior to the mid-seventeenth century. Government documents provide a larger corpus of evidence, but selectively so based on political and economic phenomena occurring at particular locales. Oral histories have become important documents of the past since the mid-twentieth century. They shed light on individual and small-group experiences (Yu and Chao 2017a & b).^② Publications by local archives and government materials to promote tourism are moreover significant for learning about many places that are not represented in provincial-level historical records, much less national-level ones. However, there are still many topics that cannot be fully investigated with extant sources. Directly relevant to this study is the fact that the Republic of China central government produced very few documents about the Kumar River/Pangu River region and specifically about the administration of Orochen people.^③ Therefore there are many subjects for which have not been examined substantively, such as how people in regions beyond the major cities of the Northeast identified themselves before the standardization of government-issued identity cards and state-directed education that teaches students to espouse national and ethnic identities (Hansen 1999).^④

The question of self-identification, and identification by political institutions and sociocultural communities, is relevant to all people in China, but we focus on the Kumar Route because its history from 1900 to 1940 is especially underexplored despite the severe attrition of people identified as Orochen that occurred immediately prior and during this

- ① About the monumental increase in production of “cultural and historical materials” (*wenshi ziliao*) for Northeast China and the significance of these sources of regional and local history, see Fromm, *Borderland Memories*.
- ② Exemplifying the best practices of subject-centered fieldwork in the composition of oral histories and focusing on the personal and communal experiences of Orochen people.
- ③ This statement is based on extant documents that are available for public access in printed and/or digital forms in repositories such as the Academia Historica (*Guoshiguan*) in Taipei and the Second Historical Archives of China (*Di er lishi dang'an guan*) in Nanjing.
- ④ For representative studies about the education and identity construction of ethnic groups, see citation.

将在后续章节中讨论的原因，鄂伦春人的数量从 1895 年的 18000 人下降到 1917 年的 4000 人，并在 1950 年代中国政府在鄂伦春社区进行社会历史调查时下降到大约 2000 人（《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983：3—5；Shirokorogoff 1929：73，118）^①。因此，耐人寻味的是，尽管鄂伦春是一个很小的群体，却成为了中国官方承认的民族之一。这种地位的特权之一是可以以文字和不同媒体的形式传播鄂伦春历史和文化知识。

1950 年以来，在民族学和少数民族事务的政治局限内，鄂伦春人口逐渐增加，对鄂伦春族生活的认识在深度和广度上都有所提高。在 1993 年出版的一本关于鄂伦春族放弃半游牧生活方式并定居的 40 周年之书中，在黑龙江自称或被政府当局认定为鄂伦春族的人数增长在人口普查数据中显而易见：从 1953 年的 1303 名、1964 年的 1488 名、1982 年的 2002 名，到 1990 年的 3588 名（黑龙江省民族事务委员会 1993：230；内蒙古自治区编辑组 2009：vol. 1，3）^②。截至 1993 年，中国的鄂伦春族人总数为 6965 名。在这个数字中，大部分的鄂伦春人仍然集中在黑龙江。本出版物还提供了黑龙江不同地区的数据，包括前面介绍的呼玛县和新生鄂伦春民族乡，见下表调整后的数据：

表 1 黑龙江省十一个地区的鄂伦春人口

县 / 地区（按来源中列出的顺序）	1993 年的鄂伦春人口（名）	民族乡 / 村（按来源中列出的顺序）	1993 年的鄂伦春人口（名）
瑷琿区	387	新生鄂伦春民族乡	202
逊克县	946	新鄂鄂伦春族乡	309
呼玛县	262	新兴鄂伦春族乡	245
塔河县	500	白银纳鄂伦春族	266
嘉荫县	117	十八站鄂伦春族乡	537

- ① 史禄国注意到 1915 年大约有 426 个库玛尔臣家庭，可能与 1917 年引用个人数量的数字有关。史禄国还制作了一个同时期的表格，引用了五个组，将其标记为驯鹿通古斯（Reindeer Tungus）、兴安（Khangai）、墨尔根（Mergen）、库玛尔千（Kumarçen）和毕拉千（Birarçen），并列出每组家庭和个人（“souls”）的数目。史禄国从各种来源收集数据，计算出 1063 个家庭中共有 4541 个人。
- ② 黑龙江的这些数字可以与全国的数字进行比较：1953 年的 2262 名、1964 年的 2709 名、1982 年的 4103 名，和 1990 年的 7004 名。

period. The Orochen have been, and continue to be, a very small sub-population in China. For reasons that will be discussed in subsequent sections, the number of Orochen people fell from 18,000 in 1895 to 4,000 in 1917, and to about 2,000 in the 1950s when the PRC government conducted social history surveys (*shehui lishi diaocha*) in Orochen communities (Elunchunzu jianshi bianxiezhu 1983: 3—5; Shirokorogoff 1929: 73,118).^① It is therefore thought-provoking that despite being a very small group of people, the Orochen became one of the PRC's officially recognized ethnic groups. One of the privileges of that status was the proliferation of knowledge production about Orochen history and culture in the forms of textual publications and other types of media.

Since 1950, the Orochen population gradually increased and the body of knowledge about Orochen life has improved in depth and breadth within the political limitations regarding ethnology and ethnic minority affairs. In a 1993 book reflecting on the fortieth anniversary of the Orochen giving up semi-nomadic lifestyles and “settling down” (*dingju*), the incremental growth in numbers of people identifying themselves or being identified by government authorities as Orochen is evident in census figures for the Orochen in Heilongjiang: 1,303 Orochen in 1953, 1,488 in 1964, 2,002 in 1982, and 3,588 in 1990 (Heilongjiang sheng minzu shiwu weiyuanhui 1993: 230; Nei Menggu zizhiqu bianjizu 2009: vol. 1, 3).^② By 1993, the total number of Orochen in the PRC as of 1993 was 6,965. Of this number, most Orochen were still concentrated in Heilongjiang. This publication therefore also provides figures for different areas in Heilongjiang, including Huma County and the Xinsheng Orochen Ethnic Township introduced earlier, can be seen below in this modified table of figures.

Table 1 Orochen Populations of Eleven Areas in Heilongjiang Province

County/Region (in order as listed in the source)	Orochen Population (persons) in 1993	Ethnic Township/Village (in order as listed in the source)	Orochen Population (persons) in 1993
Aihui region (<i>Aihui qu</i>)	387	Xinsheng Orochen Ethnic Township (<i>Xinsheng Elunchun minzu xiang</i>)	202
Xunke County (<i>Xunke xian</i>)	946	Xin E Orochen Ethnic Township (<i>Xin E Elunchunzu xiang</i>)	309
Huma County (<i>Huma xian</i>)	262	Xinxing Orochen Ethnic Township (<i>Xinxing Elunchunzu xiang</i>)	245
Tahe County (<i>Tahe xian</i>)	500	Bayinna Orochen (<i>Bayinna Elunchunzu</i>)	266
Jiameng County (<i>Jiameng xian</i>)	117	Shibazhan Orochen Ethnic Township (<i>Shibazhan Elunchunzu xiang</i>)	537

- ① S.M. Shirokorogoff notes that there were about 426 Kumarcin/Kumarchen families in 1915 which can be considered in relation to the 1917 figure citing the number of individuals. Shirokorogoff also gives a table for the same period citing five groups (which he labels as Reindeer Tungus, Khingan, Mergen, Kumarchen, Birarchen) with separate figures for families and for individuals (“souls”). Shirokorogoff, who gathered data from various sources, calculates that there are a total of 4,541 individuals in 1,063 families.
- ② These figures for Heilongjiang can be compared with the figures for the whole country: 2,262 in 1953, 2,709 in 1964, 4,103 in 1982, and 7,004 in 1990.

续表

县 / 地区（按来源中 列出的顺序）	1993 年的鄂伦 春人口（名）	民族乡 / 村（按来源中 列出的顺序）	1993 年的鄂伦 春人口（名）
本栏五个区域的合计（在 来源中，总数被错误地表 述为 2412 人）	2212	乌拉嘎镇胜利鄂伦春族村	135
所有区域的总和	3906	本栏六个区域的合计	1694

出处：《黑龙江省鄂伦春族定居四十周年庆祝活动传记》，第 230 页^①。

20 世纪 50—80 年代有关鄂伦春的出版物大多是公式化的，断言鄂伦春和他们居住的领土都属于中国，而且他们有独特的文化，与汉族有很大不同。从 1980 年代开始，更严谨的学术研究探索了鄂伦春族的灵性和与自然的联系、保护“小民族”文化的必要性，以及黑龙江和内蒙古鄂伦春子群之间的异同^②。这些研究通过将鄂伦春视为研究“主体”，而不仅仅是“客体”，从而提高了民族历史和民族学的标准。

在本文中，笔者将讨论我们对鄂伦春身份如何在很大程度上受到外部影响的理解中仍然存在的大片空白，这些外部影响声称对鄂伦春拥有主权的国家之利益，有关理解的其一个例子是白兰提到清政府使用“鄂伦春”作为一般民族名称取代了那些被认定为鄂伦春的人自称的那种更真实和更具体的方式^③（白兰 1991：4；于硕，赵式庆 2017b：111，115，119）。另一个推动笔者研究的假设是传统的结论，即被认定为鄂伦春人的社会组织的“原始”单位氏族（汉语音译哈拉、满语 hala、鄂伦春语 kala/hala）和亚氏族（汉语莫昆、鄂伦春语 mokun）从晚清开始就失去了意义的这种说法（《鄂伦春族简史》编

① 此来源没有提供任何标准说明如何确定本次调查中的人口为鄂伦春。由于来源的明确目标是确认和庆祝这些人口作为鄂伦春的存在，因此可以假设这些统计数据反映了各种方式上的身份认同，例如以干部身份在正式身份文件记录上作为民族识别，或随后由家庭成员在婴儿出生时为了成为合法公民所作的登记，以及在入学和申请身份证件等里程碑时所显示的民族识别。

② 一项代表更大广度和深度并促进未来学术高标准的研究来自何群《环境与小民族生存：鄂伦春文化的变迁》。

③ 白兰指出，清朝时，“你是毕拉儿人吗？”（鄂伦春语的音译是 Xi Bila'er beiye）跟“你是鄂伦春人吗？”意思是一样的。关于现在对鄂伦春族认同的意义方面，请参阅吴玉刚的口述历史，虽然吴玉刚不能流利地说鄂伦春语，但他还是很自豪地说自己是鄂伦春人。因为他认为自己是一个“纯鄂伦春人”，所以他成年后重新学习了鄂伦春语，也可以说出“我是鄂伦春人”（Bi, Aoriqian beiye）之类的短语。

continued table

County/Region (in order as listed in the source)	Orochen Population (persons) in 1993	Ethnic Township/Village (in order as listed in the source)	Orochen Population (persons) in 1993
Total for the five areas in this column In the source, the total is erroneously stated as 2,412 people	2,212	Shengli Orochen Village, Wulaga Town (<i>Wulaga zhen Shengli Elunchunzu cun</i>)	135
Combined Total of All Areas	3,906	Total for the six areas in this column	1,694

Source: *Heilongjiang sheng Elunchunzu dingju sishi zhounian qingzhu huodong zhuanji* (Anthology of activities commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the settlement of Heilongjiang province's Orochen ethnic group), 230.^①

Publications about the Orochen from the 1950s to 1980s are largely formulaic, affirming that the Orochen and the territory they have inhabited all belong to China and that they have a unique culture which makes them very different from Han people. From the 1980s onward, more rigorous scholarship has explored Orochen spirituality and association with the natural environment, the imperative of preserving the cultures of “small ethnic groups” (*xiao minzu*), and the similarities and differences among Orochen sub-groups in Heilongjiang and Inner Mongolia.^② These studies have raised the standards for ethnic history and ethnology, by regarding Orochen as subjects, not just objects of study.

In this article, we address the wide lacunae remaining in our understandings of how Orochen identity has largely been transformed by external influences such as the interests of the states that claimed sovereignty over Orochen, such as Bai Lan's assertion that the Qing government's use of “Orochen” as a general ethnonym supplanted the actual and more specific ways in which people who were identified as Orochen referred to themselves (Bai 1991: 4; Yu and Chao 2017b: 111, 115, 119).^③ Another assumption that motivates my research is the conventional conclusion that clans (Ch./Ma. *hala*, Or. *kala/hala*) and sub-clans (Ch./Or.

① This source does not give any criteria for how the people accounted in this survey were identified as Orochen. Since the source's explicit objective is to affirm and celebrate the existence of these populations as being Orochen, it can be assumed that these statistics reflect the identification of these individuals through various means, such as by cadres as ethnicity was being established as an officially documented identity trait and subsequently by family members responsible for registering infants at birth to be recognized as legitimate citizens and at milestones such as enrolling at school and applying for identification documents.

② A study that represents the greater breadth and depth and promotes high standards for future scholarship is He, *Huanjing yu xiao minzu shengcun: Elunchun wenhua de bianqian* (Environment for the survival of an ethnic minority: Orongen people in China).

③ Bai says that the question “Are you are a Birarcin (Are you a Birar person)?” (*Ni shi Bila'er ren ma*, with the transliteration of the Orochen language phrase given as *Xi Bila'er beiye*) during the Qing would mean the same thing as “Are you Orochen?” (*Ni shi Elunchun ren ma*). About the significance of identifying as an Orochen person in the present day, see the oral history of Wu Yugang 吴玉刚 who is proud that although he does not speak Orochen fluently, he re-learned the Orochen language as an adult and can say phrases like *Bi, Aoriqian beiye* (I am an Orochen person, equivalent to *Wo shi Elunchun ren*) because he considers himself a “pure (full-blooded) Orochen person” (*chun Elunchun ren*).

写组 1983: 24—25, 75—79; 孟黛红 2008: 51) ^①。为了探讨这两个关于从帝国统治到其他治理形式的过渡如何影响鄂伦春社区的结论, 笔者的目标是让调查结果不仅仅与这个群体相关, 而是阐明与黑龙江的其他人口, 更广泛来说就是整个中国东北地区, 相关的模式和原则。第一部分解释库玛尔路如何作为清朝机构发挥作用, 然后讨论 19 世纪末至 1940 年代黑龙江地区行政管理和库玛尔路面积和人口的变化。第二部分分析从清末到 1940 年在军队和公职单位担任职务的人员记录, 以及这些证据显示在重大政治不稳定和变化期间中的连续性。

作为清代机构的库玛尔路

在清朝时期, 政府以各种形式管理那些住在被称为黑龙江地区的原居民, 以便利用他们的劳动力从事军事职责, 例如守卫与俄罗斯帝国的最终边界, 以及收集自然资源等经济任务。最早的国家主导组织形式是 1643 年建立的扎兰和阿巴制度 ^②。清王朝创建了 3 扎兰和 5 阿巴, 共 92 佐。每个扎兰 / 阿巴单位都以一个地方为基础, 由一个或多个氏族的成员组成 (王咏曦 1991: 305—309, 311—314)。

1689 年尼布楚条约签订后, 黑龙江地区政府以将军为首, 开始组织 5 批雅发罕鄂伦春人, 以区别于摩凌阿鄂伦春人 (中国第一历史档案馆 2001) ^③。摩凌阿鄂伦春人也叫使马鄂伦春。清政府将他们收编为八旗正规兵, 加入到清皇朝军事综合体 ^④。雅发罕鄂伦春人也叫使鹿鄂伦春, 他们受另一种规管。黑龙江行政机构监察他们的活动, 并以“贡”(满语 *alban*) 的名义定期向他们征收毛皮和其他物资。负责收取贡品及回赠谷物、布料、药物等“乌林”(满语 *ulin*) 的官员叫安达 / 谙达 (满语 *anda*) 或者阿拉班安达 (满语 *alaban anda*)。大部分的安达都是布特哈旗达斡尔和索伦人, 布特哈旗成立于 1669 年, 旨在管理通过狩猎、捕鱼和采集自然资源的团体。达斡尔和索伦人

① *kala* 作为口头术语, *hala* 则作为书面术语使用。孟黛红确定了 11 个现在作为汉姓被认识的“原始”鄂伦春氏族。

② 扎兰 (*jalan*) 和阿巴 (*aba*) 是满语。

③ 雅发罕的满语“*yafahan*”意思是步行、徒步, 汉语翻译就是“步下”。摩凌阿“*Moringga*”也是个满语字词, 意思是“骑马的”, 汉语翻译就是“马上”。

④ 成熟期的八旗包括正蓝、正红、正白、正黄、镶蓝、镶红、镶白和镶黄旗。

mokun), which were considered the “original” units of social organization for groups that have been identified as Orochen, lost their significance starting in the late Qing (Elunchunzu jianshi bianxiezhu 1983: 24—25, 75—79; Meng 2008: 51).^① To probe these two conclusions about how the transition from imperial rule to other forms of governance affected Orochen communities, we aim for our findings to be more than just relevant to this group and to elucidate patterns and principles that are pertinent to other populations in Heilongjiang and more broadly, Northeast China as well. In the first section, we explain how the Kumar Route functioned as a Qing institution. Then we will discuss the changes to regional administration in Heilongjiang and to the area and population of the Kumar Route from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1940s. The third section analyses records about people who assumed positions in the military and civil service units from the end of the Qing until 1940, and what such evidence informs us about continuity during a period of significant political instability and change.

The Kumar Route as a Qing Institution

During the Qing dynasty, the indigenous populations of what became known as Heilongjiang were administered in various configurations so that the state could utilize their labor for military duties like guarding the eventual border with the Russian empire and economic tasks such as gathering natural resources. The earliest form of state-directed organization was the *jalan* (Ch. *zhalan*) and *aba* (Ch. *aba*) system, established in 1643.^② The Qing center created 92 companies (*zuo*) that were delegated to three *jalan* and five *aba*. Each *jalan/aba* unit was based on a place and consisted of members of one or more clans (Wang 1991: 305—309, 311—314).

After the 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk, the Heilongjiang regional government, led by a general (*jiangjun*, also translated as military governor), started to organize five groups of people that were identified as Yafahan Orochen (*Yafahan Elunchun*) to distinguish them from the Moringga Orochen (*Moling'a Elunchun*) (Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 2001).^③ Moringga Orochen were also known as horse-rearing Orochen (*shi ma Elunchun*). The Qing government conscripted them as regular soldiers of the Eight Banners (*ba qi*), the imperial military complex.^④ Yafahan Orochen (also known as “deer-rearing Orochen,” Ch. *shi lu Elunchun*) were subject to a different type of control. The Heilongjiang administration monitored their movements and conducted routine collection of pelts and other commodities from the Yafahan Orochen in a transactional process styled as tribute (Ma. *alban*, Ch. *gong*). The officials in charge of this collection, and bestowal of “return gifts” (Ma. *ulin*, Ch. *wulin*) like grain, cloth, and medicine, were Ma./Ch. *anda* or Ma. *alban anda*/Ch.

① Kala is used orally and *hala* as the written term. Meng identifies eleven “original” Orochen clans that are now known by their Han surnames.

② *Jalan* and *aba* are Manchu language terms.

③ The Manchu term *yafahan* means “pedestrian” or walking on foot, and as translated into Chinese, *bu xia*. *Moringga*, which is also a Manchu term, means “mounted on horseback” or as translated into Chinese, *ma shang*. For primary documents about the Orochen during the Qing, see Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan (First Historical Archives of China) and Elunchun minzu yanjiuhui (Orochen Ethnic Research Society), *Qingdai Elunchunzu Man Hanwen dang'an huibian* (Compilation of the Manchu-language and Chinese-language archives of the Orochen in the Qing dynasty).

④ The Eight Banners in its maturity consisted of the Plain Blue, Plain Red, Plain White, Plain Yellow, Bordered Blue, Bordered Red, Bordered White, and Bordered Yellow Banners.

是 17 世纪中叶清朝开始加强对该地区的控制时已生活在黑龙江的另外两个群体。接近全部达斡尔和索伦人都被编进到八旗里。每旗的佐（满语 *niru*，汉语音译为牛禄），由佐领、骁骑校和领催管理^①。在区域范围内，每佐有 300 人，5 个佐组成一个扎兰（满语 *jalan*，像早期扎兰-阿巴系统），5 个扎兰则组成一个旗（满语 *gūsa*，汉语音译为固山）。

雅发罕鄂伦春人由安达以“路”^②分开管理。五个“路”的其中三个以河命名，分别为阿里河、多布库尔河和托河。毕拉尔路包含逊河、沾河、乌云河和嘉萌河。库玛尔路包括沿呼玛河和其支流坤河及法别拉河生活的鄂伦春人（关小云，王再祥 2012: 7—8）^③。这些“路”是行政单位，涵盖了这些河流周围的广阔空间以及在其中生活和狩猎的许多社群。这些“路”的主要职责是为清政府的毛皮库提供动物毛皮。安达是收集毛皮的第一线。他们统计其监督的每个小组提交的成丁数量和毛皮数量。黑龙江将军作为负责收集毛皮过程的区域管理员，向皇帝报告这些数字和毛皮的质量（Schlesinger 2017）^④。

因为这些“路”的组织不仅取决于用以命名各“路”的河道周边环境，而且还取决于居住在这些区域的人，所以这些“路”既是重要的社会组织，也是重要的行政架构。这些人口由具有独特历史和传统的部落和氏族组成。同一氏族的男性成员组成群体一起狩猎（*wulileng* 乌力楞）和这些群体的亚单位（*an'ga* 安嘎）（《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983: 30—42；内蒙古自治区编辑组 2009: 87—94）^⑤。次氏族领袖（*mokunda* 莫昆达）执行社会禁忌、批准婚姻和其他社会联盟、裁决纠纷、并主持宗教仪式等群体活动（《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983: 27—28；胡堡冬，赵冬梅 2012: 10；内蒙古自治区编辑组 2009: vol. 1, 123, vol. 2, 193）^⑥。库玛尔路有两个氏族，玛那依尔，也称为玛拉依尔，和葛瓦依尔（胡堡冬，赵冬梅 2012: 21）。玛那依尔的次氏族是

① 佐领的满语是“*niru-i janggin*”，汉语音译是章京。骁骑校的满语是“*funde bošokū*”，汉语音译是昆都保什库。领催的满语是“*bošokū*”，汉语音译是保什库。

② 鄂伦春语“路”的汉语音译是“扎敏”。

③ 库玛尔路有三个佐，毕拉尔路有两个佐，阿里、多布库尔和拖河路各有一个佐。如何按河道设立这些“路”的其中一个解释。

④ 毛皮收藏和毛皮作为皇家资源的使用。

⑤ 乌力楞作为一个共同劳动并确保其成员（包括寡妇和孤儿等家属）福利的社会组织单位。乌力楞原是由首领（*tatanda* 塔坦达）领导的一群血亲。通常每个乌力楞至少有两个安嘎。

⑥ 旗制佐领在鄂伦春人中成为比莫昆达更重要的权威方面。莫昆达不能成为官员、佐领之间的关系、以及佐领与莫昆达的关系，可见引文。

alaban anda). Most of the *anda* were Daur (*Dahu'er/Dawo'er*) and Solon (*Suolun*) officers of the Butha division of the Eight Banners (*Buteha qi*), which was established in 1669 to manage groups that could be employed to collect natural resources by hunting, fishing, and gathering. The Daur and Solon were two other groups that were native to Heilongjiang as of the mid-seventeenth century when the Qing started to increase its control over the region. Nearly all the Daur and Solon were incorporated into the Eight Banners. Each banner consisted of companies (*zuo*, Ma. *niru*, transliterated in Chinese as *niulu*) which were led by captains (*zuoling*), lieutenants (*xiaoqi xiao*) and corporals (*lingcui*).^① Each company had about 300 members. 5 companies made up a regiment (Ma. *jalan*, as in the earlier *jalan-aba* system, Ch. *zhalan* or *jiala*), and 5 regiments comprised a banner (Ma. *gūsa*, Ch. *gushan*) on a regional scale.

Supervision of the Yafahan Orochen was delegated to *anda* by route (*lu*).^② Three of the five routes established were named for the Ali (*Ali he*), Dubukur (*Duobuku'er he*), and Tuo (*Tuo he*) Rivers. The Birar Route (*Bila'er lu*) encompassed the Xun (*Xun he*), Zhan (*Zhan he*), Wuyun (*Wuyun he*), and Jiameng (*Jiameng he*) Rivers. The Kumar Route included Orochen living along the Huma River and its tributaries, the Kun (*Kun he*) and the Fabiela (*Fabiela he*) (Guan and Wang 2012: 7—8).^③ The routes were administrative units that covered broad spaces around these rivers and many communities that lived and hunted in them. The primary responsibility of the routes was to provide animal pelts for the Qing government's fur treasury. *Anda* were the first-line collectors of the pelts. They tallied the number of able-bodied males and number of pelts submitted by each group they supervised. The Heilongjiang general, as the regional administrator responsible for the pelt collection process, reported to the emperor about these figures and the quality of the pelts (Schlesinger 2017).^④

The routes were important social units as well as administrative ones, because they were organized not only by the parameters of the physical areas around certain riverways but also who inhabited the areas for which they were named. These populations consisted of tribes and clans with distinct histories and traditions. Male members of the same clan formed groups to hunt together (*wulileng*) and sub-units of these groups (*an'ga*) (Elunchunzu jianshi bianxiezhu 1983: 30—42; Nei Menggu zizhiqiu bianjizhu 2009: 87—94).^⑤ Sub-clan leaders (*mokunda*) enforced social taboos, approved marriages and other social alliances, adjudicated disputes, and presided over group activities like religious rituals (Elunchunzu jianshi bianxiezhu 1983: 27—28; Hu and Zhao 2012: 10; Nei Menggu zizhiqiu bianjizhu 2009: vol. 1, 123, vol. 2, 193).^⑥

① The rank of captain was *niru-i janggin* in Manchu or as transliterated into Chinese, *zhangjing*; the rank of lieutenant was *funde bošokū* in Manchu or as transliterated into Chinese, *kundu baosheku*; the rank of corporal was *bošokū* in Manchu or as transliterated into Chinese, *baosheku*.

② The Orochen term for “route” is transcribed in Chinese as *zhamin*. See Wang, *Elunchunzu*, 162.

③ The Kumar Route had three companies, the Birar Route had two companies, and the Ali, Dubukur, and Tuo Routes each had one company. For one of many explanations of how these routes were established based on areas demarcated by waterways.

④ The fur was collected and used as an imperial resource.

⑤ The *wulileng* was a unit of social organization that performed labor together and also ensured the welfare of its members, including dependents like widows and orphans. The *wulileng* was originally a group of blood relatives led by a leader (*tatanda*). There were customarily at least two *an'ga* per *wulileng*.

⑥ These functions were carried out by *mokunda*. Banner company captains became more important authorities over the Orochen than *mokunda*. About why *Mokunda* could not become officials and the relationship between captains and their relationships with *mokunda*, see citation.

玛那依尔和吴恰尔康，也称为吴卡尔康。葛瓦依尔的次氏族则包括葛瓦依尔、魏拉依尔和古拉依尔（Shirokorogoff 1929: 131；孟黛红 2008: 50）。

19 世纪中后期，黑龙江地方行政当局发生了重大变化，以应对日益频繁的越境人员入侵，包括俄罗斯帝国政府为了控制黑龙江（阿穆尔河）和其他河流作为通往海洋的通道派出的远征军。地方部队在对付“土匪”上面对越来越大的挑战，迫使清政府大规模重组“路”的架构。1871 年，朝廷将 5 个“路”置于布特哈总管的管辖之下。大约 10 年后，即 1880 年，时任黑龙江将军定安将库玛尔路并入镶黄旗。1882 年，定安的继任人文绪建立了一个以太平湾为中心的兴安城总管衙门，由一名副都统衔总管、一名满族总管、一名鄂伦春族总管、两名满族副总管和 8 名鄂伦春族副总管率领（郭美兰 1987）。库玛尔路不再隶属于布特哈指挥官，而是重组为两佐一旗，共八佐四旗：镶黄旗、镶白旗、正蓝旗和正白旗^①（内蒙古自治区编辑组第一册 2009: 9）。1894 年，库玛尔路八佐归黑龙江副都统衙门管辖。

从 1901 年到 1947 年数个政权管治下

黑龙江在 1901 年至 1912 年的新政时期，发生了更大的政治变化。黑龙江于 1907 年成为行省，在教育、经济方面都有重大改革，更决定性地以民政机构取代军事行政单位。解散地区等级制度是当务之急，在第一位也是唯一一位汉族官员程德全在 1907 年成为黑龙江代总督，并于 1908 年因病辞去该职务后，清政府让黑龙江将军一职保持悬空。直到 1912 年及之后，重新组织较低级别的行政部门以及命名官职。第一次的省结构由 3 道、8 府、5 厅、1 州、7 县组成（黑龙江省地方志编审委员会办公室 1986: 43）。北洋政府通过扩大、划分部分单位和重新分配省级政府间的空间来改变这种结构。到 1930 年，黑龙江省下辖 42 个县、11 个设治局，没有道、府、州。

在黑龙江改制为州县的过程中，“路”和佐仍然是行政单位。1907 年黑龙江省建省后，黑龙江督办公署接管库玛尔、毕拉尔和阿里-多布库尔路。北洋政府组织鄂伦春族中年轻的成年男子组成山林游击队（简称山林队），以对抗苏联军队的入侵。山林队后改名为保卫团，成为成员可以从政府来源获得

① 8 佐以屯和河划分：镶黄旗头佐一宏胡图 / 宏户图屯、镶黄旗二佐一宽河屯、镶白旗头佐一卡纳河、镶白旗二佐一喀尔通屯、正蓝旗头佐一倭尔根河、正蓝旗二佐一额勒和河、正白旗头佐一三盆河、正白旗二佐一法别拉屯。

The Kumar route had two clans, the Manayi'er (also known as the Malayi'er) and Gewayi'er (Hu and Zhao 2012: 21). Sub-clans of the Manayi'er clan were the Manayi'er and the Wuqia'erkang (also known as Wuka'erkang). The Gewayi'er clan included the Gewayi'er sub-clan, Weilayi'er sub-clan, and Gulayi'er sub-clan (Shirokorogoff 1929: 131; Meng 2008: 50).

In the mid- and late-nineteenth century, the Heilongjiang regional administration underwent significant changes to combat increasingly more frequent incursions by people across the border, including the expeditions sent by the Russian imperial government to gain control over the Amur and other rivers as channels to the ocean. The regional forces' increasing difficulty to cope with "bandits" (*tufei*) also compelled and justified large-scale re-organization. In 1871, the imperial government placed all five routes under the authority of the Butha commandant (*Buteha zongguan*). About a decade later, in 1880, the incumbent Heilongjiang general Ding'an incorporated the Kumar Route into the Bordered Yellow Banner. Ding'an's successor, Wensioi (Wenxu) established a new unit, the Xing'an garrison (*Xing'an cheng*), centered at Taipingwan led by a commandant invested with the authority of a garrison lieutenant general (*fu dutong*), one Manchu commandant (*zongguan*), one Orochen commandant, two Manchu vice-commandants (*fu zongguan*) and eight Orochen vice-commandants in 1882 (Guo 1987). Instead of being under the Butha commandant, Kumar Route forces were re-organized as eight companies that were assigned to four banners, two companies per banner: Bordered Yellow, Bordered White, Plain Blue, and Plain White banners (Nei Menggu zizhiqu bianjizu vol. 1 2009: 9).^① In 1894, the eight Kumar Route companies were placed under the direct control of the Heilongjiang garrison lieutenant-general.

Under Multiple Authorities from 1901 to 1947

Heilongjiang underwent even greater political changes during the New Governance (*Xinzheng*) period between 1901 and 1912. The region became a province in 1907, and significant reforms in education, economy, and a decisive replacement of military administrative units with civil government institutions started. Dismantling the regional hierarchy was the first priority, with no further appointments of the Heilongjiang general after Cheng Dequan, the first and only Han official to serve in the post, became the acting Heilongjiang governor in 1907 and resigned from that position due to illness in 1908. Lower levels of the administration were re-organized and official ranks were re-titled until 1912 and thereafter. The first provincial structure consists of three circuits (*dao*), eight prefectural cities (*fu*), five departments (*ting*), one prefecture (*zhou*), and seven counties (*xian*) (Heilongjiang sheng difangzhi 1986: 43). The Beiyang central government changed this composition through the expansion of some units, division of others, and re-assignment of spaces between provincial-level governments. By 1930, Heilongjiang province consisted of 42 counties and 11 administrative bureaus (*shezhi ju*), and no circuits, prefectural cities, or prefectures.

During this re-organization of Heilongjiang into prefectures and counties, routes and companies remained as units of administration. After Heilongjiang became a province in 1907, the Heilongjiang supervisory government office (*Heilongjiang duban gongshu*) took

① These eight companies were organized by villages and rivers: 1) the First Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner (*xiang huang qi tou zuo*)-Honghutu village (*Honghutu tun*), Second Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner (*xiang huang qi er zuo*)-Kuan River village (*Kuan he tun*), First Company of the Bordered White Banner (*xiang bai qi tou zuo*)-Bianna River (*Bianna he*), Second Company of the Bordered White Banner (*xiang bai qi er zuo*)-Ka'ertong village (*Ka'ertong tun*), First Company of the Plain Blue Banner (*zheng lan qi tou zuo*)-Wo'ergen River (*Wo'ergen he*), and Second Company of the Plain Blue Banner (*zheng lan qi er zuo*)-Elehe River (*Elehe he*), First Company of the Plain White Banner (*zheng bai qi tou zuo*)-Sanpen River (*Sanpen he*), Second Company of the Plain White Banner (*zheng bai qi er zuo*)-Fabiela village (*Fabiela tun*).

津贴、枪支和马匹的官方机构（《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983：83—86）^①。佐领改任为团长，领催改任为队长。北洋政府也授权嘎辛（满语 *gašan*）和嘎辛达（满语 *gašanda*）管理民政和法律事务、以及狩猎上的安排（内蒙古自治区编辑组 2009：vol. 1, 31）^②。

在 19 世纪末和 20 世纪初，社会组织也同时发生了变化。其一是鄂伦春人开始采用汉姓，以多种方式地出现从仅称名字，不提姓氏到采用汉姓这个转变（Kim 2019：159—202）。本文之后在关于库玛尔路人口时也会讨论这些群体经常将哈拉 / 莫昆名字转换成汉姓的情况。另一个发展是乌力楞更多地以相同居住地，而不是共同工作和维持经济相互义务的关系上成为社会单位（《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983：112—115）。

即使在 1911 年之后，氏族和清朝军事体系中的职位作为个人和社区身份要素的重要性，在 1920 年《瑗珲县志》中的库玛尔路人名册中都有阐明。下表列出人名、氏族名和职务^③。

表 2 库玛尔路人名册中的人名、氏族名和职务

人 名	氏族名	人名册中的职位
烈铁泰	谷拉西勒尔	副管、骁骑校
常通阿	谷拉西勒尔	佐 领
扎 常	谷拉西勒尔	佐 领
来明阿	戈卧依尔	佐 领
坤都善	莫尼西勒尔	佐 领
巴杨阿	莫尼西勒尔	佐 领
吉隆阿	莫尼西勒尔	佐 领
德克金保	伍查罕	佐 领
保 忠	伍查罕	领催、骁骑校、佐领
来 忠	伍查罕	领催、骁骑校、佐领
台吉善	伍查罕	领催、骁骑校、佐领
察文吉善	谷拉西勒尔	领催、骁骑校、佐领

① 这些单位形成和运作的一般描述可见出处。

② 关于村长和亚氏族族长地位的相同之处，参见出处。

③ 1920 年的《瑗珲县志》有两卷跟库玛尔路有关：第 13 卷和第 14 卷。来自这本方志的所有引文以传统页码标注，翻开书目左页为上页、右页为下页。

over responsibility for the Kumar, Birar, and Ali-Dubukur Routes. The Beiyang government organized young and able-bodied Orochen men into mountain forest patrol troops (*shanlin youji dui*, abbreviated as *shanlin dui*) to counter incursions from Soviet Union troops. These groups then changed names to become “defense regiments (*baowei tuan*),” and were official institutions from which members received stipends, guns, and horses from government sources (Elunchunzu jianshi bianxieu 1983: 83—86).^① Company captains were re-appointed with the titles of regimental commander (*tuanzhang*) and corporals were re-titled as captains (*duizhang*). The Beiyang government also gave villages (Ma. *gašan*, Ch. *gaxin*) and village heads (Ma. *gašanda*, Ch. *gaxinda*) the authority to govern civil and legal affairs, and hunting logistics (Nei Menggu zizhiq bianjizu 2009: vol. 1, 31).^②

Concurrent changes in social organization were also occurring during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One is that Orochen people began to adopt Han-style Chinese surnames. There were various ways in which this shift from using mononyms (personal given names) occurred (Kim 2019: 159—202). Many of these groups often converted their *hala/kala* or *mokun* names into certain Chinese surnames, as will be discussed in reference to the Kumar Route population later in the article. Another development is that *wulileng* were becoming social units based more on common residence in a place rather than based on the relationship of working together and having mutual obligations for economic sustenance (Elunchunzu jianshi bianxieu 1983: 112—115).

The importance of clan and positions in the Qing military system as elements of personal and communal identities even after 1911 is illustrated in a roster of Kumar Route people in the 1920 *Aigun County Gazetteer* (*Aihui xian zhi*). The following table lists the persons, their clan names, and official ranks.^③

Table 2 Personal Names, Clan Names, and Official Ranks of Individuals in the Kumar Route Roster

Personal Name (in Chinese transliteration)	Clan Name (in Chinese transliteration)	Official Ranks Held (cited in the roster)
Lietietai 烈铁泰	Gulaxile'er 谷拉西勒尔	adjutant (<i>fu guan</i>), lieutenant (<i>xiaoqi xiao</i>)
Changtong'a 常通阿	Gulaxile'er	company captain (<i>zuoling</i>)
Zhachang 扎 常	Gulaxile'er	company captain
Laiming'a 来明阿	Gewoyi'er 戈卧依尔	company captain
Kundushan 坤都善	Monixile'er 莫尼西勒尔	company captain
Bayang'a 巴杨阿	Monixile'er	company captain
Jilong'a 吉隆阿	Monixile'er	company captain
Dekejinbao 德克金保	Wuchahan 伍查罕	company captain
Baozhong 保 忠	Wuchahan	corporal (<i>lingcui</i>), lieutenant, and company captain
Laizhong 来 忠	Wuchahan	corporal, lieutenant, and company captain
Taijishan 台吉善	Wuchahan	corporal, lieutenant, and company captain
Chawenjishan 察文吉善	Gulaxile'er	corporal, lieutenant, and company captain

① For general descriptions of how these units were formed and functioned, see citation.

② About the similarity between the position of village head and sub-clan head, see citation.

③ For this table and all following tables, the Chinese characters for personal names are included in the cells. These names are not included in the glossary of terms. The 1920 *Aigun County Gazetteer* contains two fascicles (*juan* 13 and 14) about the Kumar Route. All citations from this gazetteer are by fascicle: page number and a (verso) or b (recto) by traditional Chinese pagination.

续表

人 名	氏族名	人名册中的职位
刚 通	莫尼西勒尔	领催、骁骑校、佐领
德奇琛	伍查罕	领催、骁骑校、佐领
伦吉善	伍查罕	骁骑校
兴 格	伍查罕	骁骑校
秋木讷善	伍查罕	骁骑校
登古琛	伍查罕	骁骑校
正 连	伍查罕	骁骑校
阿栋阿	伍查罕	骁骑校
珠勒图讷	伍查罕	骁骑校
哲米善	莫尼西勒尔	骁骑校

出处：《瑗瑊县志》，第 13 卷：第 12 上—13 上页。

这份名册还包括其他细节，例如名册中的几个人在哪个旗、佐任职，领导执行过什么任务或有何种才能，例如台吉善监督过房屋建造和农地开垦，保忠和来忠等人会满语（胡堡冬，赵冬梅 2012：100）。

20 世纪 20 年代，以张作霖为首的奉系军阀组织鄂伦春族组成边防部队。杜赞奇（Prasenjit Duara）指出，这些部队为军阀服务，就像他们为清朝地区政府服务一样。他们的任务是保卫边界免受俄罗斯入侵，并带领人们穿过森林到达矿井和其他地点。非自愿参加军事训练和薪水不足以取代他们作为全职猎人的生计以致饥饿令鄂伦春族的健康状况整体下降（Duara 2003：181；《鄂伦春族简史》编写组 1983：84）。

下一次政府更迭带来了更严重的后果。从 1931 年“九一八事变”后，日本帝国政府再次改制，历时 14 年。黑龙江的伪满洲国地方当局强制要求鄂伦春男子担任神枪手。在 1933 年，库玛尔路、毕拉尔路、和阿里-多布库尔路被收入黑龙江省民政厅蒙旗科（中国科学院民族研究所 1963：13）。伪满洲国将鄂伦春族收征入山木巡逻队（也称山林队）^①（内蒙古自治区编辑组 2009：

① 库玛尔路部队继续以佐组成，每个佐是一个队。每佐 / 队由一名佐领和署佐领率领。每佐 / 队的人员分布为：正蓝旗头佐的 50 人负责库玛尔河的第一区，正蓝旗二佐的 60 人负责倭勒河的第一区，正蓝旗三佐的 30 人负责盘古河的第一区，正黄旗头佐的 40 人负责宽河的第一区，正白旗头佐的 20 至 30 人负责奈温河的第一区。

continued table

Personal Name (in Chinese transliteration)	Clan Name (in Chinese transliteration)	Official Ranks Held (cited in the roster)
Gangtong 刚 通	Monixile'er	corporal, lieutenant, and company captain
Deqichen 德奇琛	Wuchahan	corporal, lieutenant, and company captain
Lunjishan 伦吉善	Wuchahan	lieutenant
Xing'ge 兴 格	Wuchahan	lieutenant
Qiumunashan 秋木讷善	Wuchahan	lieutenant
Dengguchen 登古琛	Wuchahan	lieutenant
Zhenglian 正 连	Wuchahan	lieutenant
Adong'a 阿栋阿	Wuchahan	lieutenant
Zhuletuna 珠勒图讷	Wuchahan	lieutenant
Zhemishan 哲米善	Monixile'er	lieutenant

Source: *Aihui xian zhi* 13: 12a—13a.

This roster also includes other details such as what banner companies some of these people served in, what kinds of tasks they led such as Taijishan overseeing the building of houses and reclaiming land for agriculture and abilities such as Baozhong and Laizhong knowing the Manchu language (Hu and Zhao 2012: 100).

During the 1920s, the warlord government of Manchuria led by Zhang Zuolin organized Orochen men into border security forces. Prasenjit Duara notes that these units served warlords much as they had served the Qing regional administration. Their tasks were to defend the border against Russian incursions and to lead people through the forests to mines and other locations. Involuntary participation in military training and salaries that were inadequate to replace their livelihoods as full-time hunters resulted in starvation and overall decrease in Orochen health (Duara 2003: 181; Elunchunzu jianshi bianxiezhu 1983: 84).

The next change of administration brought more severe consequences. Starting in 1931, after the September 18th incident, the Japanese imperial government changed the system again for fourteen years. Regional authorities of the Manchukuo (Ch. *Manzhouguo*, Ja. *Manshūkoku*) regime in Heilongjiang made service as sharpshooters compulsory for Orochen men. In 1933, the Kumar Route, Birar Route, and Ali-Dubukur Route were put under the Mongol Banner Section (*Mō ki ka*) of the Heilongjiang Province Civil Affairs Department (*Kokuryūkōshō minseichō*) (Zhongguo kexueyuan minzu yanjiusuo 1963: 13). The imperial state of Manchukuo conscripted Orochen men into the mountain forest patrol forces (also called *shanlin dui* in Chinese) (Nei Menggu zizhiqu bianjizu 2009: 192). These groups were organized according to the same principles that earlier military units followed in their formation and maintenance (Nei Menggu zizhiqu bianjizu 2009: 72). In the Nen River (*Nenjiang xian*) and Aigun County (*Aihui xian*) area, four Orochen mountain forest patrols were established in 1940 (Kangde 7). According to the memoir of Guan Chunsheng 关春生,

192)。这些小队的组织方式与早期军事单位在组建和维护时所遵循的原则相同（内蒙古自治区编辑组 2009: 72）。在嫩江县和瑷琿县地区，1940 年（伪满洲国康德 7 年）组成了 4 个山林队。根据当时该区数个山林队和小队成员关春生的回忆录，山林队的领袖为：

表 3 四个山林队的领袖

队 号	在职地	职 位	任职者
1	宏胡图 / 宏户图	队 长	吴音吉善
1	宏胡图 / 宏户图	队 副	葛吉祥
2	五道沟（下头）	队 长	吴祥格
2	五道沟	队 副	吴春和
3	哈尔通	队 长	吴 × ×（关春生只记得姓氏）
3	哈尔通	队 副	关林奎
4	麦 海	队 长	（忘记名字了）
4	麦 海	队 副	（忘记名字了）

出处：关春生《从“山林队”到解放初期的回忆》，第 83 页。

关春生，第二队队员，忆述山林队队长用鄂伦春语称谓蒋亘，等同佐领；队副则是哈万，等同骁骑校；小队领袖是布士库^①，等同领催。4 个嫩江—瑷琿县地区的山林队共有 90 个队员和 90 支枪（一人一枪）。关的第二队有 24 名队员。

这些山林队属于黑河特务机关，不时收集关于苏联的情报。管理这些特务机关的日本正副干部分别叫春田和官东谷。跟北洋政府的就业制度相似，队长和队副从特务机关领取固定薪水。像清朝的“路”，山林队也要参加两次每年春、秋两季进行，每次约 20 天的大型训练。关忆述官东谷在训练时十分严厉，常常以“笨蛋”（日语马鹿野郎）呼喝鄂伦春部队（关春生 1988: 84）。

山林队的领袖在认识的人中招募队员。1945 年 8 月初，春田命令 4 支巡逻队全部集中在九道沟，以防迫在眉睫的苏军。5 名日本金矿工人及其家属，以及刚应征入伍的鄂伦春及其家属约 400 人，行军 3 天后被苏军发现。关春生认为，对于这些巡逻队成员而言，这件事结束了“压迫的日本统治”（关春生 1988: 85）。1945 年 8 月底，关春生回到五道沟。金矿工人李清林（民族身份不明）叫他组织一个“有枪的鄂伦春人”保卫团保护矿山。他们于是跟

① 留意此名称跟领催的满语 *bošokū* 十分相似。

a member of several patrols and sub-patrols in that area at the time, the leaders of the patrols were as follows:

Table 3 Leaders of the Four Patrols

Patrol Number	Location	Position	Position Holder
1	Honghutu	patrol captain (<i>duizhang</i>)	Wu Yinjishan 吴音吉善
1	Honghutu	patrol lieutenant (<i>duifu</i>)	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥
2	Lower head of Wudaogou (<i>Wudaogou xiatou</i>)	patrol captain	Wu Xiangge 吴祥格
2	Wudaogou	patrol lieutenant	Wu Chunhe 吴春和
3	Ha'ertong	patrol captain	Wu 吴 (Guan Chunsheng could not remember this person's given name)
3	Ha'ertong	patrol lieutenant	Guan Linkui 关林奎
4	Maihai	patrol captain	Name not remembered
4	Maihai	patrol lieutenant	Name not remembered

Source: Guan, "Cong 'shanlin dui' dao jiefang chuqi de huiyi," 83.

Guan, a member of the Second Patrol, recalls that the patrol captain held the Orochen-language title of "(banner company) captain" (transliterated into Chinese characters as *jianggen* (equivalent to *zuoling*) and the Patrol Lieutenant was the "(banner company) lieutenant" (*hawan* (equivalent to *xiaoqi xiao*). The title for the squad leader was "(banner company) corporal" (*bushiku*).^① Altogether, the four Nen River-Aigun County patrols consisted of 90 men bearing 90 guns (1 man responsible for 1 gun). Guan's Second Patrol had 24 members.

These mountain forest patrols belonged to the Heihe Special Forces (Ch. *Heihe tewu jiguan*, Ja. *Dai Kokuga tokumu kikan*) and sometimes collected intelligence about the Soviet Union. The Japanese officers heading the Special Forces were surnamed Haruta (first in command) and Higashiya (second in command). Similar to the Beiyang government's employment system, patrol captains and lieutenants received fixed salaries from the Special Forces. Like Qing route troops, the mountain forest patrols were required to participate in two mass training sessions, each lasting about 20 days every spring and fall. Guan said that Higashiya conducted these sessions harshly, yelling what the Orochen troops heard as *Bagayalu* or the Japanese phrase, "Stupid fool (*baka yarō*)" (Guan 1988: 84).

Leaders of the mountain forest patrols recruited members from people they knew. In early August 1945, Haruta ordered that all four patrols converge in Jiudaogou to defend against imminent confrontation with Soviet troops. Five Japanese gold mine workers and their family members, as well as freshly conscripted Orochen and their family members, about 400 people, marched for three days before being discovered by Soviet forces. In Guan's opinion, this event ended "oppressive Japanese rule" for the members of these patrols (Guan 1988: 85). Guan returned to Wudaogou in late August 1945. A gold miner of unspecified ethnic identity, Li Qinglin 李清林 asked Guan to form a security team of "gun-bearing/owning Orochen (you qiang de Elunchun ren)" to protect the mines. Guan and Li asked two Orochen brothers, Wu Wenming 吴文明 and Wu Qingde 吴庆德, who agreed to join the team. Wu Keyu 吴克玉, Meng Qingyu

① Note that this term is very similar to the Manchu term *bošokū* for corporal (Ch. *lingcui*).

鄂伦春兄弟吴文明和吴庆德、吴克玉、孟庆玉和关春长组成了一个7人，并由另外19名汉族成员支援的“保安队”。关春生表示当时原有一个由18到19名鄂伦春人组成、队长吴音和及葛德红率领的栖林队，其他成员包括吴克寿（关春生1988：85）。1946年9月，关春生和吴音和、吴春和及其他巡逻队成员包括葛庆寿、孟广军、魏金锁、吴福山回到黑河。关春生、吴春和、孟广军成为了新张地营子区防卫队成员。原第二队队副吴春和被任命为防卫队的队长，孟广军则成为队副。吴文明、孟平才、孟平保、吴明玉、关春长、关全水、吴振祥、孟庆玉、吴音德和吴春荣也加入了（关春生1988：86）。

虽然关春生的简短回忆录只是让我们瞥见了作为伪满洲国领土上的鄂伦春军事部队成员的生活，但是这里有一些值得注意的细节。首先，这个叙述中引用的大多数人都有这些姓氏中的其中一个：葛、关、孟、吴。其次，值得关注的是吴音吉善这个人名。除了这个名是一个四字组成的姓名外，音吉善明显不是一个汉名。这两点让笔者回到1912年到1938年间看看某些姓氏的流行程度有没有改变、人们如何通过可以归类为汉名字（汉人也假设为汉名那些）或鄂伦春名字来肯定自己的身份、以及他们的职位如何改变（王为华2012：46）^①。

这个回忆录另一个发人深省的是这个证据揭示了中国东北的一个方面，而这方面当时并不是情报收集和学术研究的关键话题。在伪满洲国帝国统治的更大框架内，鄂伦春人在政治上是隐形的。他们并不在证明建立表面上独立的国家之正当性的“五族”制度之内。然而，鄂伦春文化和社会成为许多受日本/伪满洲国政府委托并供参考的民族志的热门话题。此类著作的内容记录了中国在20世纪1949年前有关鄂伦春的大部分知识。秋叶隆（1888—1954）和泉靖一（1915—1970）就是根据在鄂伦春社区的实地考察，对物质文化、社会组织和谋生手段进行了详细记录的学者（Kim 2019：225—227；Duara 2003：184—185；赤松 智城，秋叶 隆 1941；秋叶 隆 1938；泉 靖一 1937；伪满治安部参谋司调查课 1940）。关春生的叙述从鄂伦春人的角度确实提供了一些关于鄂伦春社会认同的信息。他的回忆录证实了领导角色的重要性，这些领导角色对于像《瑗琿县志》这样的记录仍然值得注意，回忆录中提到具体的个人和他们的经历，也与为日本民族志研究提供贡献的无名人员形成鲜明对比。

① 在关于这一时期的叙述中，对特定个人的提及并不常见，但在一篇引文中提到了1934年成为“东北救国军”和后来“抗日北满第三军”成员时，所有有名字的人都以汉/中文名字作记录：孟庆山、莫屯宝、陈宝、陈山、吴安甲、吴青山、关德生、吴纽纽。

孟庆玉, and Guan Chunchang (or Chunzhang) 关春长 also joined, so that the team consisted of seven members, supported by a nineteen-member ethnic Han “security team (*bao'an dui*).” Guan noted that there was originally a patrol based in the forest (*qi lin dui*) of eighteen or nineteen Orochen led by Wu Yinhe 吴音和 as patrol captain and Ge Dehong 葛德红. Other members included Wu Keshou 吴克寿 (Guan 1988: 85). In September 1946, Guan Chunsheng returned to Heihe with Wu Yinhe and Wu Chunhe, and other Orochen patrol members, including Ge Qingshou 葛庆寿, Meng Guangjun 孟广军, Wei Jinsuo 魏金锁, and Wu Fushan 吴福山. Guan Chunsheng, Wu Chunhe, and Meng Guangjun became members of the new Zhangdiyingzi district (Zhangdiyingzi qu) defense patrol. Wu Chunhe, formerly the lieutenant of the Second Patrol, was appointed as captain of this unit, and Meng Guangjun became the lieutenant serving under him. Wu Wenming joined this patrol, as did Meng Pingcai 孟平才, Meng Pingbao 孟平保, Wu Mingyu 吴明玉, Guan Chunchang (Chunzhang), Guan Quanshui 关全水, Wu Zhenxiang 吴振祥, Meng Qingyu, Wu Yinde 吴音德, and Wu Chunrong 吴春荣 (Guan 1988: 86).

Although Guan Chunsheng's brief memoir gives us only a glimpse into life as a member of an Orochen military unit in Manchukuo territory, there are a few details worth noting. The first is that most of the people cited in this narrative had one of these surnames (*xing*): Ge, Guan, Meng, and Wu. A second point of interest is the citation of “Wu Yinjishan.” Besides being a four-character surname-given name compound, the name “Yinjishan” is evidently not a Han (Chinese) given name. These two observations led me to go back to the period between 1912 and 1938 to see whether the prevalence of certain surnames and how people are identified by names which can be categorized as Chinese (ones that Han people would also assume) or Orochen, and how their official position titles changed (Wang 2012: 46).^①

Also thought-provoking about this source is that this evidence sheds light on an aspect of Northeast China that was not a key topic of interest for intelligence-gathering and scholarship during its time. In the greater framework of Manchukuo imperial rule, the Orochen were politically invisible. They were not part of the “five races” system that justified the establishment of an ostensibly independent country. However, Orochen culture and society became a favored topic of many ethnographies commissioned by and for Japanese/Manchukuo government reference. The content of such works documented much of what is known about the Orochen in China during the twentieth century prior to 1949. Akiba Takashi (1888—1954) and Izumi Seiichi (1915—1970) were among the scholars who produced detailed records based on fieldwork in Orochen communities about material culture, social organization, and means of livelihood (Kim 2019: 225—227; Duara 2003: 184—185; Akamatsu, Akiba 1941; Akiba 1938; Izumi 1937; Wei Man zhi'anbu canmou si diaochake 1940). Guan Chunsheng's account does provide some information about how Orochen social identification, but from an Orochen perspective. His memories substantiate the significance of leadership roles which were still noteworthy for records like the Aigun County Gazetteer and also refer to specific individuals and their experiences which contrasts from the contributions of many nameless informants for the Japanese ethnographic studies.

① References to specific individuals are uncommon in narratives about this period, but in one citation of men who became members of the “Northeastern nation-saving army” (*Dongbei jiuguo jun*) in 1934 and later of the “Anti-Japanese Northern Manchurian third army” (*Kang Ri bei Man di san jun*), all of the named individuals are identified by discernible Han/Chinese surnames and given names that could be assumed by Han persons: Meng Qingshan 孟庆山, Mo Tunbao 莫屯宝, Chen Bao 陈宝, Chen Shan 陈山, Wu Anjia 吴安甲, Wu Qingshan 吴青山, Guan Desheng 关德生, Wu Niuniu 吴纽纽.

《数据集》分析

1920年《瑗瑛县志》中的库玛尔路人名册和关春生的回忆录中的详细信息可以进一步与1950年代汇编和编辑的材料进行比较。作为民族识别工程的一部分，中国政府进行了大规模调查，记录了每个研究人口的经济、社会组织 and 物质文化的信息，评估证据以确认哪些少数民族（非汉族）人口有资格获得政治和法律承认（Mullaney 2011）^①。这些数据对于制定和实施提高这些农村社区生活水平的政策也至关重要。库玛尔路是根据这些证据汇编的三卷的主题，笔者从中提取了担任官方职位的个人数据，包括姓、名、旗、佐、职位、工作年期和地点6个可识别变数。除非另有说明，否则以下所有表格的总数包含数个出处中关于同一个人的多次引用。

表4 条目数

条目总数（包括同一个人的多个引用）	完整条目总数（包含所有变数）	不完整条目总数（缺一或多个变数）
739	398	341

出处：作者建立的数据集（以下简称《数据集》），汇编了以下资料来源中的证据。内蒙东北少数民族社会历史调查组编《库玛尔路鄂伦春族档案材料：民国五年至十五年第一册》（以下简称《档案材料（一）》）；内蒙东北少数民族社会历史调查组编《库玛尔路鄂伦春族档案材料：民国五年至十五年第二册》（以下简称《档案材料（二）》）；内蒙东北少数民族社会历史调查组编《库玛尔路鄂伦春族档案材料：民国五年至十五年第三册》（以下简称《档案材料（三）》）^②。

名字

下表包括所有条目，区分有姓氏和没有姓氏的人。资料来源没有说明到底是这些人没有使用姓氏，或是汇编记录的人不知道他们的姓氏。

表5 有/没有姓氏的分散条目

有姓氏	没有姓氏
141	598

出处：《数据集》。

① 对民族识别工程的全面分析和详细的案例研究，参见出处。
② 这三卷中对特定页码的引用将使用以下格式，《档案材料（册）》：页码，例如《档案材料（一）》：25。

Dataset Analysis

Details from both the Kumar Route roster from the 1920 Aigun County Gazetteer and Guan’s memoir can furthermore be compared to materials compiled and edited during the 1950s. As part of the Ethnic Identification Project (*minzu shibie gongcheng*) from which evidence was evaluated to confirm which ethnic minority (non-Han) populations qualified for political and legal recognition, the PRC government carried out large-scale surveys that recorded information about each studied population’s economy, social organization, and material culture (Mullaney 2011).^① This data was also crucial for the development and implementation of policies to improve standards of living for these communities, which were all in rural areas. The Kumar Route was the subject of three volumes compiled from this evidence, from which we extracted data about individuals who held official positions, including the six identifying variables of surname, given name, banner, company, position, term of service, and location of service. For all the following tables, unless specified otherwise, the total numbers include multiple citations of the same individual in the sources.

Table 4 Number of Entries

Total Number of Entries (including multiple citations of the same individual)	Total Number of Complete Entries (all variables accounted)	Total Number of Incomplete Entries (one or more variables missing)
739	398	341

Sources: Dataset by author (hereby referred to as KLDS) compiling evidence from Nei Meng Dongbei shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha zu (Inner Mongolia and Northeast Ethnic Minority Social History Survey group), comp., *Kuma’er lu Elunchun zu dang’an cailiao: Minguo wu nian zhi shi wu nian di yi ce* (Kumar Route Orochen archival materials: Fifth to fifteenth years of the Republican era, volume 1), hereby abbreviated as KLDC1; Nei Meng Dongbei shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha zu, comp., *Kuma’er lu Elunchun zu dang’an cailiao: Minguo wu nian zhi shi wu nian di er ce* (Kumar Route Orochen archival materials: Fifth to fifteenth years of the Republican era, volume 2), abbreviated as KLDC2; Nei Meng Dongbei shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha zu, comp., *Kuma’er lu Elunchun zu dang’an cailiao: Minguo wu nian zhi shi wu nian di san ce* (Kumar Route Orochen archival materials: Fifth to the fifteenth years of the Republican era, volume 3), hereby abbreviated as KLDC3.^②

Names

This table includes all the entries and distinguishes how many people were identified with or without surnames. It is not evident in the sources whether these people did not use surnames, or their surnames were unknown to the compilers of the records.

Table 5 Discrete Entries with and without Surnames

With surname	Without surname
141	598

Source: KLDS.

① For a comprehensive analysis of the Ethnic Identification Project and a detailed case study, see citation.
② References to specific page numbers in these volumes will be formatted as KLDC-volume number: page number, such as KLDC1: 25.

在有姓氏的人中，下表显示了不同姓氏的分布。

表 6 《数据集》中具代表性的姓氏

姓氏（以汉语拼音排序）	人 数
白	4
陈	1
丁	1
杜	1
范	1
高	4
葛	17
关	16
侯	1
李	2
林	0
刘	1
毛	1
孟	19
莫	1
穆	1
牛	1
施	1
宋	1
谭	3
徐	2
王	6
魏	4
吴	41
杨	4
于	1
臧	1
张	4
周	1
共	141

出处：《数据集》。

Among persons with surnames, this table shows the distribution of different surnames.

Table 6 Surnames Represented in the Dataset

Surname (in alphabetical order of <i>Hanyu Pinyin</i> romanization)	Number of Individuals
Bai 白	4
Chen 陈	1
Ding 丁	1
Du 杜	1
Fan 范	1
Gao 高	4
Ge 葛	17
Guan 关	16
Hou 侯	1
Li 李	2
Lin 林	0
Liu 刘	1
Mao 毛	1
Meng 孟	19
Mo 莫	1
Mu 穆	1
Niu 牛	1
Shi 施	1
Song 宋	1
Tan 谭	3
Xu 徐	2
Wang 王	6
Wei 魏	4
Wu 吴	41
Yang 杨	4
Yu 于	1
Zang 臧	1
Zhang 张	4
Zhou 周	1
Total	141

Source: KLDS.

我们可以将此表与传统观点，即库玛尔路的氏族采用某些汉姓相比较。

表 7 传统观点中库玛尔路氏族所采用的汉姓

氏 族	汉 姓
葛瓦依尔	葛
古拉依尔	关
玛那依尔 / 玛拉依尔	孟
魏拉依尔	魏
吴恰尔康 / 吴卡尔康	吴

出处：白兰《鄂伦春族》，第 21 页；《鄂伦春族社会历史调查第一册》，第 29 页；王为华《鄂伦春族》，第 20 页；吴雅芝《最后的传说：鄂伦春族文化研究》，第 16 页^①。

此表中，葛（17）、关（16）、孟（16）、吴（41）确实是最具代表性的姓氏。姓魏（2）的人则比较少，比姓白（4）、高（4）、谭（3）、王（6）、杨（4）、张（4）的人更少。但因为笔者无法确认名单中所有人的原籍地，所以拥有这些姓氏的人数比姓魏的人较多也不是绝对决定性的。因此，这些人中的许多人可能是祖籍不在库玛尔路，或者在记录数据时的一两代内才迁移到库玛尔路的。根据白兰、王为华和吴雅芝对其他“路”的研究，“路”的旗、佐还有以下姓氏：阿（阿里-多布库尔路）、白（托河路）、毕（毕拉尔路）、陈（毕拉尔路）、杜（毕拉尔路）、韩（毕拉尔路）、何（拖路）、莫（毕拉尔路）和赵（毕拉尔路）（王为华 2012：20；内蒙古自治区编辑组 2009：vol. 2，65）^②。这些姓氏中，白、陈和杜姓都存在于库玛尔路记录，即这些人可能是来自于其他“路”、库玛尔路的部分人都是这些姓、或者是他们部分人或全部人都不是库玛尔路出身，但也不属于其他路。

从这些表中需要注意的另一点是，《数据集》中许多名字十分相似，使得区分个体变得困难，特别是在没有姓氏的情况下。因此，在数据编译过程中，每个名字都被分开处理，这样就不会出现关于同名对应的两个或多个点是否指同一个人的错误假设。还有一个问题是因为一些名字是非汉 / 中文名字的

① 孟（从猛变成孟）也是玛哈依尔氏族采用的汉姓。

② 结合中国姓氏和鄂伦春氏族名称的汉语音译有：阿-啊基格查依尔、白-白依尔、陈-车基尔、杜-杜宁肯、韩-卡日基尔、何-柯尔特依尔、莫-莫拉呼尔、赵-毛毫依尔 / 毛考依尔。毕姓是毛考依尔氏族采用的另一个汉姓。

We can compare this table to the conventional understanding that clans in the Kumar Route adopted certain Han surnames.

Table 7 Kumar Route Clans' Adopted Han Surnames

Clan	Han surname
Gewayi'er	Ge 葛
Gulayi'er	Guan 关
Manayi'er/Malayi'er	Meng 孟
Weilayi'er	Wei 魏
Wuqia'erkang/Wuka'erkang	Wu 吴

Sources: Bai, *Elunchunzu*, 21, *Elunchunzu shehui lishi diaocha*, volume 1, 29, Wang, *Elunchunzu*, 20, and Wu, *Zuihou de chuanshuo: Elunchunzu wenhua yanjiu* (The last legend: Studies of Orochen culture. 16).^①

In this table, Ge (17), Guan (16), Meng (19), and Wu (41) are indeed the most represented surnames. There are comparatively few persons surnamed Wei (2), outnumbered by those surnamed Bai (4), Gao (4), Tan (3), Wang (6), Yang (4), and Zhang (4). The greater number of persons with these surnames is not absolutely conclusive because the place of origin for all of persons in the list cannot be confirmed. Therefore, it is possible that many of these people were from outside the Kumar Route territory by ancestry or migration within one or two generations of when the data was recorded. Based on the findings of Bai, Wang, and Wu for other routes, the number of surnames adopted by route companies includes: A 阿 (Ali-Dubukur Route), Bai 白 (Tuo Route), Bi 毕 (Biar Route), Chen 陈 (Biar Route), Du 杜 (Biar Route), Han 韩 (Biar Route), He 何 (Tuo Route), Mo 莫 (Biar Route), and Zhao 赵 (Biar Route) (Wang 2012: 20; Nei Menggu zizhiqu bianjizu 2009: vol. 2, 65).^② Out of these, Bai, Chen, and Du are all in the list of surnames recorded for the Kumar Route, which could mean that these persons are from other routes, that some people in the Kumar Route also had these surnames, or that some or all are not native to the Kumar Route and are also not from other routes.

Another point to note from these tables is that the similarity of many given names in the dataset makes it difficult to distinguish between individuals, particularly in the absence of surnames. Therefore, each given name was treated separately during the data compilation process so that there would be no inadvertently incorrect assumptions about whether two or more points corresponding to the same name refer to the same person. Also problematic is that some of the names are transliterations of non-Han/Chinese names, so in the absence of

① Meng (formerly 猛 and eventually 孟) is also the Chinese surname adopted by the Mahayi'er 玛哈依尔 clan.

② The combinations of Chinese surnames and Orochen clan names in Chinese transliteration are: A 阿—Ajigecha'yi'er, Bai 白—Baiyi'er, Chen 陈—Cheji'er, Du 杜—Duningken, Han 韩—Kariji'er, He 何—Ke'erteyi'er, Mo 莫—Molahu'er, Zhao 赵—Maohaoyi'er/Maokaoyi'er. The surname Bi 毕 is the other surname adopted by the Maokaoyi'er clan.

音译，因此，在没有其他文字（例如满文或蒙古文）确凿证据的情况下，而这个情况在清朝到现今记录一些非汉民族时都很普遍，这些音译必须被视为可能相同或不同的名称的近似值。

单位

旗和佐在《数据集》中属于两个变数，但在《档案材料》数册中旗和佐作为个人身份相关时是经常一起被提及的。在下表中，我们可以看到旗和佐之间的分布。

表 8 《数据集》中旗和佐的条目

旗和佐	条 目
镶白旗头佐	4
镶白旗二佐	97
镶黄旗头佐	104
镶黄旗二佐	10
正蓝旗（佐分未明）	8
正蓝旗头佐	21
正蓝旗二佐	75
正蓝旗三佐	1
正白旗头佐	86
正白旗二佐	71
正白旗三佐	1
正黄旗头佐	4
总 数	482

出处：《数据集》。

这些数据又可以再按佐内职位从高至低细分为：佐领、骁骑校、领催、披甲^①、和其他职位如西丹（满语 siden i haha；相当于余丁）、闲散和代表。

① 此职位又称乌库薪 / 乌克申 / 乌克身，满语为 uksin。

corroborating evidence in another script such as Manchu or Mongolian, which were common for recording information regarding the region of Northeast China during the Qing and until the present day for some non-Han ethnic groups, all transliterations must be treated as approximations of names that could be the same or different.

Unit

Banner (*qi*) and company (*zuo*) are two separate variables in the dataset, but they are often mentioned together in the KLDC volumes when cited in relation to an individual's identity. In the following table, we can see the distribution among the banners and companies.

Table 8 Dataset Entries by Banner and Company

Banner and Company	Number of Entries
First Company of the Bordered White Banner (<i>xiang bai qi tou zuo</i>)	4
Second Company of the Bordered White Banner (<i>xiang bai qi er zuo</i>)	97
First Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner (<i>xiang huang qi tou zuo</i>)	104
Second Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner (<i>xiang huang qi er zuo</i>)	10
Plain Blue Banner (company not specified) (<i>zheng lan qi</i>)	8
First Company of the Plain Blue Banner (<i>zheng lan qi tou zuo</i>)	21
Second Company of the Plain Blue Banner (<i>zheng lan qi er zuo</i>)	75
Third Company of the Plain Blue Banner (<i>zheng lan qi san zuo</i>)	1
First Company of the Plain White Banner (<i>zheng bai qi tou zuo</i>)	86
Second Company of the Plain White Banner (<i>zheng bai qi er zuo</i>)	71
Third Company of the Plain White Banner (<i>zheng bai qi san zuo</i>)	1
First Company of the Plain Yellow Banner (<i>zheng huang qi tou zuo</i>)	4
Total	482

Source: KLDS.

This data is further divisible by rank within the company, in descending order: captain, lieutenant, corporal, private (*pijia*),^① and other ranks such as reserve troops (*xidan*, also known in Chinese as *yuding* and *siden i haha* in Manchu), bannermen without official appointments to particular ranks (*xiansan*), and representatives of the banners (*daibiao*).

① This rank is also known as *uksin* in Manchu or as transliterated into Chinese, *wukuxin/wukeshen*.

表 9 佐领级职位

旗和佐	佐 领	代理佐领	署佐领	暂代佐领
镶白旗头佐	2	0	1	0
镶白旗二佐	3	0	0	0
镶黄旗头佐	2	0	0	0
镶黄旗二佐	3	1	0	0
正蓝旗（佐分未明）	1	0	0	0
正蓝旗头佐	2	0	1	0
正蓝旗二佐	2	1	1	0
正蓝旗三佐	1	0	0	0
正白旗头佐	4	1	0	0
正白旗二佐	2	0	1	1
正白旗三佐	0	0	0	0
正黄旗头佐	1	0	0	0
总 数	23	3	4	1

出处：《数据集》。

表 10 骁骑校和领催级职位

旗和佐	骁骑校	署骁骑校	试用骁骑校	领 催	领催委官
镶白旗头佐	1	0	0	0	0
镶白旗二佐	6	0	0	5	3
镶黄旗头佐	5	1	0	4	3
镶黄旗二佐	4	0	0	1	0
正蓝旗（佐分未明）	1	0	0	0	0
正蓝旗头佐	6	1	1	0	0
正蓝旗二佐	4	0	0	5	1
正蓝旗三佐	0	0	0	0	0
正白旗头佐	3	0	0	5	4
正白旗二佐	4	1	0	2	2
正白旗三佐	0	0	0	1	0
正黄旗头佐	1	0	0	1	0
总 数	35	3	1	24	13

出处：《数据集》。

Table 9 Captain-level Positions

Banner and Company	Captain (zuoling)	Acting Captain (daili zuoling)	Deputy Captain (shu zuoling)	Captain holding multiple appointments (jiandai zuoling)
First Company of the Bordered White Banner	2	0	1	0
Second Company of the Bordered White Banner	3	0	0	0
First Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner	2	0	0	0
Second Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner	3	1	0	0
Plain Blue Banner (company not specified)	1	0	0	0
First Company of the Plain Blue Banner	2	0	1	0
Second Company of the Plain Blue Banner	2	1	1	0
Third Company of the Plain Blue Banner	1	0	0	0
First Company of the Plain White Banner	4	1	0	0
Second Company of the Plain White Banner	2	0	1	1
Third Company of the Plain White Banner	0	0	0	0
First Company of the Plain Yellow Banner	1	0	0	0
Totals	23	3	4	1

Source: KLDS.

Table 10 Lieutenant and Corporal-level Positions

Banner and Company	Lieutenant (xiaoqi xiao)	Deputy Lieutenant (shu xiaoqi xiao)	Probationary Lieutenant (shiyong xiaoqi xiao)	Corporal (lingcui)	Deputy Corporal (lingcui weiguan)
First Company of the Bordered White Banner	1	0	0	0	0
Second Company of the Bordered White Banner	6	0	0	5	3
First Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner	5	1	0	4	3
Second Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner	4	0	0	1	0
Plain Blue Banner (company not specified)	1	0	0	0	0
First Company of the Plain Blue Banner	6	1	1	0	0
Second Company of the Plain Blue Banner	4	0	0	5	1
Third Company of the Plain Blue Banner	0	0	0	0	0
First Company of the Plain White Banner	3	0	0	5	4
Second Company of the Plain White Banner	4	1	0	2	2
Third Company of the Plain White Banner	0	0	0	1	0
First Company of the Plain Yellow Banner	1	0	0	1	0
Totals	35	3	1	24	13

Source: KLDS.

表 11 披甲和其他职位

旗和佐	披 甲	西 丹	闲 散	队 兵	代 表
镶白旗头佐	0	0	0	0	0
镶白旗二佐	63	13	2	0	2
镶黄旗头佐	65	23	1	0	0
镶黄旗二佐	0	0	0	0	1
正蓝旗（佐分未明）	5	1	0	0	0
正蓝旗头佐	1	8	0	0	1
正蓝旗二佐	58	0	0	2	1
正蓝旗三佐	0	0	0	0	0
正白旗头佐	65	2	0	0	2
正白旗二佐	58	0	0	0	0
正白旗三佐	0	0	0	0	0
正黄旗头佐	0	0	0	0	1
总 数	315	47	3	2	8

出处：《数据集》。

在这些表中，我们发现大部分资料都是关于镶白（101）、镶黄（114）、正蓝（105）和正白旗（158）的。条目数只有 2 或更少的可能反映了这些职位的任命和记录比起条目数 5 或以上的可能较少。同样地，因为头佐和二佐相关参考中现存的差别（头佐 21、二佐 75），即使将正蓝旗中没有佐分的条目加入到任何一佐也不会影响二佐记录比较多的整体认知。

下表列出不隶属任何旗分的个人之单位分布。即使有些项目表示同一个单位，下表还是特意按整个项目名称进行分类。

表 12 非旗分单位条目

	条目数
保卫团	1
护勇队	1
黑河道尹公署	1
黑龙江鄂伦春办事处	21
黑龙江督军公署	2

Table 11 Private and Other Positions

Banner and Company	Private	Reserve Troop member	Member without appointment	Troop Member (<i>duibing</i>)	Representative
First Company of the Bordered White Banner	0	0	0	0	0
Second Company of the Bordered White Banner	63	13	2	0	2
First Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner	65	23	1	0	0
Second Company of the Bordered Yellow Banner	0	0	0	0	1
Plain Blue Banner (company not specified)	5	1	0	0	0
First Company of the Plain Blue Banner	1	8	0	0	1
Second Company of the Plain Blue Banner	58	0	0	2	1
Third Company of the Plain Blue Banner	0	0	0	0	0
First Company of the Plain White Banner	65	2	0	0	2
Second Company of the Plain White Banner	58	0	0	0	0
Third Company of the Plain White Banner	0	0	0	0	0
First Company of the Plain Yellow Banner	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	315	47	3	2	8

Source: KLDS.

In these tables, we see that most of the data is for the Bordered White (101), Bordered Yellow (114), Plain Blue (105), and Plain White Banners (158). The categories consisting of 2 or less persons may reflect the fact that appointments to these positions may have been rarer or less documented than those with at least five or more individuals. Likewise, citations of Plain Blue Banner without any company affiliation may increase either the first or second company figures but are still relatively inconsequential because of the large difference in the number of references to the first and second companies (21 for the former and 75 for the latter). Therefore, attributing these citations to either category would not change the overall impression that there were more records for the second company.

For individuals listed by non-banner unit, the next table shows the distribution by unit. This table deliberately categorizes items by the whole description, even though some refer to the same unit.

Table 12 Entries by Non-Banner Unit

	Number of Entries
Defense regiment (<i>baowei tuan</i>)	1
Guard forces of braves (<i>huyong dui</i>)	1
Heihe Circuit Intendant Government Office (<i>Heihe daoyi gongshu</i>)	1
Heilongjiang Orochen Department (<i>Heilongjiang Elunchun banshi chu</i>)	21
Heilongjiang Provincial Military Governor Office (<i>Heilongjiang dujun gongshu</i>)	2

续表

	条目数
散商会	1
库玛尔路公立第一鄂伦春国民学校	1
库（玛尔）路公立第二鄂（伦春）（学）校	1
迈海屯保卫团	1
迈海兴隆两屯	1
山林游击队	48
嫩江县山林保卫队	1
鄂伦春保卫团	32
鄂伦春高等鄂校	1
省立第一鄂伦春高等小学	1
省立第二鄂伦春高等小学	1
栖林游击第一队	1
栖林游击第二队	2
特种队	1
上游宽河保卫团	22
西山保卫团	2
西山宏户图法别拉屯保卫团	32
总 数	175

出处：《数据集》。

在此表中该注意的是某些单位属于地区和省级，例如黑河道尹公署和黑龙江督军公署。也有相当多次提到黑龙江鄂伦春办事处和为鄂伦春特别是库玛库路的学生而设的学校。此外，许多条目，包括数量相对较多的，都是关于防御单位的。大多数防御单位都驻扎在某些地方，包括迈海屯保卫团。虽然屯名首字“迈”跟关春生回忆录中的“麦”不一样，但是“迈”和“麦”是一样的读音，增加了两者指同一个地方的可能性。

为了更密切地关注旗和非旗单位身份如何随时间演变，笔者把范围缩小到条目最多的旗和非旗单份，作为两个案例研究。条目的总数在这部分并不重要，重点是条目记录了什么样的职位。

continued table

	Number of Entries
Itinerant merchants' association (<i>sanshang hui</i>)	1
Kumar Route Orochen public school number 1 (<i>Kuma'er lu gongli di yi Elunchun guomin xuexiao</i>)	1
Kumar Route Orochen public school number 2 (<i>Ku[ma'er]lu gongli di er E[lunchun][xue]xiao</i>)	1
Maihai Village defense regiment (<i>Maihai tun baowei tuan</i>)	1
Maihai and Xinglong Villages (<i>Maihai Xinglong liang tun</i>)	1
Mountain forest guerrilla detachment (<i>shanlin youji dui</i>)	48
Nenjiang County mountain forest defense patrol (<i>Nenjiang xian shanlin baowei dui</i>)	1
Orochen defense regiment (<i>Elunchun baowei tuan</i>)	32
Orochen secondary school (<i>Elunchun gaodeng E xiao</i>)	1
Provincial Orochen higher primary school number 1 (<i>Shengli di yi Elunchun gaodeng xiaoxue</i>)	1
Provincial Orochen higher primary school number 2 (<i>Shengli di er Elunchun gaodeng xiaoxue</i>)	1
Qilin guerrilla patrol number 1 (<i>Qilin youji di yi dui</i>)	1
Qilin guerrilla patrol number 2 (<i>Qilin youji di er dui</i>)	2
Special forces (<i>tezhong dui</i>)	1
Upper Reaches of Kuan River defense regiment (<i>Shangyou Kuan he baowei tuan</i>)	22
Xishan defense regiment (<i>Xishan baowei tuan</i>)	2
Xishan Honghutu Fabiela Village defense regiment (<i>Xishan Honghutu Fabiela tun baowei tuan</i>)	32
Total	175

Source: KLDS.

Points to note in this table are that some of the units are at the regional and provincial levels, such as the Heihe circuit intendant government office and the Heilongjiang provincial military governor office. There were also a substantial number of references to the Heilongjiang Orochen Department and to schools established for Orochen students, and for the Kumar Route in particular. Furthermore, many of the entries, including the ones with comparatively large numbers of entries, are for defense units. Most of the defense units are based in certain places, including the Maihai Village defense regiment. The first character in the compound “Maihai” in this village name [Mai 迈] is different from the one in Guan Chunsheng's account [Mai 麦] but the similarity raises the possibility that the two refer to the same place.

To focus more closely on how banner and non-banner unit identities evolved through time, we will reduce the scope to the banner with the most entries and the non-banner unit also with the most entries to serve as two case studies. The total number of entries will not be important in this section. The focus is on what kind of positions were documented.

表 13 镶黄旗头佐（以汉语拼音排序、非出处中次序）

横列：职位 / 职衔（高至低）直栏：个人工作年度（括号内为民国历）	佐 领	骁骑校	领 催	披 甲	西 丹
1912（1）			正 连	葛吉祥	
1913（2）			正 连	葛吉祥	
1914（3）			正 连	葛吉祥	
1915（4）	来 忠		正 连	葛吉祥	
1916（5） / 洪宪 1	来 忠	伦吉善 珠尔图讷 [2016 年 10 月后]	慎吉善 兴 格* 正 连	博吉善 多尔阔春 景格布 吉依额 吉奴善 科尔莫沉 莫尔淖 托尔莫 吴云柱	阿 力 保 连 保 善 博有产 定 善 嘎 挠 庚吉纳 桂布善 皮 来 黑 德 金珠善 来 耆 礼 得 鲁依满 漠依多 纳丹珠 纳松阿 色绷阿 文 得 乌尔肯格 音 德 音吉善 有 善
1917（6）	来 忠	伦吉善	正 连	葛吉祥	
1918（7）	来 忠	伦吉善	正 连	葛吉祥	
1919（8）	来 忠	伦吉善		葛吉祥	
1920（9）	来 忠	伦吉善		葛吉祥	

Table 13 Bordered Yellow Banner First Company (arranged in alphabetical order by Chinese transliteration, not in the original order listed; Chinese characters given for every citation of the same individual for clarity)

Horizontal: Position/Title (in descending order of rank) Vertical: Year of Service (by individual citation)[Republican Period (Minguo) Calendar Count]	Captain	Lieutenant	Corporal	Private	Reserve Troop Member
1912 (1)			Zhenglian 正 连	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	
1913 (2)			Zhenglian 正 连	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	
1914 (3)			Zhenglian 正 连	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	
1915 (4)	Laizhong 来 忠		Zhenglian 正 连	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	
1916 (5) / Hongxian 1	Laizhong 来 忠	Lunjishan 伦吉善 Zhu'ertune 珠尔图讷 [after October 2016]	Shenjishan 慎吉善 Xing'ge* 兴 格 Zhenglian 正 连	Bojishan 博吉善 Duo'erkuochun 多尔阔春 Jinggebu 景格布 Jinong'e 吉依额 Jinushan 吉奴善 Ke'ermochen 科尔莫沉 Mo'ernao 莫尔淖 Tuo'eremo 托尔莫 Wu Yunzhu 吴云柱	Ali 阿 力 Baolian 保 连 Baoshan 保 善 Boyouchan 博有产 Dingshan 定 善 Ga'nao 嘎 挠 Gengjina 庚吉纳 Guibushan 桂布善 Guilai 皮 来 Heide 黑 德 Jinzhushan 金珠善 Laigou 来 耨 Lide 礼 得 Luyiman 鲁依满 Moyiduo 谟依多 Nadanzhu 纳丹珠 Nasong'a 纳松阿 Sebengg'a 色绷阿 Wende 文 得 Wu'erkenge 乌尔肯格 Yinde 音 德 Yinjishan 音吉善 Youshan 有 善
1917 (6)	Laizhong 来 忠	Lunjishan 伦吉善	Zhenglian 正 连	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	
1918 (7)	Laizhong 来 忠	Lunjishan 伦吉善	Zhenglian 正 连	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	
1919 (8)	Laizhong 来 忠	Lunjishan 伦吉善		Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	
1920 (9)	Laizhong 来 忠	Lunjishan 伦吉善		Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	

续表

横列：职位 / 职衔（高至低）直栏：个人工作年度（括号内为民国历）	佐 领	骁骑校	领 催	披 甲	西 丹
1921（10）	来 忠	伦吉善	丕 山* 慎吉善 银吉善 哲尔吉善	白 山 本 色 常 瑞 成 禄 定布讷 定吉纳 / 定格纳 多尔阔春 多普铁 福 海 嘎 挠 葛吉祥 庚吉纳 桂布善 桂 折 黑 德 吉勒都善 金 德 景格布 金 锅 金吉善 吉依额 吉奴善 金希那 金珠善 克博科 科尔莫沉 来 耆 礼 德 林 德 林吉善 鲁依满 茂 山 明 春 明 海 莫克绰 莫依多 讷不善 讷吉善 钦皮善 丕禄善	

continued table

Horizontal: Position/Title (in descending order of rank) Vertical: Year of Service (by individual citation)[Republican Period (Minguo) Calendar Count]	Captain	Lieutenant	Corporal	Private	Reserve Troop Member
1921 (10)	Laizhong 来 忠	Lunjishan 伦吉善	Pishan* 平 山 Shenjishan 慎吉善 Yinjishan 银吉善 Zhe'erjishan 哲尔吉善	Bai Shan 白 山 Bense 本 色 Changrui 常 瑞 Chenglu 成 禄 Dingbune 定布讷 Dingjina (also known as Ding'gena) 定吉纳/定格纳 Duo'erkuochun 多尔阔春 Duoputie 多普铁 Fuhai 福海 Ga'nao 嘎 挠 Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥 Gengjina 庚吉纳 Guibushan 桂布善 Guizhe 桂 折 Heide 黑 德 Jiledushan 吉勒都善 Jinde 金 德 Jinggebu 景格布 Jinguo 金 锅 Jinjishan 金吉善 Jinong'e 吉依额 Jinushan 吉奴善 Jinxina 金希那 Jinzhushan 金珠善 Keboke 克博科 Ke'ermochen 科尔莫沉 Laigou 来 耆 Lide 礼 德 Linde 林 德 Linjishan 林吉善 Luyiman 鲁依满 Maoshan 茂 山 Mingchun 明 春 Minghai 明 海 Mokechuo 莫克绰 Moyiduo 莫依多 Nabushan (or Nebushan) 讷不善 Najishan (or Nejishan) 讷吉善 Qinpishan 钦皮善 Pilushan 平禄善	

续表

横列：职位 / 职衔（高至低）直栏：个人工作年度（括号内为民国历）	佐 领	骁骑校	领 催	披 甲	西 丹
1921（10）	来 忠	伦吉善	平 山* 慎吉善 银吉善 哲尔吉善	色绷阿 善 保 善 德 腾 格 铁 定 铁 连 铁 明 铁 忠 通克讷 托尔莫 文 德 吴 德 吴云柱 乌尔古善 兴格善 音 德 音 哲 永格琛 有 善 玉 德	
1922（11）	来 忠	音吉善		葛吉祥 托罗莫 魏来耆	
1923（12）	来 忠	音吉善	葛吉祥		
1924（13）			葛吉祥		
1925（14）			葛吉祥		
1926（15）			葛吉祥		
1927（16）	音吉善		葛吉祥		
1928（17）	音吉善		葛吉祥		
1929（18）	音吉善	葛吉祥 兴 格	葛吉祥		
1930（19）	音吉善	葛吉祥			
1931（20）	音吉善	葛吉祥			

* 领催委官

出处：《档案材料（一）》：45、47—48、58、64—66、69、109—110、123—126；《档案材料（二）》：4、16、23；《档案材料（三）》：59、81、8、126、150、152

continued table

Horizontal: Position/Title (in descending order of rank) Vertical: Year of Service (by individual citation)[Republican Period (Minguo) Calendar Count]	Captain	Lieutenant	Corporal	Private	Reserve Troop Member
1921 (10)				Sebengg'a 色绷阿 Shanbao 善 保 Shande 善 德 Teng'ge 腾 格 Tieding 铁 定 Tielian 铁 连 Tieming 铁 明 Tiezhong 铁 忠 Tungkene 通克讷 Tuo'eremo 托尔莫 Wende 文 德 Wu De 吴 德 Wu Yunzhu 吴云柱 Wu'ergushan 乌尔古善 Xing'geshan 兴格善 Yinde 音 德 Yinzhe 音 哲 Yonggechen 永格琛 Youshan 有 善 Yude 玉 德	
1922 (11)	Laizhong 来 忠	Yinjishan 音吉善		Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥 Tuoluomo 托罗莫 Weilaigou 魏来苟	
1923 (12)	Laizhong 来 忠	Yinjishan 音吉善	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥		
1924 (13)			Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥		
1925 (14)			Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥		
1926 (15)			Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥		
1927 (16)	Yinjishan 音吉善		Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥		
1928 (17)	Yinjishan 音吉善		Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥		
1929 (18)	Yinjishan 音吉善	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥 Xing'ge 兴 格	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥		
1930 (19)	Yinjishan 音吉善	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥			
1931 (20)	Yinjishan 音吉善	Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥			

* acting/deputy corporal (*lingcui weiguan*)

Sources: KLDC1: 45, 47—48, 58, 64—66, 69, 109—110, 123—126; KLDC2: 4, 16, 23; KLDC3: 59, 81, 83, 126, 150, 152.

在此表中，某些缺失的信息与包含的详细信息一样重要。首先，从1932年至1939年间没有任何数据。表中也有很多空格，指出部分人保持他们的职位，例如来忠从1923年至1927年一直担任佐领。但是，也有可能是职位一直悬空。假设没有两个同名的人担任同一职位的话，1916年和1922年的记录还显示人员有相当大的重叠。

鉴于数据的匮乏，很少职业轨迹可以被彻底绘制出来，但我们可以对相关方面进行一些观察。葛吉祥从1912年到1923年担任披甲，1923年到1929年担任领催，1929年到1931年担任骁骑校^①。音吉善同样地在同一个佐内由骁骑校（1923—1924）晋升为佐领（1927—1931）^②。其他连续于佐任职多年的有：佐领（1915—1923）来忠^③、骁骑校（1916—1922）伦吉善^④、领催（1909〔宣统元年〕—1918）正连^⑤。

表14是作为一个非旗单位例子的山林游击队之人名册。

表14 山林游击队（以汉语拼音排序、非出处中次序）

横列和直栏内容，参见表13	正队长	副队长	队 兵
1925	兴格、正连	吴孟禄	
1926	正 连		
1927	正 连		
1928		关绰奇产	
1929			吴孟禄
1930	音吉善	孟通山	
1931	音吉善	孟通山	布勒吉山 堆古山 葛春德 葛锦古山 葛金山 葛祥福 葛招利

① 《档案材料（二）》：16、68。
② 《档案材料（二）》：5、11、12、54、68、205；《档案材料（三）》：83。
③ 《档案材料（一）》：45、47、58、109、123；《档案材料（二）》：23；《档案材料（三）》：81、83、126、150、152。
④ 《档案材料（一）》：47；《档案材料（三）》：83。
⑤ 《档案材料（二）》：4。

In this table, the absence of some information is as significant as the details which are included. First, there is no data for 1932 to 1939. There are also many empty spaces in the table, for which it can be inferred that some people maintained their positions such as Laizhong as company captain from 1923 to 1927. However, it is also possible that the position was vacant. The 1916 and 1922 records also reveal considerable overlap in personnel, assuming that there were not two people who had the same name serving in those positions.

Given the dearth of data, few career trajectories can be plotted thoroughly, but there are some observations to be made in this regard. Ge Jixiang served as a private from 1912 to 1923, then as a corporal from 1923 to 1929, and furthermore as a lieutenant from 1929 to 1931.^① Yinjishan similarly ascended in rank within the company from lieutenant (1923—1924) to captain (1927—1931).^② Other company members who served continuously for many years are Laizhong as captain (1915—1923),^③ Lunjishan, lieutenant (1916—1922),^④ and Zhenglian, corporal from 1909 (Xuanton 1) to 1918.^⑤

Table 14 shows the roster for the mountain forest guerrilla detachment as an example of a non-banner unit.

Table 14 Mountain Forest Guerrilla Detachment (arranged in alphabetical order by Chinese transliteration, not in the original order listed; Chinese characters given for every citation of the same individual for clarity)

See Table 13 for the description of the horizontal and vertical cell content	Captain (<i>zheng duizhang</i>)	Vice-captain (<i>fu duizhang</i>)	Troop Member/Fighter (<i>duibing</i>)
1925	Xingge 兴格 and Zhenglian 正连	Wu Menglu 吴孟禄	
1926	Zhenglian 正连		
1927	Zhenglian 正连		
1928		Guan Chuoqichan 关绰奇产	
1929			Wu Menglu 吴孟禄
1930	Yinjishan 音吉善	Meng Tongshan 孟通山	
1931	Yinjishan 音吉善	Meng Tongshan 孟通山	Bulejisan 布勒吉山 Duigushan 堆古山 Ge Chunde 葛春德 Ge Jingushan 葛锦古山 Ge Jinshan 葛金山 Ge Xiangfu 葛祥福 Ge Zhaoli 葛招利

① KLDC2: 16, 68.

② KLDC2: 5, 11, 12, 54, 68, 205; KLDC3: 83.

③ KLDC1: 45, 47, 58, 109, 123; KLDC2: 23; KLDC3: 81, 83, 126, 150, 152.

④ KLDC1: 47; KLDC3: 83.

⑤ KLDC2: 4.

续表

横列和直栏内容，参见表 13	正队长	副队长	队 兵
1931	音吉善	孟通山	关禄山 吉 祥 毛 善 孟常妥 孟福寿 孟来福 孟利山 孟寿元 孟通才 莫连生 穆来福 那格善 平 禄 平禄善 天 海 魏德庆 魏金贵 魏俊哲 魏明海 吴贵满 吴吕满 吴明福 吴明贵 吴明善 吴祥格 吴音合 有 利 召 新
1932		关庆祥	

出处：《档案材料（二）》：13、16、87、96、97；《档案材料（三）》：223、224。

比较表 13 和表 14 的话，会发现库玛尔路地区中几个时间段中呈现连贯性。表 14 中有数组人员是相同姓氏的，例如葛、孟、吴，这表明某几个氏族集中在山林游击队里，同时，不像前面镶黄旗头佐人员那样只有名字，这些队员加姓氏改名字了。

通过将这些表格与其他单位的表格进行比较，也可以观察到职业发展的一些证据。例如，从 1930 年到 1931 年在宽河山林游击队担任副队长的孟通

continued table

See Table 13 for the description of the horizontal and vertical cell content	Captain (<i>zheng duizhang</i>)	Vice-captain (<i>fu duizhang</i>)	Troop Member/Fighter (<i>duibing</i>)
1931			Guan Lushan 关禄山 Jixiang 吉 祥 Maoshan 毛 善 Meng Changtuo 孟常妥 Meng Fushou 孟福寿 Meng Laifu 孟来福 Meng Lishan 孟利山 Meng Shouyuan 孟寿元 Meng Tongcai 孟通才 Mo Liansheng 莫连生 Mu Laifu 穆来福 Nageshan 那格善 Pinglu 平 禄 Pinglushan 平禄善 Tianhai 天 海 Wei Deqing 魏德庆 Wei Jinggui 魏金贵 Wei Junzhe 魏俊哲 Wei Minghai 魏明海 Wu Guiman 吴贵满 Wu Lüman 吴吕满 Wu Mingfu 吴明福 Wu Minggui 吴明贵 Wu Mingshan 吴明善 Wu Xiangge 吴祥格 Wu Yinhe 吴音合 Youli 有 利 Zhaoxin 召 新
1932		Guan Qingxiang 关庆祥	

Sources: KLDC2: 13, 16, 87, 96, 97; KLDC3: 223, 224.

Comparing Tables 13 and 14, there are details about the continuity between the featured time periods within the Kumar Route region. There are clusters of persons with the same surname, such as Ge, Meng, and Wu, which suggests the concentration of certain clans *and* the change in naming so that they have surnames rather than just given names as in the table about the first company of the Bordered Yellow Banner above.

It is also possible to observe some evidence of career progression by comparing these tables with those for other units. For example, Meng Tongshan, who served as vice-captain for the Kuan River mountain forest guerrilla detachment in 1930 and 1931, was a lieutenant for the Bordered Yellow Banner Second Company in 1929 and then captain of that company in 1930. There is also evident crossover between a banner unit and non-banner unit for Guan Dexing, who served as Plain Blue Banner Second Company captain from 1926 to 1932 but was also an

山在 1929 年时就是镶黄旗二佐骁骑校，在 1930 年则晋升为该佐佐领。关德兴的情况更体现了旗和非旗单位之间的明显重叠。虽然关德兴从 1926 年到 1932 年担任正蓝旗二佐佐领，但是他在 1929 年前后出任黑龙江鄂伦春办事处的调查员和督垦员。但是，由于有记录显示 1929 年镶蓝旗二佐佐领叫关德兴，即“镶”可能也只是错字。由此看来这个《数据集》有内在弱点，即所有身份需要其他资料佐证，而这些资料是十分匮乏的。例如正连这个名字，在 1912 年到 1918 年间是镶黄旗头佐领催、1916 年到 1927 年是镶白旗头佐骁骑校、1921 年到 1923 年是正蓝旗二佐代理佐领、1923 年到 1927 年是正白旗二佐代理佐领、1925 年到 1927 年是瑗珲县山林游击队队长、1924 年到 1925 年是鄂伦春保卫团连长。虽然一个人可以兼任这些职位，但是缺乏姓氏和出现两个或以上的人使用同一个名字的情况使得我们在一些案例上必须细心整理和利用其他证据作三角测量。

如果拿《数据集》中的人名和关春生有关伪满洲国的回忆录中提到的人员作比较的话，我们会发现一些同名人员的资料，而且知道他们是什么人。

表 15 关春生回忆录中一些有名字的人员

葛吉祥	1912—1915、1917—1922：镶黄旗头佐披甲 [他很大可能在 1916 年也担任此职，但非绝对能证实] 1923—1929：镶黄旗头佐领催 1929—1931：镶黄旗头佐骁骑校
吴祥格	1931：正白旗二佐骁骑校 1931：宏胡图 / 宏户图屯山林游击队队兵
吴音吉善	1916：镶黄旗头佐西丹 1921：镶黄旗头佐领催 1922—1923：镶黄旗头佐骁骑校 1927—1931：镶黄旗头佐佐领 1921：镶白旗二佐披甲 1922：镶白旗二佐骁骑校 1929—1931：正白旗二佐（兼任）佐领 1930—1931：宏胡图 / 宏户图屯山林游击队队长 1924：鄂伦春保卫团排长 1929：黑龙江鄂伦春办事处督垦员 1925：上游宽河保卫团团兵

出处：关春生《从“山林队”到解放初期的回忆》、《数据集》。

这三个例子中的每一个（1911 年到 1939 年的《数据集》中没有找到关

inspector (*diaocha yuan*) and land reclamation supervisor (*du ken yuan*) for the Heilongjiang Orochen Department in 1929, and perhaps before and after that year. However, since there is also a record for a person of this name as Bordered Blue Banner, Second Company captain in 1929 (which leads to the possibility that “Bordered” was a typographical error in place of “Plain”), this dataset reveals its inherent weakness that all identities must be substantiated further with other (and extremely limited) sources. This is true for “Zhenglian 正连” who, simply as found in the dataset, was a corporal in the Bordered Yellow Banner First Company from 1912 to 1918, Bordered White Banner First Company lieutenant from 1916 to 1927, the acting captain of the Plain Blue Banner Second Company from 1921 to 1923, acting captain of the Plain White Banner Second Company from 1923 to 1927, captain of the mountain forest guerrilla detachment at the Aigun County border from 1925 to 1927, and company commander (*lian zhang*) of the Orochen defense regiment from 1924 to 1925. Although it is possible that one person could assume all of these roles, the lack of surname and citations of other given names assumed by two or more people within the dataset suggests that some more careful sorting and triangulation with other sources of evidence is required for some cases.

Going back to the group of individuals in Guan Chunsheng’s memoir about the Manchukuo period, comparison with the dataset reveals some information about people who had the same names and who may have been these people.

Table 15 Selected Individuals with Names from the Guan Chunsheng Memoir

Ge Jixiang 葛吉祥	1912—1915, 1917—1922: Bordered Yellow Banner First Company private[<i>it is likely, but not absolutely verifiable, that he was also serving in this capacity in 1916</i>] 1923—1929: Bordered Yellow Banner First Company corporal 1929—1931: Bordered Yellow Banner First Company lieutenant
Wu Xiangge 吴祥格	1931: Plain White Banner Second Company lieutenant 1931: Mountain forest guerrilla detachment at Honghutu village troop member
(Wu) Yinjishan 吴音吉善	1916: Bordered Yellow Banner First Company Reserve troop member 1921: Bordered Yellow Banner First Company corporal 1922—1923: Bordered Yellow Banner First Company lieutenant 1927—1931: Bordered Yellow Banner First Company captain 1921: Bordered White Banner Second Company private 1922: Bordered White Banner Second Company lieutenant 1929—1931: Plain White Banner Second Company captain (concurrently assuming another appointment) 1930—1931: Mountain forest guerrilla detachment at Honghutu village captain 1924: Orochen defense regiment platoon commander (<i>paizhang</i>) 1929: Heilongjiang Orochen department land reclamation supervisor 1925: Upper Reaches of Kuan River defense regiment soldier (<i>tuanbing</i>)

Sources: Guan, “Cong ‘shanlin dui’ dao jiefang chuqi de huiyi”, and KLDS.

Each of these three examples (the rest of the names from 1940, as cited from Guan’s memoir, were not found in the 1911 to 1939 dataset) all attest to the complexity of dealing with these records too. It is not impossible that Ge Jixiang could have followed up on a long

春生回忆录中 1940 年的其余名字）都证明了处理这些记录的复杂性。虽然葛吉祥不是没有可能在 1940 年继续在宏胡图 / 宏户图屯担任队副，延续他在镶黄旗头佐的职业生涯，但是葛吉祥在那时候已属于中年，对当时的人而言甚至算是老年了。吴祥格的话，因为他可能仍然处于合适的年龄和一般的身体状况，所以于 1940 年在五道沟担任队长的吴祥格跟 1931 年担任正白旗二佐骁骑校（或者山林游击队队兵）的吴祥格是同一个人的可能性比较高。音吉善方面，《数据集》显示至少有不少人叫音吉善。目前还无法立即辨别到底哪位音吉善（如果是《数据集》中其中一人）于 1940 年成为了宏胡图 / 宏户图屯的队长。然而，我们可以通过其他记录（如《档案材料》）的证据和三角测量，了解更多关于表 15 中的音吉善和其他人的信息。虽然这个比较可以得出的结论可能不比以护照或其他政府颁发的号码所得出的完全匹配身份确定，但仍然阐明了一些群体和个人如何在重大政治变革中保持和改变身份的例子。

结 语

虽然库玛尔路在 1912 年清朝政权正式结束后不再是成立当初的形式和功能的行政单位，但好像 1957 年进行的有关库玛尔路的社会历史调查所显示，它仍然以鄂伦春人的身份和社区继续存在，例如新生鄂伦春民族乡的路牌所示。尽管在 1911 年至 1912 年间，当时的中国政府在地区和地方层面发生了非常公开和明确的变化，但本案例研究说明了清政府的权力结构如何逐渐让步给新的权力结构。和现在学术界公认的概念，即清—民过渡所需不只一年一样，关于 20 世纪上半叶库玛尔路的领土和人民的剩余证据表明，“鄂伦春”在中华人民共和国成立之前和之后一直作为一种民族身份存在，并且仍然与声称自己是鄂伦春的人有关。

随着主要是鄂伦春社区的人口变化，保持对鄂伦春过去的了解尤为重要。在内蒙古的鄂伦春自治旗，随着人口多样化，鄂伦春族居民的百分比一直下降。在 1951 年这个自治旗刚成立时，当地居民有鄂伦春和达斡尔族。在 1953 年第一次全国人口普查中，出现了蒙古族、汉族、朝鲜族。在接下来 1964 年第二次和 1982 年第三次的全国人口普查和其他地区性人口普查中，自治旗人口包括了回族、满族、锡伯族、壮族、苗族、白族、俄罗斯族、哈萨克族、景颇族、土族、彝族。在 2009 年，3354209 名自治旗登记居民中有 35611 名少数民族，跟 1999 年 316969 人中就有 31190 名少数民族形成强烈

career serving in the Bordered Yellow Banner First Company by serving as patrol lieutenant at Honghutu in 1940, but he would have been solidly middle-aged if not approaching what would have then been considered old age. The Wu Xiangge serving as patrol captain at Wudaogou in 1940 being the same person as the Plain White Banner Second Company lieutenant (and perhaps also as the mountain forest guerrilla detachment soldier) in 1931 is more plausible because he would probably still be of the right age and general physical condition. For Yinjishan, the dataset shows that there were at least two if not more people with that name. It is not immediately discernible which Yinjishan (if any of them) became the patrol captain at Honghutu in 1940. However, the context does suggest that we can learn more about Yinjishan and the other men in Table 15 with the addition and triangulation of evidence from other records like the KLDC volumes. What can be construed from this comparison may not be definitive in the sense of exact matches in identification as might be possible with passport or other government-issued numbers in the present day, but still shed light on some examples of how groups and individuals both maintained and changed their identities the midst of major political changes.

Conclusion

The Kumar Route ceased to be a unit of administration in the original form and function of when it was established after the formal end of the Qing imperial regime in 1912, but it remained important after then, as indicated in the production of a social history survey expressly about the Kumar Route in 1957 and how it lives on in the identities of Orochen people and their communities such as on the street sign in the Xinsheng Orochen Ethnic Township. Although the central government of China changed in very public and definitiveterms between 1911 and 1912, at the regional and local levels, this case study illustrates how Qing structures of authority gave away to new ones more gradually. Following the now well-established understanding in scholarship that the Qing-Republican transition occurred over more than the course of a year, the evidence remaining about the territory and people of the Kumar Route in the first half of the twentieth century suggests that being Orochen was perpetuated as an ethnic identity up to and after the founding of the PRC and is still relevant to people who claim it today.

Perpetuating knowledge of the Orochen past is especially important as demographic shifts affect what were predominantly Orochen communities. In the Orochen Ethnic Autonomous Banner (*Elunchun zizhiqi*) in Inner Mongolia, the percentage of Orochen residents has been decreasing as the population has diversified. In 1951, when this administrative unit was founded, the population consisted of Orochen and Daur (*Dawo'er zu*) people. In 1953, the first national census recorded the presence of Mongol (*Menggu zu*), Han (*Hanzu*), and Korean (*Chaoxian zu*) peoples. In subsequent national censuses conducted in 1964 (second) and 1982 (third) and other regional censuses, the autonomous banner population included Hui (*Huizu*), Manchu (*Manzu*), Sibe (*Xibo zu*), Zhuang (*Zhuangzu*), Miao (*Miaozu*), Bai (*Baizu*), Russian (*Eluosi zu*), Kazakh (*Hasake zu*), Jinghpaw (*Jingpo zu*), Tu (*Tuzu*), and Yi (*Yizu*) ethnic groups. In 2009, out of 3,354,209 registered residents of the autonomous banner, the number of non-Han (ethnic minority) people was 35,611 people. This figure contrasts significantly from a corresponding data point from 1999, when 31,190 non-Han were recorded as part of a

对比^①（林健民 2012：39—40）。

因为越来越多人声称拥有“完整”的鄂伦春血统，即父母双方或四个祖父母都属于鄂伦春，加上一些法律上属于鄂伦春的人可能三代之中拥有非鄂伦春族祖先，所以鄂伦春族自治的社会多元化对整个中国的鄂伦春族具有重要意义。关于鄂伦春族起源的文字记载极其有限但通过如今不到 10000 人的鄂伦春族人的经历可窥见一二。虽然相关数据并不完整，但从 1900 年代到 1930 年代在地方和区域机构担任职务的人确实存在的相关证据可以揭示这个小团体如何通过保留和最终替换他们从清代先人那里继承下来的身份以应对巨大的变化。具体案例研究证实了以往学者所认定的中国东北边陲社区从清朝末期到民国时期以及伪满洲国政府统治时期的政治和社会制度的连续性。尽管那些时代的地方志和 1950 年代和 1960 年代的社会历史调查，像《数据集》的主要出处一样，提供了有关在政治过渡时期这些单位领导人的一些具体细节，但还有更多关于清朝和民国单位之间的这种权力转移是如何确定的，以及这些渐进式的制度变化如何影响库玛尔路等社区人民等方面需要更多讨论。

虽然社会团体，如政治机构，可能会灭绝或意义上发生变化，但它们以人们的身份继续存在，例如民间口传文学专家孟古古善（1874—1959），就是在呼玛县库玛尔河地区出生，并以“鄂伦春族的活历史”闻名。王为华在形容孟的时候也注明了孟的原名叫玛涅依尔·乌理善（王为华 2012：144）。同样地，双亲都是鄂伦春族的吴常玉（1949— ）在村庄生活的口述历史中也忆述了村子中最大的群组姓吴，其次姓关，因为大家都是那几个氏族，所以大家都是有关系的^②（于硕，赵式庆 2017：83）。杜金兰（1937— ）诉说的一个亲身经历也说明了氏族是一个重要的身份标记。虽然她说自己是鄂温克族，但是她说了—一个关于姓何的鄂伦春族男子的故事。这何姓男子杀了一个日本人，然后逃到山里一个无人居住的地方。因为没抓到他，日本人就杀姓何的人。可是，何山军的曾祖父，杜金兰母亲的第一任丈夫，因为当时送了邻近鄂温克社区一群牛马、作为杜拉尔的人舍成员改姓为杜，所以避过此劫（于硕，赵式庆 2017：118）。所以，考虑到政治和社会转变如何发生，我们在回首过去时，同样重要的是要承认许多经过改革和发展的要素实际上是有多持久的。

① 这材料的第 43 页也提供了以下年度自治旗的鄂伦春族人口：1953（31 人）、1964（543 人）、1982（1943 人）、1988（2197 人）、1999（2306 人）、2009（3509 人），同上，第 41 页。达斡尔族人口则为：1953（3 人）、1964（1865 人）、1982（5727 人）、1988（5906 人）、1999（6499 人）、2009（7430 人）。

② 无法确认吴常玉在本文出版时是否尚在生。

population of 316,969 people (Lin 2012: 39—40).^①

The greater social diversification of the Orochen Ethnic Autonomous Banner is significant for the Orochen in the PRC as a whole because increasingly fewer persons claim “full” Orochen ancestry (as represented by both parents, or all four grandparents) and some individuals who are legally Orochen may have non-Orochen ancestors within three generations. Who the Orochen were in the past and who the Orochen are today remains within the highly limited number of textual records and the experiences of less than 10,000 living persons. While the pertinent data is by no means complete, the evidence that does exist about the persons who assumed positions in local and regional institutions from the 1900s to 1930s can reveal how this small group dealt with the tremendous change through the preservation and eventual replacement of identity markers inherited from their Qing period forbearers. Specific case studies substantiate what previous scholars have identified as continuity in the political and social systems of borderland communities in Northeast China from the end of the Qing dynasty into the Republican period and when governed by the Manchukuo government. Although gazetteers from those times and in social history surveys produced in the 1950s and 1960s, like the main sources for the dataset, have provided some concrete details about the people who were leaders in these units through the political transition period, there is still much more to be examined about how such transfers of authority between Qing and Republican units were determined and the consequences of these gradual institutional changes on the people in communities like the Kumar Route.

Social groupings, like political institutions, may become extinct or change in meaning but they also live on in people’s identities such as the expert in folk oral literature Meng Gugushan 孟古古善 (1874—1959) who was born in the Kumar River area of Huma County. He was known as the “living history of the Orochen people” (*Elunchunzu de huo lishi*). Wang Weihua notes in his description of Meng that his original name was Manieyi’er Wulishan 玛涅依尔·乌理善 (Wang 2012: 144). Likewise, Wu Changyu 吴常玉 (1949—), whose parents were both Orochen, recalls in an oral history of her life that in her village, the largest group was the Wu family, the second was Guan, and everyone was related because they belonged to the same clans (Yu and Chao 2017: 89).^② Clan is also a significant trait of identity in the personal account of Du Jinlan 杜金兰 (1937—) who identified herself as being Ewenki but told the story about an Orochen man surnamed He 何 who killed a Japanese person and escaped to the mountains to an uninhabited place and because “the Japanese” could not find that person. She explained that they killed people surnamed He. However, the great-grandfather of He Shanjun 何山军, her mother’s first husband who was originally a member of an Orochen “He” clan escaped this fate by giving the neighboring Ewenki community a large herd of cows and horses and changing his surname to Du 杜 as an adopted member of the Dular clan (Yu and Chao 2017b: 208). Therefore, in considering how political and social transitions happen, it is equally important to acknowledge how durable many elements that were subject to reform and development actually are as we look from the present back to the past.

① All the figures in this paragraph are from Lin, ed., *Elunchun zizhiqi junshi zhi* (Orochen Autonomous Banner military affairs gazetteer), 39—40. This source also provides the numbers of Orochen in the autonomous banner during these years: 1953 (31 people), 1964 (543 people), 1982 (1,943 people), 1988 (2,197 people), 1999 (2,306 people), and 2009 (3,509 people). See *ibid.*, 41. For comparison, the corresponding figures of Daur people: 1953 (3 people), 1964 (1,865 people), 1982 (5,727), 1988 (5,906), 1999 (6,499), and 2009 (7,430). See *ibid.*, 43.

② It cannot be verified if Wu is still living as of this article’s publication.

Glossary of Chinese and Japanese Terms

- aba 阿巴
 Aihui qu 爱辉区
 Aihui xian 爱辉县 / 瑷琿县
 Aihui xian zhi 爱辉县志
 Ajigecha'yi'er 啊基格查依尔
 Akiba Takashi 秋叶 隆
 alaban anda 阿拉班安达
 Ali he 阿里河
 anda 安达 / 谳达
 an'ga 安嘎
 ba qi 八旗
 Bagayalu 八嘎呀鲁
 Baiyi'er 白依尔
 Baizu 白族
 baka yarō 马鹿野郎
 bao'an dui 保安队
 baosheku 保什库
 baowei tuan 保卫团
 Bayinna Elunchunzu 白银纳鄂伦春族
 Bi, Aoriqian beiye 毕, 奥日千贝耶
 Bianna he 卞纳河
 Bila'er lu 毕拉路
 bu xia 步下
 bushiku 布土库
 Buteha qi 布特哈旗
 Buteha zongguan 布特哈总管
 Chaoxian zu 朝鲜族
 Cheji'er 车基尔
 Cheng Dequan 程德全
 chun Elunchun ren 纯鄂伦春人
 Dahu'er 达呼尔
 daibiao 代表
 daili zuoling 代理佐领
 dao 道
 Dawo'er (zu) 达斡尔 (族)
 diaocha yuan 调查员

Di er lishi dang'an guan 第二历史档案馆
 difang zhi 地方志
 Ding'an 定安
 dingju 定居
 dongbei bianjiang de baoweizhe 东北边疆的保卫者
 Dongbei jiuguo jun 东北救国军
 dui 队
 duibing 队兵
 duifu 队副
 duizhang 队长
 du ken yuan 督垦员
 Duningken 杜宁肯
 Duobuku'er he 多布库尔河
 Elehe he 额勒和河
 Elunchun baoweituan 鄂伦春保卫团
 Elunchun gaodeng E xiao 鄂伦春高等鄂校
 Elunchun zizhiqi 鄂伦春自治旗
 Elunchunzu 鄂伦春族
 Elunchunzu de huo lishi 鄂伦春族的活历史
 Elunchuo 鄂伦绰
 Eluosi zu 俄罗斯族
 Fabiela he 法别拉河
 Fabiela tun 法别拉屯
 fu 府
 fu duizhang 副队长
 fu dutong 副都统
 fu guan 副官
 fu zongguan 副总管
 gaxin 嘎辛
 gaxinda 嘎辛达
 Gewayi'er 葛瓦依尔
 gong 贡
 Guomindang 国民党
 Guoshiguan 国史馆
 Gulayi'er 古拉依尔
 gushan 固山
 Ha'ertong 哈尔通
 hala 哈拉
 Hanzu 汉族
 Haruta 春田

- Hasake zu 哈萨克族
 hawan 哈万
 Heihe daoyi gongshu 黑河道尹公署
 Heihe shi 黑河市
 Heihe tewu jiguan 黑河特务机关 / Dai Kokuga tokumu kikan 大黑河特务机关
 Heilongjiang duban gongshu 黑龙江督办公署
 Heilongjiang dujun gongshu 黑龙江督军公署
 Heilongjiang Elunchun banshi chu 黑龙江鄂伦春办事处
 Heilongjiang sheng bowuguan 黑龙江省博物馆
 Higashiya 官东谷
 Honghutu (tun) 宏胡图 / 宏户图 (屯)
 Hongxian 洪宪
 Huang Qing zhigong tu 皇清职贡图
 Huizu 回族
 Huma xian 呼玛县
 Huma he 呼玛河
 Huma'er he 呼玛尔河
 huyong dui 护勇队
 Izumi Seiichi 泉 靖一
 jiala 甲啦
 Jiameng he 嘉萌河
 Jiameng xian 嘉萌县
 jiandai zuoling 兼代佐领
 jianggen 蒋亘
 jiangjun 将军
 Jingpo zu 景颇族
 Jiudaogou 九道沟
 Ka'ertong tun 喀尔通屯
 Kangde 康德
 Kang Ri bei Man di san jun 抗日北满第三军
 Kariji'er 卡日基尔
 Ke'erteyi'er 柯尔特依尔
 Kokuryūkōshō minseichō 黑竜江省民政庁
 Kuan He tun 宽河屯
 Kuma'er he 库玛尔河
 Kuma'er lu 库玛尔路
 Ku [ma'er] lu gongli di er E [lunchun] [xue] xiao 库 (玛尔) 路公立第二鄂 (伦春) (学) 校
 Kuma'er lu gongli di yi Elunchun guomin xuexiao 库玛尔路公立第一鄂伦春国民学校
 Kuma'erchen 库玛尔臣

Kun he 坤河
 kundu baosheku 昆都保什库
 lianzhang 连长
 lingcui 领催
 lingcui weiguan 领催委官
 lu 路
 ma shang 马上
 Maihai 麦海
 Maihai tun baowei tuan 迈海屯保卫团
 Maihai Xinglong liang tun 迈海兴隆两屯
 Malayi'er 玛拉依尔
 Manayi'er 玛那依尔
 Manshūgoku 满洲国
 Manzhouguo 满洲国 /Manshūkoku 满洲国
 Manzu 满族
 Maohaoyi'er 毛毫依尔
 Maokaoyi'er 毛考依尔
 Menggu zu 蒙古族
 Miaozu 苗族
 Minguo 民国
 minzu shibie gongcheng 民族识别工程
 minzu tedian 民族特点
 Mō ki ka 蒙旗科
 mokun 莫昆
 mokunda 莫昆达
 Molahu'er 莫拉呼尔
 Moling'a Elunchun 摩凌阿鄂伦春
 Naiwen he 奈温河
 Nenjiang xian 嫩江县
 Nenjiang xian shanlin baowei dui 嫩江县山林保卫队
 Ni shi Bila'er ren ma 你是毕拉尔人吗
 Ni shi Elunchun ren ma 你是鄂伦春人吗
 niulu 牛录
 paizhang 排长
 pijia 披甲
 Pangu he 盘古河
 Qi 旗
 qi lin dui 栖林队
 Qilin youji di er dui 栖林游击第二队
 Qilin youji di yi dui 栖林游击第一队

renmen 人们
 Sanpen he 三盆河
 sanshang hui 散商会
 Shangyou Kuan he baowei tuan 上游宽河保卫团
 shanlin youji dui 山林游击队
 shanlin dui 山林队
 shehui lishi diaocha 社会历史调查
 Shengli di er Elunchun gaodeng xiaoxue 省立第二鄂伦春高等小学
 Shengli di yi Elunchun gaodeng xiaoxue 省立第一鄂伦春高等小学
 shezhi ju 设治局
 Shibazhan Elunchunzu xiang 十八站鄂伦春族乡
 shi lu Elunchun 使鹿鄂伦春
 shi ma Elunchun 使马鄂伦春
 shiyong xiaoqi xiao 试用骁骑校
 shu xiaoqi xiao 署骁骑校
 shu zuoling 署佐领
 Suolun 索伦
 Tahe xian 塔河县
 Taipingwan 太平湾
 tatanda 塔坦达
 tezhong dui 特种队
 ting 厅
 tuanzhang 团长
 tufei 土匪
 Tuzu 土族
 Tuo he 拖河
 Weilayi'er 魏拉依尔
 Wenxu 文绪
 Wo'ergen he 倭尔根河
 Wole he 倭勒河
 Wo shi Elunchun ren 我是鄂伦春人
 Wudaogou (xiatou) 五道沟(下头)
 Wuka'erkang 吴卡尔康
 wukuxin/wukeshen 乌库薪、乌克申 / 乌克身
 Wulaga zhen Shengli Elunchunzu cun 乌拉嘎镇胜利鄂伦春族村
 wulileng 乌力楞
 wulin 乌林
 Wuqia'erkang 吴恰尔康
 Wuyun he 乌云河
 Xi Bila'er beiye 希比拉尔北耶

xian 县
 xiang bai qi er zuo 镶白旗二佐
 xiang bai qi tou zuo 镶白旗头佐
 xiang huang qi er zuo 镶黄旗二佐
 xiang huang qi tou zuo 镶黄旗头佐
 xiansan 闲散
 xiao minzu 小民族
 xiaoqi xiao 骁骑校
 Xibo zu 锡伯族
 xidan 西丹
 Xin E Elunchunzu xiang 新鄂伦春族乡
 xing 姓
 Xing'an cheng 兴安城
 Xinsheng Elunchun minzu xiang 新生鄂伦春民族乡
 Xinxing Elunchunzu xiang 新兴鄂伦春族乡
 Xinzheng 新政
 Xishan baowei tuan 西山保卫团
 Xishan Honghutu Fabiela tun baowei tuan 西山宏户图法别拉屯保卫团
 Xun he 逊河
 Xunke xian 逊克县
 Yafahan Elunchun 雅发罕鄂伦春
 Yizu 彝族
 you qiang de Elunchun ren 有枪的鄂伦春人
 yuding 余丁
 zhalan 扎兰
 zhamin 扎敏
 Zhan he 沾河
 Zhang Zuolin 张作霖
 Zhangdiyingzi qu 张地营子区
 zhangjing 章京
 zheng bai qi er zuo 正白旗二佐
 zheng bai qi san zuo 正白旗三佐
 zheng bai qi tou zuo 正白旗头佐
 zheng duizhang 正队长
 zheng huang qi tou zuo 正黄旗头佐
 zheng lan qi 正蓝旗
 zheng lan qi er zuo 正蓝旗二佐
 zheng lan qi san zuo 正蓝旗三佐
 zheng lan qi tou zuo 正蓝旗头佐
 Zhonghua minzu 中华民族

zhou 州
 Zhuangzu 壮族
 zongguan 总管
 zuo 佐
 zuoling 佐领

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